DAVID MARK COLLINS
PETERHOUSE
CAMBRIDGE.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF GEORGE FREDERICK BODLEY, 1827-1907
AND THOMAS GARNER, 1839-1906.

Ph.D. Degree.

Volume I.

31 October 1992
George Frederick Bodley became Sir Gilbert Scott's first articled pupil in 1843, when he was sixteen. In 1854 he began his own practice, and later took into partnership another of Scott's former pupils, Thomas Garner (1839-1906). The partnership continued until 1898, after which both men continued separate practices for the rest of their lives.

Bodley began his practice at a time when the Early Middle Pointed of Pugin was giving way to High Victorian Gothic. A sympathy for Tractarianism, and the influence of Ecclesiology introduced him to generous High Church patrons from the outset. Bodley initiated a swing away from continental idioms, towards a return to English Gothic of the Decorated period. This change of direction marked a lasting influence of the architect on the course of the Gothic Revival.

An analysis of colour decoration in Bodley's churches, reveals his crucial contribution to the ascendant movement of painted stencil-patterns over the earlier phase of consructional polychromy. The relationship between Bodley and the firms of craftsmen which he helped to found, such as Watts & Co., reveals the architect's determination to evolve a position of complete personal control over the decoration of a building.

The churches at Pendlebury, Hoar Cross, and Clumber remain the masterpieces of the partnership, and display the supremacy of
private patronage in its middle years. With the agricultural depression, attention was turned to the building of new town churches, and city Mission churches. The process of 'refinement' is a strong feature of these later buildings. The early phase of the 'Queen Anne' movement, and the revival of interest in the Elizabethan period in mid-Victorian architecture, was well represented by the partners' domestic buildings. Bodley and Garner's adoption of the more sensitive repair-rather-than-replacement concept for church restorations was influential.

An account of Garner's late years designing for the Roman Catholic Church displays his archaeologically correct approach to the Gothic Revival which differentiates his final work from that of Bodley. The Choir at Downside provides an example of Garner's traditional manner, whilst Bodley's contemporary churches express his search for a less formal interpretation of the Gothic idiom.
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Early Life and Training.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>'Boyish antagonism' and Early Influences, 1854-65.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>'Let us keep to the genius loci’: the Return to English Gothic, 1865-1879.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>'The realisation of an ideal', 1879-1897: Major Works.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>'The salt of noble sentiment': Late Churches, 1897-1907.</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>The Revival of Old England: Domestic Commissions, 1865-1907.</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>'To let well alone is prudent counsel': Restorations, 1854-1907.</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>After the Partnership: Garner's Later Years, 1897-1906.</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Pupils, Assistants, and Influence. Conclusion. Notes and References.</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix A : Bibliography.</td>
<td>App A 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix B : Catalogue of works.</td>
<td>App B 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preface

I have received help in the preparation of my thesis from several sources. My supervisor, Dr. D.J. Watkin, to whom I give my most grateful thanks, has provided invaluable support and advice throughout.

Many people have assisted in the collection of material, most notably the county record offices, archivists, church incumbents and church-wardens, who gave their time and energy freely to provide the relevant information in their care. I should like to record my thanks to them all, and especially to the following people who have been of particular assistance:

Shaftesbury, Mrs. Linda Shaw, University of Nottingham, Anthony Smith, Esq., President of Magdalen College, Oxford, Father Smith, the Rev. Anthony Symondson, Mrs. Rosemary Verey, Dr. Walker, Ray Watkinson, Esq., Christopher Webb, Esq., Archivist of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York.

I am particularly grateful to my parents, without whose help and encouragement the work could not have commenced.

This thesis is the result of my own work, and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.

The study of the work of Bodley is a demanding task, because he was one of the most prolific of the major Victorian architects, and especially because of the destruction of his office papers as a result of war-time bombing. Moreover, the large number of acquaintances and associations he made over a long life, and his own dislike of writing letters to friends, has led to a long search for thinly spread original material. In all, over 130 buildings were visited, and fifty-eight record offices in the British Isles were consulted.

An important reason for the under-estimation of Bodley within the decorative arts is probably due to the cult of William Morris, which grew up from the 1950s onwards. This bias in favour of Morris was largely an attempt to promote his concepts of social organization, and, in conjunction with this, to simulate the origins of the Modern Movement. This hypothesis disregarded equally able designers who had worked in the same vein, and especially those who were in direct competition. Other reasons which may have made him
seem a somewhat unrewarding subject for study are his surprisingly weak ability as a draughtsman, and his failure to produce books of the kind which made the names of Pugin, Scott, and Street familiar.
CHAPTER 1

Early Life and Training.

George Frederick Bodley (Plate 1) was born in Kingston-upon-Hull on 14 March 1827, the son of a physician, William Hulme Bodley, (1780-1855) M.A. (Cantab) 1805, B.M. (Oxon) M.D.,(1) and grandson of George Bodley, gold and silver laceman of 31, Lombard Street, in the City of London.(2) William Bodley started his practice in 1817, and shortly afterwards married Mary Ann, daughter of the Rev. Frederick Hamilton of Brighton. George Bodley junior was probably the sixth of nine children with two older brothers and three younger sisters. George's (3) eldest brother, William Hamilton Bodley (1821-1900) trained for the ministry in the Church of England, but converted to Roman Catholicism in 1851.(4) Clearly, the Bodley family had an early sympathy for the Catholic faith, and this was to manifest itself in George's architectural practice. Like Pugin, he felt that the Reformation and the rise of Protestantism had been erroneous, and from the outset, he was supported by High Church patrons.

Bodley's early years were spent in Hull, then a busy, trading and fishing port. William Bodley's practice was a success, and the growing family lived in large Georgian houses, firstly from 1817-22 at 12, Charlotte Street, and later at 4, Albion Street the house in which George was born. Albion Street, a terrace of three-bay, three-storey houses with Adam-style details inside, stands in a prosperous area to the north of the town, laid out in the final decade of the eighteenth century.
Bodley's eldest sister, Georgina, married Dr Samuel King Scott, a surgeon, and brother of Sir Gilbert Scott whose family also came from Hull. (6) From an unusually early age, therefore, George was in the advantageous position of close relationship with the head of the most significant church practice of the Gothic Revival. A younger sister of George, Mary Ann, married the Rev. Charles Bromby, who became Bishop of Tasmania in 1864. Another sister also married a clergyman, and these ecclesiastical connections, together with his father's wealthy patients, provided the young architect with a firm source from which to draw his clients.

George's father claimed descent from Sir Thomas Bodley, the early-seventeenth-century scholar, diplomat, and founder of the Bodleian Library in Oxford. He claimed also the right to bear Thomas' coat of arms, even though he never proved the family link, and therefore did not receive official permission to use them. There is a remarkable similarity, however, between the painted panel portrait of the Bodleian's founder, situated in his library, and a photograph of his assumed descendant, the architect, seated in his garden on the occasion of the award of the R.I.B.A. Gold Medal.

Early in 1839, when George was twelve, the Bodleys moved to Brighton which had developed during the Prince Regent's years into a favourite place for the seaside 'cure'. In 1843, when he was 16, Bodley was articled to George Gilbert Scott (1811-78), later Sir Gilbert Scott. The close kinship between the Bodleys and the Scotts led to George staying with them in their home in London at Avenue Road, Regent's Park, whilst he trained for five years in Scott's office as his first pupil. His fellow pupils
included William White, and George Edmund Street, who was nearly the same age. Bodley continued to be associated with both architects during the 1850s, after he had finished his pupillage.

Bodley's friendship with older architects such as William Butterfield (1814-1900), and John Loughborough Pearson (1817-1897), helped him to adopt strong Tractarian beliefs, and to influence his church architecture accordingly. Butterfield influenced Bodley over the use of brick, constructional polychromy, and the revival of the unbroken roof line. Even though Bodley was a full ten years younger than Pearson, he was a close rival for some of the most prestigious projects, such as the competition for Truro Cathedral. Bodley, together with Pearson and Butterfield, admired from the outset the ideals of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852). Pugin's enthusiasm for Christian art, his fight against the destruction of Gothic buildings, and against the apathy of the Anglican church towards a pure use of Gothic, were disseminated through strongly worded propaganda. Pugin's principles as a dedicated Christian architect were features of Bodley's own ideals throughout his life. Where Pugin rarely had the resources to carry through his ideas, however, Bodley was able to tap generous funds.

The Church of England in the nineteenth-century made energetic efforts to remove the apathy which had seen congregations dwindle in the previous century. It must not be considered that the church had completely languished in the eighteenth-century - reforms had been undertaken in the hierarchy of the clergy - but the migration from the rural areas to the towns left many without a place of worship. Even including the
included William White, and George Edmund Street, who was nearly the same age. Bodley continued to be associated with both architects during the 1850s, after he had finished his pupilage.

Bodley's friendship with older architects such as William Butterfield (1814-1900), and John Loughborough Pearson (1817-1897), helped him to adopt strong Tractarian beliefs, and to influence his church architecture accordingly. Butterfield influenced Bodley over the use of brick, constructional polychromy, and the revival of the unbroken roof line. 

Even though Bodley was a full ten years younger than Pearson, he was a close rival for some of the most prestigious projects, such as the competition for Truro Cathedral. Bodley, together with Pearson and Butterfield, admired from the outset the ideals of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852). Pugin's enthusiasm for Christian art, his fight against the destruction of Gothic buildings, and against the apathy of the Anglican church towards a pure use of Gothic, were disseminated through strongly worded propaganda. Pugin's principles as a dedicated Christian architect were features of Bodley's own ideals throughout his life. Where Pugin rarely had the resources to carry through his ideas, however, Bodley was able to tap generous funds.

The Church of England in the nineteenth-century made energetic efforts to remove the apathy which had seen congregations dwindle in the previous century. It must not be considered that the church had completely languished in the eighteenth-century - reforms had been undertaken in the hierarchy of the clergy - but the migration from the rural areas to the towns left many without a place of worship. Even including the
large increase in the congregations during the 1800s, with
communicants almost quadrupling. The proportion of the population
lost to the church between 1740 and 1830 was never regained. (8)
Many deserted the Anglicans in favour of the nonconformists, and
a large number of new chapels were built in both town and
country.

As part of the reaction to this apathy, and in opposition
to the growing success of the low church, the government began a
church-building programme. After the end of the Napoleonic Wars,
one hundred 'Commissioners' churches were built, mostly in the
Gothic style. This set in motion a vast, largely unplanned,
process of construction, resulting in the consecration of 6,000
Church of England churches and chapels between 1801 and 1901. (9)
Tractarianism played a major part in this renaissance of the
Church by instigating a spiritual renewal in Oxford from the
1820s onwards.

The central theme of the Oxford Movement was the
protection of the established church from secular attack. Order
and reverence, and a return to the theology of the seventeenth
century were the important features of the movement's leaders,
John Henry Newman (1801-90), John Keble (1792-1866), Edward
Bouverie Pusey (1800-82), Richard Hurrel Froude (1803-36), and
Richard William Church (1815-1890). Newman, Keble and Pusey cared
much less than Froude about the ecclesiological facet of church
design, and Froude's early death was perhaps why the emphasis on
liturgical arrangements was lost to Oxford. The architectural
aspects of Tractarianism were adopted by three undergraduates at
Trinity College, Cambridge: John Mason Neale (1818-66), Edward
Jacob Boyce (1814-97), and Benjamin Webb (1819-85). In 1839, they founded the Cambridge Camden Society to 'promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and the restoration of architectural remains'. Within two years, The Ecclesiologist provided a platform for criticism of contemporary church architecture by the committee members. Through this publication, the society maintained considerable influence in the architectural profession, and promoted fourteenth-century, or Middle Pointed Gothic as the most desirable style. Bodley became an active member of the society, often attending its meetings in the 1860s, during its period of greatest influence. Contacts made at the society directly led to commissions, and favourable remarks in The Ecclesiologist helped to attract the attention of fellow architects. The society also advocated a return to musical services and the sung Eucharist. Their concern to reintroduce music led to the arrangement of the chancel to accommodate choirs, in addition to allowing the congregation a clear view to the altar.

The Anglo-Catholic party went a stage further than most High Churchmen, by promoting the re-union of the English church with Rome. In 1896, Rome made it clear that this scheme was not possible, by declaring Anglican Orders invalid. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, followers of the Oxford Movement propagated the emphasis of Catholic language and ritual in their churches. Ironically, they adopted the Gothic example of the Roman Catholic, Pugin, whilst Newman and Faber promoted Italianate classicism. (10)

English Catholics, such as Wiseman, thought that the High
Church were fighting a losing battle. He thought it impossible to repair 'the worn-out constitution of the poor old English church'. (11) In fact: 'The Oxford movement, for its part, convinced him of the possibility of the conversion of England.' It ... appeared to show that Protestantism was about to disintegrate.' (12) The Protestants fought back, however, by introducing the Public Worship Regulation Act in 1874, to discipline ceremonial. This measure restricted some decoration in churches, and prevented certain ritual practices. It ultimately harmed the church, however, when certain priests were imprisoned for refusing to comply.

Amongst Bodley's contemporaries were a number of church architects whose churches bear similarities to his own. George Edmund Street was three years older, and worked for Scott during Bodley's pupilage, becoming a close friend of the younger man. Their paths were parallel for the first ten years, and Street was assisted by Bodley, before the latter set up his own practice in 1854. James Brooks and William White were both two years older, and both had important church practices. Brooks, a prolific architect, produced austere churches with tall naves and narrow aisles. His East End churches take this style into the 1880s, at a time when Bodley only occasionally employed this 'hall' form. William White was, like Bodley, a pupil of Scott, but White's work was never adopted by such prestigious patrons. Early churches were authentic reproductions of Gothic country churches, many in Cornwall, where his office was located. His brick town churches, such as St Saviour's, Aberdeen Park (1866-70), were severe early Gothic, and rigorous in the 'honest' display of materials. John Pollard Seddon, an exact contemporary, was
trained as a Classicist, but maintained an interest in Venetian Gothic forms. Bodley's friend, William Burges, took a more singular route along early Gothic lines, but he collaborated in the decoration of some of Bodley's early churches. Like Street, he died a full quarter-of-a-century before Bodley, thus allowing Bodley to assume his role unchallenged as leader of the Gothic Revivalists at the end of the century.

Bodley was particularly associated with George Gilbert Scott Junior (1839-1897), Sir Gilbert's Scott's second son, and a sensitive restorer of churches. Scott's late fourteenth-century Gothic style at St. Agnes', Kennington of 1874-91, is reminiscent of Bodley. Scott also particularly favoured Perpendicular Gothic, a fine example of which may be seen in his tower at Cattistock church, Dorset (1874). His stencil-patterns, including examples found at Cattistock, closely resemble those of Bodley. His careful restorations, such as for Pembroke College in Cambridge (1879-83), pointed towards the foundation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877. With Bodley and Garner, he helped to found Watts and Company in 1874, in order to supply fabric, wallpaper and other decorative items for domestic and church use. This company was probably founded in response to Morris's firm, who had begun to produce their first printed textiles in 1873. Scott later became a Roman Catholic and withdrew from his practice. His pupil, Temple Moore, completed several of his buildings.(13)

Philip Speakman Webb (1831-1915), worked for Street in Oxford and met Morris there, before setting up on his own a year or two after Bodley. Like his friend Bodley, Webb's domestic
buildings were of a radically new type, leading away from those relying on style derivations from the past, in an attempt to create a free eclecticism. In fact, by mixing a number of modest features from local building types, he created in his sixty or so houses, a recognizably English type of deliberate informality. Webb's leitmotif was the conscious, but apparently piece-meal, assembly of idiosyncratic features, and whole parts, drawn from Gothic, Queen Anne, and later eighteenth-century country houses. His involvement with the Morris firm was equally significant, and he provided a variety of decorative art commissions, such as stained glass and furniture. Webb ran almost exclusively a domestic practice, whereas Bodley's was predominantly dominated by church work. As a founder of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, Webb, together with William Morris, began to disagree with the restoration of churches on principle, and so his friendship with Bodley lapsed. Nevertheless, he believed Bodley's reputation became greater than his own:

Nov 5, 1907.

'He was a man of some taste and discrimination, and for a while I had the pleasure in his companionship; it died away under the "Restoration", separator of friendly familiarity, his respectability increasing and mine going - going - gone!'(14)

One architect who experimented with Gothic was John Dando Sedding (1838-91), who improvised and developed the style, and eventually assumed the freedom of Arts and Crafts Gothic. His Holy Trinity, Sloane Street, London (1888-90), comes close to Bodley's later finesse, but the style breaks too much with medieval inspiration to stand closer comparison. John
Francis Bentley (1839-1902), chose the Bodley manner as appropriate for the emphasis on ceremonial found in his Roman Catholic churches, such as the Holy Rood, Watford, Hertfordshire (1883-90, 1900). Here, the striped stone and flint exterior, and the lavish fittings unashamedly take the style to its decorative limits. Bodley outlived all these major contemporary architects except for Webb.

We have no clear picture of the architect's youth - most of those who might have interviewed him in later years were kept at a distance by his reserve. Despite this, in his early life, he was obviously clubbable, and possessed a large group of friends and associates, including influential figures such as Rossetti and Morris. Bodley was never again in full health after contracting blood-poisoning in the late 1860s whilst inspecting a subterranean vault. Much of the recluse in Bodley was probably due to his lameness derived from this accident, and the life-long persistence of the illness prevented many social activities, which had included playing cricket. As a young man, Bodley travelled on the Continent, notably in Italy and France. He did not sketch much, but possessed a strongly retentive memory, standing in front of a building in order to absorb a mental image of all its details. His main source of knowledge about architecture was from architecture itself, and that invariably from the Middle Ages; Scott's office gave him practical experience. Bodley, who was not pressed to accept work he did not wish to because of his private income, remained above business matters, always behaving as a gentleman amateur towards clients. Sometimes, this would cause problems when he delayed answers to important points of business:
'If a client became bothersome, he got no answers to any written communication; if he called in a rage, he was received with unruffled courtesy, and generally bowed out smiling and happy in a quarter of an hour.'(15)

When Bodley first practised on his own in 1854, he was still living with his parents in Brighton. William Bodley died only a year later, but Brighton continued to play a large part in the Bodley family fortunes. Bodley's first prominent building, St. Michael's, was located in Brighton, and it was in that church that he chose to place a commemorative window to his father, designed by the Morris firm. At the age of thirty, Bodley moved to London, and maintained an office there for the rest of his life. The first premises were at 30a, Wimpole Street, and afterwards at 49, Upper Harley Street (later re-numbered 109, Harley Street), where he was joined by his widowed mother. From the time when he began to live there, Bodley's business affairs were managed by his brother, William, a Catholic priest. This most unusual arrangement, surprising even thirty years after the Catholic Emancipation, would have helped to isolate Bodley within a very small circle of High Church patrons. Bodley, who was not well organised in his handling of client's correspondence, nor in the day to day administration of his office, became notoriously casual in producing preliminary sketches for his new buildings. Often they were scribbled either on his cheque book, or perhaps on loose paper, hence the small number of preliminary drawings which survive in the architect's hand. His head assistant, Walter Tapper, recalled Bodley's creative methods:

'The very few sketches he made, and I only remember one book, reminded me of William de Honnecourt's outline and
were curiously out of drawing. He did not, in fact, attach any importance to drawing in so far as his work was concerned, and he always contended that less attention to pretty drawing would be better for the art of architecture. His buildings were really designed before putting pencil to paper, and he has given me their dimensions in figures beforehand...He loved a 3B pencil and hated needle-pointed compasses.' (16)

This disregard for neat and polished drawings, indicates his desire to draw in an immediately comprehensible, 'practical' form, without the need for a folio of erudite and abstruse plans and perspectives.

Bodley's serious illness, which became temporarily disabling during the summer of 1869, led him to curtail extensive professional visits, and he had to ask his friend, Philip Webb, to supervise his current work. In order to prevent the disruption of his future professional career, Bodley felt it wise to form an informal partnership with Thomas Garner, in 1869. Also a pupil of Scott, Garner, who had assisted Bodley in his practice during the previous few years, was sympathetic to his return to English fourteenth-century Gothic, and was able to provide working-drawings of a high quality. No legal agreement was ever drawn up, and both men preferred to work largely on their own. At about this time the offices moved to Gray's Inn, though the two architects also prepared designs in their separate houses at Hampstead. It is difficult to distinguish between the details produced by either architect for any given building at this date, but after about 1884, each man became associated more and more with distinctly separate works. Garner undertook much of the
domestic work, whilst Bodley concentrated on the ever important church commissions. When the two architects felt it necessary to collaborate on a building, they would meet in Bodley's garden house for the required consultation before returning to their separate homes to continue their work.

In 1872, Bodley married Minna Reaveley (1851-1934), of Kinnersley Castle in Herefordshire. (17) They had one son, George Hamilton, who never married. The family moved from Hampstead in about 1895 to Bridgefoot House at Iver Heath, in Buckinghamshire, a Queen Anne house of great charm.

The architectural partnership ended amicably in 1897, after twenty-eight years, when Garner converted to Catholicism, and Bodley spent the final ten years of his life working without any official partner. He visited the London office less and less, preferring instead to work from his mellow Queen Anne house in the quiet of Iver Heath. In his very old age, Bodley made one more house-removal, to Water Eaton Manor in Oxfordshire. He restored the Elizabethan house with extreme care, and added a Rood to the little chapel which lies separate from the main house. Bodley died at Water Eaton on 26 October 1907, and he was buried in the churchyard at his wife's home in Kinnersley in Herefordshire. Minna Bodley lived on at 41, Gloucester Place, and married for a second time in 1918. The office continued to be maintained by Cecil Hare, but all remaining documents were lost during an air-raid in the second world war.

Edward Warren, a pupil of Bodley's, said his master had been 'Retiring and indeed somewhat shy, self-contained and
introspective, his external manner, albeit invariably courteous to all alike, was frequently somewhat aloof...'(18) although later, Warren described his 'large dark eyes, grave in repose, but lighting up in greeting to a friend, or twinkling with fun when a joke was imminent.'(19) Another pupil, Frederick Simpson, told of his 'playful humour', and that his 'slight hesitation in speech sometimes approaching to a stammer - added a charm'.(20) As the relative of an important client recalled almost thirty years after his death:

'He was a delightful person, and though strange to say he did not draw well he was an artist in every other sense, and had what many artists lack, and that is a perfect sense of proportion, and I think that is one of the great charms of all his work. Everything was subordinate to the principle, and however excellent a thing might be, if it did not fit in the scale he would have none of it.'(21)

His highly retentive memory acted as a substitute for a large collection of drawings:

'When he saw a building he liked it is said that he lit a cigar and looked at the building until the cigar was finished, and never forgot it.'(22)

Warren wrote:

His manner of working in the office was sure and rapid:

His little explanatory sketches, rough though they were, were always vividly graphic.(23)

Bodley's reliance on spontaneity, and his search for freshness at the expense of 'finish' in his drawings, allowed him freedom to use his imagination without interruption.
introspective, his external manner, albeit invariably courteous to all alike, was frequently somewhat aloof...'(18) although later, Warren described his 'large dark eyes, grave in repose, but lighting up in greeting to a friend, or twinkling with fun when a joke was imminent.'(19) Another pupil, Frederick Simpson, told of his 'playful humour', and that his 'slight hesitation in speech - sometimes approaching to a stammer - added a charm'.(20) As the relative of an important client recalled almost thirty years after his death:

'He was a delightful person, and though strange to say he did not draw well he was an artist in every other sense, and had what many artists lack, and that is a perfect sense of proportion, and I think that is one of the great charms of all his work. Everything was subordinate to the principle, and however excellent a thing might be, if it did not fit in the scale he would have none of it.'(21)

His highly retentive memory acted as a substitute for a large collection of drawings:

'When he saw a building he liked it is said that he lit a cigar and looked at the building until the cigar was finished, and never forgot it.'(22)

Warren wrote:

His manner of working in the office was sure and rapid:

His little explanatory sketches, rough though they were, were always vividly graphic.(23)

Bodley's reliance on spontaneity, and his search for freshness at the expense of 'finish' in his drawings, allowed him freedom to use his imagination without interruption.
Bodley's partner, Thomas Garner, was born in 1839 at the family's large farm house at Wasperton Hill, in Warwickshire. In 1856, he entered the office of Sir Gilbert Scott, where contemporaries included Scott's eldest son, George Gilbert Scott junior, Thomas Graham Jackson (1835-1924), J.T. Micklethwaite (1843-1906), and George Somers Clarke, junior (1841-1926). Bodley had by now finished his training with Scott, but he still assisted his old master while establishing his own practice. Garner also helped in Scott's office after his formal training had been completed, producing reports and supervising some commissions, for example the restoration of the chapel of the Leycester Hospital at Warwick. In about 1868, he left his Warwickshire practice to help Bodley at Gray's Inn while Bodley was recovering from his illness. Garner's ability as a draughtsman was invaluable because of the number of complex drawings required for the churches and domestic buildings, and so an informal partnership followed a year later.

Most of the domestic commissions during the next years were undertaken with Garner in control of the planning and elevations for such buildings as Hewell Grange in Worcestershire, and the bell-tower at Christ Church, Oxford. He was entirely responsible for the design and supervision of St. Swithin's Quad., and the President's Lodgings at Magdalen College, Oxford. (24) In 1896 Garner converted to Roman Catholicism and so the long partnership with Bodley came to an end. It was considered prudent by both parties to refound their separate practices, with Bodley continuing as the greatest exponent of High Church architecture, and Garner obtaining Catholic commissions such as the choir of Downside Abbey and the Convent.
chapel at Sudbury Hill. Garner worked from his home at Fritwell Manor in Oxfordshire, which he had restored, and where he died in May, 1906.
CHAPTER II

'Bovish antagonism' and
Early Influences, 1854-64.

'...the French architecture of the 12th and 13th centuries ranks amongst the noblest works of any age...' (1)

Bodley's first commission, for additions to Bussage church, Gloucestershire, resulted from his acquaintance with the Reverend Thomas Keble, vicar of Bisley in Gloucestershire from 1827 to 1873, and brother of John Keble (1792-1866). Records do not survive of the circumstances under which the two men met, but they were both by this date probably connected with meetings of the Ecclesiological Society. Thomas Keble was in touch with the activities of the Oxford Movement initiated in 1833 by his brother John with his Assize Sermon in which he denounced a plan to reduce the number of Irish bishoprics.

Thomas Keble had been sent in 1827 by the church to the poor cloth-manufacturing district around Stroud. Over the next twelve years, he directed an extensive Tractarian-style programme of religious and educational reconstruction which comprised the building of places of worship and schools at Bisley and Oakridge, together with the foundation of a completely new church, St. Michael's, at Bussage. Funds for St. Michael's were raised from within the theological reading group of E.B. Pusey, Canon of
Christ Church, Oxford. The twenty young men who contributed to the fund were all members of the University, but only a few of their names are known as most of them presented their donations anonymously. Pusey intended also that a nunnery should be built at Bussage, but the project was postponed. The foundation stone of St. Michael's, Bussage, was laid by Thomas Keble in November 1844, and the church tower, nave and chancel were built to the designs of J.P. Harrison, an Oxford graduate who almost certainly was personally acquainted with Keble, Pusey and the contributors. In 1846-48, Harrison built a church, schools and schoolmaster's house for John Keble, when he was vicar of Hursley in Hampshire. Under Keble's curate, Suckling, the church drew large attendances, and in the year in which he died, 1851, Suckling decided to establish the House of Mercy which had been proposed by Pusey. The convent was finished in 1854 and the extra congregation which was brought into St. Michael's by the Sisterhood and the twenty members of the associated refuge for repentant prostitutes made necessary the provision of additional space in the church. It was at this point that Keble and Suckling introduced Bodley to their project. In 1854, he added a three bay south aisle with a steeply gabled south porch. Seated upon the octagonal columns are plain, unmoulded capitals of a thirteenth century type, which derive from the days of training in Scott's office. They were carved by the local stonemason Henry Hook, whose work is to be found in several churches within the county.

Bodley's first complete church, Christ Church, at Long Grove (now Llangrove) on the Welsh borders in Herefordshire, was paid for by Mrs Marriot of nearby Ganarew at a cost of £1,500 and dates from 1854-56. Prior to this date, Pugin and the Cambridge
Camden Society had suggested that the model of the medieval parish church should be followed, in other words, a separate chancel and wide aisles. At Long Grove, Bodley selected a simple composition of a chancel, three bay nave and south aisle with a timber roof follows closely G.E. Street's first church, St. Mary, at Par in Cornwall, of 1847. Both are positively 'country churches' - deliberately unsophisticated in detail, with rough-textured stone walls inside, and simple motifs such as deeply set lancets in the aisle walls and at the east end. Features which were to be found again later were the rectangular piers without capitals, which connected with unmoulded arches above (notably to be repeated at Dundee, Chapter III). This lack of capitals to the arcades is an indication of Bodley's early reaction against his old master, Scott. The general plainness of the church as a whole, too, such as the continuous roof over both nave and chancel, counteracts Scott whose teaching about the balance of masses led him to recommend two transepts and two aisles. The rebellious Bodley ignored his years as a pupil spent drawing carefully designed mouldings, and as few mouldings as possible are incorporated. A period of gothic was adopted which was earlier than his master's choice; thirteenth century tracery was adopted for the west windows, with patterns identified as originally to be found at Chartres, Bourges, and Amiens. (3) The gabled porch may be said to be a 'survival' from Scott. The bell-cote derives from medieval sources via Viollet-le-Duc's Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture francaise du XIe au XVIe siècle. (4) The wide and competent assimilation of these sources betrays Bodley's areas of travel, his 'Gothic' training and literary influences.
In the middle of the same year as the work at Long Grove and St. Michael's, Bussage, 1854, Thomas Keble asked Bodley to design a new church at France Lynch near Stroud, another poor settlement of cloth-weavers which lacked a place of worship. Bodley’s first complete church commission, he finished the drawings and specification in the summer of 1854, and work began on the foundations later in the same year. Stone built, with stone tile roofs, it is a long, compartmented building (Plate 2). The two simple rectangles of nave and chancel are accompanied by a narrow two-storey vestry, north aisle, and south porch with steeply pitched roofs to match the main church. A gabled bellcote separates nave from chancel, whilst a stepped buttress performs the same function at wall level. At the west end of the nave, which lies at right angles to the road, Bodley placed two tall, high windows together in a formula for the west wall that was to vary little throughout his career. He exploits the sloping site at the east end, where the walls tower over the churchyard as the land drops away into a valley. The windows have early Gothic, two and three light windows, with hood-moulds connected by narrow string courses.

The interior shows the beginning of his reaction against the influence of his master, Sir Gilbert Scott. This reaction was at its most fully developed by the time Bodley came to build St. Michael's, Brighton, described later in this chapter, but here at France Lynch the changes are mostly apparent on the inside. The capitals are stiff-leaf, deeply carved in situ by Thomas Earp. The closest resemblance to these carvings in medieval work are to be found in the Trinity chapel at Canterbury Cathedral (late-twelfth-century, early thirteenth-century). The details were
probably directly inspired, however, by illustrations from *The Stones of Venice*, recently published by John Ruskin. The capitals possess foliage and lilies of a similar kind to those illustrated— in particular, the second tier of foliage on Plate X, Volume II. (5) Colour is provided by patterns of marble mosaic in the stone pulpit and low chancel wall, and in the reredos (Plate 3). Lapis lazuli and malachite also are used and reflect the principles of Ruskin's first architectural publication, *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), which were being adopted by many young architects of the 1850s. (6) Colour concerned Bodley even in regard to the matter of plaster. A letter survives in which he wrote to Keble:

>'The plaster for the walls should be a shade darker than the stone colour, - one does not want an exact match. The stucco for roofs I should like coloured a warm buff colour, darker than the walls.' (7)

The letter indicates his growing interest in the use of colour which later developed into his designs for wall stencil patterns and stained glass. The roof is made up of wooden rafters and trusses, and one notes that the carpenter and joiner were paid almost exactly ten times as much as the mason. The total cost was £1,777, of which Bodley received £102.10s, and from which he donated the sum of £16, the cost of the coloured reredos. The first priest was Edward Pyddoke, who had been a curate under Keble at Bisley and who is commemorated on the foundation cross opposite the south door.

In 1854, Bodley received the commission for a new school and master's house at Cheltenham from his brother-in-law, the Rev. Charles Bromby (1814-1907), since 1847 the Principal of St.
Paul's College for teachers in the town. He was also perpetual curate of St. Paul's church, to which the new school was connected. In all probability, it was Bromby who introduced George to some of his west country patrons, and led him to achieve his high local reputation as a promising young architect. The large school-room is flanked by two projecting wings; the right hand wing is the house, and it is covered by a battered, barn-like roof, with a chimney also shaped by receding slopes. The flanks of the chimney which marks the centre of the whole composition echo this stepped feature. Windows are transomed lancets of equal height.

A comparison with the influential Red House at Bexley Heath in Kent of 1859, shows how Philip Webb developed the 'parsonage style' of the older goths into free eclecticism, an almost 'styleless' idiom which quickly displaced the gothic from secular work. What makes the Red House differ from its more gothic predecessors is largely the kind of fenestration used by Webb. Bodley used stone mullions at Cheltenham, whereas Webb used white painted, square-framed sashes, anticipating the later 'Queen Anne' style. The tympana over the windows are still in evidence at Bexley Heath, but they are now simply relieving arches, without polychrome details. The Cheltenham school has coloured arches and is therefore still firmly within the High Victorian genre of picturesque secular building. Bodley was later to follow Webb's manner in his domestic work, but schools of the 60s display Elizabethan sources (Chapter VI).

The restoration of the church of St. George, Burrington, provided Bodley in 1855 with a new kind of commission, and one
which was central to many architectural practices at the time. The details are very unclear, however, as to how much of the work was restoration and, as far as style was concerned, how much was rebuilding. No plans survive, but the Ecclesiologist wrote in December, 1857:

'This little church is about to be rebuilt by Mr. Bodley, in a simple Geometrical style... The tower has a gabled roof... A strong Italianizing element may be observed in the design.'(9)

The first mention of diaper wall-painting occurs also in the description. The architectural evidence is slight, but apparently the chancel and nave roof are by Bodley, the small tower having been rebuilt in timber-frame in the local style. Bodley can be seen to have reconstructed the church in a plain, unassuming manner, allowing himself little room for the distinguished employment of original forms, but it has an overall picturesque appeal which suits its particularly remote rural setting. It is possible that the local Knight family considered the originally proposed rebuilding too alien to the environment, and had asked Bodley to change his plans.(10) The vicarage is reminiscent of those by his contemporaries, Street and William White; it has steeply pitched roofs and gables with lancets and plate tracery. (See, for example, Street's vicarage for All Saints', Boyn Hill, Maidenhead).

In August, 1856, the Ecclesiologist reported on Bodley's drawings for a school-house and master's house at the new town of Hayward's Heath in Sussex. The school was to have the capacity to be occasionally converted for use as a chapel. The building no
longer exists (11) but a good account was written of the plans for the chapel school by the Ecclesiologist, which described its dimensions, of 68' by 18', the single, north aisle, and the buttress on the east wall dividing a pair of narrow lancets. The writer criticized the fact that the 'permanent requirements of the school have been sacrificed to the temporary ones of the chapel.' (12) This may be taken as an indication of Bodley's preference for designing ecclesiastical buildings; in later years he was to leave much of the domestic work to his partner, Garner. At right-angles to the chapel, the schoolmaster's house appeared to have followed the style of the school at Cheltenham, having hipped gables and windows with tympana of coloured tiles. The Ecclesiologist considered it too small, having only two bedrooms; 'How can even a labourer bring up a family decently without at least three bedrooms? To give two only to a schoolmaster is, on all accounts, to be deprecated.' (13) Funds were probably too limited for a larger dwelling.

The Crimean War of 1854-56, between Turkey (supported by Great Britain, France and Sardinia), and the Russian Empire, caused a huge loss of life. So strongly affected were the British public, that they provided funds for a memorial church by a British architect to be built in Constantinople. The competition was announced early in 1856, shortly after the Treaty of Paris was signed in February, the closing date for entries being 1st January, 1857; the first and second prizes were to be £100 and £70 respectively. (14) The specification for the competition was broad, with 'a modification to suit the climate,' and, as far as style was concerned, the church was to be 'of the recognized ecclesiastical architecture of Western Europe, known as
'pointed', or 'Gothic'. (15)

The jury consisted of Professor Robert Willis, A.J. Beresford Hope, Sir Charles Anderson, C.T. Dunelm, (the Bishop of Ripon), and the Rev. George Peacock, Dean of Ely.

Robert Willis (1800-75) was Jacksonian Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy at the University of Cambridge and a distinguished mechanical engineer. He made a special study of Gothic architecture throughout his life, and his nephew, John Willis Clark, betrayed his detached, analytical approach to architecture when he wrote that he 'treated a building as he treated a machine: he took it to pieces...'. (16)

Alexander J. Beresford Hope (1820-87), on the other hand, was a contrasting character to Willis, and would form an instant reaction to the appearance of a building, providing an emotional response without considering too carefully what the consequence might be. He was forthright, influential and a generous benefactor of churches, notably Butterfield's All Saints', Margaret Street, in London, the Ecclesiologist's model church. He had met Neale and Webb at Trinity College in Cambridge in about 1838, and he was invited by them to join the Camden Society when it was founded in 1839. (17) He took a great interest in the society's activities and became its President, but whenever he undertook personal building projects, he was apt to become impatient, and he easily quarrelled with his architects. George Peacock, as Dean of Ely Cathedral, took in hand most of the restoration of the cathedral with Scott as architect. He was a committee member of the Ecclesiological Society until his death.
in 1858, shortly after the Constantinople competition.

Forty-six architects sent in their designs - more than the total number sent in for the Lille Cathedral competition.\(^{(18)}\) The jury for the competition awarded to William Burges the first prize, to G.E. Street the second, and to Bodley the third prize. Burges and Street were therefore placed in the same order as they had been in the Lille competition. Beresford Hope mentions the designs of Burges and Street in his book of 1861, *The English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century*, including plans of each.\(^{(19)}\) Burges chose a French apsidal east end, and ample structural polychromy. Street's design, also apsidal, employed a passage surrounding the nave which passed through the base of the buttresses. The designs of Burges were found to be unsuitable for the chosen site, however, and in 1864, Street was asked to design a smaller version of his original scheme.\(^{(20)}\)

Although Bodley's designs for this church are now lost, the notes made on the drawings fortunately were copied down from them, and tell us that, like Burges and Street, Bodley based his design on the north Italian church of Sant' Andrea at Vercelli in northern Italy, (1219-24). This church, which had recently been partly illustrated by Lewis Gruner, was an early gothic cruciform with a dome, and was thought to have been influenced by an English designer.\(^{(21)}\) According to Bodley's remarks in *The Builder* of February, 1857, however, his designs were only barely similar to Sant' Andrea. Only the square east end provided an exact comparison with the old church, and Bodley explained that to include this 'especially English' feature was to remind the visitor of the purpose of the church.\(^{(22)}\) The nave of five bays
was to be of brick with stone arches, and, to reduce the heat, all the light was to be from clerestorays, there being no aisle windows. There was to be a narthex, and an Italian-style campanile. According to The Ecclesiologist:

'We have seldom seen anything better than the fine rich belfry-stage with its heavy projecting cornice and highly enriched saddle-back roof above.'(23)

This design was the first which Bodley had made for a foreign country and he allowed the local characteristics and warmer climate to influence his design structurally. He also included a continental decorative feature in the form of mosaics. These were presumably not in the Byzantine style, as this was forbidden by the competition rules.(24)

Bodley's design incorporated more Italian and English features than either Burges' or Street's, and yet, with all the praise lavished on Bodley's drawings by The Ecclesiologist, they came third. Perhaps the plan was too simple, or the detail was too agressive, but Bodley, refusing to discard the design, reintroduced much of the plan and brick exterior at Brighton in 1860, and at Delhi in 1861.

St. Salvador, Dundee was the third church built there by Alexander Penrose Forbes (1817-75), the Bishop of Brechin. Forbes had furthered the cause of the Tractarians in Scotland and in 1857 had been admonished over his views on the Eucharistic Presence. His character was perhaps similar to Pusey's, unassuming, but with a strong will to make his ideas understood. The church was to provide temporary ecclesiastical accommodation for 300, with the capability of conversion for use as a school.
Bodle provided a simple, two-storey structure in rough hewn granite. On completion of the building in 1859 it attracted high praise from The Ecclesiologist, which remarked that there was 'nothing to criticise except the horizontal heads of the two exterior lights of the west window, a needless and ungraceful eccentricity...' and mentioning also 'that simple adaptation of plate tracery, of which both Mr. Bodley and Mr. Street are so fond, being used in the windows.'(25) Bodley was to return in 1865 to build a separate church, thereby freeing his earlier building for use purely as a school.

It is not clear how Bodley came to receive the commission to build a female teacher training college at Ripon in 1858, but it was to become his largest work to date. The buildings formed a quadrangle 155 feet by 130 feet with an internal cloister, and an oratory placed in the gable above the library and music school. It was built of red brick with a slate roof, and continues the picturesque manner for secular work begun at Cheltenham. Large additions have broken the unity of the college as first built, but early in 1859 The Ecclesiologist said it was; '...an important work by Mr. G.F. Bodley' and that it 'fully maintains his reputation, both in grouping and in detail.'(26)

Bodley's next complete church commission to be built after France Lynch was St. Michael and All Angels in Brighton, designed in 1858, and adopting new ideals to suit a different environment. Brighton had lost much of its glamour and social cachet with the departure of the Prince Regent and the court, becoming instead a risque escape from London for the purpose of secret liaisons. The population of the town had increased
ninefold in the first half of the century, and easy access to and from London had been secured by the arrival of the railway in 1841.\(^{(27)}\) In 1851, church accommodation was tested in the census, and the result for Brighton was a shock; only 34.6 per cent of the population could be accommodated in its churches, compared with, say, Scarborough at 81.5 per cent, and Bath at 61 per cent. It was worse off than such industrial towns such as Stoke-on-Trent and Salford. Brighton was ready to be charmed by whichever energetic wing of the church happened to take the initiative.

Under the fearless leadership of the Rev. Henry Mitchell Wagner (1793-1870), the High Church in Brighton had been fighting for greater tolerance since the opening in 1848 of St. Paul's, West Street. The Wagners were once hatters to the court, and, on the success of the business, Henry Mitchell's elder brother was able to live as a Sussex country squire.\(^{(28)}\) Wagner, the vicar of the whole town of Brighton from 1824 until his death, was a wealthy High Church pioneer of the pre-Oxford Movement kind. Together with his more characteristically Tractarian son, Father Arthur Douglas Wagner (1826-1902), they were to transform the movement by the overt use of sedilia and credence table, and the chanting of the psalms. The initial steps were taken at St. Paul's, West Street. Built at first for poor fishermen, the Ritualist nature of its services became celebrated amongst the wealthy, attracting even Gladstone to attend them. At the age of 24, Father Arthur Wagner was made the incumbent by his father, and soon other churches which they founded subsequently throughout the town were causing controversy. The introduction and continuance of these new practices was sustained only after
the Wagners had suffered considerable personal and professional abuse. Despite this, they supervised the creation of sixteen new churches over a period of forty-six years, for more than twelve of which they were themselves financially responsible. They thus eventually formed a stronghold for the movement in the unlikely and somewhat risque atmosphere of the country's foremost seaside town. Arthur Wagner himself is reputed to have spent in his lifetime £70,000 on churches and schools. (29) The pressure to conform to traditional Church of England standards, together with some sympathy from 'higher' churchmen, was provided by nearby London, and by such correct middle class south-coast neighbours as Eastbourne and Bournemouth.

Bodley was aware of the pioneer spirit in religious matters which was required in such a town and he responded with a powerfully assertive fortress of worship, aggressively different from its local neighbourhood of elegant white Regency villas of a generation earlier (Plate 4). Money for the building of St. Michael's was donated by two sisters, the Misses Windle, together with some public subscription. Henry Wagner appointed as its vicar the Rev. Charles Beanlands (1823-98), formerly Fr Arthur Wagner's curate at St. Paul's, who served the new church from the year building began in 1860 until his death 38 years later.

St. Michael's is a town church, belonging to the wealthy district of Montpelier, and the style demonstrates a conscious change of direction, away from Scott's influence and towards an uncompromising assimilation of French and North Italian gothic features from the thirteenth-century. The church assumes the simple rectangular basilica form, although without an apse, and
the exterior is raised above ground level so that the interior is reached by a flight of steps. The windows are kept high, the tracery simple; the polychromatic materials are red and black brick with bands of sandstone, and slate for the steep roofs, in contrast to the immediate locality which, as mentioned above, is one of white stucco houses. Bodley's work now is simply the south aisle annexed to William Burges' vast nave, designed in 1868 and added eventually in the 1890s; its scale dominates the earlier building, albeit retaining its overall pattern. The general character of Bodley's church, covered by the steeply pitched roof, and with its tall, narrow proportions resembles the work of Bodley's friend William Butterfield, such as the Ecclesiologist's church of All Saints', Margaret Street, in London, and Holy Cross, Clayton, in Manchester, both of which Butterfield built at about the same time as St. Michael's. Bodley was to refer to the Brighton church as a:

'boyish antagonistic effort. Not believing in what one saw at Scott's one went in for a violent reaction. One had seen bad mouldings, and so would not have any, and inane crockets - one felt 'away with them' - which was but the weakness of youth.' (30)

The general characteristics of the robust, uncompromising French gothic style which he had adopted were to continue, however, for another five years or so.

The only surviving impression of the church before construction is an engraving of the proposed exterior viewed from the south east (Plate 5). It shows one bay fewer than was eventually built, and an entrance at the west end of the south aisle. Either Bodley mistook the orientation of the whole church
on the chosen site, or a change of plan was made before building
began, for a west door was substituted in the actual building.
Perhaps between planning and construction it was envisaged that
in the future more accommodation might be added to the north (as
in due course it most unequivocally was). The foundation stone
was laid on Michaelmas Day, 1861, and the completed building was
consecrated on Michaelmas Day, 1862.

Inside the church the new self-confidence of the
architect is demonstrated by the sharp outlines — the plainly cut
arches into the aisles are unmoulded — and by the stone bands and
circular motifs which relieve the exposed brick with a crisp,
uncluttered sense of deliberate definition (Plate 6). The short
arcade piers are capped by mechanically stylized lily-leaf
capitals and the boldly cut mouldings of the chancel arch finish
in corbels resembling the arcade capitals. His self-confidence
was probably derived from Bodley's very success in obtaining the
commission itself, his most significant work to date, a major
town church. In addition, Brighton was home territory for Bodley,
who was partly brought up here; the building was more visible to
a much wider public than was his rather remote west country work
and, as far as the High Church movement was concerned, it was set
in perhaps the most tolerant location in the country.

Returning to the interior of St. Michael's, Bodley's
dichrome details of inlaid stone appear around the twin opening
into the south chancel chapel. Butterfield's All Saints,
Margaret's Street, had been finished recently, and St. Michael's
shows a direct influence from this fresh source. The stained
glass, commissioned in 1862, towards the end of the construction
period, was designed by the new firm of Morris and Company. Morris and Co. was founded the year before, and discovered by Bodley at the International Exhibition at South Kensington in 1862. Burne-Jones, Morris, Webb, Ford Maddox Brown and Rossetti all worked on the glass. Morris' own window depicting the Annunciation is an adaptation of a design which he had made for Selsley a few months before. (31) The east window was designed by Clayton and Bell, the clerestory windows were by Worrell. On the completion of the building in 1863, Morris, Webb and Faulkener executed the chancel roof paintings of red and black diapers, now almost invisible in an area darkened by the removal of the lights on the north side when Burges' extension was added. The pulpit, a massive square block of verde antico and alabaster with coloured stone inlays, resting on stumpy columns, together with a simple, pedimented, marble reredos, completes the abstracted illusion of North Italian early gothic. St. Michael's cost £4,000, even before the fittings were taken into account, and it was Bodley's most expensive commission to date.

Bodley did not complete the interior fittings, however, and he misjudged Beanlands' temperament when he bought for St. Michael's a fifteenth-century reredos which Beanlands had earmarked for another of his churches. (32) The reredos was duly installed at St. Michael's, but Bodley was never given the opportunity of finishing his church. The ironwork rood-cross, the plate and altar frontal were entrusted to Burges between the years 1861 and 1864, who created characteristically sumptuous items, albeit within the spirit of the original architect. (33) The addition to the north of the church was also entrusted to Burges in 1868, much to Bodley's disappointment. (34)
The sense of experimentation continued into Bodley's second complete church commission of 1858, for which he returned once again to the west country, to Selsley in Gloucestershire. His earlier church at France Lynch served an expanding industrial area around Stroud, displaying a restrained, modest, scale. By contrast, All Saints' at Selsley, a mile or two southwards, appears to be trying to make a more singular impression (Plate 7). All Saints', placed dramatically at the top of a hill in the Cotswolds, overlooking the Golden Valley, was built by a local cloth-mill owner, Sir Samuel Marling, whose house stood nearby. When approached from the road, the church is seen against a background of distant houses, and Marling's own mill, straddled along the valley beyond. When viewed from Stroud, the powerful silhouette with a tall northwest tower and steep roofs, shows Bodley's bold handling of mass and outline. The church is supposed to have been based on a church in the Swiss town of Marling which the patron had visited. The story is apocryphal, however, because Bodley's and the Swiss churches bear only a superficial resemblance. The church is a striking employment of early Gothic, with an apsidal east end, tall saddleback tower and subtly moulded lancet windows. Tight massing holds together the varied geometry of window, door, string course, and the relationship between the roof pitch and adjacent walls. The double height vestry reappears with an external staircase in the form of a flying buttress, an almost violently dramatic concept. All Saints' is probably the most original church of his early Period. It is more inventive than the Gloucestershire church of Freeland, where J.L. Pearson also attempted French Gothic. Pearson produced a mechanical reproduction of the style, with a
rounded apse, and not a faceted one as at Selsley, and with plain windows punched through rock-faced walls instead of Selsley's more subtle moulded windows. Pearson designed his church in 1869-71, at a time when Bodley had moved on to new methods and a new style. Although there is no written evidence, Bodley's double-arch, stone lych-gate for the church may have been inspired by a similar one at Butterfield's early church at Coalpit Heath, Avon (1844-45).(35)

Inside All Saints', a similar approach was adopted as for St. Michael's, Brighton, using short aisle columns, plain mouldings and discs in the spandrels (Plate 8). There is no polychromy on the inside walls, however, but the squat aisle columns are polished red granite with stone rings. The capitals are stiff leaf and the pulpit is a circular chunk of marble with semi-precious inlays. The chancel arch also is supported by short granite columns, and a band of stiff-leaf decoration runs below the east lancets. Morris & Co. were employed to design the glass, with Philip Webb in control of the scheme for the whole church but leaving individual members of the firm to undertake the separate windows. The glass which Morris himself designed for this church reappears in a cartoon for the slightly later window made for St. Michael's, Brighton. The two light window shows the Angel Gabriel, whose form derives from a similar figure by Van Eyck.(36) This stained glass, together with that at St. Michael's, Brighton, and St. Martin's, Scarborough, commissioned also by Bodley in 1862, were Morris' very first attempts in the medium. The Selsley glass was begun a short time before the other two churches and therefore it marks the Morris firm's debut as architectural decorators. The Rev. John Gibson and William Burges
may have assisted Philip Webb with the glass for the rose window in the west wall, known as the Creation window; it shows the designers at their most original and advanced in the employment of abstract forms to represent the elements. The glass is an auspicious beginning for the firm, discovered by Bodley, which became the leading group of designers in the country during the second half of the nineteenth century. Burges designed plate for Selsley in 1862, also similar to that which he made for St. Michael's, Brighton. (37)

Meanwhile, a series of smaller works were progressing: at Pendlebury near Manchester, Bodley added a tall saddleback tower to Christ Church, (1859), comparable with Butterfield's tower for St. Augustine's, Penarth, 1865, and Burges' for Brisbane Cathedral of c1860. At Canon Frome, in 1860, the Hopton family asked Bodley to rebuild the church next to their house.

Bodley's largest and most expensive commission to date, however, came from the seaside resort of Scarborough, near to his old home town of Hull. Miss Mary Craven, a friend of Bodley's family, wished to donate money for the construction of a large church on the South Cliff of newly prosperous Scarborough. The designs are dated 1861 and building began in the November. A steeply pitched roof and a north-west saddleback tower are the chief features of the exterior which is in grey Whitby stone with the plain window tracery of the late thirteenth-century borrowed from France (Plate 9). A broach spire - unique to Bodley - was planned originally, and shown in the December 1861 issue of The Civil Engineer. (Plate 10) The extra height which this gave to the tower provided it with better proportions with which to stand
up to the high nave and chancel. A now typical west wall arrangement is employed of a simple plate tracery rose light placed high above two lancet windows. Bold circular-form windows are positioned high in the chancel walls.

The simplicity of the stonework - there are no battlemented parapets and only thin pilaster buttresses - is continued in the chaste interior (Plate 11). Simple mouldings around the capitals provide stops for the arches which stand proud from the nave walls and which are also recessed within the thickness of the wall. The piers are alternately octagonal section and quatrefoil. Only in the thin, marble twin-shafts supporting the easternmost arches does Bodley revert to his French gothic form which began at Bussage. The east window is high and narrow, whilst the wall decoration above the chancel arch was designed, and partly painted, by Bodley himself. For a year or two, Bodley may be considered an unofficial partner of Morris and his associates, having been so completely involved with them as close friend, designer, and executor within the same theatres of work. The tracery on the east wall in the chancel is copied from the chapter house at Kirkham Abbey near York, but the painting of this tracery and the reredos date from 1889. For the third time running, the Morris group was employed for the full scheme of windows - their largest commission to date. All the members of the Firm are represented in the church, including some rare work by the least celebrated member, Peter Paul Marshall in the north aisle. The early panels, by Rossetti and Ford Madox Brown, were made up from those which had been exhibited at the International Exhibition of 1862 at South Kensington. They were placed in the east window of the church after the detail had been
simplified by Morris to meet the requirements of the glaziers. (38) The Firm's reputation for stained glass was by far their most important success in the early years, a success which was established by Bodley's church commissions. The fresh, clear patterns created by the shapes of the figures is in harmony with the bold simplicity of Bodley's outlines, and much-needed colour helps to brighten the grey stone and dim interior. Mary Craven continued to supply the means to pay for the Firm's glass until 1872, and by this date the figures form a clearer silhouette in space, and the backgrounds have been simplified. The details are barely visible in some windows, however, as the borax in the glass has, over the years, turned the surface to powder.

For the first time, Morris and Co. were asked to carry out other decorative work as well, which included the painting of figurative panels for the pulpit, wall frescoes surrounding the high altar and patterns on the sanctuary roof. The work here at St. Martin's marks the height of Bodley's involvement with the Pre-Raphaelites. The superb pulpit paintings appear to be more advanced stylistically than the architectural surroundings in so far as Morris and his associates, from undergraduate days, were more inclined to a romantic view of the English middle ages, and their legends. British artists had already formed their own opinion of England as a place of chivalry derived from Malory's Morte D'Arthur. British architecture did not yet have this popular base of a patriotic, English medieval revival, and so there followed a more gradual return from Ruskinian Gothic, back to Pugin's English model. This romanticism of the second phase of Pre-Raphaelitism may also be seen in the four panels of the organ, painted by Roddam Spencer Stanhope. With their long
limbed, sweet-faced angels playing musical instruments, they are remarkably similar to Rosetti's work.

Bodley probably met Spencer Stanhope at the Little Holland House gatherings arranged in the 1850s and 60s by the Prinseps. Thoby Prinsep had been a senior member of the Indian Civil Service, and his wife, Sara, was one of the celebrated Pattie sisters.(39) The oldest of the sisters, Julia Margaret Cameron (1815-79), obtained many of her photographs of mid-Victorian writers and artists by attending the Sunday afternoon salons given by Sara Prinsep. Little Holland House was the dower house of the nearby Jacobean mansion, Holland House, and it was set in its parkland on the semi-rural outskirts of Kensington. George Frederick Watts actually lived as a member of the household, and Rossetti, Holman Hunt, Ruskin, Carlyle and Gladstone were frequent visitors. A more unconventional group, including George Eliot and Robert Browning, would also appear for the impromptu discussion groups set amongst the trees, or on the lawns. Amongst this remarkable assembly, Bodley found affinity not only with the Pre-Raphaelite circle, but also with writers, such as George du Maurier, who were to remain life-long friends and associates.

Spencer Stanhope and Bodley would also have met at the meetings of the Hogarth Club, a private arts society, of which Bodley was one of only five architects on the membership list. The other architects, G.E. Street, Philip Webb, Woodward, and Burges, elected in 1860, together with Ruskin, represent those who were most closely associated with the Pre-Raphaelite painters in the very early days. The club, to which Morris, Rossetti,
Burne-Jones and Madox Brown were also members, was founded at the end of 1858, but only lasted for three years. Exhibitions of members' work were held, although it is not recorded whether Bodley's was included. (40)

When Bodley's shift to later, fourteenth-century, forms of Gothic occurred over the next five years, he chose a less original kind of stained glass. From 1868 onwards, he gave up the Morris firm in favour of Burlison and Grylls, who were under his own supervision. They produced more consciously imitative designs, and were less experimental, incorporating traditional motifs, such as architectural canopies. Decorative work was also taken over by the new firm, and Bodley kept his interior schemes more completely to his own overall plan. He and Morris remained friends, however, Morris visiting him when he was ill. (41)

Later additions to the church include a further west bay and narthex, and a richly gilded oak screen and rood, dated 1879. The plans for these additions were sent as a matter of course to the Chancellor of the Diocese, Sir Edmund Becket, later Lord Grimthorpe. In due course, the specification was returned but it was accompanied by several notes which Becket asked to be employed in the design. Bodley told his assistant to 'rub out these rude pencil notes', and returned the specification. (42) No more was heard from the Chancellor. The incident shows Bodley's uncompromising nature over his work, his dislike of the censorship of the artist, and probably a lack of regard for Becket as an amateur architect. A lady chapel was formed in the north chancel aisle in 1902 and represents typically the change which was to overtake Bodley's ideas on interior decoration over
the next forty years; overall diapered stencil patterns on the wall and a much later form of gothic was chosen for the screen and altar, the wooden surfaces possessing much more complex carved and gilded decoration. The contractor for the stonework was the local firm of Peacock, who employed stone from a few miles away near Whitby.

Perhaps the first church plate executed from Bodley's designs was for St. Martin's (Plate 12). Two chalices exist with wide-flared, straight sides and a minimum of chased detail. The rest of the decoration is reserved for the stems and knops which display semi-precious stones and fleur-de-lys. The work is even simpler than contemporary Butterfield and shows Bodley's capacity for architectonic geometrical patterns. The maker, recorded as Vassali of Scarborough, was probably Jerome Vassali, a clock and watchmaker who also manufactured Whitby jet.(43)

In August 1861, the Ecclesiologist mentioned that Bodley had designed a Mission church for Delhi in India. Although his drawings are lost, it is possible to form a complete picture of the appearance of the church. The overall style of the building, Early Middle Pointed, conforms generally with that set by St. Martin's, Scarborough. The Delhi church looks forward most closely, however, to Bodley's St. Stephen's church of 1862 at St. Peter Port on Guernsey. Nave and aisles were to be under one sweep of the roof, with an apse to the east and a narthex, formed by a continuation of the aisles, at the west end. It was described as 'severe Early-Pointed' with the use of double and triple lancets, but no clerestory.(44) The only windows in the church were those lighting the aisles, and so, to light the nave,
a triforium of lancets and quatrefoils was designed to pierce through the aisle walls above the arcade. This unusual arrangement was made to allow inside as little heat as possible. The apse was treated similarly, and would have resulted in a resemblance to St. Michael, Croydon, of 1876 by Pearson. Pearson developed Early English, and spatially his churches became more complex. The narrow apse passage at Croydon and in Bodley's Delhi church have no ritual purpose, they do provide however a foil to the large nave area. Most curiously of all at Delhi, The Ecclesiologist states that 'The surrounding aisle does not communicate with the church, except in the narthex.'(45) This suggests a complete lack of arcading, except at the west end, and therefore shows a disregard for aisles which even goes beyond Bodley's much later church at Pendlebury, where the aisles are reduced to corridors barely one man wide. The tower was to have had a gabled roof in the manner of Christ Church, Pendlebury, and St. Martin, Scarborough. The Indian church again shows bold independence from his master, Scott, with its plain, severe elevations and a lack of transepts. In these features, he paralleled his friend G.E. Street.

Contemporary with the designs for St. Martin's and Delhi in 1861, Bodley produced his plans for a church to replace the medieval All Saints, Cambridge which stood originally near St. John's College. The St. Martin's and Delhi designs were probably a few months later than that for All Saints', but the former was being built within four months of his completion of the designs and so, unlike All Saints', there was no time for modification. It was Bodley's most important commission to date; important not only for being in an influential town and not in the west
country, but also in terms of the architect's deliberate realignment in the field of architectural style.

Jesus College gave land for the new replacement church to be built opposite the college gates, agreeing to donate the site, provided that it could approve the parish's choice of architect. At first, both college and parish chose Sir Gilbert Scott, but after the money was raised, and with Scott's approval, the parish decided that Bodley should be the architect. This change of plan was made after Bodley wrote to the vicar, the Rev. W.C. Sharpe, expressing an interest in the work, and as a result of recommendations by John Gibson, rector of King's Stanley in Gloucestershire, and at one time a Fellow of Jesus College. On 1 December 1860, Scott recommended his former pupil enthusiastically:

'I consider Mr. Bodley one of the most rising church architects of the day and one on whom you may rely for perfect knowledge of the subject and taste and skill of a high order'.(46)

Early drawings, commented on by The Ecclesiologist in April 1861, showed two different designs, both rather different from the church as built. One showed a gable-roofed tower, the other showed a spire (Plate 13), and both were seen as '...an early and somewhat austere Pointed, with many features borrowed from the French Gothic.' The windows were 'of the earliest Geometrical form, with plate tracery.'(47) All these stone features were employed in the Scarborough church, but, during the next year or so, further strong influences over the design were exercised by Gibson, by Dr. George Corrie, the Master of Jesus,
whose college was responsible for the chancel of the church, and by Dr William Whewell, Master of Trinity. The concept of a spire seems to have been favoured by The Ecclesiologist:

'the other design, with its grandiose, plain lower stages, its enriched belfry windows, and its fine broached octagonal spire, is in all respects admirable.'(48)

Gibson, who had encouraged Bodley's unusual and original design for the new church at Selsley within his own parish, now collaborated with the architect over the plans for All Saints. Dr Corrie (1793-85), Norrisian Professor of Divinity 1838-54, and Master of Jesus 1849-85, was a Vice-President of the Cambridge Camden Society and four times President of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Corrie, by contrast with Gibson, was suspicious of all innovations and, as far as the ordering of the church was concerned, he was afraid of arousing church parties one against the other. This conservatism had some influence over Bodley's drawings, such as the form of the credence table. Dr Whewell was, amongst many other accomplishments, a keen antiquarian, an architectural writer, and an amateur architect.

The design of the east window as it appears today is due to Whewell's intervention (Plate 14), although it still retains Bodley's favoured thirteenth-century French foliated circle tracery at the head of the window. Before alteration, the east window was '...a large, unequal, marble-shafted triplet...' (49) Whewell probably suggested also the fourteenth-century English lights in the nave (Plate 15), in place of Bodley's short windows with their geometrical foliated heads. Ironically, these modifications were to produce a new kind of design, and to lead
church architecture away from the radical course which it had assumed over the past fifteen years. The new direction was towards the continuance of the later Gothic tradition at about the time of the Black Death in 1349.

The changes mentioned above, together with further considerable alterations, were made by Bodley to this first design during a seven month delay by the parish between November 1862, and May 1863, when building commenced. In the second design, a tower and spire of a much later style (Plate 16) were substituted for the saddle-back tower and, most importantly, Bodley almost completely renounced early French Gothic influences from the rest of his design. After All Saints', he was never to return to them in the emphatic manner to which he had adhered before. The second set of drawings, although still of an early date, were produced with English Gothic in mind, and they mark an important turning point, both in Bodley's career, and within the English Gothic Revival as a whole. In the early years of the 60s, The Ecclesiologist was gradually beginning to appreciate a return to English forms of Gothic:

'The architectural style is a severe, but graceful, form of Early-Pointed. We note, with some satisfaction, that Mr. Bodley has restricted himself to pure English forms. The time for a reaction from exclusively French or Italian types has at length arrived.' (50)

Bodley may be said to have begun this reaction, not only by turning away from his own rigorous Italian styles of his Brighton Period, but also by influencing the minds of his contemporaries. The name of Thomas Garner should make its first appearance here, because it was at All Saints' that Garner may have encouraged the
shift to an English character. The second design, which was possibly the first collaboration between the two architects, marked the unofficial beginning of the partnership which was actually formed in 1869. Other architects at the same period, such as his contemporary William Burges, decided after some consideration to retain the more emotionally expressive continental idioms, but Bodley was not the fanciful romantic attempting to revive a poetic, chivalrous medieval vision. Like the later work of Pugin, he became an architectural patriot as far as style was concerned, and began to choose the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as representing the best period of English Gothic. He dispensed with the rose and lancet windows, the stiff-leaf capitals, the vigorous coloured bricks and marbles. He gradually introduced instead English fourteenth and fifteenth-century tracery, simple mouldings and more and more wall stencil-patterns in subtle greens and reds accompanied by richly woven textiles (Plate 17). Bodley employed Morris and Co. in this church for the early, chancel stencil patterns, and for the E. window, but the signs of a change are apparent in the later furnishings. Some of the stencilling of the nave roof is by Charles Kempe with the execution entrusted to the local artist, F.R. Leach.

Charles Eamer Kempe (1837-1907), was born in Ovingdean, near Brighton, and it was probably there that he met Bodley in about 1860. Kempe had intended to take Anglican orders but, although a serious stammer prevented this plan, he always maintained an interest in ecclesiology, and began a practical involvement with church decoration. Perhaps as early as 1861-62, Bodley suggested that Kempe should go to F.R. Leach, the
shift to an English character. The second design, which was possibly the first collaboration between the two architects, marked the unofficial beginning of the partnership which was actually formed in 1869. Other architects at the same period, such as his contemporary William Burges, decided after some consideration to retain the more emotionally expressive continental idioms, but Bodley was not the fanciful romantic attempting to revive a poetic, chivalrous medieval vision. Like the later work of Pugin, he became an architectural patriot as far as style was concerned, and began to choose the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as representing the best period of English Gothic. He dispensed with the rose and lancet windows, the stiff-leaf capitals, the vigorous coloured bricks and marbles. He gradually introduced instead English fourteenth and fifteenth-century tracery, simple mouldings and more and more wall stencil-patterns in subtle greens and reds accompanied by richly woven textiles (Plate 17). Bodley employed Morris and Co. in this church for the early, chancel stencil patterns, and for the E. window, but the signs of a change are apparent in the later furnishings. Some of the stencilling of the nave roof is by Charles Kempe with the execution entrusted to the local artist, F.R. Leach.

Charles Eamer Kempe (1837-1907), was born in Ovingdean, near Brighton, and it was probably there that he met Bodley in about 1860. Kempe had intended to take Anglican orders but, although a serious stammer prevented this plan, he always maintained an interest in ecclesiology, and began a practical involvement with church decoration. Perhaps as early as 1861-62, Bodley suggested that Kempe should go to F.R. Leach, the
Cambridge decorator, who continued in association with Bodley at Cuckfield in 1865 (Chapter VII). In 1864, Kempe started his pupillage with Clayton and Bell, and, in 1866, he began his own architectural practice. This was followed in February, 1869 by the foundation of a stained-glass firm, in conjunction with F.R. Leach: 'The studio for stained glass and church furniture'. The manufacture of the glass was undertaken in their kiln in Camden Town, and the glass was often used by Bodley in his restoration schemes. (51) The fifteenth-century style windows are highly decorative, and, with their sweet-faced angels and canopied surrounds executed in silvery-green hues, they are steeped in Victorian 'spirituality' in its later, most pious, phase. Kempe's nephew, Walter Ernest Tower (1873-1955), continued the firm until 1934. (52) In 1868, Kempe, with Leach and several assistants, decorated Bodley's church at Tue Brook near Liverpool. The informal connection between Bodley and Kempe dissolved at about this time when Garner introduced Burlison and Grylls as an alternative for their glass and painted decoration schemes.

Frederick Richard Leach (1837-19??) was a native of Cambridge who became a noted decorator and designer in his own right, working from his home town, and occasionally travelling to execute commissions right across the country. The Leach family had been painters of inn signs in the early nineteenth century, and Frederick's older brother, Barnet Leach, first appears in the local trade directory in 1864. (53) By 1866, the two brothers had established a firm of 'Painters, plumbers and decorators' at 37, City Road, and, by 1874, they had expanded their premises and developed their skills with an emphasis on wall distemper, becoming 'Painters and church decorators', no doubt largely.
because of their work at All Saints'. Further expansion occurred, with additional premises, and, by the 90s, the firm had become 'Artists in Stained Glass'. (54)

F.R. Leach was employed by Morris on the ceilings of Jesus College chapel in 1866, and this is presumably the time when he first met Bodley. Leach was not only a skilled artisan executing the work of others; with inspiration from such masters as Morris, Bodley and Kempe, he produced a successful, independent scheme of stencilled patterns, such as those for the chancel walls of St. Clement's church, Cambridge, which are accompanied by black-letter inscriptions forming a top border (1872). Further projects were undertaken in three other Cambridge churches, and such architects as Gilbert Scott junior, asked him to decorate buildings with which they were involved. Leach also designed his own stained glass (St. Michael's, Cambridge, west window), as well as sometimes executing the designs of others (St. Botolph's, Cambridge, east window). (55) The firm continued through younger members of the family, and carried on its tradition of decorative schemes until the mid-1970s.

As far as Bodley's contribution to wall decoration is concerned, it is difficult to assess how much the painter influenced the architect, and vice versa, with Leach supplying professional advice. Thus, both Kempe and Leach must be credited at least with helping Bodley to develop his early penchant for colour, and the layout of his flowing diaper patterns. Some new patterns must have been prepared independently of one another, and these were probably introduced to him as well (Plate 18). The three-tier system of horizontal bands of different patterns in
the south aisle was derived from Arabic decoration. Some patterns were inspired by the cloth depicted in the background of Chloe's portrait of Francois I.

Further additions were made to the furnishing of the church in the 1870s, such as the chancel arch painting and the paintings on the pulpit by one of the artists from Kempe's studio, Wyndham Hope Hughes (56) (Plate 19). In 1878, Bodley wrote to All Saints' parish magazine:

'...the plain plaster surfaces are to be coloured, while for the most part, to leave the stone as it is.'

'The painting will be carried out by Mr. Leach in the same style as that already done - rich diaper work &c in the manner of the fifteenth century, a style in which great beauty of decorative art was reached. There will be suitable inscriptions.' (57)

The remainder of the designs for the nave wall decoration were undertaken in 1878-79, and these Bodley patterns include planta genista flowers and diaper designs carried out in deep reds and dark greens in a manner which did not alter significantly during the remaining forty years of Bodley's career.

On the outskirts of St. Peter Port on the Channel Island of Guernsey, a church was required for the new residential area of de Beauvoir town, which had grown up between 1840 and 1850. It is not known whether Bodley was chosen because a Tractarian style church was wanted from the beginning, or whether the Catholic services came later because the spacious interior of the building
lent itself to their introduction. A hint as to the nature of worship on the island may be found in an early visit to the island by Pusey, and some kind of High church link had been established probably by the time St. Stephen's was commissioned from Bodley in 1862. No plans survive, but the correspondence from the architect to the church building committee appears to be complete. The majority date from 1862 when the initial requirements for the design were being specified. Large numbers of further letters dating from 1864 indicate that at that stage, the smaller details, such as fittings, were preoccupying Bodley. By the beginning of 1865, only minutiae, such as the curtain pole across the entrance, were under consideration, and finally the fee of £230 for the architect was received on 25 June 1867. (58) The letters give a rare insight into Bodley's working methods, and the mood of perfectionism with which he attended to detail. The church was built by local subscription and, although it was completed in 1865, it did not become a parish church until 1 January 1885, with its own vicar, the Rev. F.E. Lowe.

St. Stephen's provides the proof that Bodley had not completely renounced the early gothic model by the time the first design for All Saints, Cambridge was completed in 1861. The choice of Early English, which indicates this gradual change, may have been related to little more than the local building material. The Cobo granite found in the Channel Islands is amongst the hardest rock in Britain, and allowed little more than the most basic decorative detail in the windows and external walls. The stone was carved by masons with the assistance of smiths who would be required regularly to sharpen and re-harden the steel chisels. Any increase in the amount of decoration would
lent itself to their introduction. A hint as to the nature of worship on the island may be found in an early visit to the island by Pusey, and some kind of High church link had been established probably by the time St. Stephen's was commissioned from Bodley in 1862. No plans survive, but the correspondence from the architect to the church building committee appears to be complete. The majority date from 1862 when the initial requirements for the design were being specified. Large numbers of further letters dating from 1864 indicate that at that stage, the smaller details, such as fittings, were preoccupying Bodley. By the beginning of 1865, only minutiae, such as the curtain pole across the entrance, were under consideration, and finally the fee of £230 for the architect was received on 25 June 1867. The letters give a rare insight into Bodley's working methods, and the mood of perfectionism with which he attended to detail. The church was built by local subscription and, although it was completed in 1865, it did not become a parish church until 1 January 1885, with its own vicar, the Rev. F.E. Lowe.

St. Stephen's provides the proof that Bodley had not completely renounced the early gothic model by the time the first design for All Saints, Cambridge was completed in 1861. The choice of Early English, which indicates this gradual change, may have been related to little more than the local building material. The Cobo granite found in the Channel Islands is amongst the hardest rock in Britain, and allowed little more than the most basic decorative detail in the windows and external walls. The stone was carved by masons with the assistance of smiths who would be required regularly to sharpen and re-harden the steel chisels. Any increase in the amount of decoration would
have been prohibitively expensive, and would have meant that the church could not have been so large as it is (capable of holding 750 people). The style chosen was the popular 1860s form of Middle Pointed with sheer, undecorated walls and small lancet windows (Plate 20). Bodley turned to subtle polychromy for his decoration by using different coloured granites in irregular bands, namely, the blue granite and the dull cream Cobo granite. Remarkably simple outlines distinguish Guernsey from previous churches, which had tended to be more concerned with massing and a variable outline. The nave has a long unbroken roof and the chancel is a foot or two higher and is much shorter, whilst the aisle roofs are broken only by a wall at the chancel. The composition is kept to the simplest form by an avoidance of detail in the windows, which are narrow lancets, and the monotonous massing of over-similar elements: a tall nave with steeply pitched unbroken roof, and a north west porch to match. A bell-turret and spire were designed over the chancel but, although their cost was within reason, they were never built because of the exposed nature of the site. The builder, Daniel De Putron, gave the estimate for this tower to be £112/15/2d, a sum which Bodley had expected would be higher. (59) It would probably have looked similar to that at St. Martin, Scarborough.

The interior has finer proportions than the exterior, with its wide arches of pale grey Caen stone, similar in shape to those at St. Michael's, Brighton, but here, they are without carved capitals, maintaining plain, square mouldings on circular Caen columns (Plate 21). Increasing refinement of detail is to be found in the quieter interior walls of painted white plaster and a more sensitive handling of coloured encaustic tiles for the
east wall around the altar. Bodley preferred the colour of Godwin's tiles to those by Minton. (60) He required that the colour of the plaster should be 'like the tint of the warmest portion of the Caen stone, or even a little more yellow in tint', and concerning its texture, that 'The surface may be sandy but not too rough.' (61) The alabaster reredos with cusped canopies placed over the seven figures is less original than in the Gloucestershire churches and Brighton, but it is a more historically accurate reflection of the earlier gothic period. It was the first figurative reredos of his career, and he spent much time on the angels during 1864. Morris and Co. glass fills the west and east windows, where they are a mixture of the figurative and the strongly symbolic. The west window shows rows of saints forming the Tree of Jesse, each subject clearly expressed and surrounded by a large area of clear glass in the early Morris manner. (62) The church cost a total of £5,000 and was opened on 6 January 1865. The consecration ceremony was performed in August 1866.

The rich year of 1862 favoured him with another complete church commission, this time once again in the capital of Anglo-Catholicism, namely, Brighton. The Rev. H.M. Wagner's son, Father Arthur Douglas Wagner, wanted a mission church to serve the poor district around Bread Street, and because Bodley had been employed already by his father to design St. Michael's, Victoria Road, in the previous year, he was chosen also for the latest church, St. Mary Magdalene. The High Church concept of a mission church differed from the evangelist's similar building, in that it was intended for the administration of the sacraments to the poorer inhabitants of expanding towns, whereas the
evangelists required their smaller, local churches for preaching purposes in these districts. St. Mary Magdalene's is now demolished, and no plans or exterior views survive, but the outside was apparently 'an exceedingly plain building, of brick, without tower or fleche...and consists of a nave and two aisles'. "The neighbourhood was at that time a very rough one. Mr. Wagner used to walk along the streets ringing a hand bell to summon the people to worship.'(63) It had the capacity for three hundred people, and the cost was kept low, totalling only £2,500.(64) The low budget was adhered to largely by virtue of the method of construction which, as displayed by photographs of the interior, employed square-section wooden nave-post and rafter construction, more in the manner of a village hall than a church. Other examples of this type are to be found in the outer districts of Brighton, often poor areas which had grown up quickly and spread away from any centres of worship. One such building is the church of the Annunciation, of 1864, by an unknown architect, also financed by Father Wagner. It resembles St. Mary's in most respects, except that the east triple-lancets are smaller, and it has pews instead of St. Mary's free seats. The interior is plain, whitewashed, with simple choir stalls and pulpit, but with a stencilled chancel ceiling.(65)

At All Saints', Dedworth, Berkshire, of 1863, Bodley continued the gradual change from High Victorian Gothic to more restrained, English medieval, models (Plate 22). It was a modest, inexpensive, suburban church, built from brick, and at the expense of the first vicar, the Rev. Henry Thynne, in memory of his wife. Bodley placed side by side a long, unbroken nave and aisle, the nave lying to the north and rising a few feet only
above the aisle. He gave the nave a triangular west gable with the positioning of a bell-cote at the apex. Additionally, this west face possessed a steeply roofed, one-storey porch lying beneath a window - a repetition of the western arrangements at Delhi mentioned above, and a forerunner of churches at Dundee and Jersey, both dating from two years after Dedworth.

St. Wilfrid's, Haywards Heath, West Sussex, commissioned by the Misses Dealtry - presumably the sisters of the Dr. Dealtry known to J.M. Neale - is a further major step towards purely English features (Plate 23). The cream sandstone was taken from local quarries and the substantial body of the church is the first complete reversion to English types. The church represents the formal foundation of the new town of Haywards Heath, which grew out of the parish of neighbouring Cuckfield when that village was by-passed by the railway in favour of a halt in open heathland. The new parish was created in 1866, and St. Wilfrid's, dating from 1863 and followed the pioneering nature of the new town, and looked forward to a new phase of the Gothic Revival.

The nave is flanked by two low aisles, the rectangular tower is placed where nave and chancel meet, and it actually forms a part of the chancel. Although the substantial sum of £6,000 was spent on the church, little money was devoted to detail, for the interior was lined with red bricks which were left unplastered and unpainted. These exposed bricks serve as a reminder of St. Wilfrid's recent forerunners, before the architect had begun to adopt his new and more purely English Gothic idiom. The Ecclesiologist referred to the designs as 'severe Geometrical pointed, very ably treated', but an
examination of the details reveals a new direction of the style. The window tracery is experimental, and its free treatment reflects Bodley's recent adoption of English tracery; the east window has an approximate parallel to the window in the passage to the chapter-house at York Minster, dating from c. 1260-1280, and the tower exhibits tracery of c. 1330, similar to that at Dorchester, Oxfordshire, with double cusps beneath a square-headed opening (67) (Plate 24). The tower was described in the Church Builder as being 'a Sussex tower', and indicates a vernacular reference by Bodley. The uncompromising rectangularity of the tower has none of the refinement of All Saints', Cambridge, but it must be remembered that the designs for the tower and spire for All Saints' were made later in the 60s. The first design for the St. Wilfrid tower had a saddle-back roof in the manner of St. Martin, Scarborough. By the time of construction, however, Bodley must have considered that the St. Wilfrid tower belonged too much to his 'unreformed' French Gothic period which he was leaving behind towards the mid 60s.

The interior at Haywards Heath maintains the plain brick walls of Dedworth, which was built in the same year, but the arcade columns are alternating octagonal and circular piers. The walls have since been whitewashed. The tracery in the aisle windows and the deep relieving arches are almost identical to Dedworth. The chancel is of an equal height to the nave, and the tower arches conceal the top of the east window. The ceiling of the tower was decorated by Kempe, and the six windows were another commission awarded to Morris and Co.. The altar is of marble, and the design is of a type which attempts to display the Patterns and qualities of the cut stone itself, with only simple
additional carved decoration, such as a cross and circle.

It is more straightforward to witness the return to English Middle Pointed in this church, lacking as it does the complex architectural history of All Saints', Cambridge, and the anonymous simplicity of the intervening buildings. English precedents were now firmly established as the leading vocabulary employed by the architect in his churches. He was thirty-eight years old on completion of Haywards Heath, and he was acknowledged by the Church as a successful protagonist of the Tractarian principles. Bodley could also be confident that he was a leader of the Gothic Revival, turning it away from early Continental models towards English Gothic. He was about to commence a phase lasting ten years which included his finest work in a culmination of his imaginative powers.
CHAPTER III

'Let us keep to the genius loci': the Return to English Gothic, 1865-1879.

'And here let me say that we need not go abroad to find a style in which to design buildings in England. Let us keep to the genius loci.'(1)

Bodley's new attitude to the revival is revealed in what would appear at first to be an unlikely location for the High Church movement. Dundee had become influenced, however, by the attitudes of Alexander Penrose Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, and his chaplain and friend, the Rev. James Nicholson, who together founded a church and school in the Hilltown district. Bodley, who had been asked to carry out the design of the school in 1857, returned in 1865 to add the church, St. Salvador's, and so replaced the temporary place of worship which had been set up in the school (Plate 25).

The general appearance of the building possesses a family resemblance to the other church, St. Simon's, which Bodley designed in the same year for Saint Helier on the island of Jersey (Plate 26). Bodley gave both churches a long, steeply pitched slate roof. The gabled west ends are accompanied in both churches by irregular stepped buttresses, and a single, centrally placed west window. In both cases, this gable has a lean-to narthex across the full width of the church, and is situated
immediately below the window sill. Another similarity lies in the closely allied types of window tracery: the four-light west window at St. Simon derives, like the east window at Haywards Heath, from the chapter-house passage window at York Minster of about 1260–80 (Plate 24). At St. Salvador's, the west window, also of four lights, resembles the side windows at Merton College, Oxford, of 1290.

Although Bodley had obviously found a formula which he thought useful for smaller, less costly churches, two major differences may be noticed between these otherwise generally similar churches. Firstly, St. Salvador's in Dundee confines low, narrow aisles within the width of the north and south buttresses, whereas St. Simon's on Jersey provides the more usual arcade separating nave and south aisle. The north aisle at Jersey was never built, although provision was made by building the arcade and filling it with temporary wooden windows. A second difference is overall size: the Jersey nave is two bays shorter than that at Dundee, although the latter was planned for one bay fewer than was actually built. In both churches the westernmost bay was left without a window.

The progression of dates towards the fourteenth-century Gothic, the period favoured so much by Bodley in later years, continues at Dundee in the chancel and south chapel. Although these were designed in 1865, they were not added until 1874, eight years after the nave. In the chancel, Bodley used reticulated tracery from about 1320, similar to a window at St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford. The Jersey windows, however, are much coarser in their detail. Two factors may have led to this: the
Jersey church was the less costly of the two, and the Channel Island granite was harder to cut, as it had been on Guernsey, so that Bodley may have chosen simpler styles deliberately for the sake of saving time and the cost of labour.

On entering the two churches, more significant differences present themselves: the aisles at Dundee are the first which Bodley placed within the width of the buttresses, where they form a passageway between narrow arches (2) (Plate 27). The openings in the nave walls which form the arcades are plain, without capitals, but with chaste mouldings and a thin shaft running the full height of the church between each arch. In Jersey the traditional column, capital, and deeply moulded arch are employed using a distinctly different stone from the speckled granite of the exterior. The chancel arch at Dundee is almost the full height of the nave, in Jersey the arch is so wide that it is barely noticeable as it leads into the chancel of almost equal height to the nave. The chancel at Dundee has no east window; in Jersey stands a broad window well above the altar. A greater sense of mystery is maintained at Dundee with the chancel arch impeding the view of the north and south chancel walls. In Jersey, the arch dies away as it touches the outer walls. Although the interiors of both churches are plastered, Bodley only made designs for the decoration of Dundee, probably because Jersey was to cost less in the final outcome. The patterns were designed by Bodley himself who had collected diaper patterns in a separate notebook for this purpose. Probably during the second World war the book was lost at Grays Inn, but fortunately Comper had made a copy of the designs early on in his articles (Plate 28). The drawings show the prototypes for the arcade walls below
the clerestory which were taken from the shrine of Bishop Beckington (1443-1466) at Wells Cathedral. The predominance of green is characteristic of Bodley for these overall painting schemes. Although the church is later in date, All Saints' in Cambridge was the first of about half a dozen churches to be decorated in this way. Whereas Morris and Kempe were employed for the early churches, by the time the decoration at Dundee was undertaken after 1874, Bodley's partner, Garner, had established Burlison and Grylls who then took their place.

From the variation within these two churches, it is clear that Bodley was still keen to experiment, even when only a low budget was available, and the obscure locations meant there would be little public notice.

Bodley was awarded the commission for St. Simon after his failure to secure the restoration of the town church of Saint Helier. The historian of the architecture of Saint Helier, C.E.B. Brett, has suggested that the St. Simon work was offered as a consolation prize for this loss. (3) St. Simon's was opened just a year after the foundation stone was laid in 1865, and consecration occurred in 1869, after the debt was paid. Meanwhile, Dundee was largely complete by 1868 except the chancel which was added in 1874. The chancel is three bays long with light entering the north windows through glass by Burlison and Grylls. The tall stone and plaster reredos reaching the ceiling, has a central Crucifix, with the Apostles painted on copper Panels. The haloes are of gesso relief. Canon Frederick Sutton, rector of Brant Broughton, in Lincolnshire and a close friend of both Bishop Forbes and Bodley, undertook the design of the organ.
case. The rich decorations point forward to the great churches of the next fifteen years, especially to St. Augustine's, Pendlebury, where a similar panelled altar-piece covers the lower half of the east wall. Highly positioned east windows became a feature of High Church architects who wished to introduce altars on three, or six, steps, with tall altar-pieces placed above. These high windows broke from the general 'English' nature of Bodley's reformed gothic, because in English medieval churches, the east window glass itself was treated as the reredos.

The requirements of a modest country parish church at Valley End, Chobham in Surrey meant a return to a design in brick, relatively inexpensive compared to a stone one. Comparisons may be drawn between this church of 1867, and All Saints, Dedworth of four years earlier: both rely on an uncomplicated outline for exterior effect rather than on detail, both have low pitched roofs, small windows and exposed brick inside. The church at Chobham is even plainer than Dedworth, however, and surface display gives way to varied planes such as a hipped gable at the west end leading to a short tile hung tower and squat broach spire; a further accent is supplied by a prominent buttressed chimney. This kind of unpretentious composition looks back to the churches of Butterfield in the previous decade, such as St. Paul's, Hensall, but Bodley omitted his elongated proportions to provide a more picturesque and intimate form. The nearby vicarage, also by Bodley, matches the informal 'Old English' style which the architect adopted for the church (Chapter VI).

A more monumental scheme was devised for a new town
church at Scarborough of the same year, 1867. Red brick, exposed both inside and out, was again employed and the 'hall' form of large nave, lower chancel and south aisle in the manner of Jersey was adopted (Plate 29). A strict adherence to the plan was maintained with sheer walls divided by narrow windows and buttresses. The long, steeply gabled roofs introduce a new habit into Bodley's work, and one which was to be adopted in an extreme form at Pendlebury in the following decade. The delicate fourteenth-century tracery was perhaps the clearest indication so far that the architect intended to return to the Decorated period in an undiluted form.(4)

Before entering into partnership with Thomas Garner, Bodley began St. John the Baptist at Tue Brook in Liverpool, 1868-70. Tue Brook is now a city suburb community of terraced houses, but originally the church stood amidst fields and park-like gardens (Plate 30), until the tram network made possible the spread of labourers' houses, and Liverpool expanded westward. St. John's lies beside the main thoroughfare, now a broad run of low rise houses and shops, and is parallel to, and dominates, the road, presenting a balanced tower and spire in contrast to its long horizontal mass (Plate 31). Plain lines and a minimum of detail mark the exterior which is a convincing assimilation of those aspects which are to be found in an English country church of the early fourteenth-century. The chief ornamentation displayed is in random bands of red sandstone, irregular in width, and set amongst the cream stone with which the church is constructed. When built originally, this subtle polychromy was set against apparently garish red tiles on the long roofs, but now the tiles are grey with age and comparable
only with the present rather grim industrial setting. All else
would suggest a large church in a quiet country market town. The
nave roof lies a foot or so above the chancel but the north and
south aisles continue from the west tower along the nave and
halfway along the chancel without any break in height. The west
tower is supported by stepped angle buttresses, of which the one
to the south-west alone breaks into the belfry stage to provide a
deliberate asymmetry. Flying buttresses spring from crocketed
pinnacles to support an octagonal turret with bell openings which
taper in to an octagonal steeple. A detached vestry connects with
the south aisle by a covered passageway, whilst the north porch
was placed beneath the tower to make use of a group of existing
trees which then formed a ready made and mature avenue leading to
the entrance. Over the porch is a figure of John the Baptist with
the lamb, and on the wall at the east end of the north aisle is a
figure of St. Mark and a lion. Stone carving otherwise is
confined to window tracery and two gable crosses, the smooth
stone walls being relieved only by string courses and a corbel
parapet on nave and chancel. The high quality masonry by Housman
of Wolverhampton remains substantially unchanged today.

A comparison between Bodley's Tue Brook and A.W.N.
Pugin's St. Oswald's, Old Swan, 1840-42 in the same city is
instructive. Both are 'country churches' in the most exclusive
sense, each displaying the character of rural informality of the
Decorated style in both their massing and handling of details.
Little is to be found at Tue Brook to indicate the intervening
twenty-eight years, which included the High Victorian experiment,
except the influence of Ruskin in the polychrome stonework. Tue
Brook represents Bodley at 40, a mature architect returning to
the stylistic originals of the greatest protagonist of the early
gothic Revival, and also indicates a development of Pugin's
decorative inspiration in its remarkable interior.

The £25,000 cost was met entirely by the Rev. John
Chorley Reade (1826-1895), and his wife, Mrs. Eliza Ann Reade,
whose coat of arms may be found on the vestry. Reade was a curate
in the parish of West Derby in Liverpool, from which the parish
of St. John the Baptist, Tue Brook was formed. They spared no
expense on the building, embellishing its lavish interior with an
almost total covering of elaborate painted decoration, and
furniture and fittings (Plate 32). Tue Brook thus takes a further
bold step towards a revival of pre-Reformation interior
decoration schemes, beyond even the painted work to be found in
All Saints, Cambridge. So much so, indeed, that the day before
the consecration of the church in June 1870, the Bishop of
Chester refused to perform the ceremony. The grounds for his
refusal were his disapproval of the altar piece, which showed
scenes from the Passion, and his objection to the names of two
saints in the stained glass because they were not to be found in
the Anglican Calendar. The names of the saints were deleted from
beneath the figures whilst the altar-piece (which was probably by
either the protestant Albrecht Durer or a member of his school)
was removed, all with the complete agreement and sanction of Mrs.
Reade, whereupon the Bishop opened the church and delivered the
first sermon. (5)

Inside, the arcades are supported on octagonal columns
and moulded capitals displaying similar freely placed red and
cream stone as do the exterior walls. The walls above the arcade,
the aisle walls and the roof are completely covered with painted stencil patterns, the application of which was superintended by C.E. Kempe and F.R. Leach. Both these men had been employed by Bodley at All Saints', Cambridge, (Leach himself having been raised there), whilst Morris & Co. ceased to be involved in such work as the Firm concentrated more and more on stained glass and fabrics. Each spandril in the nave contains a painted coat of arms, whilst above these, ten panels between the clerestory windows depict twenty figures celebrating the twelve Apostles, the four Evangelists and four Latin Doctors. The roof is painted white with coloured patterns, and the tie-beams bear the inscription 'Glory to God in the Highest'. The walls of the aisle depict the Benedictus amongst flowing stencil designs in green.

On the wall above the broad low chancel arch, the Tree of Life covers the whole wall, whilst on the west wall may be seen the Tree of Jesse, both by Kempe.

The oak rood screen between the nave and chancel is a highly decorated tour de force in which ribs, cusps, mouldings and stars are picked out in gold and red, in strong contrast to their black ground. The coving and parapet display pre-Raphaelite angels with golden haloes holding banners showing texts, whilst the lower panels contain familiar gold diaper work, also on black grounds. Bodley designed a reredos to replace the Durer altar-piece which had been banned by the Bishop before consecration. It contains seven painted panels, the centre panel showing St. John baptising Christ, supported on each side by three angels playing musical instruments. A projecting canopy balances the mass of the altar beneath it, whilst on each side, Bodley's 'Pine' fabric made by Watts & Co. has been used for wall
Mintons encaustic tiles pave the chancel floor. The stained glass (1868) is by Morris and Company. The pulpit is stained deep green, with an early use of the sunflower motif. The choir stalls and organ case are again black, highlights in red and gold. The later vicarage, also by Bodley was added subsequently in the 1890s and shows his later domestic developments in the form of Elizabethan details.

The interior of Tue Brook marks a break with the conventional decoration of mid-Victorian churches which, despite Pugin's pioneering St. Giles, Cheadle of the 1840s, had mostly maintained a sombre scheme of varnished or plainly stained wooden furnishings, with a minimum of colour decoration confined to altar frontals or stencilled organ-pipes in simple patterns. A gap of about twenty years took place before a renewed interest in polychromy on a large scale occurred once again. The gap was probably due to three factors: Pugin's mastery of all aspects of medieval architecture was unique, and several years were to pass before younger architects with a similarly serious, antiquarian interest in medieval art followed his lead. Secondly, the fashion for 'vigorous' churches in the High Gothic period led to the exposure of plain stone or brick inside, and a return to the tradition of smoother plaster surfaces was required to accommodate the stencil patterns. Lastly, restoration work on the continent and in England had revealed frescoes underneath centuries of whitewash, and a new form of decoration had presented itself to the Victorians. Furthermore, painted household furniture by the Morris group had revealed to Bodley the possibility of introducing decorated wooden pulpits, screens and font-covers with a combination of figurative, symbolic and
abstract motifs, the latter sometimes having naturalistic origins. Bodley's colours were mostly half-tones; dusky blue, Indian red, and almond green; the backgrounds might be white on the walls or black and dark green for the woodwork, such as to be found on the chancel screen at Tue Brook.

This kind of overall decoration to be seen at Tue Brook had been anticipated, as I have stated, by A.W.N. Pugin's interior schemes, such as St. Giles', Cheadle in Staffordshire, 1841-46, where the surface decoration takes the form of assertive and clearly delineated patterns, even though they employ brighter, purer colours. Pugin's St. Chad's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Birmingham which dates from 1839-41, also was painted with such patterns. Although the Birmingham patterns dated from before his visit of 1844 to the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, which had just been redecorated in rich patterns by E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79) and J.-B.-A. Lassus (1807-57), Pugin was nevertheless influenced by earlier French theories concerning colour in architecture. Discussion concerning colour in Classical architecture had taken place during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, and, in 1830, Jacques-Ignace Hittorff (1792-1867) attempted to reconstruct coloured decoration on Greek temples.(7) Hittorff's dogged demonstrations of his theories initiated a series of debates about the nature of colour in architecture, which eventually led to the adoption by Gothic Revival architects of colour inside gothic buildings, both new and restored. Bodley also became aware of painting on the exterior of original medieval buildings:

'Even the lower part of the west front of Tintern Abbey externally was painted - the remains of gilding and
colour are yet to be found...' (8)

Pugin's earlier patterns employed abstractions of artificial objects such as crowns, crosses and trellises combined with Minton's tiles of a similar kind, but soon he became convinced that the finest foliage work in gothic buildings were all close approximations to nature. Most of the designs shown in Pugin's book *Floriated Ornament*, were quite symmetrical and four-pointed, like snow-flake crystals, whereas Bodley chose naturalistic forms of a still more stylized type, and with broader areas of colour. The larger proportion of Pugin's illustrated patterns were taken from botanical specimens - a supposed practical recreation of the medieval artist drawing directly from nature. (9) Bodley's patterns were taken from already abstracted natural forms stencilled onto medieval tombs, woodwork, or from damask fabrics.

In an article of 1861, entitled *Church restoration in France*, Bodley advocated a return to colour decoration for medieval churches:

'There can be no question that, originally, the now whitewashed walls and vaults of these ancient buildings were designed to be painted, and doubtless in most cases they were so enriched. Would it not be to leave the old sculptures as they stand, and spend our best energies in the decoration of these walls? It would indeed be a work requiring true artists and patient, loving effect. Perhaps there are scarce half-a-dozen painters in Christendom worthy to touch these noble spaces.' (10) Bodley next anticipated his advice on the decoration of the
vaults of St. Paul's Cathedral by thirty years:

'In the cold naves of Salisbury, Canterbury, or our bare St. Paul's, what ample spaces are there for colour and story.'

Footnote: 'Mr. Le Strange's work in progress on the roof of Ely is indeed a good example, and one we may hope to see followed elsewhere.'(11)

Figurative painting did not hold much favour in Bodley's restorations, or in his own new work, despite the following comments:

'money...could be used to secure the services of painters like Holman Hunt, Rossetti, and other such men. We shall have no really great school of painters till we give our walls to be painted with figures, and storied subjects...'(12)

Bodley only used figurative painting on a large scale (tympana and east walls) in four churches, all in the early 70s, before settling for his 'overall' abstract patterns; he never took to Clayton and Bell, who had been employed by his master, Sir Gilbert Scott, in a number of his own churches. Clayton and Bell remained a firm of artists, and no individual painter or 'School' ever became well known in the manner advocated by Bodley. Artists of Holman Hunt's calibre became Royal Academicians, and so remained aloof from decorative art. Watts and Richardson did make cartoons for the decoration of the vaults of St. Paul's, but did not themselves actually work in the building, in the manner of the Italian Renaissance. In fact, later in his career, after founding his firm for decoration, Watts and Co., Bodley dismissed the misplaced originality and dominance of the individual artist over the importance of the scheme as a whole. Consequently, the
names of several protagonists in the field have been lost to the historian or, as in the case of F.R. Leach of Cambridge, their contribution subjugated below that of the architect.

Bodley's early churches were unplastered stone or brick, and were consequently left unpainted. After Morris' influence at All Saints', Cambridge in 1865, however, and his collaboration with Kempe at Cuckfield in the same year, the architect began to decorate plaster with overall diapers. The change in Bodley's decorative manner during the mid-60s was a marked one, when considering painting at Tue Brook, dating from about 1870, and its development from the simple, almost naive work at St. Martin, Scarborough of seven years earlier. At St. Martin, a spidery display of faintly executed patterns had been applied directly to the wall surface, without any under-painting. A friend and contemporary who used this ghost-like painting technique was William White (1825-1900), who created a showcase of the style at his St. Saviour's, Aberdeen Park, London of 1865. There, the light paintwork does not obscure the underlying brick patterns, and it gives the inner-fabric of the building a vigorously tattooed appearance. Bodley's later patterns take on more the character of wallpaper, and cover the whole wall surface with an opaque layer of uncompromising richness. Sometimes the patterns vary from wall to wall, and sometimes they vary on the same wall. (13) The patterns themselves derive from those painted on the walls of Italian, German and English churches of the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries. Continental fabrics were at that time brought predominantly into East Anglia by Flemish Painters, who then transferred the designs to church screens and panelled ceilings. Original late medieval patterns were also
adapted from fourteenth-century manuscripts which had diapered backgrounds surrounding the figures. Bodley had noticed diapers on sculptures as early as 1861:

'...the diapers of the vestments of the figures [at Chartres] are so minute and delicate that scraping would remove all traces of them.'(14)

The diaper patterns were sometimes sparsely arranged, or 'sprinkled' at measured intervals - open diapers - or the diapers were arranged within a closer reticulation, and interwoven with meandering bands or trellises of colour - close diapers.(15) The latter were copied by Bodley from medieval tombs in England or the continent, or from Florentine and Sicilian silk damasks (Plate 28). William Morris derived his wallpaper own designs from fabrics which had been assembled in the South Kensington Museum. Like Bodley, his patterns took the form of pine-apples, lilies, bursting pomegranates and planta genista pods. Sometimes Bodley overlaid the diapers with angels, monograms or paler flower motifs. Ceiling ribs were painted, in the medieval manner, with parti-colours in 'barber-pole' spirals.

Bodley's technique developed over subsequent years. At the time of the decoration of Holy Angels, Hoar Cross:

'He was an autocrat, however, of the most pronounced type and when we first knew him [c 1871] had an invincible dislike to bright colours. Scarlet geraniums were his abomination and a bright green was almost as bad. Faded old colours were then the rage, and the strange thing was that in a short time you got quite to hate a brilliant red, blue or green--such is the force of a strong and imposing influence. Later on he modified the extreme of faded colours and would permit of a 'broad effect of red
Bodley had few imitators, and it was not until the end of the century that Charles Nicholson (1867-1949), tried brighter shades, whilst Sir Ninian Comper (1864-1960), continued with subdued colours in the manner of his old master.

In the winter of 1868 to 1869 when Bodley was 41, he became ill with blood-poisoning and was unable to travel. Work was under way on houses for a private charity at Malvern Link, (later to become the Convent of the Holy Name) and so Bodley asked his friend, Philip Webb, to visit these so-called 'Queen Anne Revival' buildings and to supervise their completion. Bodley must have appreciated the advantages of having a permanent assistant, for in 1869 he entered into partnership with Thomas Garner whom Bodley had met whilst working for Sir Gilbert Scott. Earlier, in 1867, Garner had returned to London from his practice in Warwickshire to help in Bodley's office, initially giving some assistance on Tue Brook.

The second major influence on Bodley, which Garner provided, was the adoption of the newly founded stained glass firm of Burlison and Grylls. The firm was employed by the partnership for over thirty years, and provided the greater part of the glass, designed by Bodley and Garner, for the major churches.

John Burlison senior, was the clerk of works of the architect Ignatius Bonomi, and later the close assistant of Sir Gilbert Scott. Burlison died in 1868, the year in which his son,
also John (1843-1891), became a partner of Thomas Grylls (1845-1913). Two years later, John Burlison married Grylls' sister, Elizabeth. Burlison is said to have originally been a pupil of Clayton and Bell, in whose studio he doubtless met Thomas Grylls. Grylls was born at St. Germains in Cornwall, the son of an organ builder who came to London to carry on his trade. Both partners lived at Hampstead and would have been in close contact with their near neighbours, Bodley and Garner. John Burlison appears to have taken the stronger organizational role, having a thorough, practical nature. According to a relative, he understood architectural history and had a sound antiquarian knowledge coupled with the 'scientific acquirements' of a surveyor. (18) Grylls, on the other hand, was an energetic artist with strong musical tastes, often giving violin classes and holding musical evenings at his own home. Several of Grylls children became artists themselves, and the eldest son, Thomas, provided some of the firms late glass to Bodley's designs.

The founding of the Burlison and Grylls partnership took place in 1868, immediately before the recognized alliance of Bodley and Garner in 1869. Garner was already assisting Bodley in 1867, and sought to establish a firm which would be responsible for aspects of church decoration, such as stained-glass. Garner trained the two men in stained-glass, whilst Bodley taught them furnishings and decoration, especially stencil patterning. Thus, Kempe's services were largely dispensed with, so that he set up on his own in 1866. (19) The records of the firm have been either deliberately or accidentally destroyed, but the glass-making premises existed in London from 1868 to 1953.
The marriage in 1839 of Bodley's older sister, Mary, to the Rev. Charles Henry Bromby was to create an important connection for the young architect in the form of a major commission. In 1864, Bromby was appointed as second Bishop of Tasmania, and he naturally chose his brother-in-law to build a new Cathedral for the see which had been created in 1842. The plans were ready for the Ecclesiologist's comments in the February, 1867 issue, so Bromby must have proposed his new church soon after his consecration:

'The style is Geometrical Middle-Pointed - but of so late a type as to be scarcely distinguished from the Perpendicular variety of the succeeding style.'

The tower was:

'...massive, with bold buttresses tapering up by very numerous steps to the embattled cornice, which has plain solid octagonal pinnacles...'(20)

It was finished by a stone octagonal spire. The tower was subsequently changed, however, omitting a spire.

'The general effect of the perspective exterior is that of a rather late English minster: and we do not know that anything more than this was to be desired. We observe in the whole design a marked reaction from the earlier type of Foreign Gothic which Mr. Bodley formerly affected.'(21)

In fact, as we have seen, few architects had as yet severed the old connection with continental forms, and so purposely trained their eyes on English ones.

The Bishop received the plans from Bodley on 21 October 1867, and the local architect who was put in charge was Henry
(22) The foundation stone of the nave was laid by the Duke of Edinburgh on 8 January 1868, and the first stage of the building included the nave, aisles and transept. (23) The steep roofs and prominent, stepped buttresses (Plate 33) are still descended from churches such as Guernsey, but the tracery in the windows is markedly later in style. A three-arch porch extending from the west end forms the entrance. Inside, clustered columns support well-moulded arches, and plain, circular capitals. A tall arch leads into the chancel which is of equal length to the nave. The transepts are barely distinguished from the nave, and, there being no tall crossing arch, only two features betray them: a lack of clerestory windows to the east, and a recession in the transept wall perpendicular to the last column east. This allows the nave to seem six bays long instead of the actual three. (24)

The chancel was not begun until the beginning of 1891, being completed in 1894. (25) After 12 months, the chancel showed signs of structural weakness, and it was decided to reconstruct this part of the work. Bodley advised the removal of the roof, the dismantling of most of the walls, and the addition of concrete beams. (26)

Although the final design of the tower belongs probably to 1891, immediately before it was to be built, it was not completed until 1936 when funds became available. Its chaste Perpendicular lines resemble St. Mary, Eccleston of 1899, and the corridor leading to the nave anticipates St. Chad, Burton-on-Trent of 1903. (27)

In the manner of most cathedrals, the progress of
construction was unhurried, but to the architect back in England, the long delays must have made it seem painfully slow. It was left to Cecil Hare to contribute the major fittings inside, such as the screen, designed in the later Bodley style. The screen was executed in oak by English craftsmen before being taken to Tasmania. (28)

The first church of Bodley's partnership with Garner, St. Augustine's, Pendlebury, of 1869-74, displays strongly the influence of the younger man. The church stands on high ground on the Bolton Road to the north of Manchester, near the Agecroft Colliery. It was surrounded originally by rows of miners cottages and slum housing, with the local cotton mill only a few yards to the north. The nearness of the forbidding red-brick mill was partly the reason for the austere exterior of St. Augustine's (29) (Plate 34). It was owned by Edward Stanley Heywood (1829-1914), the Manchester banker, who was prominent in both municipal and church life. The mill provided much of the money which paid for the church, and it is estimated that Heywood spent £50,000 on its construction and decoration. Despite the church's grim location, solitary amongst the colliers' houses, Heywood worshipped there until his death, and thus followed the mission of the High Church, by taking religion to the poor.

The Heywoods were originally Nonconformists but Edward's father, Sir Benjamin Heywood, Bt., became an Anglican, as did his fourteen children (six of whom died young). Sir Benjamin's eldest son, Thomas Percival Heywood, became a leader of the Anglo-Catholics, a friend of Lord Halifax, and patron of a ritualistic church in Manchester. It is probably through this
Halifax connection that Bodley met Emily Meynell Ingram, sister of Lord Halifax and the benefactress of Holy Angels, Hoar Cross.

Another son, Henry, who was curate of nearby St. John's in Pendlebury, later became Vicar at Swinton where, in the same year as St. Augustine's, Pendlebury, he commissioned G.E. Street to build St. Peter's, Swinton. This last church is in close proximity to Pendlebury and shares its Tractarian roots; again, much of the cost of £18,000 was provided by the Heywood family. Three other brothers were generous benefactors of several more churches in the north west, whilst Thomas Heywood's three daughters continued the family tradition and subsequently contributed to the building of Holy Angels, Pendlebury in 1928.

The first vicar of St. Augustine's was E.S. Heywood's brother-in-law, the Rev. Alfred Denes D.D., vicar of nearby Christ Church from 1860. In 1861, Denes commissioned Bodley to add a tower to Christ Church, and so began Bodley's early and long lasting association with the Heywoods and with Pendlebury. Denes was transferred to St. Augustine's in 1874, and he remained vicar there for thirty seven years until his death in 1911, during which time he maintained the sacramental tradition of the Oxford Movement, although in its less extreme forms.

The church precinct of St. Augustine's is entered through the gateway which also incorporates the tiny verger's house and dates from 1894-5, twenty years after the completion of the church itself. To the right is the new school, to the left is the old one, and straight ahead, rising over eighty feet, is the symmetrical east wall of the church (Plate 34). St. Augustine's was Bodley's first and most original masterpiece, a simple,
rectangular plan, with an almost palpable melancholy in its sharp outlines and elongated proportions. The east window is placed high up so as to allow room inside for a tall continental reredos above the altar, a type much favoured by mid-Victorian High Church architects. Vertical stone shafts on the exterior wall surface subtly match the fourteenth-century tracery in the window. Walking round the church to the south-west entrance (Plate 35), the exterior refinements are comprised in the finely carved stone, the warm red bricks of less than ordinary size and the overall rhythm of the gently recessed windows and the full height, slightly stepped buttresses. A spiral staircase leading to the Rood-screen inside, marks the division between chancel and nave, and hence between the Decorated and Perpendicular styles as evidenced by the window tracery. The introduction of the Perpendicular style was rare at this time, and it was introduced thus to create the impression that several decades of labour had been spent on its building. The long, steep roof is echoed in the schoolhouse of 1894 which lies to the south east, with its gables of a pitch matching those of the church. On the severe west wall, the window is smaller and even higher than the more sumptuous east window, in the manner favoured by Bodley. The stone striped detail binds the buttresses to the west window which, together with its blank panelling, statuary, the doorway and a bell-opening at the apex, combine to provide a complex central vertical arrangement. A detached brick and stone south-west bell-tower was designed, with prominent angle-buttresses and large, twin bell-openings to west and east. A passageway ran beneath the tower and an elevated archway connected it to the church. If the tower had been executed, it might have helped to make the church look less gaunt, but the sense of isolation would
have been diminished.

On entering through the west door, the long, tall void of the interior displays the entire vast space of the whole church all at once: there are no structural divisions between nave and chancel and the aisles are kept to low, processional passages pierced through the deep internal buttresses (Plates 36 and 37).

Pugin's recommendation of the 'country church', with separate chancel and wide aisles, is here ignored for a wide nave with passage aisles - a system found to be more convenient for nineteenth-century congregations. These wide buttresses suggest an important remaining Continental influence which Bodley probably drew from the interior of the cathedral at Albi in south-western France. The fortified nature of Albi, and its powerful brick exterior, must have suggested to Bodley that it would be an appropriate model for the surroundings of mills and other industrial buildings at Manchester. The windows in the nave also are kept high up in the wall, beginning sixteen feet from the ground, but the windows cannot be seen while looking east and west because of the buttresses, and this compels further concentration on the upward thrust of the ten shafted arches which link each one of them. It is the long, unbroken wooden roof, eighty feet above the stone floor, and travelling 150' over the arches and above the screen and the altar, which holds the whole simple rectangular space together. The altar may be seen from almost anywhere in the whole church, whilst to each side the easternmost bays have their angles with the east wall chamfered, forming a narrowing of the choir towards the altar (Plate 38).

St. Augustine's was the first church to employ the newly
founded firm of Burlison and Grylls (1868) for both stencil decoration and stained glass. The two leading men in the firm, John Burlison and Thomas Grylls were probably former members of Clayton and Bell before they were incorporated by Bodley into a new decorating firm at the time when he started to employ Morris and Co. less and less in his church schemes. Bodley, who supervised the designs for the windows himself, wrote to Heywood:

'We kept them broad in colour, each window having its leading colour... It is about the first time it has been tried in modern times, most new windows having so many colours in them. I think the less variety of colour is more artistic.' (31)

The walls of the chancel at St. Augustine's are completely covered by stencil patterns, most of them adapted from tomb decoration which had survived from the medieval period. Bosses, stars and cornices picked out in gold adorn the chancel ceiling in this restored part of the church. The nave also was patterned in colours but the ceiling painting here is dark and almost invisible now, whilst the walls, once covered with the 'IHS' motif and foliage designs, have been obliterated with white paint. A large reredos with a gold frame and canopy contains paintings by an unknown hand where the upper panel depicts the Annunciation, and the central panel immediately below it, St. Augustine. Oak linenfold panelling may be seen to left and right. The organ case is one of about thirty-five designed by Bodley who was also interested in their construction. The windows are all by Burlison and Grylls, but with Bodley's overall supervision. The glass is light and plain, favouring primary colours and single figures in space, such as might be found in later medieval stained glass. The east window has many figures, including a
multitude of Old Testament and Apocryphal figures. The nave windows are of three lights containing three figures and supporting portraits. The Old Testament characters are predominantly deep purple, rich wine red, and yellow, whilst a preponderance of plain glass allows ample light into the church. A sense of harmony was maintained throughout the church by the architect's overall control, for Bodley gave careful regard to all the fittings so that the eveness of quality and style helped to establish a strong sense of unity and authenticity.

St. Augustine's lonely situation and the sombre power of its melancholy, shadowed interior combine to reflect Bodley's deeply serious intentions as a dedicated Christian architect. In 1885, he said:

'architecture, and all art, should be animated by some great and leading principle. Religion is the highest. ...art should be delighted in, not for itself alone, but as the expression in a lasting way, that can perpetuate the feeling expressed.

Art requires, as it were, the salt of noble sentiment to keep it elevated and pure.'(32)

It was at about this time that Bodley, together with his partner, Thomas Garner, and their friend and contemporary, Gilbert Scott junior, founded a firm for the production of wallpapers, fabrics, ecclesiastical vestments and items of metalwork such as font flagons and altar plate. In 1874 when the three architects were searching for a name for the business, someone made a Victorian pun: 'What's in a name?', and so, the firm of Watts and Co. was established. It continues today, thus
outliving rivals such as Morris and Co. by many years. The firm was founded so that the architects could have total control over the environments which they were commissioned either to create or to restore. Watts and Co. fabrics and wallpaper inherit much of Bodley's colour sense and pattern invention from the stencil-patterns which he had been designing for over fifteen years. It is now impossible to know more about the origins of the firm, and the actual day to day involvement of the founders, because nearly all the day-books and documents were destroyed during the second world war. They had been moved to the relative safety of Hampstead from the Baker Street premises, but, ironically, it was the latter which remained undamaged throughout the war. Although Bodley was the chairman of the board after the firm became a limited company in 1879, F.W. Davenport was the artistic director. (33) An early advertisement stated:

'Embroidery and Textile Fabrics, such as Damask, Silks, Velvets, Woolen and other Hangings, will be included in the List of Goods, which will also comprise Wall Papers and Stained Glass, together with all the usual Articles of Household Furniture.

It is hoped that such an Establishment will meet a growing want. Special pains will be taken to secure correctness and beauty of colour.' (34)

Some of Bodley's wallpapers, like many of his stencils, were inspired from Venetian and Genoese Renaissance brocade, whilst others were taken more directly from natural forms. The brocade patterns, such as Hengrave and Kinnersley (Plate 39), employ stylized leaves and flowers in a symmetrical formation.
The freer naturalistic patterns are well displayed in Bird (Plate 40), where the flowing lines and bold delineation of the foliage, betray a more spontaneous approach.

The fabrics were always designed with the intention of providing a richness compatible with the high altars and their gilded brattishing, coloured relief sculpture, silver Crucifix and Persian carpet. Deep reds and golds, greens and browns were often chosen to complement the wall decorations. Most of the fabrics were based on Italian Renaissance damasks, and the florid The Pine material (Plate 41), designed by Bodley, employs superimposed rhythms of stems connecting formalized cone motifs. A more two-dimensional approach was taken by Garner in The Gothic pattern (Plate 42), using stylized flower heads in two shades of a single colour. His Van der Weyden (Plate 42) shows a further use of these tight symmetrical designs, which differ from the broader, freer patterns of the wallpapers.

A group of volunteers from St. Paul's church, Knightsbridge, were established as the St. Paul's Society for Embroidery, and the group of ladies would meet in Baker Street to embellish the fabrics supplied by Watts and Co. for churches. The work was then made up into altar-frontals, copes and curtains.(35) The work was carried out under the supervision of Bodley himself, and the gold and silk thread surrounding the patterns would add extra depth, strength and relief to the already luxurious designs.

Much of the metalwork produced by Watts was designed by Bodley, and included chalices, alms dishes and altar crosses. It
was executed by Barkentin and Krall, two metalworkers who had formed a partnership in about 1873, a year before Watts and Co. had been established. The Dane, Jes Barkentin (?1800-81), and the German, Carl Christopher Krall (1844-1923), began trading as goldsmiths; earlier in his career, Barkentin had worked for William Burges. Towards the end of the century, Krall was a founder member with William Morris of the Art Workers' Guild.

The convenience of employing only the one firm for church furnishing requirements (37) allowed the full coordination of interior details. The personal trade-marks of the three designers were thereby stamped on hundreds of churches, vestment cupboards, vicarages and drawing rooms in most counties in the United Kingdom.

The great range of their design resources, as well as the strength of Bodley and Garner's idealism, may be discovered by visiting the church of the Holy Angels at Hoar Cross, near Burton-on-Trent in Staffordshire. Again it was a huge private fortune which financed the outstanding luxury of the commission. The circumstances of patronage, however, as well as the location and the style itself, could not have been farther from St. Augustine's in dour Pendlebury.

The church was the private undertaking of Emily Charlotte, eldest daughter of Sir Charles Wood, 1st Viscount Halifax, a Whig statesman and member of Queen Victoria's Household. Emily came from a strongly Anglo-Catholic family and her brother, Charles Lindley Wood, 2nd Viscount Halifax, with
whom she had strong sympathies, had become leader of the High Church party after Pusey's death; 'We never had an interest which was not in common', he said. In the 1890s, and even during the 1920s when he was in over 80 years old, Halifax promoted the reunion between the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. In 1863, when she was 23 years of age, Emily married Hugo Meynell Ingram, aged 42, who came from a family of landowners at Hickleton and Temple Newsam, near Leeds. The family had bought Hoar Cross Hall in 1794 together with its large estates where Hugo Meynell Ingram was Master of the Meynell Hunt. An unfortunate riding accident left Emily unable to bear children and she never fully regained her health. During their brief marriage the couple had built a new house at Hoar Cross, near to the old Hall which her husband's family had bought in 1794. Then, in 1870, seven years after their marriage, her husband also suffered a serious fall while hunting; he never recovered and, fourteen months later in May 1871, he died. (38) Meynell Ingram was buried first of all in nearby Yoxall church.

Emily was 31, a devout woman, briefly married, and wealthy. For over thirty years she gave much of her energy to creating a whole new church as a memorial to her husband, and as an act of devotion to God. Hugo Meynell Ingram's tomb was later transferred to the new church at Hoar Cross. No accurate assessment of the cost can now be made because Emily did not wish to be accused of extravagance by critics of the High Church, so she destroyed all financial records.

The architects she chose were Bodley and Garner. One of the most important links between patron and architects was the
aristocratic churchman, Canon Frederick Sutton, who had known Bodley since 1864 and who was employing him to restore his own church, St. Helen at Brant Broughton in Lincolnshire. Frederick Heathcote Sutton (1833-1888), the friend and assistant of Bodley, had influenced him in the field in which Sutton specialized, High Church interiors, (39) but above all in the design of church organs. His book Church Organs, their Position and Construction, published in 1872, was important for its explanation of the construction and history of organ building. Sutton was also interested in the theory of the creation of decorative stencil patterns, and he may have helped Bodley and Garner plan the decoration of St. Augustine's, Pendlebury after the foundation of Burlison and Grylls. Sutton was so closely involved with the architects that Comper once remarked that 'a third partner was Canon Frederick Sutton of Brant Broughton, in conjunction with whom their best churches of Pendlebury and Hoar Cross were designed.' (40) Sutton is known to have taken an active part in the designs for Holy Angels.

The chosen site for Holy Angels lay close to Hoar Cross Hall, the home of the benefactress. The north front of the church (Plate 43) overlooks estate land sloping away into the rural valley. The two compartments of nave and chancel are divided almost exactly by a tower which itself is divided into slender portions by four tall, slightly stepped buttresses which give the tower the appearance of tapering towards the top. This feature, together with the mild red sandstone, suggests a superficial similarity to the overall lines of the Anglican Cathedral at Liverpool by Giles Scott dating from thirty years later. Bodley selected and approved Scott's design for the cathedral, and
supervised the initial stages of construction. The tower at Durham cathedral is perhaps a closer parallel; and its late date, 1470, indicates how advanced a style the partners were now contemplating as a model.

The chancel at Hoar Cross is higher than the nave, and the tall chancel windows with their square-headed exterior openings take on the half-Decorated, half-Perpendicular proportions which the two partners invented, fusing the two styles in a development that had been prevented from taking place because of the Black death in 1349. This theory has since been refuted, but it was a a commonly held belief in the nineteenth century. But who was initially responsible for this idea? As a contemporary queried in 1907, was it the equally able Garner who had the ruling hand over the chancel design, or had he persuaded Bodley to adopt the new manner? Whilst later buildings were supervised more individually by each single architect, it is indeed difficult to say because of their close working pattern who designed what at this earlier stage of their collaboration The chancel at Hoar Cross certainly has features which were not characteristic of Bodley, such as the stone vaulted roof. Other items at the east end, however, such as the Meynell Ingram tomb with its ogee arch, and sedilia, also with ogees, were clearly adopted by Bodley as the accepted style from Hoar Cross onwards (Plate 44). There is evidence for this when, in 1885, he told the students of the Royal Academy:

'the great time of the fourteenth-century; when, for refinement of design and beauty of detail, our English architecture was second to that of no other country. And then the Renaissance, with its great artistic skill,
and exuberent richness, with almost lawless beauty. (41)

Refinement of detail, concentrated and highly controlled, is to be found throughout the church. The powerful black and white diamonds of the floor provide a luxurious texture (Plate 45). They derive from the simple severity of churches dating from fifty years after the Civil War, with their mix of Perpendicular and English Baroque. Perhaps the mixing of styles was acceptable to the partners when those styles were combined from gothic precedents, however late, or perhaps, in the case of marble, if the source was Italian. (42) The walls are filled with statuary and symbolic carving on an almost Roman Catholic scale. Further glass panels by Burlison and Grylls were sent on completion to be added to earlier work, but on arrival, Mrs. Meynell Ingram was unhappy with the 'thin' appearance of the glass compared to the earlier windows, so that they were removed and sent back. After alterations had been made, they were returned to the church. The beautiful late-Gothic style organ-case (Plate 46), to the design of Sutton, together with the font, are the only furnishings in the church embellished with stencil patterns, and are two of only a handful of features to be allowed any colour or gilding. The narrow nave was kept deliberately dark at the wishes of Emily Meynell Ingram who argued symbolically that one entered her church in an unenlightened state, moved along the nave and out of the dimness into a spiritual perception and holy awareness, as manifested by the chancel which surrounded the altar with light.

The nave aisles contain the fourteen Stations of the Cross deeply carved in wood by two Belgian craftsmen. Emily was
travelling in Germany when she first saw an example of the method by which these are painted: full colour painting then gilded, after which the gold was scratched to form elaborate designs. (43)

Bodley and Garner both favoured later medieval inspiration for their church fittings. The glass, all by Burlison and Grylls, uses plain, subdued colouring and much clear glass. Dozens of early saints are represented from those of the third century up to St. Louis of France in the thirteenth-century. A rare description of Bodley at work survives in the recollections of a relative by marriage of Emily's, Lady Mary Meynell:

'The church was his favourite child, so to speak, and it was interesting to watch him directing any decoration that was being carried out. He was very lame and would stand leaning on his stick and pointing out each line and each variation of colour as the man with brush in hand followed his directions.' (44)

Bodley saw the late medieval years as the high-point of the decorative arts, saying, in 1885:

'...the fifteenth century work, the very flower of the Gothic manner, with its development of the kindred arts of painting, of sculpture, stained glass, embroidery and textile fabrics, works all partaking of architectural character.' (45)

Fabrics by Watts and Company, designed to a standard of Renaissance luxury by Bodley, Garner and Scott junior, were employed generously at Hoar Cross. Figured velvet, overlaid with gold thread embroidery, adorns altars, pulpits and archways. The combination of detail, proportion and stylistic continuity at
Hoar Cross provides a satisfactory sense of wholeness and in Bodley's words:

'Another principle is an obvious one - that of harmony, not only of style, but of character and feeling, throughout a building. No eclectic school which mingles styles incongruously will ever be long-lived or successful.' (46)

When the church was complete, Mrs. Meynell Ingram was said to have been dissatisfied with the proportions of the nave, so she had the west wall demolished, resited and rebuilt to provide an extra bay in the nave. This great strength of mind was a further demonstration of her earlier determination to found a true ritualistic church, and later to invite Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln and supporter of the Anglo-Catholic Movement, to preach there in the 1880s. Although she was gracious and much admired by both family and friends, she would not endure opposition, especially against her High Church principles. On one occasion, when the church was threatened with a demonstration by followers of John Kensit and the Protestant Truth Society, Emily ordered her four game-keepers to fling any intruders into a nearby stagnant pond, undertaking to pay any fines which might result. She then went to church, followed as usual by a footman carrying her Prayer Book. In the event, no Kensitites ever went to Holy Angels but the richness of its accoutrements, together with the magnificent sixteenth century vestments collected on her frequent expeditions abroad, and the high church services, all attracted strong criticism. Eventually, the Bishop of Lichfield, who considered such rites and decoration to be idolatrous, ordered the church to be closed. In response to this stricture,
and at the expense of Emily's brother, Bodley built at the west end a narthex so that visitors could still see into the church despite its closure. (47)

On Emily Meynell Ingram's death in December 1904, she left Hoar Cross to her younger brother, Fredrick Lindley Wood, and Temple Newsam to her nephew, Edward, the future 1st Earl Halifax, who, whilst pursuing his career as a statesman, wrote on the work of John Keble.

Dating from the same years as St. Augustine's, Pendlebury, is the analogous church of St. Michael and All Angels, Folkestone. This was founded by the energetic vicar of the parish of Folkestone, Canon Matthew Woodward, who laid the foundation stone in April, 1873. (48) Woodward held the incumbency of his church for most of the remaining years of the nineteenth century. Earlier, in 1862, he had founded St. Peter's church, which stands farther outside the town, above the East Cliff.

Following some weathering to the stonework, and slight damage during the second world war, the church was demolished in 1953. One may now only rely on photographs for analysis and comparison, and even these were taken when the church was under the process of destruction. Built from brick with much stone dressing, the exterior of the nave (Plate 47) is reminiscent of Pendlebury, especially in the complex window tracery and canted east end. The use of a narrow polygonal north-west tower with a short stone spire was unique to the architect, however, its modest size perhaps showing a determination to keep its cost within a reasonable budget, and so prevent it from remaining on
In fact, the funds for building were generous; £4,000 were provided initially, with a further £9,000 for enlargements. It was consecrated on 3 August, 1878 by the Bishop of Dover. The tall tower exploited fully an awkward and unprepossessing site below a hill, by calling attention to the church when viewed from the streets below. The restricted site allowed for only one aisle, so Bodley planned a north aisle which was shorter than the nave, but almost of the same width. To the east of the aisle, he placed a baptistery, a narrow stair-turret, and a low tower adjacent to the sanctuary wall.

Little contemporary comment survives - Warren fails to mention the building at all - but comments from Bodley made in 1881 show his emphasis on the aesthetics of the interior:

'An exterior is of far less importance, so long as the proportions are good and dignified. For the most part, in our great towns, there are few places where it much matters what the exterior may be; the situation is destroyed by the ugliness of modern surroundings. It is of no avail to be harmonious with discords around. But it is not so in the interior of a church. There the architect is in full possession of his audience, and what he has to say of noble thought, or religious expression, cannot be heard.' (50)

The fastidious interior at Folkestone is drawn from a now familiar pattern. The nave has moulded piers instead of columns dividing the nave from the aisles, a feature which Bodley repeated thirty years later, in an almost identical manner, at St. Edward, Holbeck in Leeds. Slim aisle windows and a small,
high west window must have allowed for only a dark nave, whereas three south windows gave plenty of light to the high altar. The theatrical technique of contrasting the dark and light areas of his churches, the capless piers, the gracefull elongated proportions, and the flamboyant tracery in the windows all showed a more romantic sense derived from the Gothic Revival. This was a reaction to the youthfully serious-minded, formal, approach which had inspired the earlier, 'French' churches. Other typical features which were by now fully developed were the stencil patterns covering the east wall, and the Burlison and Grylls glass.

The parish of St. Michael's, Camden Road in north London was formed in 1876 and services were held first in a temporary church. Although the design probably dates from 1876, the foundation stone of the nave and aisle was not laid until 6 June, 1880; they were completed the following year. (51) The chancel was not built until 1894, and the proposed tower was never built. (52)

St. Michael's also resembles Pendlebury with its single space under one roof, and its horizontal stone banding on the west wall, but it derives from an earlier period of English Gothic; the tracery is now simpler and less flowing (Plate 48). The north-west tower was to have been of the early fourteenth-century style, of four stages, and with tall, richly decorated belfry openings to each face.

Basil Clarke, writing in 1966 expressed surprise at the manner in which St. Michael's 'rather aristocratic style' did not look incongruous in a busy town street. (53) This style, which
succeeds so well in the stone-built churches at Hoar Cross and Clumber, had been adapted for the distinguished surroundings of landscaped scenery and sumptuous country houses. Camden Town was built in brick and stucco in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and Bodley built St. Michael's of brick. Brick was by now the accepted material for London commercial, ecclesiastical and domestic work; for churches it was considered practical and workmanlike for the poorer inner-suburbs such as Camden Town, and it had been used with success by Street at St. James, Westminster, and by Butterfield at St. Alban, Holborn. Pugin's St. Peter's, Woolwich of 1842 was an early brick church which bears a strong resemblance to Bodley's churches after 1865. There was by now less possibility for decoration (polychromy had lessened in popularity during the 70s). Structurally, however, the Camden church is made special by the brick buttresses which delineate on the exterior the bays which are visible on the interior. The buttresses are connected to tall, stone-gabled piers which step out from the aisle walls below.

The tall, austere interior, lit by clerestory windows and small aisle windows, has lost much of the decoration of the churches which were built immediately previously. The wagon vault is crossed by the slim stone ribs which are represented externally by the buttresses. Only in the stone-vaulted north-east chapel is there some detail. An unusual mauve marble altar and reredos with intricate incised decoration - resembling the familiar stencil brocade patterning - are held within wooden frames.

John Ninian Comper was so impressed as a boy by the
'beauty of proportion and whiteness' of the, as yet unfinished, nave, that it led him to choose architecture as his career. Soon afterwards, he entered Bodley's office as an articled pupil. 'The name of Bodley represents to me the greatest artist and...one of the loveliest characters of the day.' Comper wrote to his mother. The new spirit of simple decoration displayed at St. Michael's was adopted and popularised at the beginning of the twentieth century by Percy Dearmer, who carried out his liturgical experiments in St. Mary's, Primrose Hill, the interior of which he painted completely white.

No new cathedral had been built in England since St. Paul's, London, in the seventeenth-century. Attempts had been made to revive the See of Cornwall, but it was not until 1876 that the Bishopric of Truro Bill was passed. The new Bishop, Edward White Benson (1829-96), originally assistant master at Rugby, had been made headmaster of Wellington College at the age of 29. He was the father of three remarkable writers, A.C., E.F., and R.H. Benson. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1882.

In 1876, as Bishop of Truro, he organized a cathedral committee for the selection of an architect to be chosen from a short-list which included Bodley, Burges, Pearson, R.P. Pullan, the local architect J.P. St. Aubyn, John Oldrid Scott and Street. These architects were displeased by having to compete for the commission, and the committee altered its course, allowing the submission of photographs and drawings of their larger churches instead of producing a design. In the event, four architects sent in designs for the cathedral. Bodley made a complete set of designs, as well as sending in photographs and perspectives of
newly completed Pendlebury and Hoar Cross, amongst other churches. (55) Further to these, he sent alternative designs on a smaller scale; Pearson simply sent in drawings of executed work. Bodley's plans and elevations no longer survive, but Simpson said that Bodley's own favourite choice had a pair of towers over the transepts, 'as at Exeter'. (56) He intended to retain a portion of the old parish church of St. Mary's as a Lady chapel at the east end. Pearson kept the majority of the church in his winning design. St. Mary's is a double nave church with a central arcade, and may have suggested to Bodley this unusual arrangement for his later churches at Warrington, Hom Green and Woodlands. Alternatives to Bodley's main design were provided on fly-leaves and were included against the advice of his office who thought that this might confuse the committee. In the event, he did lose; Pearson received seven votes from the executive committee, Bodley the remaining four. (57) When the two architects were recommended to the general committee, Pearson was chosen as the winner of the competition. Pearson had included drawings of St. Augustine, Kilburn (1870), St. John, Red Lion Square (1874), and St. Michael and All Angels, Croydon (1876); three masterpieces of the Gothic Revival. With such competition, it is not surprising that even the creator of Pendlebury and Hoar Cross was set aside in favour of the brilliant master of planning, soaring arcades and impressive vaults. Bodley had, of course, produced a complete design for a cathedral, but Pearson's contributions were still enough to make a definite decision, perhaps because his churches were better known through greater accessibility, and would almost certainly have been visited by the judges. The bitter disappointment was perhaps tempered by the knowledge that the other competitors did not figure at all in the judges' decision.
Pearson produced a crisp, well detailed design which was largely derived, it has been shown, from French models such as St. Etienne, Caen, and from an English cathedral: Lincoln. (58) Bodley might not have planned for the constricted site as well as Pearson did, or perhaps his perspective drawings did not prove monumental enough for Benson, who wanted the cathedral to dominate the town.

The loss of most of the plans and drawings for Truro is made more serious by the absence of documentary evidence, such as contemporary reactions, or a written specification. (59) The designs were almost certainly by Bodley himself without assistance from Garner, because Bodley is known to have looked forward to winning this rare major work, which had the added advantage of being situated in his home country. Garner was responsible for the partner's entry in the first, delayed, Liverpool Cathedral competition which had not interested Bodley because of his doubts over the designs coming to fruition. With Bishop Benson behind the Truro project, however, it was certain that building would go ahead, and so for Bodley, it was the one opportunity in his life for a single major, prestigious work. 'To do one great work and to die looking through a lattice window' was his ambition from his youth. (60) When a final chance offered itself shortly before his death in the form of the second Liverpool Cathedral competition, he was only in a position to have temporary influence over a much younger man.
The 'realisation of an ideal':

Major Works, 1879-97.

'...the fervid, almost passionate, realisation of an ideal.'(1)

The second half of Bodley's career coincided with a severe set-back to Victorian prosperity. The agricultural depression brought about difficult years for those who relied on the land for their income, but manufacture and commerce were also affected as exports fell. Bodley's patrons were reluctant to divert funds into ambitious building projects, and between 1873 and 1883 he received only one complete church commission, at Camden Town. The previous ten years had yielded eleven new churches. Bodley's work over the next twenty years came from a different source: the cities and towns, with their new suburbs, required new parish churches substantial enough to accommodate large congregations.

Like Micklethwaite in his Modern Parish Churches: Their plan, Design and Furniture, 1874, Bodley now began to concern himself with a regularized form of planning.(2) His variety of styles had by now become clear, and each new church manifested itself as an increasingly refined type of English fourteenth-century Gothic. The plans took on Micklethwaite's pattern:
'We find that there ought to be a nave and chancel of about the same width, and communicating directly through the chancel arch. The nave may have aisles, whose width will vary according to circumstances, and transepts for congregational use should never be allowed. All the principal entrances must be in the western part, and one at least should have a porch. The chancel must be accessible from the north or south, or both, as well as from the west, and must have on one side a convenient place for the organ. There should be a sacristy and a choir vestry, which should communicate with one another, and the former also with the sanctuary. The tower, which should not be added unless funds allow of a good one, will ordinarily be either western or central; if the latter, over the chancel, not west of it, but for special reasons it may be allowed to stand almost anywhere.'(3)

This passage bears close comparison to Bodley's churches of the 80s and 90s, which are included in the following chapters. The ideas derive from a younger generation - Micklethwaite, born in 1843, was only in his late twenties when he first wrote his remarks - but Bodley had always led his contemporaries within the revival of ecclesiastical Gothic, and he was ready to take the next step. The 'hall' principal, with its steeply pitched roof, which had proved so triumphantly successful at Pendlebury, now assumed a tamer character for twenty or so of the thirty late town and suburban churches. The remaining ten churches, designed for villages, took on more traditional plans, by including transepts, and by placing nave and chancel under separate roofs. For the more advanced town churches, Bodley tended to employ more and more the Perpendicular Gothic. He may have been influenced in
this direction by Gilbert Scott junior, but in very late years, the Gothic features were heavily diluted, and many details were omitted altogether. Such a move to less historicist forms may seem to have bequeathed an insipid style, but Bodley was trying to maintain Gothic at a time during the last years of the nineteenth-century, when the Arts and Crafts manner was threatening to take over church architecture. Bodley was not in favour of the new style, and by removing the decorative details which made his buildings appear to derive from a declining era, Bodley tried to resist this reaction against Gothic copyism.

Bodley was aware that size was becoming increasingly important:

'churches should be erected more monumental in character and more spacious. Our domestic buildings are growing, and our ecclesiastical edifices should grow also. I would plead, then, for churches with ample floor space and height. In architecture nothing is so impressive as height.'(4)

This decision to increase size probably helped to make him sometimes lose control of the external dimensions, and internal proportions, of his later churches.

The principles were carried throughout the 1880s, the busiest decade for Bodley in sheer numbers of projects. They came in quick succession, sometimes two in each year. The site for St. German's, Adamsdown, Cardiff was provided by Lord Tredegar, and the church was built in 1884. The 'hall' principal was adopted with only a fleche and low chapels marking the chancel from the nave. Flying buttresses spring from the dividing walls of these
chapels in the manner first adopted at Camden Town in 1876. The rock-faced stone contrasts strongly with the delicate tracery of the tall windows. The interior shows the new shift towards the perpendicular, with soaring cluster-columns providing elegant arcades, a broad east window and aisle windows.

The numerous drawings which accompanied the competition entry for Liverpool Anglican Cathedral in 1885 were fortunately published in several of the architectural magazines, and so the fate which befell the partnership's drawings for Truro Cathedral was avoided (Plate 49). The entry was said to have been wholly the work of Garner who prepared the drawings and all the details himself. Simpson wrote after Bodley's death that 'he took little interest' in the commission, 'he felt that it would never be built on the site then selected. Besides work, mainly domestic, was beginning to pour in upon him and he had little time for competitions.' Garner's design was ready by the end of 1885 (Plate 50), and consisted of twin western towers with spires, and a wide nave leading into a massive octagonal crossing tower (5) (Plate 51). The crossing is reminiscent of the fourteenth-century octagon at Ely Cathedral, but Garner intended to stone vault his Liverpool version, omitting Ely's lantern. The crossing was to have a spire, with a corona at its lowest stage, in the manner of Clumber chapel. Plans allowed for an alternative, square, crossing tower (Plate 49). Short transepts, and a broad east end, complete a rather stiff and muddled exterior composition, with the ponderous mass of the crossing spire over-weighting the centre of the building. Garner did not win, the judges deciding in favour of the entry by William Emerson, but Bodley's Prediction about indecision over a site was proved correct, and
eighteen years were to elapse before a further competition was held. A lack of money, and a general apathy were also to blame for the postponement. These delays eventually resulted in the selection of the design by the young Giles Scott, described in the following chapter.

The requirements at Ecchinswell in Berkshire stipulated that as much as possible of the old church was to be used in the new building. Although this was not possible because of the condition of the original church, it probably affected the final appearance of the building. There was obviously a wish to maintain a traditional, village character in the new church, and Bodley provided a remarkably true likeness of an original fourteenth-century country church (Plate 52). It is superbly built, using knapped flint with Bath stone dressings; a late use of irregular stone banding appears on the west wall and tower. The unaffected spire of wooden shingles echoes the steepness of the sweeping barn-like tile roof which covers, under one unbroken span, the nave, chancel and aisles. Inside, Bodley may be seen to have begun firmly to 'compartmentalise' his decoration. The easternmost section of the roof-rafters is boarded over, panelled and painted to concentrate most decoration over the altar. Stencilling on the east wall reaches no lower than the roof-line, where it is marked firmly from the rest of the wall by an uncompromisingly straight border. The screen has a busy band of fret-work kept tight up to the top rail. The spartan decoration leaves most of the church a chaste white. More and more in the later, simpler churches, the lessening of decoration accentuates their plain details.
Probably Bodley's greatest achievement from the 80s is the church of St Mary, built in 1886 for the 7th Duke of Newcastle at his home near Sherwood Forest, Clumber Park in Nottinghamshire.

Henry Pelham Archibald Douglas Pelham-Clinton (1864-1928), 7th Duke of Newcastle, inherited his title together with 32,500 acres around Sherwood Forest when he was 15 years old and a schoolboy at Eton. His father, the 6th Duke, had married the niece of A.J. Beresford-Hope, the founder of the Ecclesiologists' model church, All Saints', Margaret Street, London, by William Butterfield.(7) She was the granddaughter and heiress of Thomas Hope of the Deepdene, the collector and Neo-Classicist.(8)

The young Duke's seat, Clumber Park, had been built in 1767 by Stephen Wright, but in 1879, the year in which he had inherited the house, Sir Charles Barry had been commissioned to remodel it. These plans were not carried out. Later in the same year, however, fire destroyed a large portion of the house, and Barry's son was called in by the Trustees to rebuild it. The 6th Duke, who inherited also the unfinished memorial chapel to the 5th Duke designed by T.C. Hine in 1873, did not consider that it was of sufficient scale, and he proposed to build a new chapel farther from the house.(9) Probably, the reconstruction of the mansion after the fire was the reason for this abandonment of the chapel, but its stone was used eventually in 1886, when the Duke decided to build his new chapel of St. Mary. He was a devout man, quiet, a lover of the countryside, and, due to a less than robust physique, took only a small part in public life. The local Romany
inhabitants held a fascination for him, and a large collection of his own photographs of the gypsies survives. The Duke had recently left Magdalen College, Oxford and attained his majority when he decided to found a strong statement of his Anglo-Catholicism. His mother, who had always belonged to the High Church party, later became a Roman Catholic. The Duke probably knew Bodley and Garner indirectly, if not personally, from their work at Magdalen, where he would have witnessed the construction of the St. Swithin's buildings during his undergraduate years.

Bodley chose to introduce a tower and spire at Clumber (Plate 53), and, as one finds at Hoar Cross, almost exactly equal lengths for nave and chancel, whilst the chancel, once again, was higher than the nave. Two short transepts project to north and south, defining a cruciform plan. Thin red sandstone banding forms a mild, irregular external decoration, reminiscent of Tue Brook. Bodley's choice of a spire was a rare one for him, but as the chapel was surrounded by low lying land and a sheet of water, he must have thought it necessary introduce a conspicuous vertical. As Bodley commented whilst talking generally in 1885:

In 'an old Gothic church... on the long, low, level lands, the pointing spire will have been lifted in contrast to the horizontal line of the plain - a point of relief which the traveller's eye may rest on, as he travels through the monotonous level country.'(10)

Clumber Park is certainly not monotonous, but the church might have been lost amongst so many trees, were it not for the powerful spire springing from the sturdy central tower. The manner in which the chapel defines its position in the landscape
is heightened by contrasting the red Runcorn sandstone, now
darkened by weather, and the chalk-white Streetly stone from
local quarries. Bodley cited original buildings as influential
over his particular treatment of the fourteenth-century English
Gothic at Clumber. By now, no other style but that which was
inherent in England, would be considered:

Our beautiful old English Gothic will serve for all our
requirements, and is capable of infinite variety and
freshness of design. Let us keep to our own manner of
English Architecture.' (11)

The chapel has authority and power, dominating all the
vistas which lead to it. The architect's refinement of detail,
and his dignity of scale and proportion have arrived in full
measure. Even when the spectator stands close to the building,
with its tall nave and roof-height buttresses looming over-head,
a clear view of the spire and its open corona is visible, a
feature inspired by the tower at Patrington in Yorkshire.

The narrow nave emphasises the height of the stone vault
above, and the windows, recessed and far above head-height,
provide an even glow, almost in the manner of top-lighting (Plate
54). Within the columns dividing the windows lie narrow openings,
and continue the theme of pierced internal buttresses which was
begun at Pendlebury. The interior of the chapel focuses the
attention on to the High Altar which is raised up on steps,
filling the narrow chancel (Plate 55). The alabaster altar was
executed by the stone-carvers Farmer and Brindley, whilst the
candlesticks and crucifix, designed by Bodley, were made by
Barkentin and Krall. As he had indicated, Bodley was not averse
to decorative features derived from continental models, in this case to seventeenth-century Baroque metal-work. He favoured the plainer Baroque which is usually to be found in northern European countries, such as Belgium and Holland. The hangings, in subdued colours, are by Watts and Co. whilst the banners are by an old collaborator, Charles Eamer Kempe.(12) Here at Clumber, then, is the complete ensemble of firms, which were chosen consistently by Bodley. They provide all his later churches with a similar sense of serious and noble intentions in both design and execution. The arrangements maintain an appearance of long-standing permanence, and rarely in this chapel can one fault the sense of proportion and the quality of purposefulness in the application of his principles, one of which he quoted as:

'that of harmony, not only of style, but of character and feeling, throughout a building.'(13)

He also believed that symmetry of design was a feature which showed the architect to be in control of his composition, providing a design of thoughtfully planned intentions.

Bodley had almost completed the chapel when a quarrel arose between him and his patron over how much money should be spent on the building - over £40,000 is the estimated total.(14) As Comper recollected later, the Duke dismissed the architect:

'Bodley had a quarrel with the Duke of Newcastle over what he considered the trifle of an extra thousand pounds involved by a change of site which it had not been thought necessary to mention, and the Duke refused to pay.'(15)

The work continued under Comper, but he, too, left when the Duke required him to dismantle the east wall and rebuild it at the
Bodley's faithful pupil would not carry out the alterations which the Duke ordered concerning his former master's work. (16) Final additions to the furnishings were carried out after 1890 by the Rev. Ernest Geldart (1848-1929), the church decorator trained by Waterhouse. The woodwork and metal fittings are ultimately out of sympathy with Bodley's overall programme of decoration.

Consecration took place on 23 October 1889, and amongst those present were Edward King, the Bishop of Lincoln, and Emily Meynell Ingram's brother, Viscount Halifax, together with the Rev. Canon Knox Little of Hoar Cross. (17) At Clumber today, only the stable-blocks, a huge man-made lake and the chapel now remain after death duties caused the destruction of the house in 1937.

Bodley's simplified plan and unified space reach an impressive monumentality at Queens' College, Cambridge. He had begun his association with the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge at Queens', when he restored the original chapel there in 1857. Thirty-five years later, in 1890, he produced beautifully drawn elevations for a new chapel in Walnut Tree Court (18) (Plate 56). Although the work was in the names of both Bodley and Garner, correspondence shows that it was Bodley alone who retained control over every detail of design throughout the building. Showing his usual care for the surroundings and his sensitivity towards materials, Bodley matched the college's mellow red brick and stone in his new chapel (19) (Plate 57). In an overall statement made in 1885, he said that we should:

'harmonise our work...it should be done where possible, not only in the use of local material, but in designing
in the local manner, and in harmony with the surrounding buildings.'(20)

Bodley further eased his new building into the fifteenth and seventeenth century court by emulating the crenellations on the existing buildings, with battlements on the top of the new chapel. Bodley stayed within traditional college bounds by providing an aisleless building with stalls facing each other to the north and south. The great height in comparison to width, and the full height buttresses and small west window, once again betray similar planning to that of St. Augustine's, Pendlebury.

Inside, the single roof level once again unifies successfully the single large space from west to east (Plate 58). The wooden ceiling is painted sage green with delicate cream floral patterning. The walls remain white and it is unclear from surviving correspondence whether they were to have been fully decorated or not.(21) The glass in the tall windows includes some by Hardman from the old chapel and new glass by C.E. Kempe.(22)

The east wall presents a typical later Bodley altar arrangement. A richly carved retable, coloured a deep red and with much gilding, was designed to contain a detailed south German triptych of the late fifteenth-century. Curtains of rich brocade by Watts and Co. were placed at an angle of 45 degrees to the altar, and match the altar frontal. The east wall itself is a flurry of stencil patterns in red and deep green. Individual patterns are familiar from their being used in earlier schemes. Turning to the west, one may see Bodley indulging in a sense of drama which he enjoyed increasingly in his later years. By placing the organ, narrow and tall, against the strong horizontality of the screen, he demonstrates the power and excitement which can be generated by seeing a simple isolated shape in open space. The sense of
poise and slightly precious refinement reminded the Cambridge architect T.H. Lyon (1870-1953) of an Anglican sisterhood, 'and made him picture the nuns primly curtseying to the altar.' (23)

It was part of Anglo-Catholic philosophy of the late nineteenth-century, that a modern church should have several supporting organizations. These might include a large church with a colourful, up-lifting sung service, a school, clergy accommodation, and perhaps a convent of nuns. The first such institution which Bodley was involved with was the Eton Mission in the east end of London. In 1880, Eton College founded the mission to help the poor, and to remind the boys of their Christian duties, by sending them there on weekend visits. (24)

The choice of Hackney Wick was a deliberate one, and was made with regard to the deprived nature of the district and the lack of facilities for worship. The universities and public schools had begun to establish missions in working-class districts of London. Hackney Wick, with its 6,000 or so inhabitants living in squalid, overcrowded conditions, was deemed ripe for redemption by the provision of clergyman and curates appointed by the School. Eton retained the status of patrons of the mission by the establishment of the London Committee. The Committee consisted of the Head Master, the Treasurer of the Eton Committee and about seven or eight Old Etonians. (25) The clergy were always selected from Old Etonians until 1918. The building fund, begun in 1884, accumulated the estimated cost of the church of between £8000 and £9000, mostly from public subscription. (26)

The sheer red brick walls, bands of stone and narrow buttresses, appear to recall Bodley's Camden Town church, but the
window tracery has stiffened and become much simpler. The two mullions of the centre lights rise to the head of the windows on the north and south sides. The wide interior with its barrel roof introduces square shafts and transverse arches cut through internal buttresses to form aisles (Plates 59 and 60). The nave is perhaps too wide for its height, but a certain melancholy atmosphere is provided by the dim light from the sad eye of the east window. Basil Clarke, when referring to Hackney Wick, commented that 'the delicacy and refinement, which look well on a small scale, seem rather thin and spectral when enlarged.' (27) St. Mary of Eton is not the worst case of stripped Gothic, or the dilution of details. Bodley's churches were destined to become even more 'thin and spectral' in later years.

Two intriguing small-scale experiments of this date provide a more successful attempt at the simplification which was losing its effect in larger churches. The churches at Woodlands in Dorset, and at Warrington in Cheshire, both built between 1891 and 1892, are constructed with central arcades. The divided nave has therefore two sections of equal width, presenting the appearance inside of two aisles without a nave. The usual long, steep roof covers the churches. A further central arcade appears in 1905 at The Paraclete, Hom Green in Herefordshire (28) (Plate 61).

The commission for the Anglican church of Holy Trinity in Florence probably resulted from a recommendation by Bodley's old friend, Roddam Spencer Stanhope (1829-1908), who had moved to Florence in 1880 as a result of poor health. (29) Italy had attracted the English since the days of the Grand Tour, but
especially since prominent writers such as the Brownings had settled in Florence. Bodley, who was himself an admirer of the city, wrote a poem about the view of it from nearby Fiesole. (30)

For the centre of Anglican worship in Florence, Bodley introduced that most English of Gothic styles, the late Decorated, and made the church as lavish and colourful as he could, employing both English and Italian craftsmen. Bodley made his first visit to Florence to see the possibilities of the old building in May, 1892, and said that it might be reconstructed with 'a satisfactory and even beautiful result'. (31) Bodley began work in 1893, adapting the original church building on the Via Micheli by leaving the existing plain exterior much the same, and by creating a new interior in the English Decorated style with Florentine materials. (32) The tracery of the windows looking on to the street were altered to an English pattern. Bodley provided a western tower about 90 feet high with a corner tower rising through the first stage. At the second stage, Gothic niches contained eight six-foot white marble statues of British saints, together with St. Stephen and St. John. Although these were carved by a Florentine sculptor, Cesare Fantacchiotti, St. Andrew, St. Patrick and St. George were designed by Bodley and sent out as plaster casts for Fantacchiotti to copy. The top stage of the tower was crenellated and open on all sides, having large belfry windows divided into three lights with delicate tracery at the top. It took the appearance of an English country church tower, but elongated proportionally to resemble an Italian campanile. The stone used was the local grey sandstone known as Pietra serena, but Bodley used the harder pietra forte for window decoration. The tower was one of few concessions made by Bodley
towards Italian architecture. Thus, by the substantial reconstruction of the church employing mostly Anglican idioms, he marked a clear visual division between the two forms of worship existing in Florence.

Inside, the axis of the church was reversed, from east to west. The nave was divided from the aisles by four green Prato marble clustered columns on both sides, surmounted by pointed arches of pietra serena. A strong sense of colour and pattern was also derived from stencil decoration, predominantly in subdued 'Indian', or brownish red, blue and green, relieved by gilding. The side walls were covered in a pineapple motif employing two shades of Indian red, and the same pattern was repeated higher on the walls in green on a white ground. Black letter inscriptions and Bodley's much favoured 'IHS' motif were placed on the coving and roof respectively. Monograms and inscriptions were superimposed over the main diaper scheme, a method which had been employed by Bodley since the days of Tue Brook. The reredos was conceived to hold fourteen paintings by John Spencer Stanhope, Bodley's wealthy old friend, whose work resembled late Burne-Jones. A strong influence from Florentine Renaissance artists such as Botticelli is also perceptible. Various antique decorations and fittings were supplied by the congregation. New fittings designed by Bodley were added, such as the pulpit of deep green Prato marble, with white marble relief panels carved by Fantacchiotti. All the stained glass is by Burlison and Grylls from designs by Bodley. (33)

Bodley remained aloof from the Royal Institute of British Architects, believing that architecture was still a gentleman's
profession. His unbusiness-like ways with clients were a symptom of this attitude, but he made his feelings clear over the architects' Registration Bill, introduced in 1891. A formal 'protest' was written by T.G. Jackson and Shaw, and in 1892, Bodley contributed to Architecture: a Profession or an Art?, edited by the two men:

'The more we make the practice of architecture the practice of a fine art, the more we shall raise it to its legitimate position.' (34)

He gave advice about training:

'Holidays spent in looking at old buildings and drawing them, and hours spent in the South Kensington Museum, will do more in teaching our art than reading many books in preparation for an examination.' (35)

Most Protesters believed the Bill to be an assault on the role of the architect as craftsman, and felt that technical and business matters were subordinate to imagination and skill. Bodley later agreed to join the Institute, in the year when he was offered the Gold Medal: 1899. (36) He was elected fellow, and served on the council for two years, but he was nevertheless dissatisfied with the direction of the profession at the turn of the century:

'No one... can say that our Victorian architecture is so satisfactory that we need not seek to improve it.' (37)

The climax of Bodley's barrel-vaulted form was designed in 1894 for St. John the Evangelist at Oxford. The Anglican order of the Cowley Fathers wished to provide a monastery for their community, consisting of a mission house, church, and a set of
cloisters on a site set back from the Iffley Road. (38) Bodley
used stone throughout, with a prominent and highly original west
tower of unprecedented simplicity (Plate 62). A square-plan stair
tower rises sheer from the base to the battlements of the west
flank, cutting between two narrow windows. Buttresses close the
left and right margins of the composition, and accentuate the
height of the tower. Thin north and south flying-buttresses,
surmounted by sharp, un-crocheted finials, run eastward along the
nave towards the single-storey cloisters (Plate 63). St. John's
has more conventional arcading than previously, and an unequalled
reticence and elegance inside help to conjour an ideal: 'true
refinement... denotes restrained power.' (39) (Plate 64) The
Society requested a long chancel, well screened from the public
nave. The tall, broad panel of the east window betrays the extent
to which Bodley was by now prepared to embrace the Perpendicular
style.

In 1897, Garner became a Roman Catholic and left the
partnership with Bodley after twenty-eight years. Bodley,
although now 69 years old, still wished to practice his
profession, and the two architects continued on their own. A
description of Garner's work after the dissolution of the
partnership is given in Chapter VIII.
CHAPTER V

'The salt of noble sentiment', 1897-1907:

Late Churches.

In 1900, Bodley published in the Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, a paper which he had read to students of the Royal Academy in 1885. The lecture provides the best indication of Bodley's principles during his later years:

'let me say that architecture, and all art, should be animated by some great and leading principle. Religion is the highest. The noblest buildings in the world have ever been those consecrated to her service. We see this alike in the pagan temple and in the great churches of Christendom.

After religion, civil or national dignity should call out the expression of high artistic power. Then the domestic feeling, the house, great or small, built for a family, in successive generations, to abide in, the house that should be handed down as the shrine of domestic honour. And, lastly, honour to the departed, as in sculptured monuments and memorial buildings. For art should be delighted in, not for itself alone, but as the expression, in a lasting way, that can perpetuate the feeling expressed.

Art requires, as it were, the salt of noble sentiment to keep it elevated and pure.'(1)

Bodley now concentrated almost entirely on town, rather
than village churches. Of his eleven last churches, only two were in the country. The expansion of the large cities continued to the end of the century, with numerous outlying districts requiring churches as centres of worship for the poor, and for the suburban middle-class. Wealthy patrons with country estates close to the town and with sympathy for the conditions of the working-classes, would provide the finances in total. Such patrons as Emily Meynell Ingram at Holbeck in Leeds, and Bass at Horninglow in Burton-upon Trent, are examples of local benefactions.

Private chapels and churches were occasionally built by wealthy private patrons who had by now wholeheartedly accepted the doctrines of Anglo-Catholicism, and these are represented by the Bishop's Palace Chapel at Lincoln, and the Duke of Westminster's church at Eccleston.

Plans for a replacement church for St. Matthew, Chapel Allerton on the outskirts of Leeds, had been proposed in the 1870s, with drawings made by G.E. Street in 1873-74. Inhabitants of the growing suburb had allowed for seating for 920, and the accommodation in the new church, when it was finally announced twenty years later, was to be of about the same order. The idea of replacing the old church was resurrected on 11 April 1894, and over the next two years, funds were gathered from private donations.

Bodley made an initial inspection of the site on 16 March 1896, with plans by the partnership receiving approval in the summer of the same year. (2)
The church is an adaptation of Bodley's earlier 'hall' churches, such as All Saints', Scarborough, 1867, with no division between nave and chancel, and without a clerestory. The barrel vaulted roof is of wood and, together with the position of the organ placed high in the nave roof, it resembles Queens' College Chapel, Cambridge of five years previously. The aisle windows are low and small and are the only source of light, so that the church remains somewhat dark - certainly darker than the college chapel. The powerful tower itself is detached from the body of the church by a short corridor, and the same elongated proportions and weighty Perpendicular manner were repeated at St. Chad's, Burton-on-Trent, 1903. The sparse use of detail, as though such detail had been designed on a smaller scale than the main outlines, has left a rather bald appearance both outside and within.

Hugh Lupus Grosvenor (1825-1899), 1st. Duke of Westminster, was one of the outstanding figures of his generation. He inherited his family's titles and fortune in 1869, and received a dukedom in 1874.(3) Pious, reserved, but conspicuously capable of shrewd financial management, he was devoted to providing a model estate for his tenants. His many projects included building-work on fifty farms, and on more than three-hundred cottages and lodges. The Duke was reticent, highly respected and philanthropic, and he generously endowed the various estate villages with picturesque additions by John Douglas and Alfred Waterhouse. In 1874, he began his building projects, however, with the remodelling by Waterhouse of his own house, Eaton Hall, near Chester. The Duke's vast wealth was
derived from his London properties and, to a lesser extent, from Cheshire dairy farms and estates in Scotland. These properties had been amassed over the preceding eight centuries since the time of the Norman Earl of Chester, from whom the Grosvenors claimed descent.

For the household, Waterhouse built a chapel and bell tower next to the Hall, but the estate as such lacked a centre of worship. Neither was there a suitable repository for the family deceased, nor a visible statement of Grosvenor devotion to the Church. The Duke, a devout man, accordingly decided to rebuild Eccleston church on his estate, of which his family were the patron. The original church had suffered under the Parliamentarians, and had been taken down eventually in 1807. Some of the memorials had been retained and placed in a new church by Porden, the architect of the old Eaton Hall. In turn, this second church was demolished in 1899. It is said that the Duke, who had doubled his income in his lifetime, ordered a cathedral from Bodley and, on being informed that nearby Chester had one already, he replied, 'Then build me a small one.' The result is a large scale village church of clean-cut stone, displaying a very high quality of craftsmanship (Plate 65).

The style is fourteenth-century Gothic, in the rusty local sandstone, and the overall appearance is one of restraint within its setting of trees and clipped hedges. A robust west tower is relieved only by delicate stone tracery in the tall bell-openings, and a blank fretwork frieze below the battlemented Parapet. The long horizontal of the nave roof is emphasized by a high string course which is allowed to run the length of the nave.
and across the south flanks of the tower at about the half height level. The south aisle is a massive, flat-roofed block with flying buttresses connecting with the nave wall. These buttresses have no apparent strength in them and they seem unconvincing in their support of the high nave. Bodley's interior shows the harmony of the architect in full control of all his arrangements (plates 66 and 67). The wide English-oak screen and pulpit, the finely carved and gilded stone reredos by Farmer and Brindley, the Watts and Co. fabrics, such as the altar frontal with its rich gold embroidery over brown velvet, and other original hangings from the same company, all survive in good condition after over ninety years. The roofs are a rare instance of Bodley's use of stone vaulting. The pulpit steps, the floor and the font are of marble from Thessaly, and the windows throughout are from the workshops of Burlison and Grylls. Eccleston remained, with Clumber, Bodley's favourite church, perhaps because it was so well finished: he had been given a free hand, and so no paring of cost had been necessary. (4)

This was the final project commissioned by the 1st. Duke. He died on 22 December 1899, with the new church only partly completed; he was buried to the south of the nave in an elaborate tomb with a recumbent effigy in alabaster. The tomb was designed by Bodley, his last architect, and he is surrounded now by the less elaborate memorials of four later Dukes.

In the year the church of Eccleston was begun, 1899, Bodley received recognition from the Royal Institute of British Architects with the award of the gold medal. Two years later, in 1901, he gained his major London commission, Holy Trinity, Prince
Consort Road, Kensington. This church stands close behind the Albert Hall on an awkward site, narrow, and with buildings hemming it in on the south side (Plate 68). The nave itself is high, and exaggerated inside by tall slender columns. Oblique views to the west show best Bodley's complex division of space (Plate 69). There are two north aisles, the arches in the first aisle leaping down from spandrel to spandrel. In the single south aisle, a pleasing solution to the windowless south wall has been achieved (Plate 70). Because of the adjacent buildings, this wall is blank, so Bodley broke up its surface with four gentle half-height arches. The church is otherwise symmetrical. On Bodley's death in 1907, in addition to the reredos, the congregation provided an Elizabethan-style memorial as a tribute to their architect. (5)

In 1902, Bodley was finally admitted as a Royal Academician after he had been an Associate for twenty years. It was considered a late appointment. In C.R. Ashbee's diary for 8 April 1902, we read:

Magpie and Stump.

A charming evening and all to the honour of this old man. A gathering of Bodley's pupils to commemorate his election as RA. A tardy recognition, as we're all agreed, of architecture and his genius, by that clumsy, cumbrous institution... Warren and Simpson got it up, and we assembled together at a restaurant in Soho... He was the old man fifteen years ago, when I entered his office, stately, grey-haired, limping along on his stick, with a ready word to all about him, and ready for a jest or an anecdote, but at his best in those moments of
inspiration...

The moment of the evening was when the old man got up and thanked us for having him. It was so simple and genuine... He can recount anecdotes but is quite incapable of a speech...lost his place, shuffled among his papers...and that was the moment, the whole thing came back to him, as it were the prophetic note of his life, what I was going to say - he sputtered, was that we should follow beauty, seek it, seek it whole-heartedly...never for one moment deviate from the path, and in all humility be guided by the tradition of the past. There is no virtue in being original...we may lose sight...and forget that to be original may be, often nowadays is, to be ugly.' I can't remember the words, but that was the gist...I don't remember quite having heard a speech that was so perfect and so absolutely convincing.'(6)

Later in the same year, Bodley was appointed joint architectural adviser with Richard Norman Shaw in the preliminary selection of the competitors for Liverpool Anglican Cathedral. In 1885, Bodley and Garner had failed with their entry for the first competition. No site had then been decided, and no building work had been undertaken, but a new site was selected fifteen years later by the new Bishop, F.J. Chavasse, appointed in 1901. Once again, a competition was organized, and once again, Gothic was stipulated for the style of the new building. Norman Shaw, who condemned the decision to make Gothic the only permissible style, also suggested that no competition should be held. Instead, he advised that a single, celebrated architect should be selected,
in a similar way to the procedure recently chosen for Westminster Roman Catholic Cathedral.(7) Bodley was determined to see a gothic design.(8) Eventually, the Executive Committee removed their insistence on Gothic, and chose Bodley and Shaw, as natural leaders of the two rival styles, to assess the competition. In the summer of 1902, the two men were in Liverpool, examining the entries. As Shaw wrote in a letter:

'It is very disappointing...the overwhelming number just twaddle...Bodley is...awfully lame. I should say that he is in rather a serious state, but he says nothing about it.'(9)

By the end of the summer, they chose five finalists: the firm of Paley and Austin, Charles Nicholson, Walter Tapper (Bodley's head assistant), Malcolm Stark, and Giles Scott. The following spring, they made their decision: Giles Scott, the twenty-three year old son of Bodley's close friend and professional colleague, Gilbert Scott junior. Giles was also Bodley's godson. There seems to have been no outcry over this apparent partiality - nor on Giles Scott's adherence to the Roman Catholic faith - only some concern over his youth and inexperience. On submission to the committee, Scott's design was disallowed on a technicality, and, unfortunately for Bodley, the Chairman of the Committee suggested, without reference to anyone concerned, that Bodley might undertake the whole design himself. Both Shaw and Bodley vehemently refuted the idea, and soon the Committee chose to appoint Bodley and Scott jointly to carry out the scheme.

The combination of the two architects was not a complete success. One man was a forward-thinking Goth, fresh from his articles at Temple Moore's, and without a building to his credit.
The other was a prolific, wistful old man, always wishing to maintain the true spirit of the Gothic style. Half a century after winning the competition, Scott recalled:

'The association of Bodley and myself had led to a number of smaller changes in the competition design which... led to a design which was neither Bodley's nor mine. Bodley kept on altering a bit here and a bit there, until I was very dissatisfied with the result, nor was I content with my original competition design. As soon as I was given sole control of the work I decided to start all over again...'

Poor Bodley must have been itching to do the whole work himself, bearing in mind his failure to secure not only the first Liverpool competition, but Truro as well. By 1906, he had received both Washington and San Francisco Cathedrals, and so his time was very much taken up with this new work. Scott almost resigned in frustration, but Bodley died in the autumn of 1907, and Scott was free to do as he pleased.

Before this release, however, the taught, highly charged designs for the Lady Chapel were underway by the two men. Taught, perhaps, because of the uneasy nature of the alliance, and because by 1904, Edwardian Gothic was beginning to take a new path. Some old Bodley mannerisms are there: attenuated proportions, the aisles inside wide internal buttresses, the arcade mouldings fading into the piers, the chequered marble floor (Plate 71). The mouldings are somehow freer in spirit, though, and clearly have undergone an Art Nouveau transformation. The drawings are carefully marked 'George Frederick Bodley and Giles Gilbert Scott', and it is difficult to assign any
particular feature to one man. (11) Perhaps they developed the designs in close alliance, but if so, the developments at Liverpool do not appear in Bodley's later work elsewhere. Only the reredos may have been left up to Bodley alone. With swirling wheel-like cresting, it is the high-point of the particular church furnishing which he made his own.

At St. Edward's, Holbeck, on the outskirts of Leeds, Emily Meynell Ingram's last architectural commission, Bodley provided a chaste red-brick exterior in keeping with the poor district which it served. Inside, he continued the process of simplification; the early design showed a Perpendicular interior, narrow and tall. As built, in 1902, there were no capitals on the piers, and the much favoured wide, wooden barrel-vault was introduced. Purity of line, and good proportion saved the church from being a fallen Gothic Revival relict. Instead Bodley had apparently moved towards a more rational approach, eschewing detail as unnecessary. Even the chancel and both aisle screens are combined as one long 'curtain', running as a piece from north to south across the church (Plate 72).

Bodley never embraced the originality and free expression of the Arts and Crafts architects who were beginning to take the Gothic Revival away from strictly medieval precepts, and create slightly eccentric, fantastic, and sometimes quite new forms. Practitioners of this 'Free Style', had a newly adopted respect for simple country buildings, with their clearly presented use of materials.

The attenuation of detail, such as to be found at St.
Chad's, Horninglow in Burton-on-Trent, begun in 1903, was attributed by Edward Warren as:

'due to the fact that his increasing infirmities made visits to his buildings, while in progress or when completed, more difficult and therefore less frequent, and that he grew instinctively to rely more than formerly upon drawings, and began to realise less acutely their ultimate effect.' (12)

This may not be the whole truth, however, as Bodley was too experienced, too precise, and wanted his own way too much to let these inconveniences prevent the final result from possessing the polish of his earlier buildings. A senior assistant would surely have been sent to review progress and bring back report. The master of pattern and colour decoration still insisted on the same high standard for roof-painting, and the detail of the reredoses have in no way 'thinned', or lost character.

Bodley's last complete church commission came two or three years before his death, and was given him by the London Diocese in order to cope with the growing population at Brentford to the west of London. Bodley relied on old formulae for the brick and Bath stone exterior: an unbroken line for the roof, and a central vertical formed by window and buttresses in the eastern wall, combined with contrasting horizontal bands of stone. The aisles are treated differently, however. Rarely emphasized in his churches, they are here subjugated to low, dim corridors in favour of tall, wide clerestory windows. The repetition of this rank of windows leads to a boxy rhythm inside, with each window and its corresponding arch providing an austere Perpendicular regularity, the arcades having mouldings without capitals.
A chance to make up for the loss of the commission for Truro Cathedral presented itself in 1906, when Bodley was offered the National Cathedral in Washington. The Protestant Episcopal Cathedral Foundation was created by Act of Congress on 6 January 1893, and the first Bishop of Washington, Henry Yates Satterlee, was consecrated in 1896. Satterlee was an energetic fund-raiser, and cajoled property developers into releasing land on Mount Saint Alban to ensure a well-wooded site.

Bodley was offered the commission for the project in conjunction with his former assistant, Henry Vaughan, who had visited the United States on his master's business, and remained in Boston to set up his own practice. Bodley journeyed across the Atlantic in the autumn of 1906 to view for himself the chosen site, taking with him Cecil Greenwood Hare, an assistant from the office who was to become increasingly important in Bodley's last years. It was a brave journey to make at the age of 79, and it was an indication of the importance which Bodley placed on this 'one great work'. As soon as he returned to Water Eaton, he began the drawings for the cathedral. His designs for Washington arrived in America in early June and were approved at a chapter meeting. Bodley continued making notes and drawings throughout the summer, even when he was ill in bed.

The elevations, together with a plaster model, contain references to Canterbury and Lincoln cathedrals, and to York Minster (Plate 73). The plans indicate no deference to the older man, being titled: 'H. Vaughan & G.F. Bodley, R.A.'. Vaughan must have been responsible at least for translating Bodley's
notoriously bad sketches (made worse still, perhaps, by his poor health), into good working drawings. The west end, recalling the perpendicular west towers at York Minster, joins a long, nine bay nave with flying buttresses, similar to Canterbury Cathedral's fourteenth-century nave. The tower and transepts, the latter with rose windows, are in the manner of Lincoln Cathedral's fourteenth-century examples. Bodley provided an east end with a French apse, once again reminiscent of Canterbury. The overall character of the designs reminds one most of all of Canterbury, and yet the dimensions are so close to those of York Minster, the largest English cathedral, and the one which Bodley knew best, that it is tempting to suggest that he was paying his last respects to the Gothic style. At, Washington, therefore, the two most important ecclesiastical sees, the mother church of Anglican Christianity, and the centre of its deputy Archbishopric are assimilated with Lincoln, one of the most dramatic hilltop cathedrals in the country. The first stage of the cathedral to be built was the Bethlehem Chapel beneath the choir ambulatory, consecrated on 29 September 1907, and opened for services in 1912. The central stone altar and reredos reach the height of the low stone-vaulting; the glass was designed by John Lisle of Kempe and Co.

On Bodley's death in October, 1907, Vaughan carried on with the old designs, but by 1919 and the coming of war, little of Bodley's work had been built. In 1921, the American architect Philip Hubert Frohman, took over as cathedral architect; by the 1930s he had redesigned the building, and he continued to work on the construction until his own death. It has since been completed in the manner he envisaged. It seems that Frohman made no major
alterations to Bodley's designs, but some changes were made to the details, such as the provision of more generous mouldings, and extra sculpture placed on the west front. The plan remains largely unaltered, with the simple addition of west aisles to the transepts which Bodley had for some reason omitted, and the appearance of further cross-ribs on the nave aisle vaults.

In March 1923, Ashbee stayed in the Cathedral school for a few days, and wrote in a diary entry one of his fluent descriptions of his visit to the incomplete church:

'The mammoth Cathedral on the hill progresses. And when it is all done - what then? There is a curious, rather splendid, tough persistency in the English gothic Tradition. I was taken back aeons to Bodley's office in Lincoln's Inn [sic] when we his pupils, hammered at the door shoving to force the meaning of it all - and now the eldest of those pupils (Vaughan) lies buried in the crypt of his own Cathedral in Washington.... It looks as if it never could get finished. Maybe the old masters' spirit was hovering there, somewhere among the birds that circled about this last, giant fragment, a sort of Beauvais of the Romantic Movement.'(16)

Remarkably, the building of another cathedral in the United States presented itself in the same year, this time due to a natural disaster. In April 1906, an earthquake damaged a large part of the city of San Francisco in the western state of California. Many of the buildings which survived the earthquake were destroyed by raging fire which continued for three days. Clearly, it was a matter of importance to rebuild the cathedral.
in order to restore morale in the local population, and to initiate a spirit of regeneration amongst the ruins of the old city. (16) A letter was sent by the Bishop, the Rt. Rev. William F. Nichols, on behalf of the cathedral committee to Bodley on the 15 February 1907, explaining the situation and asking his permission for them to recommend him as their architect. (18) A few cursory requirements were listed in this letter, including a specification for 'the best Gothic interpretation for the site', and the offer of 'a San Francisco assistant' in order to supply local knowledge in relation to earthquake provisions, and so on. It also indicated that a local family had presented the diocese with a block of land on one of the highest hills in the city, Nob Hill, thus presenting the future cathedral to view throughout the city. (19) Finally, Bodley was permitted to know from which direction this commission came: 'I may add that I have had the privilege of conferring with my friend, the Bishop of Washington before writing this'.

Bodley did not reply to the Bishop's letter for almost three weeks, and then, on 5 March 1907, he answered: 'It will give me much pleasure to design the Cathedral'. (20) He agreed that another architect should be at the site 'to superintend', but with the proviso: 'One will be appointed who would work with me'. He added a clause assuring retention of his sole authority, and at the same time taking on the complete burden: 'For I ought to have the responsibility of all that involves the design'.

The following day, Bodley sent a further letter together with some sketches, and reiterated his disinclination to have interference from another architect: 'I think a good Clerk of
Works would suffice. Another architect is hardly wanted'. (21) The Bishop replied that an architect had been chosen, and that he would be 'loyal in every detail' to Bodley's 'creation and smallest wish'. The American architect was Lewis Parsons Hobart, who ran a New York practice, but who was involved in the reconstruction of San Francisco with safer, steel-frame buildings. Hobart was clearly an obvious choice for the introduction of the new construction methods: New York, together with Chicago, were the two cities foremost in the use of steel-frame buildings. At the turn of the century, the race had begun to construct the tallest building to be put up at the fastest speed. Within three years of the earthquake in San Francisco, 20,500 new buildings had been constructed, most of them better structurally designed than those which they replaced. By 1909, more than half the steel-framed buildings in the United States stood in San Francisco, and the building boom in this city helped to alter radically the traditional attitudes to building methods. (22) The Bishop recommended some of his favourite churches in the hope that he might have some vague influence upon Bodley: 'Would any features of Lincoln on the sky line appeal to you, or the church of San Francesco at Assisi, the first Gothic building in Italy as I read of it.' (23) In late April, Bodley contacted Hobart for the first time, asking for a full plan of the ground: 'At your earliest convenience...' (24) Hobart, however, had anticipated some of Bodley's questions, and had sent already some surveys indicating the lie of the land, also proposing the kind of steel-frame best suited to such a prominent building as the cathedral. 'A steel frame building need not, however, necessarily mean a mere skeleton of steel covered with a thin veneer of stone-work, such as we usually design for high
office buildings.' (25) Hobart suggested that Bodley would be able simply to design a traditional masonry building, into which 'an amount of steel... to resist heavy lateral stress' would be introduced. (26) Bodley must have been relieved to receive Hobart's offer of help in this matter, when considering he had no experience of such techniques.

On 11 May, Bodley sent Hobart a reminder of his letter of ten queries referring to problems such as ground levels on the site, roof materials, and the choice between stone or wooden vaulting. Bodley sounds increasingly frustrated (perhaps a little unfairly, having regard to the communication systems of the day) with what he felt to be the slow supply of information, and this worry must have arisen because of continuing work on his other new cathedral in Washington. Bodley also suffered ill-health during the spring of 1907, and he must have been aware of his own increasing frailty, now that he had reached eighty years of age. The questions were answered in due course by Hobart, with stone vaulting costing too much and likely to cause panic by its very presence overhead on the occasion of earth-tremors. (27)

Unfortunately, Bodley's specification and plans are both undated, but they do provide a clear impression of what was to have been: fourteenth-century Gothic in style, with a nave and double aisles, a central tower and twin western towers, transepts and a small choir and sanctuary with side chapels. In the event, Bodley completely ignored the Bishop's wishes and the cathedral resembles neither Lincoln nor Assisi; unlike Lincoln, there is no emphasis on the west facade, in fact no west door at all. The
resemblance to Assisi is even slighter; no Romanesque gothic west front at San Francisco, no ambulatory, but an English Gothic style dating from a hundred years after Assisi. In the end, Bodley appears once again to have drawn directly from only one great church of the past, and that was Ely Cathedral. The central tower is supported by buttresses on the nave walls, and the high windows also give a superficial impression of the octagon at Ely. Height was to have been important, and Bodley made the crossing tower 217' high whilst making the ground plan fill the maximum area available. Inside, the roofs were to be boarded, with ribs and bosses, although this last construction might have been of iron. Tall clerestory windows would have lit a wide, lofty interior with a stone reredos and a vaulted oak rood screen.

Nothing of these plans was ever carried out, for the old architect died before anything could be done by way of construction; Cecil Hare took over, presenting his own plans in July, 1909. (28)
CHAPTER VI

The Revival of Old England:
Domestic Commissions, 1865-1907.

'Then remember the great houses, which were the outcome of the Middle Ages, in the same way that we may call Shakespeare their offspring, Haddon, Fountain's Hall, Hardwick, and many others, not forgetting the simpler stone-mullioned houses of Somersetshire and Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire.' (1)

Bodley's Englishness did not only extend into the style of his middle and late period churches, but also into his secular architecture. After his period as an early practitioner of the 'Queen Anne' and English vernacular styles, he adopted the Tudor idiom. This was a period only briefly neglected by architects - during the High Victorian phase - and its popularity stemmed from the era's general admiration of the Elizabethan period as a whole. In the early 1860s, Richard Norman Shaw, W.E. Nesfield and Philip Webb began a new sensitivity to surroundings which had evaded many builders in the 50s, and they began a new respect for the surviving vernacular of country villages. This recognition of a disappearing country life, and a rejection of the current industrial squalor of the cities, reached its zenith in the Arts and Crafts Movement. The popularity of the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries began as an informal vernacular at first, but sometimes it later became over-blown when employed in larger country houses.
We will begin discussion of this period of Bodley's secular work, with an account of his complete transformation of a basically ancient interior, to a medieval-style splendour which it probably never actually possessed.

Concurrently with the work for Jesus College Chapel and All Saints' Church, both in Cambridge, the year 1862 also brought Bodley the commission to restore the Hall at Queens' College, following his successful completion of work on the old chapel there. Bodley was faced with the task of re-medievalizing a fifteenth-century room which had been elegantly classicized in the early eighteenth-century. The college President was Dr. William Magan Campion, a member of the Cambridge Architectural Society and well versed in the latest High Victorian methods of 'restoration', a term which at the time usually meant a complete re-ordering of the existing arrangements, following the removal of any post-Reformation furnishings.

In the event, not all the recent fittings were removed, and to begin with, only minor additions were made. Bodley laid down first of all a stone and Minton tile floor, and also set up a large alabaster 'frame' above the original fireplace (Plate 74). For the decoration within this frame, he asked his new helpers in the Morris firm to supply tiles representing the months of the year, with scenes depicting suitable activities for each season. Beneath the frame stands a highly carved panel containing quatrefoils and college coats-of-arms. The panel is rather too large for so many divisions into such small tile-pictures to work successfully, and it appears too plain and
rectangular in contrast to Essex's elegantly proportioned screen and panelling. Thinking, possibly, of these visual problems on his return to complete the scheme of decoration for the room, Bodley added a wooden coving above the alabaster, in the manner of his contemporary reredoses. This coving is painted with a favourite stencil-pattern of his, adapted from Bishop Beckington's shrine in Wells Cathedral (Plate 28). Bodley's later chapel at the college also employs this motif on the east wall.

Strong oak chairs for the high table, designed by Bodley, and made by Messrs Howard and Sons, were leather covered, and marked with the boar's head shield of the college. Their form is dependent on Pugin and Morris' functional use of Gothic in the design of furniture.

The scheme for the hall was not completed for ten years, by which time Bodley's theories on interior decoration had undergone a revolution: he had adopted vibrant and colourful diaper patterns. It is these stunning colours and patterns that create Bodley's superb, principal contribution to the hall: the painted decoration.

Bodley fully appreciated the high quality of the panelling which, in 1732, the local architect James Essex had placed behind the high table and across the screens-passage, so much so that he left it unaltered. The panelling was simply coloured a deep green, with certain of its chaste details highlighted in gold. After the full scheme of colouring the hall was completed in 1875, the quiet, earlier panelling became a successful contrast to the almost overwhelming general effect of
Bodley's coloured diapers above. The rafters of the roof are painted red and green, and these colours are repeated in the stencil patterns on the walls. Both the 'overall' repeat pattern, and a design incorporating the meandering stripe are used, with a black-letter inscription running below the roof.

In subsequent commissions, Bodley practiced all the different emerging styles which now come under the general heading of 'Queen Anne'. In fact, he attempted a new style for each of the buildings which he was asked to create. Bodley received his first domestic commission in 1866 when he built the vicarage for his church of St. Saviour at Valley End near Chobham in Surrey. The style, which Andrew Saint has called 'Old English', consists of an informal grouping of low-slung eaves, tall chimneys and small-pane sash windows.(3)

In 1867, the vicar of St. Mary's, Scarborough, the Rev. Frederick Blunt (vicar 1864-1905), required an extension to his vicarage, and Bodley used the opportunity to develop the new free Georgian style. The brick extension to the stone vicarage of 1835, included extra accommodation such as bedrooms for the vicar's family, and a parish room, but it was the style chosen by Bodley which is significant for this date. The revived Georgian style had been introduced only very recently in houses - mostly in Kensington and Chelsea - by Philip Webb, William Eden Nesfield and Richard Norman Shaw. A slightly older group of architects took to this style also, and the first and most important of that group were Bodley and Gilbert Scott junior. Whilst their buildings were in less prestigious locations and they were necessarily less lavish, Bodley and Scott were not at all willing
to continue designing in the style of the somewhat gloomy
parsonages of Butterfield, White and Sir Gilbert Scott. They
quickly dropped the picturesque Gothic references which they had
used in the very early days at, for example, the vicarage at
Burrington and the school at Cheltenham (Chapter II). Warm red
brick houses with pretty details by way of shaped bricks and
moulded terracotta, with large, white-painted, square-pained sash
windows allowing light into plain, unassuming and airy rooms were
the new elements of the current domestic idiom. The St. Mary's
vicarage is a plain, three-storey block with a slate roof; the
small 'Georgian' panes in the white sashes reveal the style,
together with the plain rectangles of the wooden panelling
inside. Bodley's new domestic style which may be seen as a
reaction to the devoted allegiance of his master to Gothic, is
compatible with his parallel reaction in church style.

The commission for St. Martin's, Scarborough, brought
with it the requirement for an accompanying vicarage close to the
church. The design, however, dates from 1867, five years after
the completion of the church. The material chosen for the
vicarage was a mild red brick, a contrast to the white stucco of
the surrounding square (Plate 75). The gables over the bays,
which are reminiscent of a vernacular building style, showing a
return to an earlier local feature, and away from the nearby
sophisticated town terraces of white stucco. The bays are gently
canted out from the front wall, and chaste moulded-brick detail
in the form of shallow pediments adorn the first floor windows.

Following the completion of the church and vicarage,
Bodley began work in 1869 on St. Martin's school nearby. He
adopted the traditional form of class-room, a high-ceiling hall, but he introduced a floor to divide one room into two. An Elizabethan style was adopted, similar to that used for Bodley's school at Barnsley of 1866; red brick with mullioned windows and a square-headed dripstone over the front door. A small gable was introduced over the window of the entrance bay, echoing those found on the vicarage. Provision was made in the specification for the builders to use Welsh slate, which was, from the accounts, the cheapest roof covering (red tile was rather more expensive, with Westmorland slate being the most expensive of all).(4) In the event, the vicarage took precedence with its roof of red tile, whilst the Welsh slate was all that was deemed necessary for the school.

The Rev. George Herbert, the co-founder with the Rev. Robert Gregory of St. Peter's, Vauxhall, asked Bodley to design four houses for him at Malvern Link, one of which is dated 1869.(5) Part of the group was intended as a retreat from London for his family, and they may have been designed in fact for the Rev. Herbert's father, who was a builder. In 1865, Father Herbert founded at Vauxhall an Anglican order of nuns which later became known as the Community of the Holy Name. In 1879, the convent moved into two of the houses at Malvern Link, eventually expanding into the other houses, and enlarging them to fit their own needs. Fortunately - if confusingly - these additions are very similar in appearance to the originals.

The chaste mid-eighteenth-century appearance of the houses is composed of white painted weather-boarding, small-paned sash windows, and classical columns (Plate 76). The mellow red
brick roofs are occasionally relieved by stone details such as the semi-circular opening and columns of a Venetian window. Contrasts are made between one side of the buildings and another. One side may seem informally arranged, like the picturesque vernacular employed at a rural mill-house. Another elevation is more sophisticated: symmetrical windows and a pedimented doorway, in the manner of a merchant's house in a county town.

The design of the buildings, and more importantly, their construction, coincided with Bodley's illness from blood-poisoning. He had not yet formed his partnership with Garner, and so he asked his old friend Philip Webb to help him. Five letters from Bodley to Webb survive, which the architect wrote from Brighton where he was recuperating. From these, it appears that the main construction work on the houses was completed by the summer of 1869, leaving only minor details to be resolved.

Furze Hill, Brighton.


Dear Webb,

Your note & Mr. Skinner's reached me at the same time to-day & I had but a moment or two to write to you to save the early post. One thing to be looked at is that the floorboards, it appears, have shrunk — query whether more than ought to be the case with well seasoned wood?

2nd. Then as to the necessity of some iron work for some small areas.

3rd. As to the painting if properly done —

4th. They have given leave for some papering in the largest house (called "C") What will be best? The "stone colour ground Trellis" for "Saloon" & staircase, the "white fruit pattern" for
the indigo coloured wood in the little morning room. For the large drawing room I thought of a white ground paper of Arthurs, an old design & good - I dare say you know it. If they will paper some bedrooms - the daisy pattern - dark & light & the "Venetian".

I can't get a reply to my notes to Chamberlain as to what amount of papering they sanctioned...

Yrs vey truly

G.F. Bodley.

Problems with their clients seem to have troubled both architects, as the following letters appear to indicate:

Brighton.


Dear Webb,

Many thanks for your visit to Malvern & your note. I am glad your report is good. If you cd. kindly draw out the plan wanted for proposed alteration to the large house I shd. be much obliged. If you had left out the word "stupid" as applied to my Clients I shd. have been glad, as I shd. have forwarded your note to them - but this does not matter.

You don't mention if you saw Hernaman, the inhabitant of the large house? If you could make a working drawing for the oriel window as you have sketched it I shd. be much obliged. It is very much what I had thought of. Keep it as deep as you think well - they want to command the view. The moldings cd. be tolerably rich. They will look well painted white.

McCann & Evering [?], Gt. Malvern, will send you particulars of the existing sashes or any information you want.

Yours vey truly

G.F. Bodley.
I will let you hear about the Welsh house; there will be no great hurry for that: some time about a fortnight or three weeks will do if convenient to you. (6)

Bodley designed the parsonage at Pendlebury in 1869, in preparation for the church the following year. Although no visual record survives, it was apparently in a fashion similar to that of the Malvern Link houses. When, in 1896, Frederick Moore Simpson asked Bodley about these houses of the eighteenth-century fashion, he replied:

'I am not at all well up in the dates of any of the buildings you name. Pendlebury Parsonage was built before Garner’s time, but I really don't know the year. It was some time before the church was thought of [1870]. However, I do not think it is worth while to mention these things. It would suffice to say I was early in the field. ‘Our little systems have their day.’ But our little systems are not worth much, and certainly do not last long, though art is long and buildings are stubborn facts...’ (7)

Bodley’s style adopted at Malvern Link was employed also for a house at Abermule near Welshpool, known as Cefn Bryntalch, designed in 1869. Its garden front bears comparison with the entrance front of the Scarborough vicarage, but this time the bays project fully from the front, and complete gables are employed on the third floor instead of simple projecting dormers. The narrow pairs of chimneys at Scarborough are repeated on the Welshpool house, and they also are turned through 45 degrees. The larger paneled sashes look back to the Chobham rectory, and
maintain the same slight curve over the white frames. The
symmetry at Welshpool is broken only on the ground floor where a
narrow garden door, no wider than the windows, is bounded to its
right by two windows paired together, and to the left by two
separated windows. Malvern Link is recalled by a Venetian window
on the first floor.

Bodley's adherence to English forms of eighteenth-century
architecture and the 'Old English' style, was limited to these
country locations. In 1873, he won the competition for the
offices of the London School Board, which was to be placed on the
Thames Embankment. The schools themselves, which had been
designed for the Board mostly by Basil Champneys, E.R. Robson,
and J.J. Stevenson in the 'Queen Anne' style, had been of a
traditional character, but Bodley's important commission was to be in 'a free form of Classic or Renaissance' (8) (Plate 77).
Although the gabled dormers on first glance remind us of Dutch
typical examples, the influence was more from French chateaux. In
1862-67, Claude Sauvageot published Palais, châteaux, hotels et
maisons de France, and the plates depicting the Hotel d'Ecoville
at Caen, had obviously inspired Bodley to design dormers of a
similarly flamboyant nature. (9) Much of the Embankment facade is
made up of small-paned glass with narrow pilasters between the
windows on each floor.

At the School Board Offices, Bodley helped to popularize
Flemish and French forms as an alternative, or addition to, the
'Queen Anne' style, viz, the many 'Dutch' gables which appeared
along the west side of Cadogan Square. Faithful Goths were
outraged that Bodley had betrayed the true style at all, however,
even in this domestic work. Reginald Blomfield confided that street 'kept George Bodley out of the Academy as long as he could because Bodley had once dallied with the Renaissance in the building of the London School Board...' (10)

In 1873, at Christ Church, Oxford, Bodley and Garner were faced with the complex question of how best to incorporate a new bell-tower for the cathedral into Tom Quad. A rather feeble temporary arrangement — known to Charles Dodgson as 'a tintinnabulatory tea-chest' — was to be replaced by the architects' towering pagoda of Gothic timbering. First of all, a new four-square stone encasement for the fine seventeenth-century fan-vaulting above Wyatt's staircase to the Hall was built (Plate 78), but the college havered over the alarmingly top-heavy lantern above, and it was never added. The second scheme which the college had in mind, would have been a real improvement to the appearance of the huge, empty court: the building of the cloisters intended for all four sides, abandoned on Wolsey's fall from favour. The partners, mainly headed here by Garner, set about introducing the footings, and preparing the springing of the vaults on the walls. The agricultural depression hit the college, and the plans were dropped. Only mild relief is provided by these additions to what remains a severe, and, as yet, largely unadorned space.

Perhaps on the strength of this commission, the partners were asked by University College to design a new Master's Lodging, and once again, Garner appears to have taken charge of the scheme, between 1876-79. The earliest part of the original buildings at the college date from the beginning of the
seventeenth-century, and Garner's thorough knowledge of the period made him the ideal choice for the new addition. He created a remarkable sense of authenticity, and gave the Lodging the appearance of an original Jacobean feature of the college. Of three storeys and five bays, with a central semi-circular bay running through the ground and first-floor, the chief features compatible with the old college are the gables. Three gables, with mixed concave and ogee curved sides, repeat alternately with two plain, straight-sided gables. The curved gables are a more elaborate version of those in the neighbouring quadrangle, but also draw from earlier sources such as Montacute, Somerset, c.1599, and Condover Hall, Shropshire, 1598. Classical influences are introduced onto the service entrance of the Lodging, with the appearance of a semi-circular pedimented doorway, and a tall, empty niche, topped by a shell coving. The mellow exterior contrasts with the fresh, bright interior, with moulded-plaster cornices of an organic, faintly Art Nouveau character, together with naive classicizing in the carved over-mantle panelling.

In 1879, Magdalen College, Oxford, decided to build a new quadrangle, and four architects were invited to supply designs, W. Wilkinson, an Oxford architect, G.E. Street, Basil Champneys and Bodley and Garner. The partners' winning entry, prepared largely by Garner, included an aerial perspective to show the relationship with the old buildings. So began their long association with the most romantic medieval college in Oxford. The late fifteenth-century buildings at Magdalen provided an exciting inspiration: the ancient range along the High Street, the Perpendicular tower and chapel, and the Founder's Tower with its tall oriel windows overlooking both the cloisters and the
site of the new buildings. The shady grounds, bordered along one
side by the Cherwell, contained a large deer park. Bodley could
claim descent from one of the two most important alumni of the
college: Sir Thomas Bodley, the founder of the Bodleian Library.
Another link may be made with the second notability, Wolsey, to
whose college of Christ Church, Bodley had recently made
additions.

In the specification for the new quadrangle, the partners
wrote:

'The style adopted is one in strict harmony with the
original buildings.' It is not 'a place for the display
of much originality of design, or for the importation of
any foreign treatment of architecture. The Gothic should
be that not only of earlier Oxford, but that of Magdalen.
Our Elevations do not, however, copy or reproduce the old
work. That would be a mistake, and would confuse the
history of the buildings.'(13)

There is certainly little which can be counted as new in these
designs. The buildings themselves, known as St. Swithin's Quad,
built between 1880 and 1884, were only completed half-way around
the courtyard. They were the first secular buildings of the
practice to assume the wistful return to the past which forgoes
an attempt at novelty of expression. Instead they rely on a
recreation of the atmosphere of their surroundings. Richer on the
side facing the High Street (Plate 79), the flat and regular
inner faces are comparatively plain, lacking the vigour and
inventiveness of the partners' earlier Master's Lodging for
University College (1876-79). The revival of the medieval idiom
per se had begun to lose sway by this date, and younger
architects were turning towards eclecticism. The newly popular
Gothic and Classic synthesis, derived from the English
Renaissance, was most suitable for university buildings at
Oxford, and the Examination Schools along the High Street had
been underway for several years in such a style.

The Schools, for which Bodley and Garner had been
unsuccessful competitors, had been designed by Garner's fellow
pupil in Scott's office, Thomas Graham Jackson (1835-1924).
Jackson, who had read classics at Oxford, became a nonresident
Fellow at Wadham College in 1864. (14) His thorough knowledge of
the Oxford vernacular enabled him to draw on all its varied
styles to form a skillful and original mix of late-medieval,
Elizabethan, Jacobean and Classical features. The result was a
theatre backdrop, the essence of all of Oxford, a subtle polemic
of the traditional college conventions: their stone gables,
mullions, and chimneys. The Examination Schools made him famous,
and the new manner became known as the 'Anglo-Jackson' style. (15)

Bodley and Garner's St. Swithin's Quad. was admired by
William Morris, who mentioned them whilst bemoaning what he saw
as the otherwise overall decline of good quality revivalism:

'The general style of... [the Victorian] ...era is
exemplified in the jerry-built houses of our suburbs, the
stucco marine-parades of our watering-places,... These
form our true Victorian architecture. Such works as Mr.
Bodley's excellent new buildings at Magdalen College, Mr.
Norman Shaw's elegantly fantastic Queen Anne houses at
Chelsea, or Mr. Robson's simple but striking London
board-schools are mere eccentricities with which the
public in general has no part or lot.'(16)

The buildings do not maintain the sense of freedom begun at the London School Board Offices of 1872. Too reticent and well-mannered towards their neighbours to break new ground, the Magdalen buildings nevertheless remain a charming set-piece. Almost the last of their kind, they present to the High Street, with flawless self-assurance, the embodiment of creeper-hung authenticity.(17)

The two partners obtained the commission to rebuild the President's Lodgings at Magdalen from the President, Dr. Thomas Herbert Warren, the brother of Bodley's assistant, Edward Warren. The plans by Bodley and Garner were approved at a college meeting on 30 March 1886.(18) On 17 April, the Bursar had an interview with Garner and told the architect that he could not exceed £8,000, £1,200 less than Garner's estimate.(19) The old Lodgings were demolished later in 1886,(20) but on reflection, it was decided to retain the old kitchen range. The old lodgings probably dated from the late fifteenth-century, with extensive additions fifty years later. New sash-windows had been inserted in the eighteenth-century.

After demolition, care was taken to conserve as much of the old materials as possible for reuse in the new building. The specification of works, dated August 1886, instructs the bricklayer:

'Note. All the material from the old House are to be use to the utmost extent, viz., Bricks, Teignton and Bath stone - old stone paving (for templates &c.) - slates (on
roofs) Fir timber (for joists) - Oak and fir quartering -
oak beams, oak in short lengths (for lintels &c.) - all
the oak floor boards, - 12 old doors (in attics) - 5 old
doors (on first floor) - and 2 oak doors.' (21) (Plate 80)
The reuse of old material makes it difficult to assess the amount
of original work designed by Garner. It is most likely that
Garner designed any new work to match closely the old, so that
the building should be treated as conscientious restoration,
rather than as a completely fresh conception. For instance,
Franklin, the builder, stated in his accounts:

'Panelling walls of hall with part old framing and
preparing and fixing same next turret, £42.' (22)

Sensibly, the partners chose to maintain an intimate, low-key
approach to the exterior, preventing the Lodgings from dominating
St. John the Baptist Quad. There were already two strong focal
points here, opposite each other, and sharing a common form: the
Founder's Tower, and Bodley and Garner's entrance tower to the
new Quad. A further substantial component would have been an
intrusion.

Construction of the new building was finished by 1890,
but the extensive programme of interior decoration continued for
a further two years. A Watts and Co. account for decorating
survives, amounting to £200, and again, for the following month,
£244 4 6. (23) Although many of the original decorations have
been removed over the years, they are being reinstated using
Watts and Co. fabrics and wallpapers, under the direction of the
President, Anthony Smith, Esq..

Bodley and Garner also built a new gateway into the
college, replacing Pugin's similar structure of 1836. Later, Bodley alone added a dark-stained, oak roof in the hall, to match the fine Jacobean woodwork there. When the college wanted memorials to be set up in the chapel, Bodley was consulted. One of these memorials - that to Frederick Bulley, the President who had done so much for music at the college - was designed in conjunction with Canon Frederick Sutton. Sutton had been the last Gentleman Commoner at Magdalen. All these additions are characterized by a display of late-Victorian devotion to medievalism, the tradition of community life, and trust in the continuity of centuries.

The next project by the partnership, Hewell Grange, Worcestershire, does show the successful adoption of English Renaissance features, although by the time it was completed in the early 1890s, country house building in general was producing few new ideas. As Mark Girouard said of Hewell in 1979, 'one can see the first freezing of the smile on the face of the country house.'(24) It was built for the future 1st. Earl of Plymouth to replace a house built probably by Thomas Archer (?1668-1743), with additions of 1816, by Thomas Cundy Junior (1790-1867).(25)

The reasons for building a new house in 1884 are not known, for much correspondence was destroyed when the new house was given up by the family after the second world war.(26) Part of the reason might have been the Plymouths' membership of the 'Souls', a group of intelligent young aristocrats, each with an interest in some aspect of art. The group regularly formed country house gatherings, and were instrumental in continuing country house life well into the twentieth-century. The Earl was a member of the Herbert family and, as a grandson of the 1st Earl of Powis,
was a collateral branch of the Clives, whose home, Powis Castle, Bodley later restored.

Robert George Windsor Clive, 1st Earl of Plymouth, was born in 1857. He became Paymaster General and a Trustee of the National Gallery, and he owned a large area of Cardiff, where he was mayor in 1895. He was created Earl of Plymouth in 1905 and died in 1923. The new house was undertaken mainly by Garner, who took an especial interest in houses of the Tudor and Jacobean periods. At Hewell, he also incorporated the Elizabethan of Montacute in Somerset, with the latter's severe entrance front, and shaped gables over the four bays which step forward from each other. The garden front is less overpowering (Plate 81), having only three gables, two narrow towers with pyramidal roofs, and larger, lighter windows. The interior is dominated by an unusually large, double-height entrance hall, with an array of fine stones employed in the decoration. The hall is well lit by windows above a gallery, and there is plenty of space for the display of paintings.

Garner was particularly well informed on houses dating from twenty years either side of 1600, and the last years of his life were spent compiling, with Arthur Stratton, the definitive book on the subject: The Domestic Architecture of England during the Tudor period. Published as two folio volumes in 1908-1910, after Garner's death, they consisted of a county by county record, including an historical and descriptive text, large photographs of the exteriors, and measured drawings. Haddon Hall, Never Castle and Forde Abbey are amongst the stone and brick examples in the first volume, whilst Compton Wynates and Speke
Hall are in the second, treating major timber-framed houses.

There had up to now been no opportunity for the architects to display their taste in garden design, but the scale of Hewell's grounds, and the ability of the Windsor Clives to provide numerous gardeners, allowed a free scope to create a particular kind of garden. A renewed interest in the revival of the 'old-fashioned' English garden began to appear after about 1850. The strict control of nature, which had been prevalent in the seventeenth-century, now began to take over from Picturesque features, such as long banks of trees, sheets of water and mock ruins. These Picturesque features were not replaced by the new gardens, but small, additional, gardens were laid out to provide interest nearer to the house. The formal planting of yew hedges, clipped box, and small ponds with fountains became prevalent, and the garden designed by Garner at Hewell provided an extravagant example. (27) Garner the great pattern-maker could here indulge his capabilities on a grand scale: the gardens took over ten years to create. In 1892, the year Hewell Grange itself was completed, Reginald Blomfield published The Formal Garden in England. (28) Blomfield's discussion of these neat, lavender-and-lilac-scented gardens, with their courts, terraces, and statuary, was accompanied by a series of charming pen-and-ink drawings by a member of Bodley's office, Francis Inigo Thomas. Thomas was a garden designer himself, and included small, English Renaissance-style stone buildings in some of his schemes. Evidently, an aesthete's school of architect-designers appeared, ready to revive the complementary garden for their favourite domestic style. It occurred at the moment when the romanticism of the mid-century transmuted into the sinuous Art Nouveau curves,
and simple Arts and Crafts rusticity of the 'nineties.

At the invitation of Lady Plymouth, Ashbee stayed at Hewell in September 1913, to meet Princess Louise and the Duke of Argyll for an informal discussion of his book 'The Hamptonshire experiment'. He wrote in his diary:

'The gardens are wonderful and of course the house too, which is quite familiar to me, and all comes back after 20 years, from the drawings I had to make of it in old Bodley's office. It is a noble example of something now I suppose extinct - the Elizabethan pre-raphaelite revival,...Bodley - or rather Garner for it is mostly his, has mellowed, and you couldn't by any stretch of imagination dance rag-time in the Great Hall...' (29)

Gradually, Bodley became less experimental in his domestic work, whilst a reassured, reflective dignity became his contribution to late nineteenth-century romanticism. An ideal site for such a mood was presented to the architect in 1893 by King's College, Cambridge: a corner of the Backs, over-looking the shady river on one side, with the large lawn on the other, bounded by the late Gothic chapel and James Gibb's Baroque Fellow's building of 1723-29. The Cotswold Tudor used by Bodley would, under other circumstances, be more suitable for an Oxford college, but here on the far boundary of King's, it has taken on, with time, the mellow appearance of a manor house carefully converted to institutional use. Gables and mullioned windows abound, with polite reference to early English Classicism on the façade facing Gibbs. Here, Tudor appears to be on the verge of developing into a primitive form of the English Renaissance, with
shallow semi-circular recessions framing the square-headed windows. Amongst the dark trees and river nearby, the building seems sombre and melancholy in the winter, and wistful in the summer. The atmosphere felt in and around the open court - now called Bodley's Buildings, is a nostalgia for the last expression of medievalism before the full-scale arrival of Edwardian classicism.

In 1895, Bodley separated his home from his office at Grays Inn by an even greater margin than when he lived in Hampstead. He moved to Iver, Buckinghamshire, where he bought a dower house which had once belonged to the neighbouring manor, Bridgefoot House, dating from the first quarter of the eighteenth-century, possesses many of the charming attributes which Bodley had tried to include in his own early work in the domestic field, such as the red-brick, and white sashes of Scarborough vicarage. The symmetrical, four-square front is unbroken even by a front doorway, and the modest, convenient rooms inside provided accommodation for the 'beautiful furniture, pictures, glass, silver, old blue and white.'(30) The architect added a corridor, in compatible style, to link the house to the old stables which he converted to servants' quarters. He treated the gardens sympathetically, on the 'Old English' model developed at Hewell Grange, by adding formally planted yews, and low box hedging. After much argument with local officials, Bodley managed to have built a bridge across the stream which ran to the side of the garden. Leading away from this, he planted a narrow avenue of Lombardy poplars. Altogether, the picturesque old place, and the garden which surrounds it, began to take on the appearance of one of the compact pen-and-ink cameos by Thomas in The Formal Garden
In 1906, the year before he died, Bodley could not resist one final move, and the Oxfordshire hamlet of Water Eaton provided the ideal opportunity for the architect to indulge in the ultimate romantic escape. If Bridgefoot had expressed Bodley's 'Queen Anne' phase, then Water Eaton Manor showed the cult of the Elizabethan. It was here that the old man 'revelled in the flowers, the old-fashioned ones especially, and rejoiced in the quietness of the country, away from the noise and bustle that he detested more than anything else in this world'. (31) The stone manor house, dating from 1585, stands in meadows by a bend in the Cherwell, not many miles from Garner's house of a similar period, Fritwell Manor, which he had restored in 1893. (32) The removal must have been a serious upheaval for a man of 78, but he may have received encouragement and support from his younger wife, and the manor may have reminded her of Kinnersley Castle, her old Herefordshire home. Bodley restored the old house in a conservative manner, replacing stone where necessary, but allowing the age of the building to be felt by its gentle weathering, and by retaining the Jacobean woodwork in the chapel. Soon after his death, Avray Tipping published an article on the house in Country Life, in which he commented:

'It has not been felt necessary to replace every lost corner, every chipped stone, and adequate security and imperviousness was obtainable without a general pointing and scraping.' (33)

Bodley died on 21 October 1907 at Water Eaton. He was completing preparations for his final project, Washington.
Cathedral. 'To do one great work and to die looking through a lattice window': such was the ambition he expressed, as a young man to a friend who reminded him of his words only shortly before his death. (34) These aims, recalled by F.M. Simpson in his biographical essay on the architect, are reminiscent of the youthful poetry of the second Rossetti phase of pre-Raphaelites, and Bodley appears to have been determined to make this come true. Water Eaton became Bodley's Kelmscott and, having outlived Rossetti, Morris, Burne-Jones and Ruskin, he had tried to realize the romantic idea of a Utopia by the Thames.

Four days after his death, a memorial service was held at Holy Trinity, Prince Consort Road, attended by Sir William Richmond, (the Keeper of the Royal Academy), Sir Aston Webb, Cecil Hare, W.J. Locke, (Secretary of the RIBA), a representative of the Fishmonger's Company, William Brindley of Farmer and Brindley, and Carl Krall of Barkentin and Krall. His funeral was held on the same day as the memorial service, 25 October, the first part being held in the chapel at Water Eaton, whilst the burial took place in the afternoon at Kinnersley churchyard, close to his wife's old home in Herefordshire. Amongst the mourners at Water Eaton were Dr. T.H. Warren, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Vice-Chancellor of the University, his brother, E.P. Warren, (a former pupil of Bodley), and the Father Superior of the Cowley Community. At Kinnersley, a group of mourners gathered for the burial, including Giles Gilbert Scott, Cecil Hare, and H. Dare Bryan representing the Royal Institute of British Architects. (35)
CHAPTER VII

'To let well alone is prudent counsel':

Restorations, 1854-1907.

'At all events, let us take care of our own ancient buildings in England. To let well alone is prudent counsel, in this as in other matters.' (1)

Bodley gave an early indication of his principles of restoration in an account of Church restoration in France, published in The Ecclesiologist in February 1861:

'The only true principle of restoration, broadly stated, should be to preserve by all possible means the works which have been allowed to remain to these days, and to strengthen them, where it is necessary, that they may stand for the instruction of future generations. In fact protection, not imitative reproduction, is what is wanted. This aim resolves itself chiefly into the simple task of providing serviceable lead gutters and rain spouts, and keeping them clear; the addition here and there of a buttress; the underpinning and replacing a foundation or giving a new tie-beam to the roof timbers... The winter of centuries will only slowly and almost imperceptibly impair what in a few summer days the hand of the restorer can destroy.' (2)

These remarks of 1861 are an early foretaste of the rules for the treatment of buildings which Morris and others laid down on the foundation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
in 1877. In addition, Bodley agreed with Pugin and the ecclesiologist's stress on the importance of the altar, and its prominence within the chancel. A screen was essential to any serious church restoration, and was intended to provide dignity to the priest when serving at the altar.

Bodley's sympathetic attitude towards the fabric was a considerable advancement on earlier advice supplied by The ecclesiologist:

'We must, whether from existing evidences or from supposition, recover the original scheme of the edifice... or even carrying out perhaps more fully the idea which dictated them...'(3)

Ruskin never strayed from a complete rejection of any kind of copying of past work:

'Do not let us talk then of restoration. The thing is a Lie from beginning to end'.(4)

As a dedicated revivalist of the Gothic style, Bodley probably would not have agreed with another remark by Ruskin:

'the spirit of the dead workman cannot be summoned up, and commanded to direct other hands, and other thoughts.'(5)

Faced with a church almost bare of ornament and fittings, and a vicar who was determined to have his own way, Bodley was probably able to set aside notions of conservation, and allow a certain amount of creative licence. In the early days at least, he would succumb to fashionable conventions, employing Continental furnishings, but after the admonition over his suggested demolition of the tower of Jesus College chapel in
Cambridge in 1862, he began to respect old work much more. Not only did he salvage original material, but designed new additions in keeping with old evidence.

Bodley would have been well aware that his master, Sir Gilbert Scott, had helped to make restoration a contentious activity. Scott would often replace a later feature with a simulation of an earlier one, but his actions were based on thorough scholarship, and at the very least the work which he destroyed was sometimes replaced by well-executed craftsmanship.

In his move towards accuracy and sensitivity in restoration, Bodley was helped by the two younger men with whom he was associated in the decisive years of his career, Thomas Garner and Gilbert Scott junior. Garner probably instilled in Bodley a recognition of the subtleties of the English countryside and its architecture, Gilbert Scott junior projected his own sympathy for old buildings and their furnishings. By the end of the nineteenth-century, Bodley had probably done more to advance the cause of careful restoration and redecoration than any other single architect.

The first restoration undertaken by Bodley, the south aisle at Bussage, has been described in Chapter II, where an introduction to Thomas Keble's patronage in Gloucestershire has been provided. Keble also chose Bodley to design fittings for the church which W.H. Lowder, one of his curates and an amateur architect, had designed for the nearby village of Bisley. In 1854, Bodley added a stone pulpit with marble columns in the High Victorian style. It was was the first of several of this type
which Bodley was to design; he also added a reredos.

In 1855, while he was undertaking his first church, at France Lynch in Gloucestershire, Bodley was given the task of inserting a new west window and new clerestory windows into the church of St. Andrew, Histon, to the north of Cambridge. The west window is a somewhat crude exercise which derives little inspiration from the high-quality twelfth-century work in the south transept. The clerestory windows are quatrefoil, in the manner preferred by the Ecclesiologists, and they too offer little improvement. The commission may have arisen through Bodley's old master, Sir Gilbert Scott. It was Scott who began in 1872 the complete restoration of the rest of the church at a cost of £4,200, including the fine Early English work in the transepts. (6)

Histon shows the apparent unease at this stage in his career with which Bodley undertook restoration as opposed to the preparation of complete designs for a new church. The young architect seemed not to find himself in complete control of such works until after he had led the return to English Gothic at All Saints', Cambridge. The first restoration after this change of attitude was that of Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge in 1864, and it is, I believe, the first which resulted in a well coordinated and successful scheme.

The appointment in 1855 of the Reverend, later Canon, James Hughes Cooper as curate to the Rev. T.A. Maberly, vicar of Holy Trinity, Cuckfield, West Sussex, led to a general restoration of the church, by Bodley. Cooper had worked with the
Cambridge Ecclesiological and Architectural Societies, where he would have come across Bodley and recognized his sympathies with High Church ecclesiastical re-orderings. As usual in such cases, the box pews were sold and replaced with bench pews; new choir stalls were copied from old ones which survived in the church; and Bodley designed new window tracery to replace a Perpendicular east window. The tracery is in the early fourteenth-century Decorated style with double-cusped lancets and three rings of quatrefoil and sexfoil lights above - a more successful composition than Histon's east window. Bodley also rebuilt the organ and had the case painted to his own designs.(7) The commission for the glass in the east window was given to Hardman, and that for the reredos to the Westminster firm of Field.(8) In 1865, the ceiling and the walls of the chancel were painted with stencil patterns by C.E. Kempe, possibly from Bodley's designs. Susequently, Kempe undertook designs for several stained glass windows in the church in the 1870s and 80s.(9) The close working relationship between Bodley and Kempe at Cuckfield - even to the point of confusion over the authorship of some of the designs - shows clearly the reliance which the two architects placed upon each other in the early days of their careers. The alliance continued for over fifteen years until Thomas Garner became Bodley's partner and introduced Burlison and Grylls to undertake the work which formerly had been overseen by Kempe. Further restorations at Cuckfield were made by Kempe, however, at the energetic instigation of Maberly, his curate, Cooper, and their families.(10)

At that time, Haywards Heath, with its railway station, was expanding more rapidly than neighbouring Cuckfield. It was
Maberley, as vicar of Cuckfield, who established first the temporary school at Haywards Heath, which also served as the church, and then in 1865, the church of St. Wilfrid, both of them designed by Bodley and discussed in Chapter II.

The connection with the churches of mid-Sussex led to an introduction to John Mason Neale (1818-66), of Sackville College, East Grinstead, one of the undergraduate founders of the Cambridge Camden Society in 1839. The other Trinity undergraduate was Benjamin Webb (1819-95), who asked Bodley to design some additions to the church of which he was vicar from 1862-85: St. Andrew's, Wells Street, Westminster. Webb retained influence as editor of *The Ecclesiologist*. In a letter to Webb dated 28 April 1856 Neale described the inconvenience of visiting the sisterhood which he had founded fourteen miles from East Grinstead, a distance which he would often walk:

'Now we have taken a house here - close to the College...a red brick building 1753, ugly enough, but not offensive... The Oratory will be made out of a little building, gabled east an west, that used to hold a pony-chaise. G. Bodley, who is doing well, is the architect.'(11)

Bodley's 'oratory' no longer exists, but the commission from such a distinguished figure as Neale must have led to further work, and a wider appreciation of his practice.

The unassuming Norman church of St. James, Bicknor in Kent was the next church to be reconstructed in the typically vigorous manner of the High Victorian period. The Ecclesiologist remarked of the plans: 'He very wisely perpetuates and revives
every trace of the ancient structure, and the result is striking...' (12) In fact, the church virtually had to be rebuilt because the stone was a soft chalk which had not weathered well, but much of the fabric was returned to its original place during rebuilding. Perspective drawings survive by Bodley which show the interior and exterior both before and after the proposed alterations. The old church appears as a picturesque, if somewhat crumbling structure with an interior displaying a typical eighteenth-century reordering with box pews and an inserted flat ceiling. Bodley's rearranged composition gives a harder outline to the building, and emphasises the steepness of the roofs whilst exchanging some of the Perpendicular windows for lancets to suit the current vogue for the Early English period. The canted rafters were exposed once again, the monumental Norman arcades restored, and the chancel was placed firmly in the boldly coloured, vigorously styled 'Muscular Gothic' tradition of France Lynch and Selsley. Controversy in the pages of The Ecclesiologist at the time of reconstruction gives a picture of fashionable arrangements for screens. The writer regretted 'the removal of an ancient though exceedingly rude high screen.' (13) The newly installed, but seasoned Tractarian antiquarian rector of St. James, Walter Blunt replied:

'A high screen ...would not have compassed an object which I had in view, that the officiating clergyman should throughout the service be ENTIRELY open to the congregation; experience having long ago taught me that this is the surest, if not the only way, of leading an uneducated congregation to Kneel.' (14)

In their reply, the society would not relent, and the editor, A.J. Beresford Hope, still considered the high screen worth
In 1858, the year in which Bodley was asked to reorder and refurnish the old chapel at Queens' College, only two Cambridge colleges had undertaken thorough restorations of their chapels, namely Magdalene College, by Buckler of 1847-50, and Jesus College, where Salvin and Pugin made major changes from 1846 onwards. The commission by Queens' would have been a coup for any architect aged thirty-one, and for Bodley it was to initiate a chain of significant works in both the ancient universities. The ecclesiologically minded President of Queens', Dr. William Magan Campion, was a member of the Cambridge Architectural Society, and took a special interest in the ordering of church interiors.

Although Bodley spoke two or three years later of preserving 'by all possible means', his techniques at Queens' were to the contrary and, as suggested by The Ecclesiologist, he was perhaps to blame for the loss of old work:

'Before the present changes there was good Jacobean stall work along the north and south walls...and a very quaint organ of the same period, which stood against the north wall...the whole chapel had a quite religious look about it, carrying one farther back in thought than almost any other in the University.'

'But between two and three years ago, the Fellows, actuated by a desire to make their chapel still more beautiful, determined on its restoration, and sought the advice of Mr. Bodley. That gentleman, abhorring any style of architecture that borders even remotely upon the
Renaissance, [sic] determined to neglect wholly the original architecture of the chapel, and to place in it such specimens of furniture only as he considered absolutely good.'(15)

Bodley fitted the fifteenth-century chapel in Old Court with oak stalls in the High Victorian style. The east wall was covered by a monumental alabaster reredos with a central cross of lapis lazuli and green faience which the writer in The Ecclesiologist thought acceptable, but of too early a style:

'...exquisitely beautiful, provided...[one]...could succeed in forgetting where he is, and in a building of what period.'(16)

The floor was covered in encaustic tiles. When Bodley was asked to return and design the new college chapel in 1891, the stalls were removed from the old chapel to St. Helen's, Little Eversden, a college living in Cambridgeshire, whilst the reredos was incorporated into the east end of the new St. Mark, Barton Road, Cambridge. The old dismantled chapel was eventually converted into the library in 1951. The Ecclesiologist disapproved of the alterations from the outset, and concentrated its initial report on the glass by Hardman.(17) When the work was complete, the journal provided an extensive criticism of Bodley's designs, and appeared to treat the restoration as a test-case:

'We do not wish to underrate for a moment Mr. Bodley's genius as an architect: but we do think that the problem, How are we to restore? has not been solved by him in this work at Queens' college...we think that the period when the given building was built should be carefully studied, and its forms only admitted, so that the restored edifice may possess again the same state of completeness it once
had, or may be supposed to have had... Now...we have a
series of works, admirable in themselves, but which do
not harmonize, and have rather the air of a collection of
specimens, than of a uniform whole. ' (18)

Five different periods incorporated in the work were then
identified. The strength of the criticism was apparently enough
to alter Bodley's direction in the course of restorations; from
now on he was concerned with maintaining harmony of style, whilst
remembering to respect the sometimes incongruous fittings which
had survived from the past.

The work at Queens' coincided with the restoration of the
church at Wicken Bonhunt near Saffron Walden in Essex. The major
changes to the interior were undertaken from the designs by the
vicar himself, the Rev. J.H. Sperling. The Ecclesiologist warned
against restoring with 'no professional aid', but appeared to
agree that Sperling, a committee member of the Society, was
knowledgeable enough for the project. (19) Some outside help was
accepted, however, for George Edmund Street was asked to design a
stone pulpit, whilst Bodley's contribution was an embroidered
banner depicting St. Margaret, to whom the church is dedicated.

During these years, when Bodley was working on his Wagner
commission in Brighton, St. Michael and All Angels (Chapter II),
he was asked to design a reredos for St. Paul's, Brighton, the
original Wagner church, which had been completed recently. Bodley
suggested that instead Burne-Jones should paint an altar-piece,
providing another significant commission for his pre-Raphaelite
friend. The work takes the form of a triptych depicting the
Adoration in the centre, with the Annunciation in the side
panels. It only took a few months to complete in 1861, but Burne-Jones was not satisfied with the result of the composition and he completed a second version in the same year; this altar-piece remains in St. Paul's today.

In 1861, the tower of Chichester Cathedral collapsed causing damage to the fabric of the choir below. Sir Gilbert Scott, as the leading cathedral restorer of the period, was called on to rebuild the tower whilst his son, Gilbert Scott junior, undertook the day to day supervision of the site. It was through Gilbert Scott junior, his friend and relation, that Bodley made an appeal for the retention and repair of the damaged choir stalls which Sir Gilbert Scott intended to remove altogether. Bodley was successful in this plea to his former master, and his action stands as an early instance of the new feeling for conservation which was to grow into the protest group, founded in the following decade and led by William Morris, known as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. Sir Gilbert Scott's method of restoration, which included the 'correction' of idiosyncratic medieval features and the replacement by earlier styles of later, 'debased' forms of gothic within a building were seen as arrogant and irresponsible pretexts on which to judge restoration. A more sensitive, well-mannered approach was being introduced by younger architects, such as Bodley, Gilbert Scott junior, J.J. Stevenson and Philip Webb, into the practice of what Morris preferred to call 'repair'.

During his work on All Saints' in Cambridge, Bodley was invited to continue the restoration of Jesus College chapel which
had been begun by Pugin and Salvin in 1846. Once again, it was the Rev. John Gibson, sometime Dean of the College and rector of King's Stanley in Gloucestershire, who recommended Bodley, as he had done for All Saints' in 1861.

Much work had already been carried out by Salvin and Pugin in the chancel: an organ chamber had been made in the north wall. Early English windows had been restored to the east wall, and a new chancel screen had been constructed, together with the reinstatement of the late medieval choir-stalls. Sir John Sutton had paid for many of the new fittings. Sutton was a Fellow of the college, a minor aristocrat from a large family which possessed several church livings and, with his clergyman brother, Frederick, he was a keen ecclesiologist specializing in the design and construction of church organs. Details of family and further commissions are treated under Brant Broughton later in this chapter.

A few years after the first restoration of the chapel had been completed, cracks appeared in the thirteenth-century arches of the tower, and in February 1862, Bodley was asked to repair the structure. The reply which he gave to the Rev. George Corrie, the Master, was in contrast to his action in saving the choir stalls at Chichester. He recommended that the top stage, presumably the Perpendicular addition alone, should be removed as he considered it to be unsafe:

'being sorry to destroy any ancient work whatever. This however seems to me a very strong case for the excision of one member for the sake of the rest of the fabric' (22)

Bodley's decision was strongly opposed by the Rev. Osmond Fisher,
sometime Dean of the college and, ironically, by W. Bacon, Sir Gilbert Scott's Clerk of the Works for the restoration of Ely Cathedral. The college decided to listen to Bacon and, instead of demolishing the tower, Bodley constructed a large buttress on its west flank in 1864, giving extra support to the nave and transepts. (23) Comparison with Salvin's removal in 1841 of the late medieval bell-turret at the nearby Holy Sepulchre, may not strictly be made. Salvin wished to remove later accretions for the purposes of his own 'restoration', to revert to an earlier appearance of the tower, whereas Bodley intended simply to save early work from the danger of collapse.

By 1864, Bodley had decided that the transept and nave roofs should be replaced, and he began to consider the idea of placing glass in the south transept window. (24) In style, Bodley's glass was to be about 150 years later than the period chosen by Pugin and Hardman for the chancel:

'The stained glass of the fifteenth century is as refined and beautiful as any works of the kinds of the middle ages - indeed it was brought to almost more perfection than at any earlier period. Carefully designed glass will do much to give interest to this window. About £350 or £400 wd. be sufficient for a really good job.' (25)

In the matter of fittings for his restorations, Bodley was thus becoming out of step with his mentor, Pugin, who had, in his maturer years, advocated a return to an earlier Gothic, either Early English or Decorated. To begin the interior restoration in 1866, Bodley commissioned Morris to decorate the nave roof. Bodley himself may be credited with the original
layout of this part of the decoration, as his own early designs for the compartmented ceiling survive in the Victoria and Albert Museum, showing Bishop Alcock's rebus of a globe surmounted by a cockerel. (26) After Morris' modifications, the work was executed by the local decorator, F.R. Leach, who was also working at All Saints. The border, surrounded by angels holding scrolls, was designed by Morris and executed by a painter from his firm. The final painting of the ceilings was considered overdue by the college, with delays taking their completion to November, 1869.

Bodley persuaded the college to complete the restoration of the fabric including his designs for resurfacing the floor beneath the tower. Laid by October 1867, the floor consisted of a grid of Minton's encaustic tiles formed into squares by lines of white marble. The cost of the tiles was £54.2s.0d. (27) The east wall of the south transept was rebuilt, displaying the opening into the old choir aisle in the form of a blind, or recessed, arch. The nave was then panelled to the height of the north door, and the nave was provided with seats. (28)

In the early part of 1869, a crisis arose over the condition of the south-west tower-pier which appeared to have become dangerous. This was the second time that the tower had given cause for concern; in 1862 cracks had appeared. The contractor, Kett, insisted that Sir Gilbert Scott's opinion be sought (via Scott's son), because at the time Bodley was ill with blood-poisoning. Scott wrote to the Dean, the Rev. E.H. Morgan:

'My only reason for visiting your church with Mr. Kett was a request from my son - who is an intimate friend of Mr. Bodley - to do so...because Mr. Kett (in Mr. Bodley's
unavoidable absence) was un-certain as to the best course to take. I do not like to follow this up unless it were at the request of Mr. Bodley, but I have spoken to my son about it, and think if he were to go on representing Mr. Bodley it would be desirable...'(29)

Gilbert Scott junior supervised the underpinning of the tower, and kept matters in hand for Bodley until he recovered.

Bodley was to employ the Cambridge wood and stone carvers, Rattee and Kett, for many buildings throughout his career. In 1848, James Rattee (1820-1855) entered into partnership with George Kett (1809-1872), and it was with George Kett and his son, also George (1836-1914), that Bodley had most association. (30) Although he often chose local builders for the large-scale work, the woodwork and furnishings, such as panelling and seating, were frequently made up on the premises in Cambridge, and then sent by train to their destination.

In 1873, the nave and transepts were ready for glazing, so the college launched an appeal. (31) Years of earnest persuasion by Bodley to entice the college into accepting William Morris' firm as the best possible designers of stained glass in the country, had led to a series of revealing letters containing Bodley's opinions about older glass manufacturers:

'Hardman's glass is getting worse and worse - Pugin's influence started them well, but it is a great risk now what you get...Clayton & Bell have so much to do they cannot give that attention to the work that glass demands. I still think you [had] better get a sketch from Morris...but if not I will do my very best at the work &
feel confident I cd. beat the 3 first you name - for I shd. copy the beauties of old work'. (32)

Ultimately, all the windows of the transepts and nave were given to Morris & Co., with Burne-Jones designing most of the glass. (33) Quite visibly, therefore, most of the work derives from the Firm and, together with Bodley's two other Cambridge contracts for their work, All Saints' and Queens' Hall, the decorations at Jesus constitute one of the most comprehensive assemblies of their work in the country.

The delays in the work caused by Bodley's serious illness appear to have led the college to review his position as their architect and to invite Gilbert Scott junior to take over the work. Scott's letter declining the offer is a model of tact and courtesy:

'I feel...that I ought not to accept it. There is a certain deference due to...the architect [?] consulted is one whom I respect and look up to as one of the ablest that we have, and one with whom I am connected, both by relationship, and by a personal friendship dating almost from childhood...although it is perfectly open to the College to act as they think fit, it is not, I think, open to me to profit by the dismissal of my friend...He is now in excellent health and has a most competent partner in Mr. Garner, and a Staff of clerks equal to the requirements of a growing practice and I have no doubt that the college would be as well served by him in the business point of view as you are certain of being in the artistic. Yours faithfully, G. Gilbert Scott, j. '(34)
In 1878, the college did employ Bodley again when he was at the end of the fifteen year period during which he was responsible for the chapel. Bodley was now asked to suggest the most convenient way of enlarging the accommodation for worshippers. In 1878, he wrote a letter to the Master and Fellows suggesting the replacement of the long-since demolished south aisle. This old aisle stood to the south of the choir and to the east of the south transept, and was probably removed after 1497 at the time of Bishop Alcock's transformation of the conventual buildings. Bodley advocated breaking through the wall again to reintroduce an arcade and aisle, which he said would not be a costly scheme. Reluctant to rearrange the choir stalls which Pugin had constructed earlier (using Alcock's fragments of about the year 1500), he wrote to the college:

'The work of the recent restoration of the choir, and its stalls especially, is one of much interest and dignity, and we should be sorry to undo, or even disturb, so successful a work.'(35)

Bodley did intend, however, to move Pugin's fully panelled screen to a position immediately east of the main entrance so as to allow for a new and more open screen which would improve the visibility of the altar. The seating in the new aisle was to be raised on five steps so that the Fellows who occupied it would overlook the undergraduates. The new aisle would have created a sense of spaciousness in the nave which, with its narrow proportions and high windows, must have seemed, ever since Alcock's day, something like a deep well. In the event, nothing in the choir was altered.(36) The college's reply to Bodley no longer exists, so that one can only guess at the
reason for its inactivity: perhaps it could not agree on the new scheme, or perhaps its finances had been hit by the agricultural depression of the early 1870s. The Master and Fellows turned their attention to the more modest task of redecorating the Combination Room. (37)

One final episode appears as a postscript to the restoration of the chapel. In 1889, the college resolved to erect a nave organ and gallery which would be so large as to cover the entire west wall. (38) The organ itself had been destined for a house in Norfolk, but was bought by Jesus in 1887 at a cost of 560 guineas. On arrival at the College, it was intended to place it in the north transept, but because the Dean thought that it would hide too many of the features of the building, the west end was chosen instead. The plans were hastily arranged by the Dean, E.H. Morgan, together with Rattee and Kett, the local building contractors, and Bodley only reluctantly gave his consent to the scheme. (39) The college already possessed a choir organ, partly designed by Sir John Sutton, with a beautiful case of 1847 by Pugin. The new organ was placed high on a loft, its case designed by Bodley, and the pipes on each side were covered, in a custom of the time, by curtains of ecclesiastical embroidery. Bodley's objections can only be surmised, but he must have thought that it would present too large a bulk as one entered by the principal door. The organ, including the decoration by Powell under Bodley's direction, was completed by the Lent term of 1890. The entire instrument was removed in 1927, and there is now no substantial, full-range organ to support the choral services. (40) With the pious gloom of the chancel, and the light and space of the nave decorations, the chapel remains a fascinating
combination of Pugin's early ecclesiological experiment in the reintroduction of medieval services, and Bodley's and Morris' more open and colourful vision of the same ideal twenty years later.

In 1865, Bodley embarked on the rebuilding of All Saints, Coddington in Nottinghamshire. He reconstructed the fourteenth-century nave arcades in their original form, and the church was left much the same as before, only strengthened, and with a new roof. Here at Coddington, Bodley, who had begun to adopt later English forms of Gothic in his own churches, brought this approach to a routine restoration for the first time (Plate 82). The simple handling of the rebuilt structure, without the imposition of any Continental Gothic features, and the use of diaper patterns on the walls and ceiling of the chancel, betray a more subtle approach to restoration, and a glimpse of the 'refinement' of the architect's later style. Instead of the more usual sedilia usually built into the south wall of the chancel, Bodley substituted a separate piece of furniture in the form of a canopied settle. The windows were by Morris and Burne-Jones who employed plenty of clear glass surrounding the modest figures, not a medieval practice, but anticipating modern windows which have no canopied surrounds.

By 1866, Bodley must have become well acquainted with members of the High Church circle, because in that year he became involved with the restoration of the obscure Northumberland chapelry of Kirkheaton, the most northerly place in England where he worked. The incumbent was the Rev. Thomas Harris, whose logbook, kept from 10 September 1865 to 23 September 1866, is an
important and rare record of the introduction of Tractarian liturgical practices into a remote country parish.

Bodley, who could play the organ and violin, appeared at Evensong on Sunday, 12 November 1865, and 'played ye Harmonium'. Later in the same entry: 'Mr. Bodley has been measuring the Church and Chancel previous to commencing the rebuilding of the latter and improvement of the former.'(41) Even before Harris began the building projects which were intended to create the correct ambience for his new liturgy, he had introduced other practices to 'heighten' the parish. For instance, 'I always elevate at Celebration.'(42) 'I have now Litany sung in the Mission House.'(43) 'I signed with ye sign of the cross and blessed and presented on ye. Altar (in presence of ye. Congregation) the new Alms dish, Corporals, veils, etc... The people I hear are now calling me a Catholic.' Nor did Harris seem short of followers; 'There was a large Congregation.'(44)

The church as Bodley first saw it had been built in 1755, but earlier churches had existed, probably of medieval origin. Harris, of course, wished to re-medievalize the building, and to this end he commissioned Bodley to replace the original classical windows and door frames of the nave with gothic ones. He also rebuilt the chancel completely, using much of the old material, as well as inserting square-headed fourteenth century windows and a highly placed east window. The chancel itself was made higher than the previous one and was barely lower than the nave, making the whole composition appear like a completely new, albeit small, Bodley church, all of an equal height. The foundation stone of this new work was laid in the spring of 1866, and all was
completed in the following year, a period of short duration which must have required intensive supervision and speedy resolution of problems. It is perhaps indicative of the energy and serious attention given by High Church priests to such programmes of transformation in even the smallest, most obscure parishes. Kirkheaton demonstrates not only the strong and growing faith shown in the movement, but also the relative peace with which such contentious arrangements could be undertaken in remote places.

The years 1866-67 spent on the Kirkheaton transformation coincided with similar work on two churches in the south of England. The neighbouring parishes of Great and Little Bardfield in Essex both commissioned Bodley to carry out modifications to their chancels. The intimate Saxon church of St. Katherine's, Little Bardfield received most attention with the addition of a south chancel chamber, which appears to have been created especially for the Renatus Harris organ acquired by the church. Dating from 1688, this was purchased for £55 from the old All Saints in Cambridge after its demolition and replacement by Bodley's new church. The organ came originally from Jesus College; it had been transferred to All Saints in 1790. The free standing case has a carved and pierced frieze with cherub heads to left and right of the small console. After its purchase by St. Katherine's, some parts of the Little Bardfield case were restored by Bodley in a suitable style. The chancel was fitted with a sanctuary lamp and a set of six hanging lamps, all of brass. A pair of outsize single branch wall-mounted candlesticks are fixed on each side of the altar.
St. Mary, Great Bardfield was provided with a new east window in 1867, the year following the work at Little Bardfield. The window is important, because it is the first window to be designed by Bodley, that is to say, the first time that the architect omitted to employ the Morris firm. The following year, his newly acquired partner, Thomas Garner, established the firm of Burlison and Grylls, and from then on all his glass during the rest of Bodley's career came from their workshop, including on occasions glass to Bodley's own designs. In the Great Bardfield window, the kneeling figures of angels to the left and right of Christ have faces which show the influence of Botticelli; the colours are cobalt blue, mauve and yellow, and the background is predominantly plain glass giving a silvery surround. In 1892, Bodley returned to the church to restore the rare, stone rood-screen, one of only two such in the country. The fourteenth-century screen forms a strong silhouette of crockets and cusps between two cluster-column supports. (45) Bodley's Crucifixion and rood statues look rather feeble amongst the swooping ogee arches, despite probably being accurate in scale.

Bodley's first visit to Kinnersley in Herefordshire appears to have been made in 1869, when he was asked to design decorations for the nave and chancel of St. James' church, and to design an organ case. This is the first restoration in which Bodley employed the 'overall stencilling' technique, here predominantly in a variety of greens. They were painted by the Rector, the Rev. Frederick Andrews. The patterns were probably executed therefore about four years after they were designed, because Andrews took the living in 1873. (46)
Next door to the church stands the large country seat of the Reavely family, Kinnersley Castle. It was probably on one of his visits to Kinnersley in 1869 that Bodley met the daughter of the house, Minna Reavely, whom he married in St. James' in September 1872. The Rector at that time was a relative of Minna's, Francis Fenwick Reavely (1832-1910).

In 1872, Bodley was responsible for three large commissions, and was about to take on a fourth, whilst also retaining a part of the practice for major restorations. The most significant restoration for the year 1872 was to rebuild the chancel at St. Botolph's, Cambridge which was undertaken by Queens' College, patrons of the living. Queens' had given Bodley one of his earliest commissions, the chapel refitting. The commission at St. Botolph's derived from a Fellow of the college who was also the rector of the church, Dr. William Magan Campion, (1820-96). Campion was rector of the church from 1862-92, and afterwards became President of Queens', where he pursued his career as a distinguished liturgical scholar. Bodley rebuilt the chancel and constructed a vestry in 1872-73, whilst removing the gallery from the west end. The new chancel is indistinguishable from the fourteenth-century original church, and is flint knapped with a tile roof. Provision was made for an organ, but the organ design, which was almost certainly produced by Bodley, was never executed. The design, in the form of a rough sketch, shows a floor-mounted case; the hand-writing appears to be Bodley's, and the design was sent to his friend, the Rev. F.H. Sutton, who specialised in organ design, and who no doubt passed on his comments. The present organ case, together with the choir stalls, were designed eventually by the Cambridge architect,
William Milner Fawcett. Fawcett, who graduated from Jesus College in 1859, set up as an architect in the town, became Secretary of the Cambridge Architectural Society, and a churchwarden of St. Botolph's.

Dr. Campion took a serious interest in the work, and paid for the reredos and east window; he was an active member of the Cambridge Architectural Society from the 1850s, and was particularly interested in church interiors. (51) The reredos was specially designed to take the altar piece, an eighteenth-century copy of a Van Dyck Crucifixion given to the church in 1819. Unlike the window tracery and panelling in the new chancel, Bodley chose a seventeenth-century continental style, appropriate as the painting's surround, incorporating corniced pedestals, two wooden panels of a richly painted blue and gold pattern in the manner of brocade, and an entablature with a projecting semi-circular centre-piece and elaborate brattishing.

This change from the previously exclusively English, French or Italian gothic forms was introduced here mainly to provide a compatible setting within which to place the Van Dyck painting, but St. Botolph's was the forerunner of three further settings which Bodley created for Renaissance and Baroque paintings: the elaborate new chancel of Brant Broughton (1874), the late seventeenth-century style reredos at Temple Newsam (1877), and, rather later in his career, the colourful east end of Queens' Chapel, Cambridge (1889). (52) It is difficult to understand exactly why such a style suddenly became fashionable, but the increased appreciation of paintings from the early Italian masters to those of the seventeenth-century, together
with the first signs of a break from the faithful adherence to Gothic Revival forms, may have led to a search for new styles—at least for furnishings and decoration. The early stages of the so-called Aesthetic Movement in England, too, may have prompted stronger attempts at refinement and variety. The church of St. Botolph's contained perhaps the first effort in the aesthetic mode by Bodley, for the font cover was painted, until 1972, with yellow sunflower motifs. The cover was not Gothic, but an elaborate Jacobean design of 1651, a period enjoying increasing popularity during the last third of the nineteenth-century. The work dates from the restoration of 1872, and although there is no certain attribution to Bodley, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the work was carried out to his specifications.

Other painting in the new chancel includes two figurative panels on each side of the east window, and further frescoes above the east window, all by a parishioner named Gray. The roof was painted by Bodley's old associate, F.R. Leach, the Cambridge decorator who worked on All Saint's in Cambridge and Tue Brook in Liverpool, and who donated his work as part of his own contribution to the church. In 1875, Bodley designed the lectern and, jointly with George Kett's sons, gave it to the church in memory of their father, the celebrated local carver and sculptor, who so frequently had been associated with the architect since his earliest work at Cambridge. Finally, the east window was installed by Dr. Campion, having been designed by the parishioner, Gray, and executed apparently by Leach in 1886. (53)

During the 1870s and 80s, Bodley lived in Hampstead amongst a fashionable artistic circle which favoured the
recherché and courtly eighteenth-century era. 'Queen Anne' style houses were beginning to be built there, perpetuating the vogue for the previous century, and devotees of the Aesthetic Movement were moving in. In 1874, it was proposed that the tower of the red-brick, Georgian parish church should be demolished. The tower and church were of no particular architectural merit, but they formed a pleasant punctuation to the end of Church Row, in which Bodley lived with his neighbours, Garner and Gilbert Scott junior. The eighteenth-century houses created an elegant terrace on each side of the street, and Bodley had planted a row of trees along a central verge leading towards the church. A petition was organized by Bodley and Gilbert Scott junior, and the signatures of Butterfield and Waterhouse were obtained, together with those of members of the congregation, such as Champneys, Norman Shaw and Temple Moore. William Morris, Anthony Trollope and Holman Hunt also added their names. Bodley, of course, had helped to rediscover and reuse Georgian features in his domestic work from the early 1860s onwards. This was an early attempt to rescue a Georgian church from demolition. Thanks partly to Bodley's lead, an increased awareness had appeared for all kinds of buildings, together with a belief that they should be saved for posterity. The church was saved and later extended. Decorations by T.G. Jackson, and Alfred Bell, of Clayton and Bell, assured its popularity amongst the advanced artistic tastes of Hampstead in the late nineteenth-century.

The following year, 1873, Bodley's old friend the Rev. John Gibson, rector of St. George, King's Stanley in Gloucestershire, wished to restore his church. (54) The living was held by Jesus College, Cambridge where Gibson had been a Fellow.
(55) Much of the finance for the work was provided by the brothers Samuel Marling, M.P., and William Marling, J.P., of Stanley Park nearby. Samuel Marling, the cloth-mill owner, had commissioned All Saints', Selsley from Bodley in 1858, but he had formerly worshipped in the parish church of St. George, King's Stanley. While Bodley thoroughly rebuilt, rearranged and redecorated the interior over the next three years, William Marling and Gibson recorded all the work in a detailed, albeit somewhat confusing, diary. The programme of renewing walls, painting roofs and refurnishing the nave actively involved Gibson, who claimed that he himself modified the designs 'with the friendly consent of Bodley'. (56) Gibson indicated what were thought to be the most important features for church restoration. Neither the incumbent nor the architect were interested in obliterating features of the past, 'the same stones being used as far as possible', or of slavishly copying the past, 'copied, (though not exactly)'. (57) The beautiful organ case is said to be by Thomas Liddiat, a resident of the parish, but Gibson claims the case was to his own design, and mentions also that he paid for it. (58) The case is a very elaborate and well proportioned one, and often has been attributed mistakenly to Bodley, whose work it closely resembles.

The next major restoration work, at St. Helen's, Brant Broughton in Lincolnshire, enjoyed two advantages during its creation, both of them linked to the same energetic source. Firstly, the patron was the Rev. Frederick Heathcote Sutton, friend and advisor of Bodley who collaborated with him at both Pendlebury and Hoar Cross. The second feature was the remarkably detailed account of the restoration which Sutton wrote down in a
large bound album, now in the possession of the present vicar of St. Helen's. Not only does this record book contain a description of the work, but also printed notices of expenditure, notes on architectural discoveries made at the time, and 'before and after' photographs of the restoration. The book makes a rare change from the usual paucity of surviving information about the majority of buildings, whilst giving also an insight into the close relationship between Bodley and, next to Garner, one of his most important advisers.

Frederick Heathcote (1833-1888), was the eighth child in a large family, for the second baronet, Sir Richard Sutton (1798-1855), produced twelve children, John (1820-73) being the eldest. The fifth child was Augustus (1825-85), who became the rector of West Tofts in Norfolk, a Sutton living whose church also was restored by the family. (59)

The Sutton family was originally from Sutton-on-Trent in Nottinghamshire where for several generations they owned a small manor. The family supplied an Archbishop of Canterbury in the early nineteenth-century. Sir Richard's great-grandfather had married the widow of the Earl of Sunderland, and this led to the acquisition of property in Lincolnshire, including Brant Broughton, as well as in Piccadilly and elsewhere in London. Their wealth was contained also in estates in Norfolk (West Tofts and Marsden), and in Nottinghamshire (Averham). The Manners-Sutton branch were related to the Duke of Rutland of Belvoir Castle, and it was this family which had asked Sir Gilbert Scott to build Kelham Hall near Newark in 1859-61. The Suttons held the patronage of the several churches which
accompanied these substantial estates, and often presented members of their own family to the livings. The year before he died in 1873, Sir John Sutton installed his brother Frederick Heathcote in the living of St. Helen's, where he remained until his death in 1888 at the age of 55.

Bodley must have met Frederick through his elder brother, Sir John Sutton, at least as early as 1862 when Bodley was concerned with the repair of Jesus College Chapel in Cambridge. John Sutton was Dean of the college, and benefactor of restorations by Salvin and Pugin there dating from the 1840s. The meeting might have been as early as 1860, however, when Jesus appointed Bodley to design All Saints, opposite the college gates.

The Rev. Frederick Sutton's meticulous notebook on the restoration of his church began in 1874, with a reference to the closure of the church on the 4 May to enable the restoration to begin. Sutton goes on to say how shabby the interior had become, the nave holding 'a confused mass of ill arranged deal pews', and 'the pillars were insecure, and undermined with vaults'.(60) The interior is also mentioned as presenting 'an appearance of poverty and squalor contrasting most painfully with the splendour of the outside of the Building.'(61) Photographs included in the document show the church before the restoration began, including the chancel which was said to be 'not ill designed, considering the date of its erection - 1812.'(62)

The church of St. Helen was built in the thirteenth-century, and the nave roofs were replaced in the
fourteenth-century; the exterior has well-detailed stone carving. Much tracery had been replaced before 1874, however, and Bodley had to either reconstruct or reinvent the lines of the old windows from remaining fragments of cusps and mullions. Part of the design for the west window, for instance, was taken from a rose at St. Alban’s Cathedral. The original colouring of the roof still existed and the paintwork merely required cleaning. On the other hand, the chancel of 1812, was dismantled entirely and replaced with a new design.

The first subscriber to the restoration fund contributed in September, 1873. Sir Richard Sutton promised £2,000, Frederick, £500, Augustus, 1 cwt. of Bell-Metal worth £8, all of which, with the other subscribers’ donations, totalled £3,064. Bodley and Garner reckoned that £3,000 was needed for necessary repairs, but that ‘a considerable sum in addition would be required for fittings such as the organ case and stained glass’. (63)

A large number of ancient monuments were found during the progress of the demolition and rebuilding, including tombs, and fragments of statues and tiles. In recreating the tower vault, Sutton wrote of ‘every portion of old work which could be retained having been carefully preserved’. (64) Referring to the roof he wrote; ‘new pieces of wood only having been added where absolutely wanted.’ (65) These remarks show how careful Bodley had become in his handling of old churches. Most of the structural work was carried out in the summer of 1874. It is the speed of the several repairs, such as reconstructing a column, plastering, repainting and stonework repair, which is remarkable, when
considering that only two months was required by the contractors. A large number of local craftsmen and labourers must have been needed, and Sutton mentions that the men worked 'till late at night - and on.' (66) The nave was ready for use for the first time on Sunday 15 November 1874, six months from the outset.

Sutton himself designed iron chandeliers for the aisles and chancel which were made in the village blacksmith's by Frederick Coldron, who also made some hinges for the tower door. The altar was made by Bodley's trusted firm of Cambridge woodcarvers, Rattee and Kett. (67)

Following the removal of the old chancel, the foundation stone for its sumptuous replacement (Plate 83), designed by Bodley, was laid by Lady Sutton on 13 February 1875, but little could be done for the next month because of the weather. (68) Further artefacts from the medieval chancel were discovered and their careful treatment shows the changing attitude towards restorations since 1812 when, at the time of the Georgian rebuilding of the Early English chancel, itself an action of some regret, such objects had been neglected by the architect. Now, however, they were to be relocated in the church with care. Next, the glazing of the clerestory windows was completed, not only to Frederick Sutton's designs, but also by his own hand at a forge installed for the purpose near the rectory. (69) Sutton was an authority on German Renaissance glass and together with his brother, the Rev. Augustus, he had designed and made the main west window at Lincoln Cathedral in c1861-62. (70)

Canon Sutton's energy and skill displayed during his work
on the restoration was acknowledged in the unpublished reminiscences of Sir Ninian Comper:

'When the partnership was finally severed [in 1897] it was Garner's work which most betrayed it, but for a good many years before they increasingly gave up the close collaboration of earlier days in which also Canon Frederick Sutton ... had no small share. Even in my pupil days he was a frequent visitor and consultant. He was especially interested in organ cases and it was in them that his hand particularly appeared, e.g. at Hoar Cross, and at Brant Broughton... He found time there to paint glass, and to train the village blacksmith in wrought iron work and his butler in embroidery.'(71)

Burlison and Grylls made the east window, and the painting of the glass was supervised by Thomas Garner. Local villagers turned into amateur decorators to help paint the chancel roof under the direction of Bodley's assistant, W. Maynard Shaw, in order to prepare the church for consecration on time.(72) The church was consecrated on the 28th September 1876, and at the service, together with the Sutton family, were the Bishop of Lincoln, Christopher Wordsworth (+1868-1885), and the Hon. Francis Wood, the brother of Emily Meynell Ingram.

Workmen remained at the church after the opening, however, until the end of 1876, and the carved super-altar by Rattee and Kett was added shortly before Easter, 1877.(73) The organ, erected in summer, 1877, was designed by Sutton. No gas was allowed in the church, and originally only candles were lit. The candelabra of the nave were wired for electricity in 1937,
but the chancel remains candle-lit to this day. (74)

As soon as Bodley's commission at Holy Angels, Hoar Cross was completed, Mrs. Meynell Ingram approached him in 1877 to convert into a chapel the Georgian library of her Yorkshire house, Temple Newsam, near Leeds. Her husband's ancestors, the Ingrams, had bought the house from the Lennox family who had rebuilt it early in the seventeenth-century, and altered it again in the eighteenth-century. Bodley created here one of the sombre spiritual interiors for which he was becoming well-known. He made a chapel without requiring any structural alterations, by painting the original Georgian woodwork a deep blue, and high-lighting in gold the carved capitals and scroll work. Spirals of gold leaves were applied to the columns on each side of the altar whilst panels of dark green cut velvet were inserted between the pilasters. A broken segmental arch, in black marble surmounted by two white marble columns, frames a copy of Gentile da Fabriano's Adoration (Plate 84). The reredos marks a departure from Bodley's usual fourteenth-century Gothic, as it displayed seventeenth-century classical features. It was appropriate to maintain a classical approach here in a Georgian room, but the Renaissance reredos was a bold contrast to the late-Gothic painting which it surrounded. Fittings for the chapel were supplied by Watts and Co. and by Barkentin and Krall to Bodley's designs. The windows in stained glass were probably by Burlison and Grylls, for they have similar features to those at Hoar Cross. The faldstool, credence tables and lectern in cast-iron were designed by Bodley. Furniture was supplied by Rattee and Kett of Cambridge, and the panelling over the doors showed examples of 'aesthetic' designs from Bodley's hand in the form of
the sunflower motif in gold on a dusky blue ground. An extract from one of Mrs. Meynell Ingram's letters shows the close attention which she paid to her architect's work:

16 October 1877

Bodley arrived on Tuesday and (as usual) all his offences which were many! were condoned by the great beauty of his arrangements and the hangings he brought with him, so all was in order—Picture put up, and Dedication Service on Friday Evening was as satisfactory as possible... The boys capocks are beautiful! Bodley calls them red. All Leeds and all London were hunted for the right shade in vain, but at last a bale was discovered of what most people would call a dirty brown, of which Bodley was pleased to approve, so it was made up accordingly with black bodies as the stuff ran short at the last.'(75)

The colour scheme and decorative features were removed in 1944, and in the 1970s, the chapel was converted back to its original condition as a Georgian library.

Mrs. Meynell Ingram's other alterations at Temple Newsam were made by C.E. Kempe and included a staircase in the Jacobean style. This was thought to be appropriate in a Tudor house which had been the birthplace of Lord Darnley, even though it had subsequently lost much of its original appearance. Both Bodley and Kempe were sympathetic to the mid and late-Victorian vogue for the Elizabethan period, and Bodley was responsible for additions to the other Meynell Ingram house adjacent to Holy Angels at Hoar Cross. The house was originally designed by Henry Clutton in a Jacobean style probably inspired by Temple Newsam.
Bodley added geometrical plaster-work ceilings, an oak screen in the hall and later, in 1897, a small chapel with three-quarter height linenfold wall panelling and Tudor four-centred arches forming the ceiling. (76)

Another Halifax family commission of this date was the restoration of the church at Edwardstone in Suffolk which Bodley undertook in 1879. This was for Mrs. Meynell Ingram's youngest sister, Edith, who had married in 1876 the Hon. Colonel Henry Lowry-Corry, a son of the third Earl of Belmore and owner of Edwardstone Hall. In 1880, the building was furnished, the chancel ceiling was installed, and the windows were filled with Burlison and Grylls glass. Bodley's interest in organs is displayed in the 'Father' Smith of 1670 which he installed here after its removal from the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford. He provided a new case for the organ and placed it in the north chancel aisle. Cecil Hare, Bodley's assistant who took over the practice after Bodley's death in 1907, followed with additional work in the church as frequently occurred elsewhere; the reredos of 1910 is to his design, and continues the Bodley tradition of pious and saintly figures arranged in a painted landscape.

In 1881, Bodley's old friend, and Surveyor of the Fabric at Westminster Abbey, George Edmund Street, died. Although Street was born in 1824, three years before Bodley, he died when Bodley was only half way through his career, and he followed Street into the Surveyorship of the Abbey.

Street's predecessor in the post, Sir Gilbert Scott, had died in 1878 and it was the first duty of Street, his old pupil,
to design a memorial to him. Appropriately for a leader of the revival, this took the traditionally medieval form of a floor-brass, which was placed at the east end of the nave in front of the sanctuary. Bodley designed a similarly large brass for Street, depicting an image of the architect surrounded by a Latin memorial inscription and placed beside Scott's brass. The intricate engraving, executed by Barkentin and Krall, covers about three square-yards, making an important addition to the revival of a hitherto neglected medieval craft.

Following Bodley's restoration of his church of Brant Broughton in Lincolnshire, Canon Frederick Sutton was eager for the Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, to commission Bodley to execute a new reredos for the east end of the choir in a style compatible with Wren's masterpiece. In 1880, Bodley was chosen by the Decorative Committee of the cathedral to prepare plans to do so. Shortly before Bodley's commission, the Surveyor of the Cathedral, F.C. Penrose (1817-1903), revealed the east window of the apse to the congregation in the nave by the removal of the organ screen and by the parting of the organ itself into two sections, one to the north and one to the south of the choir. (77) This change had been made to allow better visibility of the altar from the nave, a new feature of later Victorian worship. Wren himself had proposed a similar plan, except that instead of the reredos which Bodley and Garner were to design, he had suggested a baldachino:

'the High Altar, to consist of rich marble columns writhed, &c, in some manner like that of St. Peter's at Rome.' (78)

Garner, who assumed the overall control of the plans, was
worried about the scale of such a scheme:

'A Baldachino...was an obvious idea; but a glance at the plan will show that the space is too narrow, and that it must have dwarfed the church if made large, and if made small, looked insignificant from the dome and nave.'(79)

In July 1885, a full-scale drawing of the proposed central portion of the reredos was hung at the east end of the choir, and even this clear display of its towering proportions did not deter the cathedral authorities from requesting the scheme in full (Plate 85). Begun in August, 1886, it was tall, in the richest form of the English Baroque style, and relied on the prominent focal-point of the cathedral for its success. The high central feature of twinned barley-sugar twist columns, pediment and Madonna statue niche, was flanked by curved screens. The top-most section of these screens was theatrically left as an open colonnade, and so Wren's tall-arcaded apse was clearly visible through the columns. The materials were white Parian marble, with colourad bands of Rosso Antico, Verde di Prato, and Brescia marble. The coloured marbles, the festoons of fruit and flowers, and the sculptured panels representing the Incarnation, the Redemption and the Resurrection, were over-wrought in comparison with the cool simplicity of Wren's interior. Nevertheless, the rich mosaics which were added to the apse soon after the reredos was complete, must have helped to create a more sympathetic setting for this very visible and elaborate contrivance.

The alterations to the choir also included the resiting of the celebrated Tijou railings, and the refacing in marble of
the pilasters in the sanctuary. The reredos was consecrated on St. Paul's Day, 1888. Later in the same year, it came under attack from the protestant wing of the church, who complained that the representation of Christ on the cross was superstitious. Frederick Temple, as Bishop of London (1885-1897), prevented prosecution under the Public Worship Regulation Act, but an appeal was made by the protestors to the House of Lords. Finally, the Calvary was deemed to be not a Crucifix, but a simple historical representation, and the reredos remained unchanged.

In 1891, a new chapel, known as the Jesus Chapel was designed to lie directly behind the High Altar and to accommodate Canon Liddon's tomb. The recumbent effigy of the Canon in white marble was designed by Garner, and this, together with the whole of the screen, was carried out by Farmer and Brindley.

The reredos was only partially damaged by bombing in October, 1940, but because it was regarded as dismally old-fashioned, it was removed entirely after the war. The central Crucifix and a statue are now used as altar-pieces in the north and south choir chapels. The baldacchino which now stands on the site of the reredos was designed in 1957 by S.E. Dykes-Bower and G. Allen and was based on the original design by Sir Christopher Wren.

In 1864, mosaics had been placed in the dome by G.F. Watts and Alfred Stevens. In 1891, Bodley advised Dean Gregory to decorate the roof vaults of the apse, sanctuary and choir with mosaics. With Gregory's consent, Bodley at first asked Burne-Jones to design them, but he declined to accept. He then
suggested that Sir William Richmond should be asked, and these were undertaken in 1892-94. Richmond based his designs on the scheme prepared in 1870-71 by William Burges, and employed a formal and glistening Byzantine approach, happily in contrast to the fluid style of the Baroque screen below.

During the 1880s, younger and more progressive architects showed less inclination than their former masters, towards practising a pure form of Gothic, and they began to criticize what they saw as lifeless reproduction. In 1882, Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912), whose houses in Kensington and Bedford Park in the 'Queen Anne' style were beginning to have a wide influence on domestic building, wrote a strong attack on Bodley to his friend, John Dando Sedding (1838-1891):

'Look at the enclosed photo, [of a screen] and say if it is not copied... Is it possible that this can be great art? I fear not, and yet it is a good work of Bodley's, a man we both sincerely admire.'

Sedding's reply no longer exists, but in a following letter, Shaw said:

'Nothing could be more to the point than your sentence 'one sees that if good men copy they don't really enrich the world nor leave it better off for their work when they die.' And then you say 'I wish Bodley wouldn't copy. He is a real artist and he didn't copy like this in earlier days, and needn't and oughtn't... Good work never dies...' But then comes the question, what is good work? Can good 19th Centy work done by educated and intelligent mortals consist in a servile copy of 15th Centy?... Our art is like a language, it must be either living or
dead...there is absolutely no idea in such a thing as that screen.' (84)

Bodley was happy to continue his formula of restorations throughout the rest of his life. Typically, this would consist of a new reredos with carved and gilded vine leaves, probably painted and gilded, a new oak chancel screen (Plate 86), a black and white marble pavement, and a complete scheme of stencilling in the chancel. Like Shaw, his pupils were not always content with the overuse of these formulae, nor were his clients always reassured by his lackadaisical working methods. Ashbee complained to his diary in April, 1888, about a reredos for West Malling:

'...the reredos is a busy little thing - having gone on for five years now and still unfinished - can't get G.F.B. to answer any letters, says the poor parson - only occasional [scribbles?] from the Athenaeum. Have we not heard this before? The reredos itself is pretty - very pretty,; what now? - well - dead rather, I can't help thinking, like all of them - 'not angels but angles' one might say - things beautifully carved by the subtlest law of geometrical antiquarianism. What a lot of dead angels our 19th century will have to answer for!' (85)

Several small commissions followed throughout the 'nineties, all concerned with Anglo-Catholic ritual, which by now was surrounded by less controversy. The higher form of service was becoming more widely accepted, and the fittings had become legitimate in churches where a more conventional liturgy was maintained. In 1890, the partners designed the pastoral staff for
Cathedral. Decorated with enamels and semi-precious stones, it was made from silver gilt by the silversmith Carl Krall who, with his partner, Jes Barkentin, was employed frequently by the partners (in the guise of Watts and Co.), for plate and metalwork of all kinds. A fine example of Barkentin and Krall metalwork is the altar-cross of circa 1900 for Bodley's new chancel at St. Bartholomew, Reading (Plate 87). A liberal use of the fleur-de-lys on the cross makes a delicate contrast to the firm contours of the turned stem.

An important restoration took place in 1895-99 with the help of Bodley's old assistant, Charles Kempe. The great fifteenth-century stone reredos at Winchester Cathedral had been badly damaged by the iconoclasts at the time of the Reformation and repair work was begun in the 1880s. Bodley and Garner were chosen to replace the carved stone figures of the central Crucifix and a Holy Family group for the lower tier. Work was carried out by Farmer and Brindley, and supervision was probably largely undertaken by Garner, who had written a paper for the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society in 1882 entitled 'On reredoses'.(86) In this paper, which predates the restoration of the screen, Garner laments the loss of the original carvings and provides a written approximation of the lay-out of the sculptures on the reredos. He included an analysis of further English and continental examples of about the same period as Winchester.

In the year 1896, Garner converted to Roman Catholicism, and the partnership came to an end, although the two architects continued to practice on their own. An account of his later years is provided in Chapter VIII.
Bodley was by now acclaimed as the leading ecclesiastical architect in the country, and he undertook about fifty church restorations or additions during the last ten years of his life. He received employment in a number of cathedrals: at Canterbury in 1898 for the main nave pulpit, stencilled with green diaper patterns, at York, also in 1898, for a general restoration as Cathedral architect, together with nine memorials. At Peterborough he was made Cathedral architect, again in 1898, and he restored the west front.

Bodley's life-long interest 'to save some of the very noblest works of the past', led to the destruction of very little ancient fabric. His revival of so many features which had been destroyed at the Reformation or by the Puritans, and the mostly unostentatious fittings which he added, usually enhanced the churches which he refurbished. If old screens or other features were beyond repair, they were rarely discarded completely, but were usually incorporated in a new screen or similar furnishing. Where eighteenth-century items were concerned, such as large pulpits and galleries, Bodley, in common with most Victorian architects, would be obliged to remove them to free the church for the new pattern of services. Little work of quality would have been lost here, either, as pine or deal woodwork of poor workmanship was common for these items.

Most criticism of Bodley as far as restorations are concerned, may be reserved for what he added, and not for what he took away. Scores of churches throughout England possess his many-statued altars or Roods. If the solemn figures in subdued
colours, and the kneeling angels are not to taste, then a weekly service or passing visit can leave a sense of unease over the dry-as-dust twilight of Anglican piety. Otherwise, his understanding of pattern and colour, and his well-considered proportions can move the visitor to quiet reflection.

In June 1907, Bodley received the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law from the University of Oxford, when Lord Curzon was Vice-Chancellor. Rodin and Kipling also were given doctorates at the ceremony. (87) Edward Warren, who attended the Encaenia in the Sheldonian Theatre, was concerned to notice how 'pale and ill' Bodley looked. After retaining 'the full force of his imagination, his patience and his kindly humour to the last', he died in the early morning of 21 October. (88)

CHAPTER VIII

After the partnership: Garner's later years, 1897-1906.

Thomas Garner may be judged in his own right during the ten years of work which followed the formal close of his professional association with Bodley.

In October 1867, Garner had married Emily Smith, daughter of John Henry Smith, Perpetual Curate of Old Milverton, a few miles north of Warwick. From November of that year, the Garners lived in a Georgian terrace house, 20, Church Row, Hampstead, a few doors away from Bodley. Here, both men remained until 1895, when they were drawn away by their mutual love of the countryside, Bodley to Iver in Buckinghamshire, and Garner to
During the years of Garner's residence, Hampstead became an enclave for many other important late Victorian architects: George Gilbert Scott junior, (1839-1897) lived at 26, Church Row from his marriage in 1872 until his death twenty-five years later; his pupil and assistant, Temple Moore (1856-1920), lived at 16, Church Row; Basil Champneys (1842-1935) chose to build his own house in Frognal Lane nearby. A friend of Garner, and a contemporary in Sir Gilbert Scott's office, Thomas Graham Jackson (1835-1924), had been brought up in Hampstead, and was responsible for many of the fittings in the parish church of St. John at the end of Church Row; Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912) built his own home in Ellerdale Road in 1876 and lived there until his death in 1912. These men, who were instrumental in the introduction of the Queen Anne movement, attempted to claim Georgian architecture as vernacular. This indigenous style can be seen when walking through the streets there, where true Georgian dwellings stand side by side with their nineteenth-century red brick counterparts. The latter houses also employed Classical motifs, although in a less symmetrical manner, leading the way in the 1870s from Gothicism towards the Arts and Crafts Movement.

During the partnership years, Garner had reinforced the architects' commitment to Queen Anne, taking control, in that style, of River House, Chelsea for instance, in 1876. After the 1880s, however, he was to tend more towards the Jacobean vernacular for secular and domestic architecture, and throughout his final ten years, the rural crafts ideal became more apparent in both his way of life and his choice of architectural style.
Following his purchase in Oxfordshire in 1893 of Fritwell Manor, Garner carried out a thorough but conservative renovation of the house. The late sixteenth-century, 'E' plan house in sandstone with its gabled bays matched the type which he was to relate in his book *The Domestic Architecture of England during the Tudor Period*, described in Chapter VI. Such houses had been familiar to Garner since his childhood, spent on the farm at Wasperton Hill in rural Warwickshire, and they were the inspiration for his domestic and other secular designs.

The year 1897 saw the breaking-up of the partnership between Bodley and Garner, following Garner's conversion to the Roman Catholic faith in 1896. The two architects had worked together for twenty-eight years. Bodley, although now 69 years old, still wished to practice his profession with its strongly High Anglican allegiance, whereas Garner, who was 58, wished to establish an office serving instead the Catholic Church, and so the two architects continued on their own whilst carefully retaining the benefits of their longstanding close friendship.

An indication of Garner's move towards Rome may be seen in his association with Charlotte Boyd (1837-1906) which had begun five years before with the commission to restore the fourteenth-century Gatehouse at West Malling Abbey in Kent. A devout Anglo-Catholic with a passionate belief in the reintroduction of convent life, she had walked as a child through the ruins of the Abbey at Glastonbury, lamenting the loss of the old Faith and its heritage. An orphan, Charlotte Boyd had been brought up at West Malling Abbey by the Akers family, Tractarian
owners of the buildings since 1850, who used the Gatehouse as an orphanage. (1) In her late twenties, on the advice of John Mason Neale, Miss Boyd resolved to undertake the restoration of the abbey buildings and of Benedictine monasticism. Neale's words to her in 1865 were recorded later in Our Work, the magazine begun in 1878 by a convent founded at the beginning of Miss Boyd's mission to reintroduce the life of the enclosed order: 'I would have you take this as your work in life' (2). From 1875 onwards, the Cowley Fathers supported Miss Boyd's foundation of the English Abbey Restoration Trust, and, within three years, they had assumed responsibility for 13 religious communities. For a large part of her life, much of her financial and spiritual encouragement was directed towards this and other associated trusts, established to provide for her own two orphanages in London (3).

On the death of Avetas Akers' widow in 1891, Miss Boyd bought and decided to restore West Malling Abbey, and in 1893, St. Mary's Abbey, as it was called, opened after repairs had been carried out. The old Gatehouse and the Decorated Chapel on its inner side, which had fallen into disrepair, were restored with Garner's light touch, and with few major alterations. The Abbey was occupied by an Anglican Benedictine community of nuns founded in 1868, and originally situated at Feltham (4).

Miss Boyd converted to Roman Catholicism on 23rd September, 1894, shortly after the restoration of the Gatehouse, and she might well have had some influence over Garner's change in religious direction (5).
A few months before her conversion, Charlotte Boyd bought the tiny, dilapidated, Slipper Chapel at Houghton St. Giles near Walsingham in Norfolk. The medieval pilgrims, who had come to visit the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, made the little Chapel their final stop on the journey before walking the last mile to the shrine in the Augustinian Priory, often in bare feet. Shoes might or might not have been left at the Slipper Chapel; the name is a modern one (6). Little more than 12 feet by 28 feet, the mid-fourteenth-century wayside Chapel is a well preserved example of the Decorated style at its most elaborate. Remarkably, the fine original steeply-pitched chestnut roof timbers had survived, and the west front was still in a repairable state. The simple west facade with its doorway and single window, both of similar size, is beautifully enriched with four niches, and a fifth niche is placed at the apex of the window in the gable. The west facade relies on these niches for its tightly controlled composition, and its flamboyant Decorated style shows the transition to Perpendicular.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, worshippers had been arriving once again in growing numbers to visit the still ruined shrine at Walsingham, and it was this increasing popularity which had led Miss Boyd into the long negotiations to purchase the chapel. Legal delays prevented the final transfer of the Chapel into her ownership until June 1896. In the meantime, Garner carefully researched the history of the Chapel in preparation for his thorough repair of the building (which had been used as a barn) and to make it fit once again for worship. In the course of 1897, the year in which the partners dissolved their alliance, work was well in hand under Garner's
supervision on repairs by Rattee and Kett to the stonework. Due to years of neglect, Garner found it necessary to repeat the west gable at the east end, and to replace the tracery in the east window (7). Garner also deduced from the double slope of the roof, that the masons must have wished originally for a clerestory, but their proposal had never been realised. He built a small Presbytery to the south of the Chapel, maintaining the use of gables, in his favoured Jacobean style.

Miss Boyd had commissioned plans by Garner for elaborate fittings to the interior of the chapel, (Plate 88) but she was disappointed in her attempts to make the chapel the Catholic Shrine of Norfolk. Prior Ford of Downside, and Dom Philibert Feasey had suggested her handing over the Chapel for this purpose to the Right Reverend Arthur Riddell, Bishop of Northampton but, because Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) had sanctioned the official shrine to Our Lady at King’s Lynn, with a resident priest and congregation established already, Bishop Riddell and the parish priest, Father George Wrigglesworth, decided that it would continue to be maintained there. Presumably through disillusionment at this refusal, Miss Boyd never asked Garner to carry out his designs, and in June, 1897, she gave the chapel to the Benedictines of Downside (8). Garner’s plans for the interior of the Chapel had provided for seating against the north and south walls in the form of settles with narrow cupboards above them; a statue of the Virgin Mary was to be surmounted by a tall wooden canopy, and a triptych would have had the two side curtains characteristic of the so-called English altar.

As mentioned above, Garner’s plans for the interior were
not carried out, and the Chapel was kept empty and in abeyance until 1934. After it had been transferred to the Abbey at Downside, however, Dom Philibert Feasey wrote his book, Our Ladye of Walsingham, in which he predicted the return of pilgrims to the Chapel and entreated them to 'not forget the name of Charlotte Boyd, the first to make those pilgrimages possible once more to THE HOLY LAND OF BLESSED WALSINGHAM.' (9)

In 1934, after installing both the statue of Our Lady under a canopy, and an altar, all much as the version planned by Garner for Miss Boyd forty years before, Downside Abbey presented the chapel to the Diocese of Northampton. In August of the same year, Cardinal Bourne led a national pilgrimage and became the first English Cardinal to visit Walsingham since Wolsey (10). Before long, the Slipper Chapel became the Roman Catholic shrine at Walsingham, but as a mark of ecumenicism, most modern-day pilgrims, whatever their denomination, still complete the last part of their journey from here - on foot - as they did before the Reformation.

During his association with Charlotte Boyd, and before Garner left the partnership and Hampstead, he undertook a singular domestic commission in the eighteenth-century suburb. He designed Moreton House, Hampstead in 1896 in a vernacular seventeenth-century style for the Anglo-Catholic Frederick Edward Sidney (Plate 89). A descendant of Sir Philip Sidney of Penshurst Place in Kent, Sidney was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. The house stands in Holly Walk opposite the Roman Catholic church of St. Mary, a neo-classical building to which Garner and Gilbert Scott junior are supposed to have made minor additions (11).
is unclear how far Sidney would have relished this juxtaposition, judged from the opinions on Catholicism expressed in his book *Anglican Innocents in Spain* which he wrote following a tour he made there with his wife in 1903. This was in the form of a diary, apparently written in his hotel room, and describes the people of Spain, its major cities, and the elaborate preparations for Holy Week. The book is full of witty, sometimes barbed, comments about the Spanish and the manner in which they worship. He was a friend, and sometimes a travelling companion, of Father Arthur Henry Stanton of St. Alban's, Holborn, of whose parish Sidney was a member.

The house is approached by climbing Holly Walk, past the cemetery, and into an enclave of late Georgian houses. At the summit of the hill stands Moreton, giving the appearance of a small Jacobean manor house, with a central projecting entrance bay, prominent gables, and bay windows. The walls are roughcast, the windows stone mullioned with rectangular leaded panes. The porch, on the narrow, gabled projecting bay, is flanked by two fluted Ionic columns and surmounted by the motto 'God is al in al things' and a carved coat-of-arms (Plate 90). Prominently placed halfway up this central bay is a niche containing a stone statue of the Virgin and Child; originally, a small lamp lit the figures. The statue echoes that over the door of the Catholic church opposite, a deliberate claim to parity between the Anglican and Catholic churches.

Inside, several rooms were oak-panelled with decorated plaster ceilings; stained glass panels hung in the windows, and the rich interior style of the 1890's was maintained (Plate 91).
It was in these rooms that Sidney kept his large collection of English and Continental furniture, porcelain and objets d'art. Much of the furniture, dating from the Charles II and James II periods, and the Flemish glass from the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, was particularly appropriate to the style of the house, indicating a harmony of taste between architect and patron.

The gardens were laid out in formal Italianate style, just as they were at Hewell Grange and at Bodley's own house at Bridgefoot in Iver, with shaped yew hedging, low clipped box and, unusually, gilded statuary.

Sidney died in 1932 at the age of 79, and his art collection was sold from Moreton by Christie's in 1937, whose catalogue recorded 154 lots in total (12). The house became an orphanage and then, during the Second World War, the army headquarters for Hampstead Heath; in 1968, it was converted into flats whilst the garden was sold as building land.

The Empire Hotel, Buxton, designed in 1898, and built between 1899-1902, was Garner's largest secular project following the end of his partnership with Bodley, and provided clear evidence of Garner's reputation as a skilful planner on a large scale (Plate 92). Garner's country house for the Plymouth's, Hewell Grange in Worcestershire of 1884-91, was the forerunner for the new hotel. The drawings were undertaken by Ernest Willmott Sloper (known as Ernest Willmott after 1907), who had become Garner's manager when the latter set up on his own; shortly after completing the Buxton drawings, however, Sloper
left in order to establish his own practice (Plates 93 and 94).

The largest hotel in Buxton, of fifteen bays and six storeys, it was built by Spiers and Pond at a cost of £150,000. The site chosen for the hotel lay on the north west side of The Park, a residential area whose development was initiated for the Duke of Devonshire's estate in 1852 by Joseph Paxton, superintendent of the gardens at Chatsworth, landscape designer, and architect. Its position gave the Empire wide views across the town, and thus rivalling the other large hotel in Buxton, The Palace, of 1868, by Henry Currey (1820-1900), which stood high above the Winter Gardens. It was probably due to the retirement of Currey from his position as architect to the Duke, and the success of Hewell Grange - very nearly as large and complex in plan as a hotel - that Garner was given the commission.

Steep, hipped roofs were fronted by Flemish gables in the manner of Montacute House in Somerset, c. 1599. Such gables, first re-introduced by Gilbert Scott junior and W.E. Nesfield thirty years before the Buxton hotel, had been borrowed by them in turn from Raynham Hall, c. 1635, and Blickling Hall, c. 1620, both in Norfolk. Whereas these features had been incorporated into the Queen Anne idiom by Scott and Nesfield, here in Buxton by Garner, they were employed in a more authentic manner. Garner himself, with his special interest in Jacobean houses, would have known too from early years the similar style found at The Marble House, Warwick. The roof of the hotel incorporates a glazed cupola, another seventeenth-century feature which Garner had employed on two previous buildings, the 'Queen Anne' River House on Chelsea Embankment, and Hewell Grange, mentioned above. The
left in order to establish his own practice (Plates 93 and 94).

The largest hotel in Buxton, of fifteen bays and six storeys, it was built by Spiers and Pond at a cost of £150,000. The site chosen for the hotel lay on the north west side of The Park, a residential area whose development was initiated for the Duke of Devonshire's estate in 1852 by Joseph Paxton, superintendent of the gardens at Chatsworth, landscape designer, and architect. Its position gave the Empire wide views across the town, and thus rivalling the other large hotel in Buxton, The Palace, of 1868, by Henry Currey (1820-1900), which stood high above the Winter Gardens. It was probably due to the retirement of Currey from his position as architect to the Duke, and the success of Hewell Grange - very nearly as large and complex in plan as a hotel - that Garner was given the commission.

Steep, hipped roofs were fronted by Flemish gables in the manner of Montacute House in Somerset, c. 1599. Such gables, first re-introduced by Gilbert Scott junior and W.E. Nesfield thirty years before the Buxton hotel, had been borrowed by them in turn from Raynham Hall, c. 1635, and Blickling Hall, c. 1620, both in Norfolk. Whereas these features had been incorporated into the Queen Anne idiom by Scott and Nesfield, here in Buxton by Garner, they were employed in a more authentic manner. Garner himself, with his special interest in Jacobean houses, would have known too from early years the similar style found at The Marble House, Warwick. The roof of the hotel incorporates a glazed cupola, another seventeenth-century feature which Garner had employed on two previous buildings, the 'Queen Anne' River House on Chelsea Embankment, and Hewell Grange, mentioned above. The
walls of the hotel were, presumably to save cost, of pale roughcast, but with generous stone dressings, and rustication of the rock-faced ground floor. Rusticated Ionic pilasters border pairs of windows on the south elevation, resembling those on the York Water Gate, Victoria Embankment, of 1626-7, and a further suggestion of the Renaissance style of the Low Countries was the broken pediment and surround to the central window above the projecting central bay.

Hydros were in full swing by the 1880s, and during the next twenty years at Buxton, plentiful accommodation was its highest requirement (13). The Empire Hotel could accept over 300 guests and the interior had

'Sumptuously furnished and beautifully decorated public rooms. The electric light is everywhere, - there are lifts to all floors, and a dark room is provided for photographers.' (14)

The main salons, the Reading Room, Drawing Room, and Dining Room were all located on the South facing side, with a loggia in the centre. Initially, the loggia was to have stretched along eight further bays, but this was abandoned, perhaps because it might have blocked the light from the largest interiors (Plate 94).

The cost to guests per day was 15/-, and there were 12 acres of grounds, but the hotel was destined to fail after only a dozen years in service. During and after the First World War, it was used as a military hospital, but following the Second World War it fell entirely into disuse. A period of dereliction ensued, and finally the building was demolished in 1964. (15)
At King's College, Cambridge, the appointment of two remarkable men to senior positions in 1889 engendered the release of funds for several alterations at the east end of the Chapel. In that year, the kind, modest Augustus Austen Leigh was made provost, and Montague Rhodes James, the enthusiastic and thorough antiquarian, was made Junior Dean. Both men, sensitive to the requirements of such a unique building, chose the services of the architectural practice which was in their opinion most experienced in reordering and restoration. As early as 1894, the Bodley and Garner partnership put forward their design for a new reredos for the Chapel (16). Most of this work was undertaken by Garner alone, and a recommendation for the college to appoint him might well have been made by his old friend, Charles Eamer Kempe, for, in 1893, M. R. James had asked Kempe to begin a systematic repair of the Chapel windows, work which continued for thirteen years.

The partners' report accompanying the drawings for the reredos stated:

'we have endeavoured to make the general character Gothic, introducing Renaissance ornaments into the details.' (17)

It was to have been of oak, with the many groups of statues made of gilded and coloured alabaster. The reredos was considered to be too large because it concealed the lower portions of the east window. The scheme was dropped.

By 1900, after several years of deliberations, the college Governing Body chose to follow Garner's recommendation to
remove James Essex's Gothick wainscoting - the 'ugly modern panelling' (18) in the eastern choir bays, and large hangings of dark red embossed velvet were substituted, designed by Garner for production by Watts and Company. The Garner hangings in turn were removed in 1910 and were replaced by Detmar Blow's panelling (19). Garner also designed, in 1902, the dramatic altar - a long slab of black Irish Fossil marble resting upon eight white alabaster supports, the latter carved in the manner of the early Florentine Renaissance (20). The black marble presents a remarkable contrast to the milky white supports, a thoughtful inversion of the overall colour scheme within the Chapel, with its long pale stone vault above and the dark wooden panelling below. Garner's altar remains in use today.

By now, even while still working at King's Chapel, Garner had become a Roman Catholic, and he now took charge of his first building for the Church. The Calvary Nursing Home, commanding the upper slopes of Sudbury Hill in Harrow, was built in 1897-98 by the Order of Visitation, a community of nuns devoted to the care of the sick and poor. The convent buildings, designed by A.E. Purdie (1843-1920), were built around a quadrangle in red brick with red terracotta dressings (21). After delays in the building programme, Purdie's scheme for a chapel was abandoned in favour of new designs by Garner. An L-shaped plan was adopted, with the main choir in one arm and the extern's chapel in the other. Tall and gaunt, the windows were kept high, and the forbidding exterior must have provided a natural sense of security for the nuns' worship within.

The building was completed in 1902 but, by 1905, serious
cracks had appeared in the brickwork and it was deemed necessary to dismantle completely Garner's chapel. The stone dressings were retained for reuse in his new designs by the architect who replaced him, Giles Gilbert Scott, but the rebuilding seemed to Garner's wife to be as unnecessary as it was surprising, as a letter written to the Abbot of Downside shows:

July 22, 1906.

'-too presumptuous, Mr. Bodley told me, that young Mr. Scott to whom the Harrow Chapel has been given, instead of having the defective bricks removed and replaced by sound ones, as he ought to have done, is making a new design!'

Emily Garner.(22)

Although Scott kept largely to Garner's plan, and reused much of the original tracery and roof timbers, he reduced the number and size of the windows, thus increasing the appearance of mass and strength. Scott completed his rebuilding in 1906, and added a Calvary. In 1989, the Convent buildings having been demolished, the surviving chapel was incorporated in a modern complex of flats.

St. James's Church, Spanish Place, was originally the chapel of the Spanish Embassy in London. The present church, a noble Early English design by Edward Goldie built between 1885 and 1890, was provided with altars and metalwork by John Francis Bentley (1839-1902), on whose death Garner was asked to take over the design of fittings for the church. He was also invited to
complete the work left by him on Westminster Cathedral. The latter project, Bentley's masterpiece on which work was carried out from 1895 to 1903, was unfortunately not carried out by Garner, because other work and, ultimately, his own death prevented it. Although the furnishings in St. James's are mostly by Bentley, Garner also installed decorations and furniture in about 1905, including the remarkable iron and bronze High Altar displaying Art Nouveau tendencies in the manner of Alfred Gilbert. His candlesticks, however, were copied from the fourteenth-century examples in San Petronio, Bologna, whilst Garner's rich corona and suspended baldacchino is a gilded canopy anticipating the style of Sir Ninian Comper.

By the end of the nineteenth-century, the impact of the Catholic Faith on architecture in England was profound. From modest beginnings earlier in the century, such as Cardinal Wiseman's college at Oscott near Birmingham, and Newman's Littlemore near Oxford, the Catholic Church gradually restored a significant physical presence in the areas of education and worship. Now, at Downside in Somerset, fifty years after the conversion of Newman, the Church was about to complete the first Post-Reformation abbey to be built in this country, and it was Thomas Garner who provided its ambitious plans.

St. Gregory's Monastery at Douai in northern France, founded in 1607, had been re-established in England in 1795. In 1814, the Monastery bought the Downside estate, and a Chapel was first designed in 1823. A completely new design was prepared in 1872 by Archibald M. Dunn (c.1833-1917) and Edward J. Hansom (1842-1900), and it was this firm which laid down the plans for
the Church on its present scale.

In 1898, Garner wrote to Abbot Ford, asking if there was any work to be undertaken at the Abbey:

The Manor House, Fritwell.

July 22, 1898.

Dear Fr. Ford,

I should be very glad to do anything in my power to help you in the matter of the chapel as I have the greatest desire to do work for the Catholic Church. The work at Downside has suffered much I think from having so many architects employed; and I do not think it would be possible to do a single chapel in a satisfactory manner unless it formed part of a whole which might be realised in the future.

Yours truly,

Thomas Garner. (23)

By the middle of 1899, the superstructure of a ring of new chapels for the Church had nearly been completed by Dunn and Hansom, but the middle of the site was empty. Although the Abbot of Downside, Dom Edmund Ford, and the Community were eager by now to complete the building, there was a problem over who should carry out the work. It is likely that the Community thought Dunn and Hansom to be too close to retirement to continue such a large project - indeed, the two architects dissolved their partnership in 1900. Nevertheless, after employing Hansom for nearly thirty years, they were nervous of allowing the original plans to be set
aside and replaced by wholly new ones. Even though there was opposition from the Community at first, Abbot Ford was thinking at this time of Garner as the man most able to finish the buildings to their satisfaction, and so, after the death of Edward Hansom, Garner was appointed architect for the Church in 1901 (24). Garner was new to the Catholic Church, and to designing its buildings. It must have been a difficult decision not to choose an architect more established in the field.

Hence came about Garner's most significant commission from this period, the Choir at Downside Abbey, for which he produced designs in a simple, linear, late fourteenth-century Gothic style. Initially, Garner prepared plans for the completion of the whole Church, including nave and Choir, three pen and ink drawings of which still survive at Downside (Plate 95). In his book *The Story of Downside Abbey Church*, Dom Augustine James provides a description of Garner at Fritwell Manor:

'sitting at his drawing-board of an evening, working, while his wife read aloud to him from some old book.' (25)

Before the actual building of Garner's Choir was begun, the surrounding chapels were completed (Plate 96), amongst which the chapel of St. Sebastian, the first project undertaken by Garner for Downside, was commenced. Garner also separated the Church from the south cloisters by a wall with a door, and provided stone steps to reach Dunn and Hansom's Gallery Chapels. By December, 1899, work on the chapels was so far in hand that Comper was able to prepare designs for the east window of the Lady Chapel, and the glass was inserted a year later.
By spring, 1902, the Choir was begun, but without Garner's having finalised all of the details. For example, he wished to change Edward Hansom's apse into a square east end, believing that the space was too narrow for the full development of an apse (Plate 97). On September 17th, 1901, in a letter to Father Ford, Garner had argued his case for a square-ended choir, otherwise the windows would be 'miserably narrow', he wrote, because there were so many sides to the apse. Detached shafts in the clerestory were to be a 'great feature of it' (26). Garner preferred the later, Perpendicular form, with a fully arcaded triforium in the Choir and nave, but although these were shown in early plans, they were not carried out (27). The result was to be an English vision of a Catholic church, one not based on French or Continental models, but on the tradition of most English Cathedrals and Abbeys. Garner must have received a negative response from Downside, for again, on January 3rd, 1902, he wrote a long letter of opposition to the rounded apse; Downside sent him designs of their own, but he did not accept them (28). Garner wrote that the apse should be similar to Glasgow Cathedral, and that the Choir should have an altar screen one bay to the west of the end of the sanctuary, but, in its execution, an ambulatory around the back of the square-ended choir was employed instead (Plate 97). The arrangement provides a visually complex, interconnecting series of vaults and columns where the ambulatory joins the Lady Chapel (Plate 98). Garner wanted a large, single, east window to balance the three very slender arches below, but Father Ford persuaded him to design three windows instead, (29) the central window of three lights, the side windows of one (Plate 99).
Garner won over the Monastery as far as the square-ended choir was concerned, however, and the result is a narrow, soaring climax to the long view of the entire Church from the west end. The vault was to be seventy feet high, and by December, 1902 - remarkably quickly - the columns were up to their capitals. External statues were executed by Farmer and Brindley, and by J. Wall of Cheltenham. In the same month two years later, flying buttresses were in position, and glass was in the windows (Plate 100).

In July 1905, the temporary east wall could be taken down, and the whole effect of Garner's simple design, set against the contrasting complexity of Hansom's Lady Chapel behind, could be fully appreciated for the first time (Plate 101). The clean-cut vaulting drew the eye the full length, the clerestory windows provided the Perpendicular feature, and the effect of sheer height could be measured to some extent at least, even in a Church which had as yet no nave. The only carved stone decorations were corbels by Wall at the level of the capitals, depicting human heads possessing flowing, Art Nouveau features and serene expressions. Garner had found it difficult to obtain a uniformity of proportions in the Choir whilst being constrained by the irregular positioning of the surrounding chapels; he simply gave credit for the final successful outcome, however, to his Clerk of the Works, Dom Philip Whiteside, and his foreman and assistant (30). On 18th September, 1905, the ceremony of blessing and opening the choir took place.

Garner was not paid for his work - he had considered the Downside Choir to be a thank-offering for his conversion.
After suffering from poor health, during which he continued to work on the building, Garner died on 30th April, 1906 at his home, Fritwell Manor in Oxfordshire (31).

F.A. Walters continued Garner's scheme after 1906, with minor modifications, adding rather lower stone screens within the eastern arches; work was completed during the Christmas holidays of 1907. In 1915, a temporary altar was set up on Garner's scheme, but his concept of a Rood and figures was never attempted (Garner had previously restored figures to the great screen at Winchester). Further work which was undertaken at this later date was a new Sacristy by Walters, as Garner's design was considered too small.

Minor fittings were added to Garner's Choir, and then, Bodley's Roman Catholic godson, Giles Gilbert Scott (1880-1960), prepared designs for the nave which were sympathetic to Garner's tall, severe arcades. Scott also designed suitably tall and elaborate wooden choir-stalls as a contrast to the clean lines of the stone, and the Chapel was opened as one piece for the first time in 1925. To the east of the Choir, in the semi-circular area formed by the abandoned apse, Scott designed a chapel in which is reserved the Blessed Sacrament. In 1936, Comper added glass to the east window which employs brightly coloured, but sparsely placed figures on a generous background of plain glass.

It was noted in the Downside Review of March 1900, that Garner had supplied drawings for the completion of the tower, but in the end his proposal was not carried out. In 1938, Giles Scott
finished the tower which had been started in 1881 by Dunn and Hansom, but to his own designs, and without following Garner's plans. Scott's tall, robust belfry, which emulates Somerset's late medieval examples with its three rhythmical tiers of double openings, forms a focus for the whole Abbey, and ensures that Downside is a landmark from anywhere in the surrounding countryside. It is the employment of several architects over a period of time, sometimes with long gaps between periods of building work, that gives the Abbey Church its authentic medieval ambience.

Following Garner's death in 1906, the Community agreed that he should be buried on the north side of the Choir, and Bodley asked if he might design his monument. The drawing for the tomb was reputedly the last from Bodley's hand, but the sketch remained unfinished at his death and only the central panel, depicting the Crucifixion, could be used. The work was carried out by Bodley, according to Garner's wife:

'in remembrance of his old friend' (32)

F.A. Walters completed the drawing in a simple and unpretentious style, and the tomb was placed in a recess in the ambulatory. A severe black marble slab was covered by a shallow arch of stone, with the small, carved stone Crucifixion situated at the back of the tomb.

Garner was buried on 4th May, 1906 in the vaults below the Sanctuary, and by November, 1908 the tomb and screen above were finished.

The Choir at Downside had been Garner's greatest single
work for the Catholic Church, and he had undertaken it without collaboration. Whereas by the late 1890s Bodley might well have attempted a Gothic design of greater stylistic freedom, Garner established a visual link with the Roman Catholic medieval past, and rekindled an old tradition. In Edward Warren's words, he had become

'Profoundly versed in mediaeval archaeology, of which he was an unremitting student, filled with reverence for antiquity, and imbued by early training with a love of Gothic art which never waned' (33)

Garner never turned away from traditional medievalism, being more faithful to scholarly interpretations of both the Gothic and the vernacular. He was not so much the aesthete as Bodley, and his schemes had none of the preciousness of his former partner. Garner preferred accuracy and complete authenticity; for example, he made a thorough and well-researched survey of reredoses and took the care to have it published. Unlike his friend, the Catholic architect George Gilbert Scott junior, he did not translate the Gothic into gaunt, experimental forms, but chose an unadulterated style derived from English precedents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As I have mentioned earlier in the text, in his last years Garner produced, with Arthur Stratton, a study surrounding a collection of important vernacular houses of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods entitled The Domestic Architecture of England during the Tudor period, and even though he remained true to Gothic to the end of his life, his feeling for the art of

'the Renaissance was still enthusiastic, particularly for its English manifestations.' (34)
The Queen Anne houses in the middle years of the partnership were a reaction to the early Victorian stucco terraces, and for the last twenty years of his life, Garner concentrated on his favoured rural, vernacular theme. He never attempted the originality of Shaw or Stevenson, and he remained too conservative to challenge the past with the Free Renaissance idiom of Jackson. Instead, he retained the dignified and harmonious Late Medieval style, adapted for the grand display of nineteenth-century life.
CHAPTER IX

Pupils, Assistants and Influence.

Before Bodley's death in 1907 at the age of eighty, he was undertaking several projects: he was supervising Giles Gilbert Scott in the early stages of Liverpool Anglican Cathedral; in the United States, he was drawing the first plans and elevations for Sts. Peter and Paul Cathedral, Washington DC, and San Francisco Cathedral, California; and in India, he was undertaking work on two cathedrals, one at Lahore (now in Pakistan), and the other at Nagpur in the centre of the sub-continent. Sometimes these projects were altered subsequently, but in the main his pupils and followers remained faithful to his style long after his death.

Amongst the assistants and pupils in Bodley's office were some of the most influential late nineteenth-century and Edwardian architects. One of these, Charles Robert Ashbee (1863-1942), who was a pupil in the 1880s, displayed a personal use of the Arts and Crafts manner, with delicate Georgian motifs on the houses he designed in Chelsea. He was very remote from Bodley's High Church ideals, and noted a conversation he had with another member of Bodley's office:

'We discussed Bodley and Bodley pupils and the end of the great tradition for which Bodley stood. Yes, when all's said and done the Oxford movement with its last word in architecture planning and building, stands for something the public no longer appreciates and for the most part at
Ashbee here missed the point of Bodley's later churches: they were not inspired by the Oxford Movement, and from the 1880s, they were more experimental. During his pupillage, he gave a sketch of the other members of the office in his diary:

'First there is the managing assistant Tapper, a dapper little gentleman with a ...pleasant bearing... Then there is Skipworth a born jester but silent...excellent in drawing. In the same room is the gentle and pious Comper...so good and so very ecclesiastical. His only interest is saints...his speciality - drawing angels. Bucknall, an ex-Swedenborgian, now church of England. A man of much feeling, love and tolerance... He has some beautiful but very hazy notions about the church and Xianity. [F. Inigo] Thomas the aristocrat... A man of much power... shrewdly practical and good at facts for which I most sincerely envy him.'

The head assistant, Walter Tapper (1861-1935), worked with Bodley for about eighteen years. His own, private, work, which later included sensitive restorations, is an ideal example of the faithful continuation of the Bodley manner. His St. Mary, Harrogate, of 1916 (Plate 102), employs the same familiar features: well-proportioned massing, fourteenth-century flowing tracery and the arches dying away into the nave piers. Tapper leaves us a revealing clue as to the nature of the Arts and Crafts generation, and a hint at their professional origins. Referring to the Bodley and Garner practice, he said:

'Their work was mainly in the country, and brought their assistants into touch with country buildings and their
traditional methods of building. Spare time was spent sketching and measuring old work all over the country, in addition to three evenings a week...at South Kensington Museum. '(3)

There was little direct teaching in the office: Bodley enjoyed the role of mandarin, allowing his pupils to visit his house, its rooms filled with porcelain, silver and fabrics.

John Ninian Comper (1864-1960) began his practice, following Bodley's late manner, by designing Perpendicular churches of great refinement. Throughout his long career, he kept to a major Bodley rule, by designing all the fittings for a commission himself. Comper then went his own way, towards a unique and balanced assimilation of several styles, with a harmony which often surprises. This phase is illustrated by the remarkable St. Mary, Wellingborough, Northamptonshire of 1906-30, (Plate 103). Comper practised for perhaps longer than any other British architect - 80 years including his pupillage - and he took the Bodley style into the 1960s. Sometimes, Comper added to, or altered, some of his master's buildings, and Comper's work always looks cleaner and brighter when in sharp juxtaposition. Such a contrast may be seen in Comper's remodelling of Bodley's Mission House chapel at the Cowley Fathers in Oxford, undertaken in 1938. Gleaming gold, white paint, and much brighter colours contrast with Bodley's subdued palette. Although a great admirer of Bodley, he thought that his old master had a slight preciousness, and perhaps an affinity with Walter Pater. (4) If this meant an over-refinement, it may be true, but if he meant an affected delicacy of manner, his comment would seem ironic.
Comper's exact contemporary, Robert Lorimer (1864-1929), who was in the office for a few years, drew on Bodley's refinement of design, and was influenced especially by his knowledge of carved woodwork. Lorimer achieved the supreme power of the late Gothic Revival, with the richly carved woodwork inside the Thistle Chapel, St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh of 1910. Sparser, but employing equally undiluted forms, is his graceful National Memorial at Edinburgh Castle built after the First World War, perhaps the most moving handling of Gothic in this century. Lorimer's experienced use of materials proved important in the many Arts and Crafts-influenced Baronial houses which he built in Scotland. Like his English counterpart, Lutyens, he had a superb sense of geometry, and was an able designer in the seventeenth-century classical style, as at his New Library, St Andrews University (1907-09).

Leonard Stokes (1858-1925) worked with Street and T.E. Collcutt, arriving at Bodley's office in time to work on the first Liverpool Competition designs (1885-86). Early work, such as St. Clare's, Sefton Park, Liverpool (1888-90), shows direct influence from Bodley: a long, unbroken roof, bands of stone through the brick walls, passage-aisles, and Perpendicular Gothic window tracery. Over the next ten years, he moved closer to the Free Style adopted by Arts and Crafts architects such as Charles Holden and Henry Hare. Stokes' most celebrated example in this style is All Saints' Convent, London Colney, Hertfordshire (1899-1903).

Temple L. Moore (1856-1920), quiet and reserved, maintained Bodley's scholarly refinement. His strong, austere
Gothic lends sometimes an almost fortified appearance to his churches. His much praised St. Wilfrid, Harrogate (1905-14), employs a sublime use of Early English at a late date for the style. The most original portions were designed by his nephew-in-law, Leslie Moore, between 1924 and 1935. Temple Moore continued the High Church tradition of worship, mostly in Yorkshire. Although articled to Gilbert Scott junior, Moore was the spiritual pupil of Bodley. In turn, Giles Scott, who was articled to Temple Moore, immediately came under the influence of Bodley at Liverpool Cathedral.

Giles Scott (1880-1960), began his career in 1903 by working with Bodley on Liverpool Cathedral. Within their collaboration, the Lady Chapel showed freedom from strict adherence to medieval, or even English, Gothic. The main cathedral designs, completed by Scott after Bodley's death, show his concentration on arranging powerful masses into monumental groups. Ornament is practically lost on a building of such scale, with the exception of the whimsical interior furnishings, where Scott loses all restraint in his use of Perpendicular Gothic. This free use of Gothic was also used by him at the Roman Catholic church of St. Joseph, Sheringham in Norfolk of c1909-14, where the painted reredos owes its stylistic origin to Bodley. Later churches incorporate plainer walls, but there are only minor differences between the outlines of Sheringham, and the slightly bolder masses of St. Andrew, Luton, Bedfordshire, of 1931-32.

Cecil Greenwood Hare (1875-1932) continued Bodley's Practice after 1907 under the title 'Bodley and Hare'. Little is
known of his life, and much of his work was undertaken literally following in the master's footsteps. He completed a number of commissions using Bodley's plans, such as St. Chad, Burton-on-Trent, 1907-10. To his own designs, he added a gateway and vestries to St. Mary of Eton, Hackney Wick, 1912. They are recognisably Bodleian in inspiration, and follow closely the master's original proportions, materials and details. Hare continued this harmony in the same year, at Queens' College in Cambridge, with his range of rooms beyond Bodley's chapel of 1890-91. The range continues the general Tudor red-brick character of the college and chapel, but allows some freedom with Jacobean details. After the First World War, Hare followed the popular move in domestic architecture towards a timber-frame idiom, a style which was becoming commercially acceptable with the middle-classes. Wyke Manor in Worcestershire of 1923, serves as a typical example of this change of direction.

The Bodley tradition was not confined solely to this country, but flourished for many years after the master's death in the United States. Henry Vaughan (1845-1917), was present in Bodley's office at the time of Pendlebury, Hoar Cross and Camden Town. He left Bodley's office for America in 1881, starting his practice in Boston, Massachusetts. Although Vaughan's early churches are superficially 'Tudor' on the outside, on the inside, they are barely distinguishable from Bodley's smaller country churches. The wagon roofs, the raised altars, the rood screens, the stencil patterns; all bear an uncanny resemblance to Bodley's own Gothic work.(5) In his later churches, Vaughan reproduced Bodley's dignity and repose, but often tended towards Gilbert Scott junior's Perpendicular Gothic style. Importantly, Vaughan
designed some fine non-Gothic buildings: Wren-Revival public buildings, Tudor houses and an English Renaissance school.

Towards the end of Bodley's life, when he and Vaughan designed Washington Cathedral together, Vaughan recalled that:

"He talked much about America, and his hope and belief that in that new world Gothic architecture would take deep root and flourish as it had done only in England during the Middle Ages."(6)

Under Vaughan's hand, it flourished across Maine, Massachusetts and New Hampshire - only church restorations, of course, were absent from his practice.

Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1942) was the most prolific Gothic Revivalist in the United States, and was directly influenced by Bodley through Henry Vaughan:

"When... I had an office of my own and felt the impulse to build churches, it was the elder group of these English masters to which I turned for leadership and guidance, with Vaughan, of course, as the local mentor."(7)

To Cram, Vaughan was:

"the apostle of the new dispensation," the heir to the
'seady and noble work of Bodley and Garner and Sedding."(8)

A scholar, playwright and poet, Cram also wrote widely on the Revival, and promoted the English Gothic tradition in the United States. At his Princeton University Chapel of 1919-28, and St. George's School Chapel, Newport, Rhode Island, both in a refined fifteenth-century Gothic, he helped to extend the influence of the Oxford Movement in America until the Second World War.
'To do one great work and to die looking through a lattice window.' (1)

Bodley began his own practice during the 1850s, at a time when the Early Middle Pointed of Pugin was giving way to High Victorian medievalism, with the preference for continental models. Tractarianism and Ecclesiology had influenced the plan and ordering of both existing, and new churches. Bodley, who practised for over sixty years, worked fast, and kept ahead of his contemporaries by introducing new precedents. He led the field in the move away from continental idioms, popularised the interest in passageway-aisles through internal nave buttresses, and made attention to detail his own. Always sure of his principles, he felt free to criticise earlier colleagues:

'The first pioneers in the movement... were Pugin and Carpenter and Butterfield and Scott, followed by Street and Pearson.

'these architects, now passed away, became masters of their art from a scientific point of view, if not always, and indeed too infrequently, from an artistic one. Real, creative, beautiful art, in any style, seems to be against the spirit of the age.' (2)

In other words, the architects mentioned may have been historically accurate, but they were lacking in aesthetic judgement.

In the early years, Bodley reacted against English
gothic, in favour of a freer style, and Ruskin became a strong influence. His early churches are strong and original examples of the High Victorian phase of the Gothic Revival, his middle period churches took architecture in a variety of new directions, and the later work led younger architects to follow what might be called a 'Bodleian' style, professing care in the application of decoration. Although Ruskin disliked the Perpendicular style, Bodley later changed his allegiance, and became more closely influenced by this final Gothic phase.

Inevitably, his solemn, unostentatious late style was adopted by the missions in poor town districts, where there was little to counter the gloom of the surroundings. His own exhortation: 'Let us build and adorn our churches for God and His poor.'(3) might have been an attempt to support the church in staying its neglect of the meanest areas of the city. The missions were a way of lifting the spirits and encouraging the poor to Anglicanism, without the 'intruding errors of Geneva or of Rome.'(4) The interiors of Bodley's later mission and city churches were simpler, whiter, and less highly decorated or gilded than his previous High Church commissions. Certainly, the High Church was in sympathy with the current concern for social welfare, and although some of Bodley's richer High Church clients still wished their country-estate churches to maintain his mellow and scholarly refinement, he produced more chaste examples for the poor.

Running along side this social conscience, was Bodley's capacity to obtain work from wealthier clients. He was always Prepared to work hard. According to Edward Warren, he had a:
'great gift of concentration, vivid imagination, and a wonderfully accurate and retentive memory for things seen.' He 'worked with extraordinary sureness and rapidity.'(5)

Even in later life, when he might have rested from work, he was never shy from seeking further commissions. Two days after the consecration ceremony for Clumber chapel, at which the Duke of Newcastle had proposed a passage linking it to the house, Bodley wrote to him:

'I am a good deal taken with your Grace's idea of a subway to the chapel... I quite see how to make both the passageway & the porch very effective & I shd. much like to design them.'(6)

When Bodley was made an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1882, Richard Norman Shaw wrote to Luke Fildes:

'he is a long way the most accomplished artist on our little list - stiff a little, not the sort of man to poke in the ribs and call "old cockywax", but... I am glad for the Academy's sake that he is no longer an outsider.'(7)

It was Street who had prevented Bodley from being elected to the Academy, because Bodley had supported 'Queen Anne' for secular work, instead of keeping to pure Gothic. Perhaps influenced by Shaw, Bodley began to promote a return to the English Renaissance, and withdrew his approval from the movement which he had helped to found, and which he had encouraged by example for fifteen years:

'we should do better in our domestic work to follow the style of the Renaissance rather than that which is called
"Queen Anne", and which is a very inferior manner at least. '(8)

This later rejection of 'Queen Anne' probably also indicated a refusal to support the Aesthetic Movement, and the work of E.W. Godwin (1833-1886). Although enjoying for ten years the charms of an original Queen Anne house at Iver, Bodley moved, during the last year of his life, into a Gothic-Renaissance manor-house.

For church architecture, Bodley never accepted the new Arts and Crafts style. In this field, he remained too faithful to Gothic as the basis for all his architecture, and would not assimilate or improvise sufficiently to radically alter his work. Stokes and W.D. Caroe (1857-1938) probably most closely represent Bodley's released imagination, but he could never fully encourage the new movements. In fact, he regretted the loss of faith in the Gothic Revival:

'He spoke of the lack of appreciation for Gothic among the younger architects...' (9)

He was accused of not attempting to encourage the union of the arts, and of employing firms, instead of recognised artists, to decorate his own churches. In his early buildings, Bodley employed the Morris firm at a time when Morris had not yet begun to produce his designs on a large scale; thus the individual members' work may be identified in the unique designs of glass, paintings, and embroidery. After the foundation of the firms of Burlison and Grylls, Watts & Co., and Farmer and Brindley, the identity of the artist was subjugated below the overall scheme of the whole church. It remains difficult to this day to ascribe a design to one particular designer. Only seven
years after Watts and Co. had been founded for the production of Renaissance-style fabrics and wallpaper, and Gothic-style metalwork, Arthur Mackmurdo (1851-1942), founded the Century Guild for a similar purpose, but employing much more personal styles. The Arts and Crafts Movement, which tried to restore the individuality of the artist, was led largely by architects from the office of Norman Shaw. Edward Prior, William Lethaby, Ernest Newton, Mervyn Macartney, and Gerald Horsley, all born in the 1850s or early 60s, went on to found the Art Workers' Guild in 1884. The Guild was an attempt at reuniting the arts and crafts, and displays of craft techniques were given to members. Exhibitions of work were arranged, but Bodley and his work was absent. The work of other, older, architects, such as Shaw and Webb, was included, but Bodley had by now become an Associate of the Royal Academy, and was used to exhibiting there. Besides, he was content to design for his trusted craftsmen, whom he had known for over twenty years. Bodley must have encouraged the younger architects in his office to join the Guild, as his pupil, Edward Warren, eventually became Guild Master. Nowhere in his writings did Bodley express an opinion about the new movement, even though his mentor, Ruskin, and his old friend, Morris, took such an active and prominent role in its proselytization.

Bodley directly assisted several young designers. In particular, he helped Morris and Burne-Jones in the earliest stages of their careers, providing them with a number of commissions for glass and painting. In this respect, he deserves more credit than their own master, Street.

Unlike the assertive Sir Gilbert Scott, Bodley was not in
the public arena, and his absence from professional committees for most of his life may have led to his loss of national honours. Only after the award in 1899 of the Gold Medal by the Royal Institute of British Architects, did he appear occasionally in public, usually preferring the peace of the country. He became Prime Warden of the Fishmonger's Company in 1902, and Royal Academician in the same year.
Abbreviations

A.R.: Architectural Review (1896-).
B.: The Builder (1843-1966); thereafter known as Building.
C.E.A. Jnl.: Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal (1837-67).
D.N.B.: Dictionary of National Biography (1885-).
E.: The Ecclesiologist (Cambridge Camden Society, 1842-68).
R.I.B.A. Jnl.: Royal Institute of British Architects Journal (1842-).

Chapter I

2 Information from S.C. Humphrey, Esq.
3 Hereafter referred to as 'Bodley'.
4 He became Priest-in-charge to the Paston-Bedingfeld family at Oxburgh Hall in Norfolk.
5 I. Hall, A New Picture of Georgian Hull (1979), 79.
6 Information from S.C. Humphrey, Esq.
7 The unbroken roof line was used by Butterfield at St. Alban, Holborn, 1859-62.
9 ibid. About equal numbers were built either side of 1851.
10 E.R. Norman, The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth

11 Quoted in Norman, ibid., 148. N.P.S. Wiseman, Essays, II.
12, 'Tracts for the Times', Part I (1838).
12 Norman, op. cit., 149.
13 Scott lived close to both Bodley and Garner in Church Row, Hampstead.
16 ibid., 339.
17 The Reavely family was distantly connected with that of the architect, Anthony Salvin.
18 Warren, op. cit., 332.
19 ibid., 333.
21 M. Meynell, Sunshine and Shadows over a Long Life (1933), 270-1.
22 Simpson, op. cit., 156.
24 The Architect, 18.5.06, obituary.

Chapter II

1 G.F. Bodley in E. xxii, N.S. xix (1861), 70.

6 J. Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849).

7 Bodley to Thomas Keble; correspondence at France Lynch.

8 Information on Bromby from Sister Joyce (Bodley) S.S.J.D., Ontario, Canada.

9 E. xviii, N.S. xv (1857), 393.

10 Connected to the family of Richard Payne Knight.

11 No evidence of it survived the building of St. Wilfrid's, the parish church by Bodley, which dates from 1863-65.

12 E. xvii, N.S. xiv (1856), 311.

13 Ibid., 311.

14 B. xiv (1856), 333.

15 Ibid., £20,000 was to be spent, maximum; to seat 700.

16 D.N.B., 22.


18 B. xv (1857), 38.


22 B. xv (1857), 115.

23 E. xviii, N.S. xv (1857), 106. Bodley's single tower marks another difference from Vercelli; Sant' Andrea has three towers, L.R. Muirhead, *Northern Italy* (1960), 77.

24 B. xv (1857), 115.

25 E. xx, N.S. xvii (1859), 385.
26 ibid., 289.
28 ibid., 180.
29 ibid.
31 A pencil, brush and sepia wash cartoon for the second design exists in the William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow.
33 Mordaunt Crook, op. cit., 212-213. Vestments and banners were added in 1868, and were designed probably by Kempe. H.H. Maughan, Some Brighton Churches (1922), 82-3.
34 Mordaunt Crook, op. cit., 213, n.11.
36 Morris Gallery, Walthamstow.
37 Mordaunt Crook, op. cit., 212, n.5.
40 Stanhope remained a life long friend; he lived in Harley Street, close to Bodley and, later, when he went to Italy, he helped to finance Bodley's English church in Florence.
41 S.A.H. Jnl. 8 (1965), 65; 'Morris was good enough to come & see me the other day.' B to Webb, 12.10.1869.
42 Simpson, 154-55.
43 B. Loomes, Yorkshire Clockmakers (1985), 183; Kelly's Post Office directory, North and East Riding of Yorkshire (1872), 255.
44 E. xxii, N.S. xix (1861), 283.
45 ibid., 282-83.
47 E. xxii, N.S. xix (1861), 124.
48 ibid., 125.
49 ibid., 124.
50 ibid., xxiv, N.S. xxi (1863), 128.
54 ibid., (1892), 203.
57 All Saints' Parish Magazine (Oct. 1878), 2.
58 Receipt from Bodley, 25.6.67, held by the vicar.
60 Letter, B to De Lisle Dobree, 4.3.1864.
61 Letter, B to De Putron, 9 April 1864.
62 Walthamstow Gallery: the design dates from 1865. The figures were later used at Bloxham in Oxon., 1869.
63 Maughan, op. cit., 41.
64 Paid for by Arthur Wagner, who also provided a priest-in-charge, Kitch (Ed.), op. cit., 179.
65 The paintings on canvas above the altar appear from photographs to have been added later.
66 E. xxv, N.S. xxii (1864), 49.
67 Bodley would have known this window himself, but it was also illustration no. 122 in J.H. Parker An Introduction to the...
study of Gothic Architecture (1849).

68 Church Builder 59 (1876), 136.
Chapter III


2 The curious arrangement of a passage behind a blank nave wall which was designed for Delhi has already been alluded to in the previous chapter.


4 The church was demolished in the late 1970s.

5 The Rev. J.C. Reade became the first vicar after the opening of the church in 1871. He retired in 1880.

6 Beneath the tower, the reredos, which once belonged to Dunstable Priory and for which it had been designed originally, now forms a screen under the west window. It was removed here in 1964, together with a few other furnishings from the same source.


8 All Saints' Parish Magazine (1878), 2.

9 Pugin anticipated Ruskin's theory of medieval craftsmen drawing their inspiration from nature, which Ruskin put forward in 1851-53 in The Stones of Venice, Chapter VI: 'The nature of Gothic'. Bodley's interest in natural forms was probably reinforced by the teachings of Ruskin.

10 E. xxii, N.S. xix (1861) 76.

11 ibid. The Le Strange figurative paintings date from 1858-65, and were completed by Gambier Parry.

12 E. xxii, N.S. xix (1861), 77.
Chapter III


2 The curious arrangement of a passage behind a blank nave wall which was designed for Delhi has already been alluded to in the previous chapter.


4 The church was demolished in the late 1970s.

5 The Rev. J.C. Reade became the first vicar after the opening of the church in 1871. He retired in 1880.

6 Beneath the tower, the reredos, which once belonged to Dunstable Priory and for which it had been designed originally, now forms a screen under the west window. It was removed here in 1964, together with a few other furnishings from the same source.


8 All Saints' Parish Magazine (1878), 2.

9 Pugin anticipated Ruskin's theory of medieval craftsmen drawing their inspiration from nature, which Ruskin put forward in 1851-53 in The Stones of Venice, Chapter VI: 'The nature of Gothic'. Bodley's interest in natural forms was probably reinforced by the teachings of Ruskin.

10 E. xxii, N.S. xix (1861) 76.

11 Ibid. The Le Strange figurative paintings date from 1858-65, and were completed by Gambier Parry.

12 E. xxii, N.S. xix (1861), 77.
13 Note this technique in Queens' College Hall, Cambridge, 1875.
14 E. xxii, N.S. (1861), 77.
16 M. Meynell, Sunshine and Shadows over a Long Life (1933), 270.
17 P.F. Anson, Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940 (1960), 273.
18 Family History (Nov. 1976), 18.
19 'Kempe studio for stained glass and church furniture', M. Stavridi, Master of Glass. Charles Eamer Kempe, 1837-1907 (1988), 26. The largest part of the business which he undertook was stained glass and, with F.R. Leach, he began production in his own kiln, ibid., 29.
20 E. xxviii, N.S. xxv (1867), 57.
21 ibid.
22 Archives office of Tasmania, NS 282/4/1-2.
24 The nave, aisles and transepts were consecrated 5.2.1874, and the cost was £12,000. ibid., (1902), 15 and 23.
25 ibid., (1902), 16 and 20.
27 Cloisters which were originally planned by Bodley were added in 1929-31. Tower and cloisters were estimated to cost £23,000, ibid., (1932 ed.), 27.
29 B. xxxv (1877), 639.
30 J.S. Leatherbarrow, Victorian Period Piece (1954), 151.
31 Letter from Bodley to E.J. Heywood, St. Augustine's church records.
32 R.I.B.A. Jnl. vii (1900), 139-140. 'On some Principles and
Characteristics of Ancient Architecture, and their application to the Modern Practice of the Art.'

33 Connoisseur (June 1980), 115; A. Symondson, 'Wallpapers from Watts and Company.'

34 Watts & Co., Tufton St., Westminster.

35 David Gazeley, Esq., Watts and Co.


37 Except for sculpture, much of which could be entrusted to Farmer and Brindley, and woodwork by Rattee and Kett.

38 On his death, Queen Victoria wrote a letter of condolence to Emily's mother (Lady Halifax's children had played with the royal children at Buckingham Palace):

'...how much I do feel for your poor dear daughter who has no children to be an interest and comfort. God alone can give strength and submission to bear it. And that He may comfort and sustain dear Emily is my earnest prayer.'

39 The Canon's elder brother, Sir John Sutton, was a founder member of the Cambridge Camden Society.


41 R.I.B.A. Jnl., vii (1900), 131.

42 The popularity of Renaissance Italy and its treasures to the Victorians was increasing, and Bodley was particularly fond of Florence (like the Brownings before him), viz his English Church there, and his Poema.

43 Meynell, op. cit., 143. The discovery was made in an unidentified church in Dantzic.
The narthex was only in sketch form at the time of his death, and Hare was responsible for its construction.

Both the tower at Guernsey, and at Pendlebury were never built.

Consecration took place on 29 September, 1881. The site cost £2,470; building cost £9,704. It was the first church of the partnership in London. B.F.L. Clarke Parish churches of London (1966), 145-146.

Foundation stone of chancel, 13 October 1894. ibid., 146.


Simpson in R.I.B.A. Jnl. xv (1908), 149.

ibid., 150.


ibid., 139.

Except for the few details now kept in the R.I.B.A. Library, no other drawings by Bodley survive.

Simpson, op. cit., 145.
Chapter IV

1 R.I.B.A. Jnl. xvii (1910), 314; E. Warren, 'The Life and Work of George Frederick Bodley'.

2 Previously printed as articles in the Sacristy after 1870.

3 J.T. Micklethwaite, Modern Parish Churches, their plan, design, and furniture (1874), 26-27.


5 B. L, 9.1.1886, 69, 78 and pl; 30.1.1886, 190, 198 and pl; 27.2.1886, 351 and pl.

6 A faculty authorizing the demolition of the old church was granted in April 1885, History of Ecchinswell Church (1985), 4.

7 The Duke made 'many private gifts' to the church. The Times obituary 31 May 1928.

8 The Hope inheritance was left to the 6th Duke's second son, who became the 8th Duke in 1928.

9 Nottingham Evening Post 30 July 1886. For photographs of old chapel, see D.J. Bradbury, Clumber (1988), 22-23.

10 R.I.B.A. Jnl. vii (1900), 136.


12 Later, Kempe also designed the windows in the Lady chapel. Kempe's reintroduction into a Bodley building on this occasion was due to the commission having been given by the estate tenants, possibly after Bodley had been dismissed.*

13 R.I.B.A. Jnl. vii (1900), 137.

14 The Retford and Gainsborough Times 25 October 1889, 8.


17 The Retford and Gainsborough Times 25 October 1889, 8.

18 Drawings held at Queens' College.

19 'In style the Chapel will be strictly that of the time of the foundation of the College & of the type of work used in the College buildings.' Bodley to Campion. 2.4.87. Queens' papers.


21 Concerning the decoration around the east window, which was going ahead, Bodley suggested: 'I think it will be best to wait for the decoration of the walls for another year.' Bodley to Wright, 20.6.93. The north and south walls were later whitewashed.

22 Kempe to Campion, 9.10.91; Queens' papers.

23 B.F.L. Clarke, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century (1938), 212.

24 16 March 1880, Preliminary report to Eton College by William Carter, first Mission priest: 'It is desirable to connect School distinctly with some charitable work in London.' M. Chapman, St. Mary of Eton, a History 1880-1980 (c1980), 5.

25 ibid., 10.

26 Fund-raising was initiated under the patronage of the first Duke of Westminster. Edmund Warre and H.E. Luxmore were principal supporters for the mission. Warre later became headmaster (1884-1905) at the time of the completion of the church: M. Girouard, The Return to Camelot (1981), 176. Ultimately, the cost of the church reached over £12,000. The foundation stone was laid on 7 June 1890 by Princess Christian of Schleswig Holstein, and consecration took place on 18 June 1892, Chapman, op. cit., 19.

27 Clarke, op. cit., 69.

28 The medieval English precedent for the central arcade is the
fourteenth-century Hannington, in Northamptonshire.

29 Spencer Stanhope's wife, Mary, was a member of the Ladies Committee formed in 1891 to help collect subscriptions for the reconstruction fund. C.D. Tassinari, The History of the English Church in Florence (1905), 137, n.1.

30 G.F. Bodley, Poems (1899), 121: 'On the heights above Fiesole':

'And in my heart the love of this fair Land,
Where wrapt Angelico his mystic visions dreamt.'

31 Tassinari, op. cit., 134.

32 Prof. Riccardo Mazzanti stood as local architect to carry out Bodley's plans, ibid., 139.

33 The church no longer remains in its original form; information from The Rev. A.N.R. Symondson. It has since been transferred to the Valdese.

34 R.N. Shaw and T.G. Jackson, Architecture, a Profession or and Art? (1892), 57.

35 ibid., 63-64.

36 His friend, Shaw, refused the Gold Medal twice.


38 Founded in 1865 by the Rev. Richard Meaux Benson (1824-1915), it is the second oldest Society for men in the country.

39 R.I.B.A. Jnl. vii (1900), 133.

40 Plans are held at Downside.
Chapter V

1 G.F. Bodley in R.I.B.A. Jnl. vii (1900), 139-40.

2 The lowest tender for construction of the building, except the furnishings, was £13,700. The foundation stone was laid on 18 October 1897. The total estimated cost before building was £19,533, and consecration took place on 3 February 1900. G.E. Kirk, The Church in Chapel Allerton, Leeds (1949), 50-51. The early windows are by Burlison and Grylls.

3 Title of Marquess of Westminster conferred, 1831.

4 F.M. Simpson in R.I.B.A. Jnl. xv (1908), 149.

5 Containing a painted bust by Murphy below his coat-of-arms

Ashbee diaries, King's College, Cambridge, Mrs Bodley to Ashbee, 25 August 1912.

6 ibid., 8 April 1902.

7 A.R. x (1901), 170-1.

8 ibid., 173.


10 R.I.B.A. Jnl. 60 (1953), 220.


12 Simpson in R.I.B.A. Jnl. xv (1908), 331.


14 There is no evidence that he went also to San Francisco, except in Warren: 'the sites of the two great churches'. Warren in R.I.B.A. Jnl. xvii (1910), 331-32.

15 ibid., 332.

16 Ashbee diary, March 1923.
The original cathedral had been opened in 1863, B.F.L. Clarke, Anglican Cathedrals outside the British Isles (1958), 209.

Archives of the Cathedral of San Francisco; letter from the Bishop, the Rt. Rev. William F. Nichols, to Bodley, 15.2.07. The Crocker family: Charles Crocker of Nob Hill was a railway tycoon, and his bank was assisting the new Cathedral committee.


B to Bish. 6.3.07.

G. Moorhouse, San Francisco (1979), 178.

Bishop to Bodley, 13.4.07.

Bodley to Hobson, 30.4.07.

Hobson to Bodley, 25.4.07.

Hobson to Bodley, 25.4.07.

Hobson to Bodley, 29.5.07.

Hare to San Francisco Cathedral Committee, 26.7.09. Hare's design is remarkably similar to Giles Scott's revised designs for Liverpool Cathedral, with its sheer stone walls, monumental proportions, and cambered tower. Late in 1909, Hare sold his designs to the Grace Cathedral Corporation, and in January, 1910, the cornerstone for his cathedral was laid. Work then stopped, however, and Hobart, whose participation in the scheme was still in evidence, had started designs of his own by 1913. Following extensive revisions, construction of the American architect's design began eventually in 1928, and was completed by 1964. A far cry from the urgency of 1906. The appearance is similar to that of Notre Dame in Paris, with a rose window, early French Gothic west towers, and a flèche over the crossing. The church is the third largest Episcopal cathedral in the United States. Cathedral archivist to author,
Chapter VI

1 G.F. Bodley in Associated Architectural Societies reports and papers, xxvi (1902), 168. 'A Plea for the Continuance of Gothic Architecture'.


4 Specification, St. Martin's School, Humberside Record Office.


6 S.A.H. Jnl. 8 (1965), 63-65. The spelling in the letters has been left unaltered. In 1893, Comper added a chapel to the convent buildings, using bricks to match the houses, and a dramatic plain white interior in the manner of his master.

7 Simpson in R.I.B.A. Jnl. xv (1908), 151-152.

8 Report accompanying Bodley's design, reprinted in The Architect 10 May 1873, 249.


10 R. Blomfield, Richard Norman Shaw (1940), 9. Bodley had recently come into contact with another architect who had just adopted the 'French' version of 'Queen Anne': J.J. Stevenson (1831-1908), a contemporary of Garner in Scott's office. One of the most prominent buildings by Stevenson was the Red House, Bayswater, built for his own occupation in 1871. Bodley designed fittings for the house.

M. Girouard, Sweetness and Light (1977), 41.

11 For a similar bay; Bramshill, Hants, 1605-12.

12 Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute 18 (1955),
186-87.

15 Jackson still used a more traditional late-Gothic style for buildings in Oxford, and one of his ranges which approaches the appearance of the High Street front of St. Swithin's, is New Quad. buildings, Brasenose College (1886-89, extended 1907-09).
17 The extension of the buildings by Sir Giles Scott in 1928, does not lift the inside elevations of its earlier neighbour from neutrality, as by then, the main-stream influence of the Gothic Revival had become still weaker.
18 President's note-book, Volume 2, 467.
19 ibid., Volume 1, 17.4.86.
20 The President occupied temporary chambers in the St. Swithin's buildings, while the reconstruction of the old Lodgings took place.
21 Specification of Works, 1, Magdalen College archives.
22 Bursar's accounts ledger, Magdalen College, 632.
23 8 October 1890, Corporate Ledger, Accountant's office, Magdalen College. C.E. Kempe appears in June 1892, for 'Quarry glazing in lodgings, £48..5..0.'
26 Information from the Earl of Plymouth.

27 A wellhead from the Palazzo Marcello in Venice was incorporated; N. Pevsner, *Worcestershire* (1968), 277.


29 Ashbee diaries, Ashbee to Janet Ashbee, 22 September 1913.


31 Simpson, op. cit., 158.

32 Ruskin had earlier lectured to the undergraduates to encourage them to explore the country around Oxford. There were then still manors in use as farms which could be bought and restored.

33 *Country Life*, 9.11. 1907, 672.

34 Simpson, op. cit., 145.

35 *The Times*, 26 Oct. 1907, 6, and 28 Oct. 1907, 10. On the last day of 1907, *The Times* printed Bodley's will. He left £22,265 gross, £19,314 net, with the majority left to his wife. To his secretary, Cecil Hare, he left £400 and his portraits of Elizabeth I and Henry VIII, and 'all his professional books, drawings, plans, instruments... and...his office relating to his practice as an architect, expressing the desire that any unfinished work may be completed under the supervision of his secretary, [Hare] who is to have one-half of the professional fees for such work.' *The Times* 31 Dec. 1907, 8. Memorials to Bodley were set up at the suggestion of Lord Halifax in three churches: a window at Hoar Cross, an alabaster bust at Hickleton in Yorkshire, and an Elizabethan style bust at Holy Trinity, Prince Consort Road in London.
Chapter VII

1 E xxii, N.S. xix (1861), 77.
2 ibid., 70-71.
3 ibid., i (1842), 70.
4 J. Ruskin, (Cook and Wedderburn Eds.), Works VIII (1903), 244.
5 ibid., 242.
6 Illustrated London News lxvii, No.1873 (1875), 7.
7 W.V. Cooper, History of the Parish of Cuckfield (1912), 61-62.

This was the first of almost forty such organ schemes which he was to undertake, either for his own new churches or for those which he restored.

8 ibid., 61-62.
9 ibid., 64-65.
10 Since relinquishing his earlier appointment as curate at the church, Cooper had been curate of Wagner's St. Paul's, Brighton, ibid., 64.
12 E. xx, N.S. xvii (1859), 76.
13 ibid.
14 ibid., 140. The italics have been replaced by underlining.
15 ibid., xxiii, N.S. xx (1862), 17.
16 ibid.
17 ibid., xx, N.S. xvii (1859), 212.
18 ibid., xxiii, N.S. xx (1862), 18-19.
19 ibid., xx, N.S. xvii, (1859), 212-214.
20 Apollo, 102 (1975), 320.
21 The original version was bought by Bodley in 1867 for £50; it passed to his son in 1907, and then to the Tate Gallery in 1934. Bodley again worked at the church, providing a screen...
and rood, adding decoration to the chancel roof, toning down the glass which was considered to be too bright, and, in 1874, adding a narthex.


23 Bodley's visit 17.3.64, Jesus College.

24 'I am sure Bodley will make a good work of the ceiling - it is [? the only] course, but it may be done well or badly, simple as it is: Bodley's works are always thoughtful and artistic.' Gibson to Corrie, 29.6.64, Robinson and Wildman, op. cit., 37.

25 Bodley to Corrie, 1 July, 1864.

26 The late fifteenth century choir ceiling at St. Albans Cathedral has similar decoration.

27 Robinson and Wildman, op. cit., 38.


29 Scott to Morgan 9.3.69.

30 Rattee and Kett archive.

31 I. and G. Morgan, op. cit., 315.

32 Bodley to Morgan, 3.4.67.


34 Scott to E.H. Morgan 29.2.76.

35 Bodley to Master and Fellows, 1878.

36 Even after two years consideration, the college said it did not wish to move the screen in a hurry. (2/6/80).

37 By Morris and Co., amongst others. Robinson and Wildman, op. cit., 44.
'Jesus College. Notes respecting the erection of the New Buildings and other works', and Rattee and Kett archives, 1889.

ibid.


Manuscript record of the Rev. Thomas Harris, Northumberland, County Record Office, N. Gosforth, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne.

ibid.

ibid., 11.

ibid., 13.

The other is also in Essex, at Stebbing.

He died in 1920 whilst still serving as Rector. Information from St. James' church.

Simultaneously, he was undertaking Pendlebury, Hoar Cross, London School Board Offices, and was about to take on St Michael's, Folkestone.

Ratte and Kett archives, 1872.

Campion announced in his notes for 1859 that Bodley was to restore Queens' chapel, and in December 1860, that it was finished.

Cambridgeshire County Record Office, St. Botolph's parish records.

Campion Papers, Cambridge University Library. A close interest in the decoration of Barnwell old church is displayed in Campion's papers of 1855. This interest in colour paintwork coincided with that of Bodley, who adopted, from the mid 60's onwards, the late medieval diaper form for walls and ceilings in his own churches.

The St. Botolph's scheme uses the most subdued colours of the four, probably due to the subject of the painting.

Plans submitted 10.11.1873, the Rev. John Gibson notebook, Gloucester Record Office, 1.

The college donated £25 towards the work, and the Master, Dr Corrie, £5.

Gibson, op. cit., 6.

ibid., 3.

ibid., 2.

Augustus was the father of Arthur Frederick, rector of Brant Broughton from 1888-1924 in succession to his uncle, Canon Frederick Heathcote.

'A Record of the Restoration of Brant Broughton Church by Frederick H. Sutton. 1874', 1. Unpublished manuscript in the possession of the vicar of Brant Broughton.

ibid., 1-2.

ibid., 2. The old chancel had been built by a previous Sutton incumbent, the Rev. Richard.

ibid., 7.

ibid., 8.

ibid., 9.

ibid., 14.


ibid., 15.

ibid., 16.


J.N. Comper, unpublished recollections in the possession of the Rev. A.N.R. Symondson. Comper himself was later employed by the Sutton family, at Stockcross, Berkshire, and at
Brinsop, Herefordshire.

72 Sutton, op. cit., 24.

73 ibid., 28-29.

74 ibid., 35. Subsequently, under the ministry of Frederick Sutton's nephew, Canon Arthur Sutton, the font cover, designed by Garner, was installed in 1889 in memory of Frederick, ibid., 33. The wooden cover of the font may be opened to reveal the interior with the figures of saints fixed to the inside, opposite the door. In this way, it was possible to Christen a child without necessarily raising the entire canopy.

75 Leeds Arts Calendar 62 (1968), 8, Garrowby muniments A2/115/2.

76 Mrs. Meynell Ingram's further building projects included St. Mary's, Altofts (1872-78, £10,000), lengthening the chancel of Whitkirk church (1901, by Bodley), and the building of St. Edward, Holbeck, Leeds (1902, by Bodley, £30,000).

77 Penrose became surveyor in 1852, and retired 45 years later in 1897. In 1880, under new terms laid down by the Chapter in relation to his office, other architects could be employed to undertake special projects within the Cathedral, thus paving the way for Garner and his scheme for the reredos.


79 ibid., 168.

80 The altar beneath the screen was provided in 1891 by Canon Liddon's sister, and the dedication took place at the end of the year. The total cost of the reredos and associated work was almost £40,000, G.L. Prentice, St. Paul's in its Glory..., 1831-1911 (1955), 213.
81 The Times, 24 Feb. 1899.


83 A. Saint, Richard Norman Shaw (1976), 218. Shaw to J.D. Sedding, 5.11.1882.

84 ibid., 218-19, Shaw to Sedding, 20.11.1882.

85 C.R. Ashbee Diary, 241, King's College, Cambridge.


87 The Times, 27 June 1907, 14. To the church at Kedleston, Bodley added a north aisle in memory of the wife of Lord Curzon (1859-1925; Viceroy of India 1898-1905), and fitted it with lavish decorations, many by Krall. It was his last restoration, and work continued from 1906-1913.

Chapter VIII

1 Sr. Perpetua, O.S.B., St. Mary's Abbey, West Malling, Kent.

2 Our Work No. III, March, 1878.

3 Orphanage of the Infant Saviour (1875) and Orphanage of Mercy (1880), both in Kilburn.


6 The name may be derived from Sliepe, an entry, because the chapel of St. Catherine and St. Lawrence, the Slipper Chapel, was the last chapel on the pilgrim route, and thus the entrance into the 'Holy Land of Walsingham'; K. Moore.

7 The glass in the east window of 1953 is by Geoffrey Webb, in the manner of Comper.

8 Notwithstanding the set-back for Walsingham, Father Wrigglesworth organised a pilgrimage to the Slipper Chapel on 19th August, 1897. Miss Boyd accompanied the group; K. Moore.

9 H.J. Feasey, Our Ladye of Walsingham (1901), 42.


11 The church was founded in 1816, the present structure dating from 1830. A refugee from the French Revolution, Abbé Morel, began the congregation; A. Service, Victorian and Edwardian Hampstead (1989), 81. Garner and Gilbert Scott junior's work was perhaps simply repair and strengthening, for the church has never been structurally sound; Fr. M.J. Brockie, JCL. The
Edwardian chancel was added in 1907 by G.L. Simpson, the baldacchino and altar by Adrian Scott in 1935. Service, op. cit., 81.

12 Archives of Society of Antiquaries and Hampstead and Highgate Record, 28.10.1932, 5. He left £77,570; Times 30.11.32, 15d.


14 Ward Lock, Buxton (1902-03), xix.


16 Committee Report, 7.11.1894, King's College M.S.

17 Report to Committee, 7.11.1894, King's College M.S.

18 Committee Reports, 7.11.1894 & 5.6.1900, King's College M.S.

19 Blow's panelling, too, has since been removed.

20 Committee Report, 29.11.1902, King's College M.S.


22 Archives of Downside Abbey.

23 ibid.

24 'We owe to him,' says Abbot Butler, 'not only the choir, but also the fact that it is Garner's choir; for strange as it may appear now, there was at the time great opposition, and it required all the Abbot's firmness and tact to satisfy the community that Garner should be trusted'. A. James, The Story of Downside Abbey Church (1962), 41.

25 ibid., 42.

26 Letter in archives of Downside Abbey.

27 James, op. cit., 47.

28 Archives of Downside Abbey.

29 James, op. cit., 49.

30 ibid., 54.
31. The last work by Garner at Downside was the Arthur Stuckey Lean tomb in the south choir aisle; Lean was the benefactor of this part of the Church.

32. Letter from Emily Garner to the Abbot, 24.7.1906; Archives of Downside Abbey.


34. Ibid.
Chapter IX

1 C.R. Ashbee Diary, 31 May 1914, King's College, Cambridge. Ashbee to Francis Inigo Thomas.
2 ibid., December, 1886, 380.
3 C.H. Reilly, Representative British Architects (1931), 158.
4 Ninian Comper personal recollections, in the possession of the Rev. A.N.R. Symondson.
5 St. Andrew's, Newcastle, Maine, has east wall paintings evidently copied by Bodley's pupil from his master's own collection, and painted here in Vaughan's own hand.
6 The Architect and Contract Reporter, 7.2.08, 103.
8 R.A. Cram, Church Building (1914), 264.
Conclusion.

1 F.M. Simpson in R.I.B.A. Jnl. xv (1908), 145.
2 Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers, xxvi (1902), 167.
3 Report of the Church Congress (1881), 329.
4 H.S. Goodhart-Rendel. English Architecture since the Regency (1953), 214.
5 Times, 29.10.07, letter to editor from Edward Warren.
6 Bodley to Duke of Newcastle, 24.10.89, Nec 14, 179 a, Manuscripts Department, University of Nottingham. A downpour had prevented the party at the house from arriving at the ceremony on time. The Retford and Gainsborough Times, 25.10.1889, 8.
7 A. Saint, Richard Norman Shaw (1976), 274, [n9].
8 R.I.B.A. Jnl. vii (1900), 38.
9 Vaughan in The Architect and Contract Reporter, 7.2.08, 103.
APPENDIX A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Published in London unless otherwise indicated.

M.B. Adams. Architects from George IV to George V, RIBAJ, 17, 27 July 1912, 643-54.


" " " The High Church Tradition, 1941.


" " The Call of the Cloister, 1964.

" " Fashions in Church Furnishings, 1840-1940, 1960.


J. Bentley. The English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century, 1861.

A.J.B. Beresford Hope.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/Editor</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. Betjeman</td>
<td>An Oxford University Chest</td>
<td>1938.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>First and Last Loves</td>
<td>1952.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.K.K. Bishop</td>
<td>Notes on Church Organs</td>
<td>1873.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.H. Bloxam.</td>
<td>The Principles of Gothic Architecture Elucidated by Question and Answer</td>
<td>1829.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Boase.</td>
<td>Modern English Biography, vols 1-6</td>
<td>1892-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truro.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truro.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leicester.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.B. Brownlee</td>
<td>The Law Courts, the Architecture of G.E.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Street, c1984. Cambridge, Mass..

T.F. Bumpus.
London Churches Ancient and Modern, 2nd series; Classical and Modern, 1908.

" "
The Cathedrals of England and Wales, 1921.


Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, 105 editions, (1826 - 1970).

E. Burne-Jones.
Hayward Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, 1975.

" "

S. Bury.
Copy or Creation: Victorian Treasures from English Churches, 1967.

T.T. Carter.
The Present Movement, a True Phase of Anglo-Catholic Church Principles, 1878.

W.O. Chadwick.

" "

" "
The Victorian Church, 2 vols, 1966-70.

J.D. Chambers.
Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, Contrasted with and Adapted to that in the Nineteenth, 1877.

R.W. Church.
The Oxford Movement; Twelve Years, 1833-45, 1891.

K. Clark.
The Gothic Revival, 1928.

B.F.L. Clarke.
Anglican Cathedrals outside the British Isles, 1958.

" 
Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century, 1938.

" 
English Churches, 1964.
& J. Betjeman.
C. Clutton & The British Organ, 1963.
A. Niland.
Liverpool.
J.M. Crook. Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1985-86, etc.


" " " The Dilemma of Style, 1987.


S. Kirk. Middlesborough.


" " (Ed.). Seven Victorian Architects, 1977.


J. Franklin. The Gentleman's Country House and its Plan,
1835-1914, 1981.

A. Freeman. English Organ Cases, 1921.
Cardinal The Eve of the Reformation, 1900.
F.A. Gasquet.
" " Kensington, 1958.
M. Girouard. The Return to Camelot, 1981.
D. Walker.
H.S. Goodhart English Architecture Since the Regency, 1953.
Rendel.
Cardiff.
E. Hodder. The Life and Work of the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury, KG, 3 vols, 1886.


T.G. Jackson. Modern Gothic Architecture, 1873.


" " A History of the Parish Church of St. Mary,


S. Macready & Influences in Victorian Art and Architecture


P.T. Marsh. The Victorian Church in Decline, 1969.


" " Monumenta Ritualia, 1846-47.


W.M. Atkins.


" " Some Brighton Churches, 1922.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lady Mary Meynell.</td>
<td>The Church of the Holy Angels, Hoar Cross, 1922.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Sunshine and Shadows over a Long Life, 1933.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.H. Overton.</td>
<td>The English Church in the Nineteenth-Century, 1894.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Perry.</td>
<td>The Oxford Movement in Scotland, 1933.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cambridge.

N. Pevsner.
Harmondsworth.

" "
The Buildings of Scotland, 1978-.
Harmondsworth.

" "
The Buildings of Wales, 1979-. Harmondsworth.

" "
Some Architectural Writers of the

M.H. Port.

G.L. Prestige.

A. Quiney.

J.L. Randall.
A History of the Meynell Hounds and Country,
1780 to 1901, 2 vols, 1901.

B. Read.

A. Reid.

P. Reid.
Burke's and Savills Guide to Country Houses,

C.H. Reilly.
Representative British architects, 1931.

M. Reynolds.
Martyr of Ritualism; Fr. Mackonochie of St.
Alban's, Holborn, 1965.

J.M. Richards &
The Bombed Buildings of Britain, 1942.
J. Summerson.
Cheam.

M. Richardson.
Architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement, 1983.

A. Riches.
Victorian Church Building and Restoration in

D. Robinson &
S. Wildman.
Cambridge.

J.M. Robinson.

Royal Academy.
Royal Academy Exhibitions, 1769-1904, Vols. I &
III, 1905.
A. Saint. Dr. Liddon, 1905.
P. Savage. Edward King, Sixtieth Bishop of Lincoln, 1912.
A. Service. St. Alban the Martyr, Holborn, 1913.
C.M. Smart jnr. Cambridge.
G. Stamp. 'George Frederick Bodley, RA, FSA, DCL', RIBAJ Vol. xv 11.1.1908, 145-158.
C.G. Stewart. The Stones of Manchester, 1956.
G.E. Street. Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages, 1855.
" " Memoir of G.E. Street, 1824-1881, 1888.
Tate Gallery. High Victorian Art, c1970. Tate Gallery Exhibition Catalogue (also V & A and York).
" " The Smaller English house, 1500-1939, 1952.
Also in Building News, 18.2.1910, 227-29.
R. Watkinson. Catholic Art and Culture, 1942.
The Anglican Revival in Victorian Portsmouth, the Portsmouth Papers, No. 37, 1983.
Archaeologia Cantiana xcviii, 1982.
Bells and Smells, Southern History v, 1983.
The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism, 1983.

Primary Sources.
Cambridge.

Jesus College: letters concerning chapel restoration.

" Christ's College, Order Book, 1895-1901.


" King's College, Diaries of C.R. Ashbee.

Cambridgeshire County Record Office.

St. Botolph's, Cambridge; faculty 1874/16/1-11.

Cambridge University Library.

Letter by Bodley to M.R. James, undated.

Guernsey.

St. George, Kings Stanley, Gloucestershire; Record Office. account of restoration, 1874-76, (vestry minutes, P190 VE 2/1).

Guernsey.

St. Stephen, St. Peter Port; letters concerning new church.

Brant Broughton, Lincolnshire.

F.H. Sutton, St. Helen's, Brant Broughton; Diary of restoration, 1874.

University of London.

Institute of Historical Studies, letters from Bodley to Viscount Wolseley, 1885-1902.

York.

Borthwick Institute; Scarborough, St. Martin's Vicarage.

Books and Articles by Bodley


Poems, 1899.

'On Some Principles and Characteristics of Ancient Architecture, and their Application to the modern practice of the art', by G.F. Bodley. RIBAJ, Vol. vii, 10.2.1900, 131-141. (First read to students at the Royal Academy in 1885, but not then published).


Lecture delivered at the Liverpool Institute and School of Art on the occasion of the giving of the Prizes. AD 1903, by G.F. Bodley, RA., FSA., F.C. Danson, Esq., in the chair.

'How and why our old Cathedrals were built', by G.F. Bodley. Report of the Church Congress, Liverpool, 1904, 39-42.


Drawings.

Barnsley school; Barnsley Central Library.

Brighton, St. Michael and All Angels; Brighton Central Library.

Buxton, Empire Hotel; Derbyshire Record Office.

Cambridge, All Saints'; Cambridgeshire County Record Office.

Cambridge, Queens' College chapel; Queens' College archives.

Cambridge, Jesus College chapel; Jesus College archives.

Camerton, St. Peter; Somerset Record Office.

Clumber Park, Notts.; 2 paintings of interior of chapel; National Trust, Clumber.

Downside Abbey Church; Downside Abbey.

Hanmer, St. Chad; Clwyd Record Office.

Hewell Grange, interior perspective of Great Hall; Lord Plymouth.

Oxford, President's Lodgings; Magdalen College archives.

Pendlebury, St. Augustine's, 2 perspectives of church by G.F. Bodley; vicar of St. Augustine's.

R.I.B.A. drawings collection:

St. Bartholomew, Earley, Berks. (chancel).

St. Michael's, Folkestone, Kent (4 Sheets).
Holy Trinity, Kensington (4 sheets).
Dunstable Priory (reredos).
Holy Angels, Hoar Cross (copy by Comper).
St. Paul's Cathedral, High altar.
Design for an altar cloth.
Design for an altar frontal.
Working drawing for a candlestick.
Scarborough, St. Martin's church; Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York.
Scarborough vicarage, accounts; Humberside County Record Office.
" " school; Humberside County Record Office.
" " St. Mary's vicarage, Humberside County Council.
Selsley, All Saints', exterior perspective of church; vicar of All Saints'.
Victoria and Albert Museum, Jesus College, Cambridge, Liverpool Cathedral.
Wellow, St. Julian; Somerset Record Office.
Periodical Sources.

Builder, 1862, 20, (1036) (Dec 13), 889: Church of All Saints, Kings Stanley, Stroud: text only, no illus.

ibid., 1877, 35, (1770) (Jan 6), 12, 14-15: Church of the Holy Angels, Hoar Cross: text, 12, full-page-illus of exterior from N.E., 14, full-page-illus of interior, 15.

ibid., 1877, 35, (1794) (Jun 23), 637, 639: St. Augustine's Church, Pendlebury, Manchester: full-page-illus, 637, plan and text, 639.

ibid., 1886, 50, (2240) (Jan 9), 88-9: Liverpool Cathedral competition-design by Messrs. Bodley and Garner, interior view looking West, showing octagon. (illus following p 78).

ibid., 1886, 50, (2243) (Jan 30), 200-1, 204-5, 208-9, 212-3: Messrs. Bodley and Garner's design for Liverpool Cathedral (text, 190-2, Note, 198): illus of view of West front, East elevation, South elevation, view from North West, plan.

ibid., 1886, 50, (2245) (Feb 13), 267, 271, 274-5, 278-9: Liverpool Cathedral Competition, designs by Messrs. Bodley and Garner: illus of Nave looking East, longitudinal Section looking North, view in Choir, Centre West portal.
ibid., 1886, 50, (2247) (Feb 27), 3412: Liverpool Cathedral
Competition, design by Messrs. Bodley and Garner: North
elevation, shown with lantern only, without central
spire.

ibid., 1886, 51, (2280) (Oct 16), 554, 556,-7: Marlborough
College Chapel, Messrs. G.F. Bodley and T. Garner,
architects' plan and text, 554, double-page-illus, 556-7.

ibid., 1886, 54, (2347) (Jan 28), 67,: The new reredos at St.
Paul's Cathedral; text, 67, double-page-illus following
p 56.

ibid., 1888, 54, (2362) (May 12), 330: Monument to Bishop
Wordsworth, Lincoln Cathedral, illus.

ibid., 1889, 76, (2925) (Feb 25), 198, 213: Durnford Monument,
Chichester Cathedral: text, full-page illus, 213.

ibid., 1899, 77, (2943) (July 1), 7: Presentation of the Royal
Gold Medal to G.F. Bodley.

ibid., 1899, 77, (2943) (July 1), photos: Works by Mr. G.F.
Bodley (Queens' College Chapel, Cambridge; St. John the
Evangelist, Cowley; St. Mary's, Hackney Wick).

ibid., 1901, 80, (3039) (May 4), 444, 446-7: St. Matthew,
Chapel Allerton, Leeds: double-page-illus, 446-7.

ibid., 1903, 84, (3146) (May 23), 533: Liverpool Cathedral
Competition; Report of the assessors...G.F. Bodley, R.A., Norman Shaw, R.A., No 1 chosen (the design of Mr. Gilbert Scott, grandson of Sir Gilbert Scott).

ibid., 1904, 87, (3204) (July 2), 10: Monument to the late Dean of Peterborough, illus.


ibid., 1905, 89, (3275) (Nov 11), 502-3: Screen, Lanreath Church, Cornwall...church restored under the direction of Mr. Bodley; double-page-illus.

ibid., 1907, 93, (3377) (Oct 26), 433-4: The late Mr. Bodley...refers to Hoar Cross church, illus on p 434.

ibid., 1907, 93, (3377) (Oct 26), 433, 447-8: Obituary, works listed at 447-8 Note: "Brentwood, St. Faith, 1907" included, but this has been confused with "Brentford, St. Faith, Windmill Road", there is no St. Faith, Brentwood.

ibid., 1909, 96, (3442) (Jan 23), 90, 92-3: Reredos by the late G.F. Bodley, R.A....proposed to be erected in Holy Trinity Church, Kensington Gore, as a memorial to him: double-page-illus.

ibid., 1910, 98, (3498) (Feb 19) 192-4: The life and work of
George Frederick Bodley, by Mr. Edward Warren; abstract of paper read at...R.I.B.A...on Monday.


ibid., 1911, 100, (3553) (March 10), 295-6, 304, 310, 312: Illustrations of the work of G.F. Bodley; Holbeck Church, Leeds (plan. 295), Church, Kensington. (plan, 296), Holbeck Church, Leeds (interior, 310), Pendlebury Church, Manchester (interior, 312).

ibid., 1911, 101, (571) (July 14), 36: The Architectural Association, Second Summer Visit: St. John's Church, Epping, a characteristic work of the late Mr. G.F.. Bodley, R.A.

ibid., 1911, 101, (3572) (July 21), 65: St. John's Church, Epping; the late Mr. G.F. Bodley, R.A., architect. Visited by Architectural Association on July 8, see last issue, p 36)

ibid., 1915, 109, (3795) (Oct 29), 316: Grace Church Cathedral, San Francisco... completed by Mr. Cecil H. Hare...of Bodley and Hare, full-page-illus (2) and plans, (6)

ibid., 1915, 109, (3796) (Nov 5), 330: Rood screen, Cathedral, Hobart Town (illus follows p4 of Supplement)... the
Cathedral, Hobart Town, Tasmania, design for rood and screen, Messrs. Bodley and Hare architects.

ibid., 1922, 123, (4158) (Oct 13), 536, 542-3: All Saint's Church, Southsea, designs of Messrs. G.G. Hare and A.V. Heal (Messrs. Bodley and Hare); church of All Saints', Southsea, Hants., interior, looking East (Messrs C.G. Hare and A.V. Heal, architects (Messrs. G.F. Bodley, R.A., and C.G. Hare).

Building News, 1881, 40, (June 24), 740, 759-60: St. Michael's Church, Camden Town; text, 740, double-page-illus, 759-60.


ibid., 1886, 50, (Feb 12), 266-7: Liverpool Cathedral

ibid., 1886, 50, (Feb 19), 303-9: Liverpool Cathedral
Competition design submitted by Messrs. G.F. Bodley and T. Garner: elevation of West front, double-page-illus.

ibid., 1886, 51, (Dec 3), 838, 840-1: Marlborough College
chapels; text, 838, ground plan, West and East ends, south side, 840-1.

ibid., 1888, 54, (Jan 27), 143, 154-5: The new reredos and high altar, St. Paul's Cathedral; text, 143
("especially the work of Mr. Garner"), double-page-illus, 154-5.

ibid., 1888, 54, (May 18), 700, 706: The Wordsworth Memorial, Lincoln; text, 706.

ibid., 1896, 70, (Jan 3), 10-11, 45: New organ, St. Paul's Church, Burton-on-Trent, text, 45.

ibid., 1899, 76, (Jan 6), 7, 22-3: New church of St. Matthew, Chapel Allerton, Leeds; double-page-illus.

ibid., 1900, 78, (Jan 5), 6, 7-8: St. John's Church, Oxford; double-page-illus.
ibid., 1901, 80, (2418) (May 10), 627, 642-3: All Saints', Church Kensington: double-page-illus.

ibid., 1901, 80, (2419) (May 17), 661, 676-7: St. Matthew's Church, Chapel Allerton: double-page-illus.

ibid., 1902, 82, (2472) (May 23), 744-5: Church of the Holy Trinity, Kensington Gore: double-page-illus.

ibid., 1903, 84, (2521) (May 1), 620-1: Interior of new church at Leeds: double-page-illus.

ibid., 1904, 88, (2556) (Jan 1), 7, 48: Tomb to Canon Carter, Clewer Church: double-page-illus. after p 48

ibid., 1907, 92, (2713) (Jan 4): Proposed monument to the late Marquis of Salisbury in Westminster Abbey: double-page-illus.


ibid., 1907, 93, (2755) (Oct 25), 556-8, 622: Obituary and portrait, 556-8; account of funeral, 662.

ibid., 1907, 93, (2756) (Nov 1), 620-1: illus. of St. Chad's, Burton-on-Trent, see also Building News, 1905, 88, (2630) (June 2), 797-9.


Building News (and Engineering Journal), 1910, 98, (2876) (Feb 18), 227-8: The life and work of George Frederick Bodley, biographical paper read by Mr. Edward Warren, F.S.A., at the R.I.B.A. on Monday evening ...

Church Builder, 1863, No. 6, p 71: St. Michael's, Brighton, Diocese-Chichester...consecrated, September 1882.

ibid., 1864, No. 9, p 34: St. Martin's, Scarborough, Diocese-York...consecrated, July 11, 1863.

ibid., 1864, No. 9, p 34: All Saint's, Selsey, Diocese-Gloucester and Bristol...consecrated Nov. 28, 1862.

ibid., 1864, No. 12, p 187: Burrington, Diocese-Hereford.

ibid., 1865, No. 16, p 180: St. Wilfrid's, Cuckfield, Diocese-Chichester...consecrated, June 5, 1865.
ibid., 1865, No. 16, p 180: St. Stephen's, Guernsey, Diocese-Winchester.

ibid., 1866, No. 19, p 126: St. Katherine's, Little Barfield, Diocese-Rochester...reopened, April 11, 1866.

ibid., 1867, No. 22, p 89: St. Stephen's, Guernsey, parish of St. Peter Port, Diocese-Winchester.

ibid., 1867, No. 59, p 135-7, illus: Church of St. Wilfred, Hayward's Heath, Sussex.


ibid., 1908, New Issue, Vol. 29, pp 11-15, illus: St. Faith's, Brentford (Ealing)...consecrated, July 1907...the last finished work of the late Mr. Bodley.


ibid., 1856, 17, (115) 311 (New Series, 14, (79) 311: Chapel-School and House, Haywards Heath.

ibid., 1857, 18, (114) 98-100 (New Series, 15, (83) 98-100: Constantinople.
ibid., 1857, 18, (123) 393 (New Series, 15, (87) 393:
Burrington.

ibid., 1859, 20, (130) 67-8 (New Series, 17, (94) 67-8:
St. Michael and All Angels, Brighton & Kings Stanley.

ibid., 1859, 20, (130) 76 (New Series, 17, (94) 76:
Bicknor. (Reply p140-41).

ibid., 1859, 20, (132) 212 (New Series, 17, (96) 212:
Queens' Chapel, Cambridge.

ibid., 1859, 20, (135) 385 (New Series, 17, (99) 385:
Ecclesiology in Scotland...Saint Salvador, Dundee.

ibid., 1860, 21, (137) 110 (New Series, 18, (101) 110:
Christ Church, Pendlebury.

ibid., 1861, 22, (143) 70-78 (New Series, 19, (107) 70-78:
Church Restoration in France, a communication by
G.F. Bodley.

ibid., 1861, 22, (143) 124-5 (New Series, 19, (107) 124-5:
All Saints', Cambridge.

ibid., 1861, 22, (145) 281 (New Series, 19, (109) 281:
St. Martin on the Hill, Scarborough, Yorkshire.

ibid., 1861, 22, (145) 282-3 (New Series, 19, (109) 282-3:
Mission church, Delhi.
ibid., 1862, 23, (148) 17-19 (New Series, 20, (112) 17-19:
Queens' College, Cambridge, Chapel (A Communication)...
restoration by Mr. Bodley.

ibid., 1863, 24, (155) 127-9 (New Series, 21, (119) 127-9:
All Saint's, Cambridge.

ibid., 1863, 24, (155) 129 (New Series, 21, (119) 128:
S...Guernsey, this is a new church designed by
Mr. Bodley, and intended to be built of granite.

ibid., 1864, 25, (160) 49 (New Series, 22, (124) 49:
St. Wilfred, Hayward's Heath Sussex.

ibid., 1865, 26, (1 252 (New Series, (St.
Salvador, Dundee.

ibid., 1867, 28, (178) 56-7 (New Series, 25, (142) 56-7:
St. David's Cathedral, Hobartown, Tasmania...Mr. Bodley
has forwarded to the Bishop the plan and design for
this proposed cathedral.

L.G. Buckley. A dissertation on High Victorian
Ecclesiastical Architecture, and a
bibliography on the Works in the sphere of Sir
W. Blomfield, G.F. Bodley, J. Brooks and J.L.
Pearson. Thesis submitted for Fellowship of
University Library and Council for the Care of Churches.

Obituaries.

For Bodley;
Architect and Building News, 92 (1907), 137.
The Architect and Contract Reporter, 7.2.1908, 103.
The Builder, 26.10.1907, 447.
Times, 22.10.1907, 6d.
ibid., 23.10.1907, 10c, biographical, Rev. H.B. Bromby.
ibid., 24.10.1907, 4d, memorial service announced.
ibid., 26.10.1907, 6c, funeral.
ibid., 28.10.1907, 10f, further report of funeral.
ibid., 29.10.1907, 7b, appreciation by E. Warren.
ibid., 12.11.1907, 12d, Liverpool Cathedral Committee pass resolution of condolence.
ibid., 31.12.1907, 7b, will.

For Garner;
Architect and Building News, 90, 11.5.1906, 666.
The Builder, 12.5.1906, 523 & 531.
Times, 14.5.1906.
ibid., 28.1.1907, sale of contents, Fritwell Manor.
APPENDIX B.

THE ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE WORK OF

GEORGE FREDERICK BODLEY, (1827-1907)

AND THOMAS GARNER, (1835-1906).

The following list incorporates the buildings list compiled in 1957 by H.V. Molesworth Roberts for the R.I.B.A. Library, and the list by David Cole. Both these unpublished documents contained substantially the same material, with the exception of a handful of works. Neither attempted to be descriptive, and the entries which I have written below were made from my own observation, compiled from bibliographical sources, or both. Many hitherto unlisted, and some completely new discoveries have been included.

'B' in the text refers to work undertaken by Bodley alone.

'G' refers to work by Garner alone.

'BG' refers to work from the partnership (1868-1897) in which both architects were about equally responsible for the designs.

'H' stands for the occasional continuation of a building after Bodley's death by his assistant Cecil G. Hare.

'n.d.' indicates that no date is available.

'c' (for circa) means that a reliable approximation has been made.

Items are listed alphabetically by place. London is divided into 'LONDON, City of,' 'WESTMINSTER, City of,' and into districts, e.g. 'HOLBORN, London.'
ABERMULE, Powys, Cefn Bryntalch. B New; in 'Georgian Revival' style; B asked his friend Philip Webb to help him with the supervision of construction of the house whilst B was unwell. Some of its final appearance may be in part due to Webb. 1869

ABINGDON, Berks., St. Helen. B Gate lodge for the house; timber-frame. 1869

ALMELEY, Heref. & Worc., St. Mary. B Reredos. 1897

ASHLEY, Northants., St. Mary. B Altar in N. aisle. c1897

BARNESLEY, S. Yorkshire, St. Mary. B Extensive restoration. 1869-70


BEDFORD, Beds., Bedford School Chapel. B New; separate from main buildings; red brick with stone dressings. The completion of building and interior fittings were supervised by C.G. Hare after Bodley's death. 1907-08
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BEDWORTH, Warks., All Saints.</td>
<td>BG New except medieval tower; nave, aisles and chancel in Runcorn red sandstone. Perpendicular style.</td>
<td>1889-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B Reredos (alterations made by Comper in 1912).</td>
<td>c1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B Extended chancel.</td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BICKNOR, Kent, St. James.</td>
<td>B Rebuilding of a Norman church which was of chalk and badly decayed.</td>
<td>1858-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BILTON, Warks., St. Mark.</td>
<td>B Restoration; addition of N. arcade and aisle in 15C style; chancel stencilling. 1873</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BISHOP'S TACHBROOK, Warks., St. Chad.</td>
<td>G Glass in N. aisle, (Morris and Webb). Dedicated to John Garner, a relative of Thomas. (Memorial to G's brother, Robert, by W.S. Landor, and another to Thomas). G was born and lived at nearby Wasperton Hill. Glass perhaps only paid for by G.</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BISLEY, Glos., All Saints.</td>
<td>B Reredos. Pulpit, stone with marble columns. Nave pews probably also by B.  c1854</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BISLEY, Glos., School.</td>
<td>B New; stone; gabled porch.</td>
<td>1854</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BLITHFIELD, Staffs.,
St. Leonard. B
Restoration of screen, (for Meynell, Bass, or Lord Bagot of Blithfield Hall). 1881

BOSTON, Lincs.,
St. Nicholas. B
Unexecuted plans for new chancel, organ chamber, porches, restoration of tower, etc. (chancel built to Temple Moore's designs in 1930). 1905

BOURNEMOUTH, Dorset,
St. Peter. B
Roof decoration. Perpetual curate was A.M. Bennett. 1891 (See below).

BOURNEMOUTH, Dorset,
St. Aldhelm. BG
New. A tower and spire were planned but not executed. W. end completed in 1911 by C.G. Hare. Church founded by Alexander Morden Bennett, wealthy Anglo-Catholic pioneer. (Location, Branksome Park). 1892-94

BRANT BROUGHTON, Lincs.,
St. Helen. B
Chancel with wooden lierne vault added to medieval church; elaborate fittings, including a font cover in the nave containing figures on the inside. Organ by the vicar, F.H. Sutton. Glass by Burlison and Grylls. 1874-77

BRENTFORD, Middx.,
St. Faith. BH
New; red brick. Completion of building and interior fittings supervised by C.G. Hare. 1906-07

BRIGHTON, E. Sussex,
St. Mary Magdalene. B

BRIGHTON, E. Sussex,
St. Michael All Angels. B
New. B's nave and S. aisle were incorporated into a much larger church designed by W. Burges in 1868 but built 1893-95 with alterations by J.S. Chapple. The Bodley church, now forming a large S. aisle,
contains Morris glass, &
Morris & Webb painted
ceilings. The medieval
tryptch was restored by
C.E. Kempe. 1858-62

BRIGHTON, E. Sussex,
St. Paul.

B Suggested instead of reredos
that an altar-piece (1861)
be painted by Burne-Jones. c1860
B Loft and rood-screen for
church built by Rev. H.M.
Wagner, vicar of Brighton
1824-70, and designed by R.C.
Carpenter, 1846-48. n.d.
B Chancel roof decoration. n.d.
B Glass in church 'toned
down' later. n.d.
B Narthex. (Location, West
Street). 1874

BRISTOL, Avon,
All Saints, Clifton.

B Narthex for G.E. Street's
church of 1868. First
Anglo-Catholic church in
Clifton. Church gutted
in 2nd World War and demol-
ished except for tower and
narthex. (Location, Pembroke Road). n.d.

BRISTOL, Avon,
St. Aidan.

B New, but nave left
incomplete. Only one (S.)
aisle. Square piers without
capitals. (Location, Nag's
Head Hill). 1903-04
B Vicarage. c1904

BRISTOL, Avon,
Cathedral.

B Pulpit; stone and marble. 1903

BRISTOL, Avon,
Convent of the
Sisters of Charity.

B St. Raphael's chapel; a large
stone chapel for St. Agnes'
Home. Wide buttresses to N &
S with corridors on exterior.
Large reredos. (Orphanage of
1890 by J.D. Sedding).
(Location, Redcatch Road,
Knowle). 1900-07

BROMFIELD, Shropshire,
St. Mary.

B Possibly restored by B. 1890
Broughton, Clwyd,
All Saints.

B Font cover, nave pews, pulpit. Burlison & Grylls glass possibly by B. Hare probably reused them in the new church, 1925, after first church by E. Vaughan, 1884 was demolished due to subsidence. (Location, Southsea, Denbighshire).

Burghfield, Berks.,
St. Mary.

BG Chancel to J.B. Clacy's Neo-Norman church of 1843. The BG chancel is 14C style and has a high E. window. Burlison and Grylls glass.

Burrington, Heref. & W.,
St. George.

B Chancel & screen rebuilt.

Burton-on-Trent, Staffs.,
St. Chad, Horninglow.

BH New; large; stone. Detached N.W. tower with vaulted entrance corridor beneath. Plain, unpainted interior, five bays. For 1st Lord Burton. Cost, £38,000. Completed after B's death by Cecil Hare, including octagonal vestry to S. side.

Burton-on-Trent, Staffs.,
St. Paul.

B Alterations and repairs to J.M. Teale's and Lord Grimthorpe's church of 1874 which was built for Michael Thomas Bass, father of First Lord Burton. Decoration of chancel ceiling. Screens and organ case. E. window; S. aisle converted to memorial chapel. (Location, Hunter St.).

Bussage, Glos.,
St. Michael & All Angels.

S. aisle, (three bays) & S. porch for J.P. Harrison's church of 1846. The aisle was added to accommodate those from the nearby House of Mercy, founded by Robert Suckling. Capitals in aisle have foliage carving. Reredos, painted.
BUXTON, Derbys.,
Empire Hotel.

BUXTON, Derbys.,
Empire Hotel.

CAMBRIDGE, Cambs.,
All Saints.

CAMBRIDGE, Cambs.,
Christ's College.

CAMBRIDGE, Cambs.,
Holy Trinity.

B's first work. 1854
B St. Michael's Vicarage; possibly enlarged. c1854

G New; to N.W. of The Park for Messrs. Spiers & Pond; Jacobean style. 1898-1903
Demolished 1964.

B New; built on a new site to replace medieval church. 1863-64
B. changed his design between 1862 and 1870 to include features from English, rather than Continental, gothic precedence. The interior is covered with stencil patterns, those in the chancel by Morris & Co. who also designed the E. window. Kempe produced stencil patterns for nave roof in 1870, executed by F.R. Leach. The chancel arch and the pulpit were painted by Wyndham Hope Hughes, 1863-64
B Stencil patterns for nave. & 1870
B S. aisle screen. 1879
B Design for screen; unexecuted. (The present screen was designed by John Morley in 1904). 1905
Now vested in the Redundant Churches Fund.

BG Library alterations and extension. Replacement of 18C classical alterations with Tudor windows, etc. 1895-97
BG Street front; removal of Georgian casements and replacement with stone mullions. 1895-97
BG Wall paintings in hall, since whitewashed. n.d.
BG Chapel ceiling, painting. 1899

B Chancel redecorated with stencil patterns, since whitewashed. 1885
Possibly re-cased chancel in rough-cast stone.
CAMBRIDGE, Cambs.,
Jesus College.

B Repairs to tower. Ground
level E arcade in N transept.
Painted decoration
commissioned from Morris &
Co. whom B had engaged to
decorate All Saints at about
the same time. Nave ceiling
repaired by B and decorated
with Bishop Alcock's crest
and a border of angels
(William Morris). Tower and
transept ceilings with 'IHS'
symbol (Philip Webb).
S. transept, nave, and other
glass also by Morris & Co.
B also designed floors in
stone, marble, and Minton
tiles.

1864-69

B West organ case, large, with
wooden gallery, since re-
moved.

1890

CAMBRIDGE, Cambs.,
King's College.

B 'Bodley's Buildings' in
Cotswold Tudor with
additions of 1927 by Kennedy
& Nightingale.

1891-93

CAMBRIDGE, Cambs.,
King's College.

G Panelling in eastern choir
bays; replaced in 1910 by
woodwork designed by D. Blow
(removed, 1964).

1889

G Chapel altar of black marble
with white marble supports
in early Florentine
Renaissance style.

1902

CAMBRIDGE, Cambs.,
Queens' College.

B Old chapel restoration.
Marble, alabaster and tile
reredos in 'Continental
gothic'; oak stalls with
painted roundels; brass
standards; painted ceiling.
Room converted to general
functions room 1891, then to
College library, 1951.
Stalls now in St. Helen's,
Little Eversden, reredos now
in St. Mark's, Cambridge.

1858-61

CAMBRIDGE, Cambs.,
Queens' College.

B Additions to Hall; new fire-
place surround of alabaster
(tiles by Morris & Co.);
stone and tile floor.

1862-64

B Dining chairs of oak for High
Table. Additional chairs made
Cambridge, Cambs., Queens' College.

 Restoration of Hall in collaboration with William Morris; addition of coved wooden canopy over fireplace; lower tier of angels probably by B; wall and ceiling stencilling, with overall control of designs by Morris. (Repainted in 1961). James Essex's 1732 panelling was retained and painted deep green with gold detailing. 1875

Cambridge, Cambs., St. Botolph.

 New chapel of red brick. Aisleless, with tall windows and buttresses. Stencil patterns on E. wall and roof designed by B, perhaps executed by C.E. Kempe. Three stained glass windows from old chapel by Hardman, and glass by C.E. Kempe. 1890-91

Cambridge, Cambs., St. Catherine's College. 1865

 Organ (G), wall decoration. Eastern extensions were planned but not executed. 1894-95

Cambridge, Cambs., St. Mark's.

 Reredos; removed from Queens' College old chapel to R. Philip Day's church of 1900. 1858-61


 New; first London church by the partnership. Initial cost, £9,704. 14C style. Proposed N.W. tower not executed. Glass by Pugin, 1851. (Location, Camden Road). 1876-81
CAMERTON, Avon, St. Peter.

B Chancel. 1893-94
B South chancel screen. 1898
B Font. c1900

CANON FROME, Heref. & W., St. James.

B New, except tower of 1680. Nave, chancel and two-bay N. chapel with E rose window. The Hopton family of Canon Frome Hall provided B with the commission. 1860-61

CANTERBURY, Kent, Christ Church Cathedral.

B Payne-Smith pulpit in the nave; wooden, tall, with tester. Overall decoration of green stencilling. 1898
G Cope worn by Archbishop of Canterbury at coronation of King Edward VII. c1901

CARDIFF, S. Glams., St. German, Roath.

BG New; rock-faced stone, large nave buttresses, three tall lancets at E. end. Slate covered fleche over chancel. Spacious interior with wagon-vault roof. (Location: Star Street). 1883-84

CARDIFF, S. Glams., St. Saviour, Roath.

BG New; The design closely follows St. Mary, Tenby, except for tower and spire which B's church omits. Stained glass by B. (Location: Carlisle St.). 1887-88
BG School. c1887

CARSHALTON, Surrey, All Saints.

B Reredos for the chancel in Blomfield's N. extension of medieval church; gilded, and the panels painted by Comper in 1931-32. c1900
B Probably candlesticks and cross. c1900
B Probably font. n.d.
BH Screen; raised, and balustrade added by Comper in 1931-33, screen painted 1937-1941. c1914
CASSINGTON, Oxon.,
St. Peter. Restoration; Choir canopies, (Jacobean) from Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford. Possibly also S. vestry. 1876-77

CAWTHORNE, S. Yorks.,
All Saints. B Most of the church, except nave, rebuilt by B. Organ case. (Stained glass by Morris & Co. in the N. chapel in memory of Mary Roddam & Lilla Spencer Stanhope, d.1867; W. window by Roddam Spencer Stanhope in memory of Hugh Spencer Stanhope, d.1871. 1875-76

CHANDLERS FORD, Hants.,
St. Boniface. B New except chancel; brick with W. gable; nave windows within internal arched recesses. (Chancel possibly by Hare, 1929-30). 1904

CHAPEL ALLETON, W. Yks.,
St. Matthew. B New; large church with detached S.W. tower; all of stone. Cost; about £20,000. (Location, Wood Lane). 1897-98

CHAWTON, Hants.,
St. Nicholas. B Possibly designed organ-case and screen. n.d.

CHELMONDISTON, Suffolk,
St. Andrew. BG Restored. Church destroyed during 2nd World War; new church built, 1957. 1891

CHELSEA, London,
River House. BG New; in 'Queen Anne' style for Hon. J.C. Dundas. (Location, No.3, Chelsea Embankment). 1876-79

CHELTENHAM, Glos.,
St. Paul's School.
(Now College). B New; 'Ruskin' Gothic; polychrome brickwork, well gabled, French Gothic tracery. Now part of St. Paul's teacher training college. 1854

CHENIES, Bucks.,
St. Michael. B Rebuilt chapel in Jacobean style to house the Russel-Bedford tombs. At B's suggestion to the family,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHESHUNT, Herts,. St. Mary</td>
<td>B Nave stencilling. Organ case.</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHESTER, Cheshire, Cathedral</td>
<td>BG Pastoral staff, made by C. Krall. Silver gilt with enamels and semi-precious stones.</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHICHESTER, W. Sussex, Cathedral</td>
<td>B Advised his old master, Scott, to save and restore the stalls of c1330 after they were damaged in the collapse of the tower.</td>
<td>1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHICHESTER, W. Sussex, Cathedral</td>
<td>G Bishop Durnford monument and effigy.</td>
<td>c1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHIGWELL, Essex, St. Mary</td>
<td>B Pulpit, alabaster and marble reredos; chancel decoration with stencilled walls and ceiling.</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHISLEHURST, Kent, St. Nicholas</td>
<td>BG Chancel of medieval church lengthened; alabaster reredos. Sanctuary pavement by Farmer &amp; Brindley; glass by Burlison &amp; Grylls.</td>
<td>1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHOBHAM, Surrey, St. Saviour, Valley End</td>
<td>B New; of brick (exposed inside). Belfry and hipped gable.</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHOBHAM, Surrey, St. Saviour, Valley End</td>
<td>B Vicarage, mellow red brick, in 'Old English' style.</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLEWER, Berkshire, House of Mercy</td>
<td>B Canon T.T. Carter memorial in N. sanctuary of chapel, recumbent alabaster effigy beneath a canopy.</td>
<td>1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLIFTON, Notts., St. Mary</td>
<td>B Restoration.</td>
<td>1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Event Details</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton-upon-Dunsmore, Warwks., St. Mary.</td>
<td>Restoration.</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clumber, Notts., St. Mary.</td>
<td>New; for the 7th Duke of Newcastle; ragstone and red sandstone. Central spire modelled on Patrington, Yorkshire. Tall nave of four bays, chancel of equal length, N &amp; S transepts. Lavish fittings inside including works by Barkentin &amp; Krall, Burlison &amp; Grylls, Farmer &amp; Brindley. Stained glass by Kempe. Screen and stalls by Rev. Ernest Geldart. Cost, £30,000.</td>
<td>1886-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coddington, Notts., All Saints.</td>
<td>Partly rebuilt, with decorations and fittings added. Steeply pitched roofs; Morris &amp; Co. glass. B. commissioned chancel decorations by Morris &amp; Co.. Stencilled wall patterns, some since whitewashed. (Kempe supervised their execution). Furnishings, including settle-type sedilia.</td>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corringham, Lincs., St. Lawrence.</td>
<td>Redecoration of medieval church; organ and the upper parts of the screen.</td>
<td>1883-84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coventry, W. Midlands, St. Mark, Bird St..</td>
<td>Decoration &amp; repairs to Paull &amp; Robinson's 13C style church of 1869.</td>
<td>1895</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CUCKFIELD, W. Sussex.
Holy Trinity.  
B  Restored medieval church; box pews removed and nave re-seated; new choir stalls copied from old remains. Organ painted to B's design. Roof painted. Much early Kempe glass, and chancel ceiling and wall painting undertaken by Kempe himself to his own designs, or, possibly, to B's (1865). Kempe was able to restore much Tudor colouring, including the Nevill badges. 1855-56

DANEHILL, E. Sussex.
All Saints.  
BG New; stone, nave and chancel of the same height. W. tower with pyramidal roof and crennelations. Kempe glass. 1892

DEDWORTH, Berkshire.
All Saints.  
B New; small; brick. Roofs of nave and chancel are same height. W. bell-cote. Four-bay nave; exposed bricks. Donor; Rev. Henry Tudor, in memory of his wife Mary, nee Thynne. Only the Morris glass was saved after demolition of the church c 1969, and which is now placed in the new church. 1863

DEENE, Northants., St. Peter.  
B Decoration, including stencilling, of Sir M.D. Wyatt's chancel of c1868-69. 1890

DUNDEE, Tayside.
St. Salvador, Hilltown.  
B New school, at first used as a temporary church; roughcast stone, French Gothic, two-storey. 1857

B New church; roughcast stone. Bears a strong resemblance externally to B's St. Simon, Jersey. N & S buttresses on W facade with a W porch. Arcades without capitals; narrow aisles through N & S buttresses. Overall stencil decoration on walls of olive green, red, black, etc.; executed by Burlison & Grylls.
DUNFERMLINE, Fife, Dunfermline Abbey. B Organ by Canon F.H. Sutton. Chancel built, 1874; reredos of painted copper panels. 1865-70

DUNSTABLE, Beds., Dunstable Priory. B Glass; E & W windows of S transept; Ascension and Epiphany. 1880

EALING, Middlesex, Christ Church. B Rood screen (presented to St. John the Baptist, Tue Brook, Liverpool in 1966). 1890

EARSLEY, Heref. & W., St. Mary Magdalene. B Restoration of W. front. 1900


EAST GRINSTEAD, W. Ssx., St. Margaret's Comm'ty. B Plate; (paten, London silvermark). 1889

ECCLESTON, Cheshire, St. Mary. B Conversion of small gabled building for use as an oratory, for the Sisters of St. Margaret, founded by J.M. Neale in 1855. The Oratory was used until 1858 when new accommodation was found. (Location, Church Lane). Later buildings on a third site by G.E. Street (1865), now no longer owned by Sisterhood. (Location, Moat Road). 1856

EBLEY, Gloucestershire, Ebley Mills. B Chimney & tower for cloth mill owned by Sir Samuel Marling of Selsley. c1862

ECCHINSWELL, Hants., St. Laurence. BG New; flint, with wooden bell-cote; family graves of Kingsmill, the donors. 1886

ECCELESTON, Cheshire, St. Mary. B New; to replace earlier church; dark red sandstone, W. tower, original use of 14C and 15C styles providing firm, linear proportions. Sombre interior with lavish
EDGMOND, Shropshire, St. Peter.

EDWARDSTONE, Suffolk, St. Mary.

ELVASTON, Derby, St. Bartholomew.

ELY, Cambridgeshire, Cathedral.

EPPING, Essex, St. John the Baptist.

EVERDON, Northants., St. Mary.

DEDECORATIONS; REREDOSSES BY FARMER & BRINDLEY; ALL THE GLASS BY BURLISON & GRYLLS; ALTAR FRONTAL AND HANGINGS BY WATTS AND CO.

B MONUMENT TO 1ST DUKE OF WESTMINSTER. EFFIGY BY FARMER & BRINDLEY; SCULPTOR; LEON JOSEPH CHAVALLIAUD.

EDGMOND, Shropshire, St. Peter.

EDWARDSTONE, Suffolk, St. Mary.

ELVASTON, Derby, St. Bartholomew.

ELY, Cambridgeshire, Cathedral.

EPPING, Essex, St. John the Baptist.

EVERDON, Northants., St. Mary.

Reredos, of stone with figure carvings.

Chancel ceiling. Nave pews from old design in church. Wall decorations, now mostly whitewashed. Stained glass. The iron chandeliers were probably by Bainbridge Reynolds. The organ (1670) was removed here from the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford; the case is by B. The work was carried out for Hon. H. Lowry-Corry, brother-in-law of Emily Meynell-Ingram. Reredos by C.G. Hare, 1910.

Chancel extension, pulpit, vestries and decorations.

Bishop Woodford monument; in 14C style of Lady Chapel; recumbent effigy beneath a canopy; the railings are 20C (in N. aisle).

New; of stone.

Tower, N. aisle and porch. Built by Wythes family of nearby Copped Hall. Organ by C.E. Kempe, but much altered by C.G. Hare.

Reredos.

Choir stalls.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Church Name</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXETER, Devon,</td>
<td>Cathedral.</td>
<td>As advisory architect, from 1898, B undertook repairs and added glass to the W. window in memory of Archbishop Frederick William Temple. Glass made by Burlison &amp; Grylls; destroyed by bombing in 1942. 1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXFORD, Somerset,</td>
<td>St. Mary Magdalen.</td>
<td>Probably stalls from Queens' College chapel, Cambridge. 1858-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FILLONGLEY, Warwks.</td>
<td>St. Mary &amp; All Angels.</td>
<td>Restoration. Gilded stone reredos; the gift of Thomas Garner. 1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOLKESTONE, Kent,</td>
<td>St. Michael &amp; A. Angels. BG</td>
<td>New; the church was a little damaged in the 2nd World War and demolished in 1953. The original cost was £4000 with a further £9000 for enlargements. Brick, with much stone dressing; elaborate planning with short N. aisle, stair turret, and narrow polygonal NW tower with tall spire. 1873-78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRANCE LYNCH, Glos.</td>
<td>St. John the Baptist.</td>
<td>New; of stone; French gothic influence. Carving by Thomas Earp. The cost was £2,738. It served the poor district of cloth weavers. 1855-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fritchwell Manor.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Possibly designed the church-yard cross. 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRODSHAM, Cheshire,</td>
<td>St. Laurence. BG</td>
<td>Restored; continued north arcade; rebuilt S. aisle. 1880-83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAINSBOROUGH, Lincs.,</td>
<td>All Saints. B</td>
<td>Restored; added N &amp; S vestries. 1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLASGOW, Strathclyde,</td>
<td>St. Bride, Kelvinside. B</td>
<td>New; red brick; the S. aisle was never built. The W. end and tower are to the design of H.O. Tarbolton, 1915. (Location, Hyndland Road). 1903-07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GODDEN GREEN, Kent, House.  
G New. (Location, 1 and a half miles E of Sevenoaks).  
n.d.

GODMANCHESTER, Cambs., St. Mary.  
B Reredos & Rood screen.  
1901

GREAT BARDFIELD, Essex, St. Mary the Virgin.  
B E. window.  
1867

B Stone rood figures replaced; Crucifixion, St. Mary and St. John for fine, late medieval rood screen, also of stone.  
1896

GREAT GRIMSBY, Lincs., St. James.  
B Lady Chapel to E. of N. transept.  
1906

GREAT HASELEY, Oxon., St. Peter.  
B Two windows.  
1906

B Interior decorations for the home of 1st Visc. Wolesley (since removed).  
c1902

GRIMSTON, Norfolk, St. Botoiph.  
B Restoration in memory of B's brother.  
1889 & 1895

GUMLEY, Leics., St. Helen.  
B Mostly rebuilt.  
1875-77

HACKNEY, WST., London, St. James.  
1879

HACKNEY WICK, London, St. Mary of Eton.  
BG Church for the Eton Mission. Red brick with stone dressings. The tower and vestries added to C.G. Hare's designs in 1912. Glass of 1898 and the E. window by Comper were destroyed during the 2nd world war. Later additions by other architects; altar and reredos, 1930.  
1890

BG Two W. bays and baptistry added by C.G. Hare to B's plans.  
1911-12
HAM, Surrey, St. Andrew.  BG  New chancel for E. Lapidge's brick church of 1830-31.  1900-01

HAM, Surrey, Ham House.  BG  Restoration of interior for 9th Earl Dysart.  1889-9


HANMER, Clwyd, St. Chad.  BG  Mostly rebuilt after fire, except the chancel. (The latter was restored by Caroe, 1936). The arcades, S. porch, roofs and fittings are all BG.  1889-92

HARROGATE, N. Yorks., St. Peter.  B  Reredos and 3 windows in S transept.  1884

HARROW, Middx., Convent of Visitation.  G  Chapel and buildings, red brick & stone dressings. (Convent by A.E. Purdie, 1897-98). Chapel rebuilt (1905-06), by Giles G. Scott when cracks appeared. Scott reused some windows, etc. from G's original building. Convent demolished except for chapel in c1986. Chapel converted to leisure complex and apartment within group of luxury flats in 1989. Location, Sudbury Hill).  1900-02

HARTSHORNE, Derbys., St. Peter.  B  Aisle, vestries & baptistry.  1902

HAWARDEN, Clwyd, St. Deiniol.  B  Processional Cross and Churchwardens' staves.  n.d.


Haywards Heath, W. Sussex, St. Wilfrid.


Headcorn, Kent, S.S. Peter & Paul.

Restoration. n.d.

Hemel Hempstead, Herts., St. Mary.

Chancel stencilling, since whitewashed. 1888

Hendon, Middlesex, St. Mary.

Reredos in N.E. chapel. n.d.

Plate. Cruets made for Pycroft family by S. Blunt and F. Wray. Now on loan to treasury of St. Paul's Cathedral. c1895

Hickleton, S. Yorks., St. Wilfred.

Restored for 2nd Viscount Halifax, (1839-1934), (President of the English Church Union, 1869-1919. Also added continental furnishings. Lived at Hickleton Hall). c1888

Alabaster bust of Bodley. c1907

Histon, Cambs., St. Andrew.

Clerestory windows, roof, and restoration of W. window in medieval church. 1855-56

Hoar Cross, Staffs., Holy Angels.

New; of stone; with central tower and three-bay nave; near Hoar Cross Hall; for the Hon. E. Meynell-Ingram in memory of her husband. Lavish fittings by Farmer & Brindley, Burlison & Grylls, and Watts & Co. The organ, together with its case, was designed by Rev. F.H. Sutton. The narthex is by Cecil Hare, 1906. 1871-76
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>HOAR CROSS, Staffs.</strong></td>
<td>Hoar Cross Hall. Ceilings in Long Gallery and Great Banqueting Hall. Screen in Hall. Work undertaken on Henry Clutton's house of 1862-71 for Hon. E. Meynell-Ingram.</td>
<td>1891-97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HOM GREEN, Heref. &amp; W.</strong></td>
<td>The Paraclete. B New; stone; with a central arcade; built for the widow of Major L.J. Trafford of the Hill Court, Ross. Designed in the style of a French roadside chapel.</td>
<td>1905-06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HORBURY, W. Yorks.</strong></td>
<td>St. Mary the Virgin. BG New; with W. bell-turret.</td>
<td>1892-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HOUGHTON ST. GILES, Norf.</strong></td>
<td>Slipper Chapel. G Restoration of mid-14C wayside chapel; for Charlotte Boyd. Masonry by Rattee and Kett. (Statue of Our Lady, possibly gilded canopy, and altar-screen date from 1930s. Sacristy, cloister and Holy Ghost chapel added in 1938). Possibly designed priest's house.</td>
<td>1897</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
HOVE, E. Sussex, St. Barnabas. B  
Reredos and two staves for J.L. Pearson's church of 1882-83. (Location, Sackville Road). 1907

HUDDERSFIELD, W.Yorks., Christ Church. B  
(Location, Moldgreen). 1898-08

HUNGARTON, Leicestershire, Quenby Hall. B  
Restoration of hall and parlour within house of 1620. After B died, the restoration was taken over by J.A. Gotch. c1904

HUNSTANTON, Norfolk, St. Mary. B  
Screen restored. n.d.

HUSBANDS BOSWORTH, Leics. B  
Additions to main house of 16-18C. Possibly for the Roman Catholic, Sir Francis F. Turville. n.d.

INKPEN, Berkshire, St. Michael. B  
Silver-gilt chalice and paten. 1903

IVER, Bucks., Bridgefoot House. B  
Addition of corridor to servant's quarters at rear of house which B owned and which he occupied from 1897-06. Painted panelling of dining room deep blue. 1897

KEDLESTON, Derbys., All Saints. B  
North aisle added as a memorial to wife of Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India. Wrought-ironwork by P. Krall. 1906-13

KENNINGTON, London, St. John the Divine. BG  
Decorations to G.E. Street's church of 1870-74. The nave ceiling was painted first, then the chancel ceiling. Altar and fittings. Marble sanctuary floor. Gutted by fire with the loss of all roofs, 1940 & 1941.
restored with a slightly altered scheme of stencilling by Goodhart-Rendel. 1955-58.

KENSINGTON, London,
Brompton Oratory.  B

KENSINGTON, London,
Holy Trinity.  B
New; stone; tall arcades. Restored in 1950s. Cost: c. £27,000. 1901-06
B Vicarage. c1901
B Bust of B. 1911
B Memorial reredos. n.d.
(Location, Prince Consort Road).

KENSINGTON, London,
The Red House.  B
Fittings in study of J.J. Stevenson's own house. Location was No.3, Bayswater Hill, but damaged in 2nd world war and demolished c1946. 1871-73

KENSINGTON, London,
St. Stephen.  BG
For J. Peacock's church of 1865; tall reredos, gilt and brick red; decoration of E. wall; design of altar hangings, etc. (Location, Gloucester Road). 1903

KEYWORTH, Notts.,
St. Mary the Virgin.  BG
Restoration. Early Burlison and Grylls glass. 1872

KINGSLAND, Heref. & Worcs.
St. Michael.  B
Chancel restoration and ceiling decoration, including choir-stalls, pulpit, lectern, pews and stone screen (the latter has been removed since). 1866-68

KING'S LYNN, Norfolk,
St. Margaret.  B
Reredos. 1899

KING'S STANLEY, Glos.,
St. George.  B
Restored, including new walls and roof for the chancel. The painted decoration of roofs, together with furnishings, such as pews and pulpit, were also by B, but the Rector, John Gibson, claimed that he himself modified the designs
'with the friendly consent of B'. Organ executed by Thomas Liddiat, a resident of the parish, but the case designed by Gibson, and paid for by him. 1873-76

KINGSTON VALE, Surrey, St. John. B Reredos; white alabaster in memory of Duchess of Teck. 1898

KINNERSLEY, Heref. & W., St. James. B Interior stencilling of walls and ceilings; organ case; for the church next to B's wife's home, Kinnersley Castle. The churchyard is the site of their graves. 1869

KINTBURY, Berkshire, St. Mary. BG Restoration. c1859

KIRKHEATON, N'humberland, St. Bartholomew Chapel. B Alterations to chapelry of 1755; rebuilding of chancel. 1866-67

LAMPORT, Northants, All Saints. B Font and cover for 17/18C church; probably also tower ceiling painting. 1869

LANREATH, Cornwall, St. Manarck. B Restoration. 1887

LANREATH, Cornwall, St. Manarck. B Restoration of Rood screen. The church contains a monument to Charles Grylls, a 17C ancestor of Thomas of the glassmakers Burlison & Grylls, employed often by B. The family lived at Court, Lanreath. 1905

LAUGHTON, Lincs., All Saints. BG Chancel rebuilt; S. porch, roof, screen, reredos and organ case. Work was undertaken for Hon. E. Meynell-Ingram; her husband is represented here in a recumbent effigy of white marble originally made for Hoar Cross by Thomas Woolner in 1874. 1894

B Triptych painted by G. Jackson, designed by B. 1903
LEEDS, W. Yorks.,
St. Saviour. B
Pusey chapel; added to J. Macduff Derick's church of 1842-45, which had been built at the expense of Dr. Pusey. 1890

LEEDS, W. Yorks.,
Temple Newsam. B
Conversion of Library to Chapel. Reconverted, 1968, but the organ remains in situ. The reredos is in the Flemish style, together with Communion stools and bookrest, now in the basement. Plate for chapel. 1877

LEEK, Staffordshire,
St. Edward the Confes'r. B
Glass in N. and S. rose windows. 1903

LEICESTER, Leics.,
All Souls. B
New; brick; bell-cote instead of a tower. Tall, light interior, damaged by fire in 1940, but repaired. One window by Comper. The church was a memorial to John & Sarah Wedham by their daughters; cost, £10,000. Redundant 1987/88; now used by Greek Orthodox Church. (Location, Aylestone Rd.). 1904-06

LEICESTER, Leics.,
St. Margaret. B
Reredos for the fine medieval church. 1899

LEICESTER, Leics.,
Cathedral. B
Architect to the church. The church of St. Martin was elevated to Cathedral status in 1927. c1905

LEICESTER, Leics.,
St. Mary De Castro. B
Reredos for the medieval church. 1899

LEIGH, Kent,
St. Mary. B
North vestry. 1903

LEIGHTON BUZZARD, Beds.,
All Saints. B
Restoration & fittings including a large reredos with wooden figures and embossed leather panels of angels. Choir organ case lost in fire, 1985. c1900
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LEIGH WOODS, Avon, St. Mary the Virgin.</td>
<td>Reredos of gilded alabaster, with oak super-altar and panelling.</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEONARD STANLEY, Glos., St. Swithun.</td>
<td>Restoration of chancel using plain panelling in light, unpretentious style to suit the nature of the surrounding 12C architecture. Black and white marble floor.</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LICHFIELD, Staffs., Christ Church.</td>
<td>Reredos for Thomas Johnson's church of 1847 and later. (Location, Christ Church Lane, Lemansley).</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINCOLN, Lincs., Cathedral.</td>
<td>Bishop Wordsworth memorial in N. aisle behind high altar, recumbent effigy with a tall canopy. Christopher Wordsworth was Bishop from 1868-85.</td>
<td>1887-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINCOLN, Lincs., Bishop's Palace Chapel.</td>
<td>New chapel added to the Palace (largely by Ewan Christian of 1886) but separated from it by a long connecting corridor. The chapel was built on the site of a medieval one, and reusing some old materials.</td>
<td>1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINCOLN, Lincs., St. Andrew.</td>
<td>Chancel decoration in James Fowler's church of 1876-77, demolished in the 1950s or 1960s.</td>
<td>1882-83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINCOLN, Lincs., St. Martin.</td>
<td>Two vestries. Church demolished in the 1960s.</td>
<td>1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINCOLN, Lincs., St. Mary Magdalene.</td>
<td>Mostly rebuilt, but reusing old stone exterior walls. Long, with no N windows. The church remains almost untouched as B left it.</td>
<td>1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINCOLN, Lincs., St. Peter in Eastgate.</td>
<td>Chancel decoration in Sir A. Blomfield's church of 1870.</td>
<td>1884</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LITTLE BARDFIELD, Essex, St. Katherine. B
S. Chancel aisle; refitting chancel in 'high church' manner; sanctuary lamps; reredos; etc. The 1688 Renatus Harris organ was removed from All Saints, Cambridge which was demolished in 1865. B. was in the process of rebuilding All Saints and the organ cost St. Katherine's £55. It came originally from Jesus College, Cambridge, being transferred to All Saints in 1790. Parts of case by B. 1866

LITTLE BOWDEN, Leics., St. Nicholas. B
Restoration of medieval nave, and chancel of 1776; new bell-cote. 1901

LITTLE COGGESHALL, Essex, Abbey Gatehouse Chapel. B
Restored; new E. window, depicting Crucifixion. (Location, Coggeshall Hamlet). 1897

LITTLE EVERSDEN, Cambs., St. Helen. B
Stalls and canopies from Queens' College, Cambridge, removed here after the new chapel at Queens' was completed in 1891. The old chapel was converted to the library. 1858-61

LIVERPOOL, Merseyside, Cathedral. BG
Unexecuted competition design for the proposed cathedral. (See below). 1885

LIVERPOOL, Merseyside, Cathedral. B
Bodley and Norman Shaw selected Giles G. Scott's designs (1902), but because of Scott's youth, (b. 1880), B. became joint architect until he died. Scott modified his designs in 1909, after becoming sole architect in charge in 1907. Further changes were made by Scott until his own death in 1960. 1903-07

Lady chapel reredos, choir stalls, windows, furnishings and fittings designed in collaboration with Scott.
LIVERPOOL, Merseyside, St. Agnes, Sefton Park.

- B Lady chapel screen for J.L. Pearson's church, of 1883-85. (Location, Ullet Road).
- B Lady chapel reredos.

LIVERPOOL, Merseyside, St. John B., Tue Brook.

- BG New; stone; tower and spire; stencilling of walls and ceilings inside, painting supervised by C.E. Kempe, (restored by S.E. Dykes-Bower, 1975). Chancel glass by W. Morris.
- B W. reredos under tower removed here in 1966 from Dunstable Priory, together with altar, communion rail and credence.
- B Vicarage; brick, to S.E. of church.

LONDON, City of, Fishmongers Hall.

- B Interior decorations; replacing work by Owen Jones. Destroyed during 2nd world war and replaced by Goodhart-Rendel.
- B Decorations for exterior of Hall for Edward VII's Coronation route. (Designs now at RIBA).

LONDON, City of, School Board offices.

- BG New; in 'Queen Anne' style, with French Renaissance and Dutch influences. Four storeys, stone and brick. Extended by Robson, 1886 and Edis, 1891, who reproduced B's style, whilst more than doubling the size of the building. Demolished 1929.

LONDON, City of, St. Andrew by Wardrobe.

LONDON, City of, St. Margaret, Lothbury. BG
Restoration of Sir C. Wren's church of 1686-90. Vestry, S. aisle chapel; screen incorporates in lower part the altar rails from St. Olave. 1891 B. collected fittings from demolished City churches (All Hallows', Thames St. and St. Olave's, Old Jewry), and arranged them in this church. 1900

LONDON, City of, St. Paul's Cathedral. BG
Reredos and flanking collonaded screens in the classical style; the railings to N & S by Tijou were remodelled. The work was undertaken largely by Garner. The reredos was partially damaged by bombing in October, 1940, and was removed after the war. The central Crucifix and a statue are now used as altar-pieces in the N & S chancel chapels. The replacement, a baldacchino by S.E. Dykes-Bower and G. Allen, was designed in 1957, but based on an original design by Wren. 1885-88
B B. advised the employment of George Richmond for the decoration of the roof vaults of the apse, sanctuary and choir, undertaken in mosaic in 1892-94. 1891
BG Canon Liddon monument; altar tomb and recumbent figure in white marble. c1891

LONG GROVE, Heref. & W. Christ Church. B
New church (now Llangrove) The design was completed by March 1854. 1854-56

LONG MELFORD, Suffolk, Holy Trinity. B
A new W tower was constructed around the 18c tower using flint and stone in the traditions of the 16c nave. 1898-03

LOWESTOFT, Suffolk, St. Margaret. B
Roof restored & redecorated. 1899
LYONSHALL, Heref. & W., St. Michael. 
Restored; rebuilding of S. arcade; top stage of tower; nave roof. New; S. porch, windows and glass; nave furniture. Cost, £3,215. 1872

MANCHESTER, Gtr. M/c., Cathedral. 
Appointed architect. c1898
Victoria Porch;
(consultant to B. Champneys) n.d.
Rearrangement of precincts. 1898

MANCHESTER, Gtr. M/c., Christ Church, Mosside. 
Reredos moved here from St. Edward, Holbeck, Leeds, which was demolished in 1983. The church here is by Cecil Hardisty, 1904. 1903-04

MALVERN LINK, H & W., Convent of Holy Name. 
New houses built in the 'Queen Anne' revival style. When B was ill, Philip Webb assisted him in supervising the construction of the houses and may have contributed to their final appearance. 1869

MARKBEECH, Kent, Holy Trinity. 
Chancel decoration, (removed in 1958). Near Cowden. 1892

MARLBOROUGH, Wilts., Marlborough College. 
Chapel; to replace Blore's chapel of 1844; Bath and Sarsen stone; tall buttresses. Paintings by Spencer Stanhope of 1872-79 removed from old chapel and repainted. Burne-Jones glass of 1877 also from old chapel. Reredos of 1866, later painted by Comper, together with addition of a new altar by him, 1950-51. 1883-86

MARLBOROUGH, Wilts., Marlborough College. 
North block. 1893-99

MARLOW, Bucks., All Saints. 
Oak Panelling. 1905
MICHAELCHURCH
ESCLEY, Heref. & Worcs.,
St. Michael.
B Restored (possibly). n.d.
B Michaelchurch Court; left wing possibly by B. Owned by the Trafford family. c1870

MICKLEOVER, Derbys.,
All Saints.
B Candlesticks; brass. n.d.

MIDDLETON, Lancs.,
St. Leonard.
B Restored. n.d.

MONK SHERBORNE, Hants.,
All Saints.
B Screen & Organ case. n.d.

MORLEY, Derbys.,
Morley Manor.
B New Neo-Tudor country house. (Built as Hayes Lodge for Mrs. S. Bateman). 1900

NETTLEHAM, Lincs.,
All Saints.
BG Chancel restored and lengthened. The chancel arch is 13C but was restored by B. The nave roof decoration is perhaps by B. 1882

NORTH BOVEY, Devon,
North Bovey Manor.
G New, large Neo-Jacobean country house for Lord Hambledon. (Now Manor Hotel). 1907

NORTHFIELD, W. Midlands,
St. Laurence.
B North aisle. 1899

N. STONEHAM, Hants.,
St. Nicholas.
B Restored. n.d.

NORWICH, Norfolk,
St. Peter Mancroft.
B Oak screen. n.d.

NOTTINGHAM, Notts.,
St. Alban, Sneinton.
BG New; brick and stone dressings. W. end unfinished. Maintained by Church of England, but now used by Ukranian Catholics. (Location, Bond St.). Vestments by B now at St. Stephen's, Sneinton. 1885-87
B Lady Chapel. 1898
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOTTINGHAM, Notts., St. George.</td>
<td>Chancel for R.C. Sutton's church of 1887; also Lady chapel and other chapels. (Location, Kirke White St. West).</td>
<td>1897-98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTTINGHAM, Notts., St. Mary.</td>
<td>Reredos, gilded; with riddel posts; oak rood screen.</td>
<td>1885-87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter house; constructed in expectation that St. Mary's would be Cathedral of new diocese of Southwell (created in 1884). In the end, Southwell Minster was chosen in preference. Also Bishop's Throne.</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLDBERROW, Heref. &amp; W., St. Mary.</td>
<td>Rebuilt on old foundations.</td>
<td>1875-76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OXFORD, Oxon., Cathedral.</td>
<td>Restored.</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retable with coloured figures and gilding by Farmer &amp; Brindley (since shortened).</td>
<td>1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Restored; Chapter House. Side openings restored.</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Red marble font, wooden cover with figure of St. John the Baptist.</td>
<td>1902-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OXFORD, Oxon., Christ Church.</td>
<td>Bell Tower constructed around 17C vestibule and Wyatt's staircase to Hall. The large wooden lantern which B. designed to hold the bells above the tower was rejected as too overpowering. Fell Tower. New entrance to Cathedral behind two arches on Tom Quad.; indicated on walls the spring of intended cloisters, and added footings for cloisters which were not built due to lack of funds. Battlements to Hall. Probably also built wall &amp; gate near Peckwater Quad.</td>
<td>1873-78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OXFORD, Oxon., Exeter College.</td>
<td>New canopies above stalls in Sir Gilbert Scott's chapel of 1868.</td>
<td>1884</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
OXFORD, Oxon.,
Jesus College.

B Servants wing of the Principal's Lodgings, together with neo-Jacobean ceiling for dining room, the alteration of panelling, and addition of fireplace surrounds in blue delft tiles. 1884

OXFORD, Oxon.,
Magdalen College.

BG St. Swithin's Quad. in 'Cotswold Tudor' including a gateway opposite the Founder's Gate. Only two sides of the Quad. were built. Temporary President's Lodgings included (now law library). Gateway by B. into College from High St.; replaced A.W.N. Pugin's gate of 1843-44. 1879-84

BG President's Lodgings rebuilt; originally 16C; stone; low eaves. G. was partner in charge. 1886-90

B Two memorials in ante-Chapel - Prince Christian Victor and Sir John Stainer. Also Frederick Bulley tablet (with assistance from F.H. Sutton). 1903

B Hall roof. 1904

OXFORD, Oxon.,
St. John the Evan.

BG New church and monastery for the Cowley Fathers; stone; with cloisters. New High altar and Lady Chapel redecoration by J.N. Comper. (c1935). 1894-02

B W. tower, symmetrical, with Crucifixion. 1902

B Two porches 1907

B Mission House chapel; extended, altered and whitened by J.N. Comper in 1938, who also added a new high altar and Ciborium. Now St. Stephen's House theological college. (Location, Iffley Road/ Marston Street). c1895

OXFORD, Oxon.,
St. Margaret.

B Chancel decoration and tower base (the rest of the tower was never built). 1898
OXFORD, Oxon.,
St. Mary.

OXFORD, Oxon.,
University College.

OXTON, Cheshire,
St. Saviour.

PEASEDOWN, Avon,
St. John the Baptist.

PENDLEBURY, Gtr. M/c.,
Christ Church.

PENDLEBURY, Gtr., M/c.,
St. Augustine.

PENSHURST, Kent,
St. John the Baptist.

PETERBOROUGH, Cambs.,
Cathedral.

PLUMTREE, Notts.,
St. Mary.

Pulpit, wooden.

New Master's Lodging of stone, with gables matching those in the older Quads. The partner in charge was Garner.

B Reredos - triptych.

New; with W. bell-turret.

Tower, stone, of the saddle-back type for existing church, (made redundant in 1986).

New; red brick, of ten bays; tile roof; no separate chancel; stencil-patterns, some since white-washed; Burlison and Grylls glass.

School; red brick. Now owned by Manchester University. (New school opposite).

Parsonage. (Demolished c1960).

Chancel screen.

Appointed architect.

Restored; gable W. front

Banner from Northampton.

Reredos in St. Oswald Chapel; white alabaster, late 14C style.

Dean Ingram monument; the tomb chest for recumbent effigy; the figure was the last work of his brother, W.R. Ingram; 1903.

Rebuilt and extended N. aisle with stone from medieval Trent bridge at Nottingham. Restored church.
POOLE, Dorset, Holy Angels, Parkstone. B
Screen. E. window by Burlison & Grylls. Stencilled decoration on roof by Leach & Co. of Cambridge. Seating in nave, organ and repaving. 1873-75

PRIMROSE HILL, London, St. Mary. B
Rood screen, choir stalls and organ case. 1906

PULHAM ST. MARY, Norf., St. Mary. B
Choir stalls; oak. 1891-95

RANGEMORE, Staffs., All Saints. B
Restored screen; vaulting and Cross added, red and green decoration re-painted. New; organ case; chancel decoration; altar frontal chest. Probably windows, font cover and font colouring. 1886-87

READING, Berkshire, St. Bartholomew. B
Chancel & side chapels for A. Waterhouse's church of 1879. Contains wooden gallery in dark stained wood to accommodate choir. 1898-05

RETTFORD, Notts., St. Swithin, E.Retford. B
Rebuilt chantry chapel, N. transept, E. aisle; restored chancel. 1873
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Church details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>RICHMOND, Surrey,</strong>&lt;br&gt;St. Mary Magdalene.</td>
<td>Chancel, chapel and vestry; glass by Burlison and Grylls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RIPON, N. Yorkshire,</strong>&lt;br&gt;Female Training Coll.</td>
<td>New; red brick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RIPON, N. Yorkshire,</strong>&lt;br&gt;Cathedral.</td>
<td>Reredos. Comper replaced B's in 1922 as a First World War Memorial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROWINGTON, Warks.,</strong>&lt;br&gt;St. Lawrence.</td>
<td>Restored; decoration of chancel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RUGBY, Warks.,</strong>&lt;br&gt;St. Oswald, New Bilton.</td>
<td>Rebuilt G.E. Street's church of 1864. Street's work remains only in the N. aisle and E. rose window.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RUYTON/11 TOWNS,</strong> Shrop.,&lt;br&gt;St. John the Baptist.</td>
<td>Reredos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SAFFRON WALDEN,</strong> Essex,&lt;br&gt;St. Mary the Virgin.</td>
<td>Part of organ case. (S. side).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ST. KEVERNE,</strong> Cornwall,&lt;br&gt;St. Akeveranus.</td>
<td>E. Window in memory of 106 victims of wreck of 'Mohican'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ST. MARYLEBONE, London, St. James, Spanish Pl.  G Decorations and furniture including bronze High Altar, candlesticks and altar cross. Reredos & hanging tester added to Goldie's church of 1885-90 (which is in 13C style). Furnishings are by Bentley, but G’s suspended baldachino is a gilded canopy in the manner later assumed by Comper.  
c1891

ST. PANCRAS, London, St. Benet & All Saints'. BH B possibly designed a tall chancel for J. Peacock's church of 1884-85 before he died. New nave by Hare, 1928. (Location, Lupton Street, Kentish Town).  
1908

ST. PETER PORT, Guernsey, St. Stephen. B New; granite; seating for 750.  
1864-65

SANDHURST, Surrey, Royal Military College. B Wooden reredos with carved figures in lime; chancel decorations; in memory of 270 cadets who died in the South African War. The orientation of the whole chapel has changed since, and the reredos is now in the S. transept.  
c1902

SCAMPTON, Lincs., St. John Baptist. BG Glass in N. aisle and chancel.  
1876-77

1867

SCARBOROUGH, N. Yorks., St. Martin-on-the-Hill. B New; of Whitby stone; N.W. saddleback tower (a previous tower design of 1861 showed a broach spire). Built for Miss Mary Craven, whose father, Martin, lived in B's childhood town of Hull. Chancel painted in B's hand, and by Morris and P. Webb. E. wall painted by Burne-

SCARBOROUGH, N. Yorks., Daughter Church. B Vicarage in 'Queen Anne' revival style; red brick. 1861-62

SCARBOROUGH, N. Yorks., St. Martin's School. B Additional W. bay & narthex added for processions; Burlison & Grylls glass. 1879

SCARBOROUGH, N. Yorks., St. Mary's Vicarage. B Reredos and rood-screen. 1889

SCARBOROUGH, N. Yorks., St. Mary's Vicarage. B Lady chapel formed; reredos, and stencilling on E. wall. (W. part of roof displays earlier painting by Morris and Webb). 1902

SELSLEY, Gloucs., All Saints. B New; red brick; bell-cote. n.d.

SELSLEY, Gloucs., Stanley Park. B New; stone. For Sir Samuel Marling Bt., who lived next to the church. Saddleback tower; plate tracery. Patron insisted on influence of style from Marling church in the Austrian Tyrol. Lychgate to churchyard also by B. Glass by Morris & Co.. 1858-62


SHALBOURNE, Wilts., St. Michael. BG Probably rebuilt with old materials by B. 1873

SHALBOURNE, Wilts., St. Michael. BG Chancel, nave and aisle roof decoration. The chancel roof design has been altered since. n.d.
SHILLINGSTONE, Dorset, Holy Rood. B Restored church. N. aisle & arcade by F.W. Hunt, 1888; B critical of Hunt's work. 1902-03

SHUSTOKE, Warks., St. Cuthbert. BG Glass. 1886

SKELMANTHORPE, W.Yorks., St. Aidan. BG New; large; stone; nave and N. aisle. Bellcote, no tower. Later reredos. Money was provided by the Spencer-Stanhopes of Cawthorne, and by T. Norton of Bagden Hall. 1894-95

SONNING, Berks., St. Andrew. B Chancel decoration; stencilling and large painted angels to N and S of altar. Possibly chandeliers in nave. 1903-06

SOULDERN, Oxon., St. Mary the Virgin. B Norman tower & belfry rebuilt using old materials. The chancel of 1897 is by Comper. 1906

SOUTH KILWORTH, Leics., St. Nicholas. B S. aisle & chancel added to Norman / medieval church. The roof of the chancel is stencilled. 1869

SOUTH NORWOOD, London, Holy Innocents. BG New; stone; no division between nave and chancel; no tower; E. window by Kempe. 1894-95 c1895


SOUTHWELL, Notts., Archbishop's Palace. (York). B Restoration of Great Hall to S. of Minster, including a staircase leading to it on the first floor. The Hall contains panelling by B. n.d.

STONY STRATFORD, N'hnts.,
St. Giles. B Rood screen for church of 1776. 1905

STRATFORD-on-AVON, Wks.,
Holy Trinity. BG Restored. Choir and clergy stalls (1898), and organ. William Morris protested against B's 'excesses'. The rood screen is largely by B. Also restored Clopton chapel. 1888-00
BG Pulpit of green Italian marble in memory of Lady Martin (Helen Faviat). 1900

STRATTON, Somerset,
Downside Abbey. G Appointed architect on death of E. Hansom. Choir of Abbey Church completed. 1901-05
G Altar in S. chapel (St. Isidore). 1901-05

STRATTON, Somerset,
Downside Abbey. B Garner's tomb. 1906

STROUD, Glos.,
Convent of St. Rose. B Organ case for Benjamin Bucknall's chapel of 1888-95. Case made by Thomas Liddiatt. c1895

SUDBURY, Suffolk,
St. Peter. B Reredos to replace previous one which blocked the E. window. Chancel redecoration (only the decoration on the chancel arch survives). 1898

SUTCOMBE, Devon,
St. Andrew. B Restored, including glass in E. window, made by Burlison & Grylls. 1876

TACKLEY, Oxon.,
St. Nicholas. G Rood Screen. 1896

TARDEBIGGE, Heref. & W.,
Hewell Grange. BG New; for Lord Plymouth (to replace earlier house by Cundy, since left as a ruin nearby); in Montacute style Jacobean, and Early French Renaissance. Now a borstal. 1884-91

TATENHILL, Staffs.,
St. Michael. B Restoration; reredos, stalls, pulpit, black and white marble flooring. 1890


TIBSHELF, Derbys., St. John the Baptist. BG New; except 15C tower. 1887-88

TRING, Herts., St. Peter & St. Paul. B Restoration of nave piers; chancel screen. Recently, the screen has been cut and narrowed, and placed in the tower arch (c1987). 1880-82

TRURO, Cornwall, Cathedral. B Unexecuted competition designs. 1878

WARRINGTON, Cheshire, St. Luke. BG New; stone; with a central arcade. Now used as a timber store. 1892-93

WARWICK, Warks., All Saints, Emscote. BG Aisles, clerestory and tower with broach spire added to James Murray's church of 1854-56. Screen, loft and rood by Comper, 1950. 1868-72

WARWICK, Warks., Leicesters's Hospital. G Chapel; repair for Sir G.G. Scott. 1863-65

WATER EATON, Oxon., Water Eaton Manor. B Alterations to B's own last house. It dates from 1585; B installed a rood in the chapel, which is detached from the house. 1906

WATS & CO., City of Westminster. BG Firm of fabric and wallpaper manufacturers founded by B, G, and George Gilbert Scott junior. Designs were made by each of the above for ecclesiastical and domestic use, employing brocade patterns which could be used for copes, altar frontals and side hangings, and also for curtains and chair coverings.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WELLOW, Avon, St. Julian.</td>
<td>Barkentin &amp; Krall were employed by the firm to make metalwork, such as candlesticks and chalices. (Location, Tufton St.). 1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELSHPOOL, Powys, Powis Castle.</td>
<td>BG Chancel. 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST MALLING, Kent, Abbey Gate House.</td>
<td>B Alterations in Jacobean style made to interiors, including the dining room and drawing room. The work was carried out for the 4th. Earl of Powis. The Orangery contains changes by B. 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTMINSTER, City of, R.C. Cathedral.</td>
<td>G Restored for Charlotte Boyd. c1892-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTMINSTER, City of, St. Andrew.</td>
<td>G Unexecuted designs for decoration of St. Thomas chapel. 1900-01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTMINSTER, City of, St. Barnabas, Pimlico.</td>
<td>BG Reredos. 1893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTMINSTER, City of, St. Matthew.</td>
<td>B Screen (painted by Comper). For the Anglo-Catholic church by T. Cundy of 1850, who had been assisted by William Butterfield. 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B Metal screen. Wooden loft, Rood and decoration destroyed by fire 1977; the triptych and a metal side screen survive. The main church of 1849-51 is by Sir G.G. Scott. 1893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B Crucifix now in Lady Chapel (built and furnished mainly by Comper in 1890). The Crucifix, which is almost certainly by B, was originally on the high altar. Made 1893</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
by Barkentin & Krall; electro-plated brass with gilt figure of Christ. (Location, Great Peter Street).

1896

WESTMINSTER, City of,
St. Paul, Wilton Place. B

Chancel lengthened and decorated; screen; E. glass designed by B and made by Lavers and Westlake; a parapet was provided for the tower to replace the pinnacles; organ case. The church of 1840-43 was by T. Cundy. B redecorated the side-chapel and added glass. (The chapel was built by Blomfield, 1889).

1892

B Vestments probably also to B's designs.

n.d.

WESTMINSTER, City of,
Westminster Abbey. B

Tomb brass, to G.E. Street. 1884

B Rose window & two tiers of lancets (12 lights) in S. transept, made by Burlison and Grylls in memory of 1st. Duke of Westminster.

1900-02

B 3rd Marquess of Salisbury's tomb, a recumbent effigy on a tomb in Baroque manner; in black marble surrounded by figures of his predecessors. The bronze is by Sir W. Goscombe John (Location, N. side of W. nave).

1903

B Window in Poets' Corner; 'Translation of King Edward the Confessor'.

1903

WESTMINSTER, City of,
Westminster School. B

Restoration and alterations to Ashburnham House of 1722-30. The building was incorporated into the school and became the Dormitory; it was gutted by bombing during the 2nd world war and rebuilt in 1947. Location, N. side of Little Dean's Yard.

c1882

WESTON-SUPER-MARE, Avon,
All Saints. B


1898-02
WHITKIRK, W. Yorks.,
St. Mary.
B Chancel rebuilt and furnished for Hon. E. Meynell Ingram. 1901

WICK, Heref. & W.,
St. Lawrence.
B Lychgate possibly by B. n.d.

WICKEN BONHUNT, Essex,
St. Margaret.
B Banner of St. Margaret embroidered by Ladies Ecclesiastical Embroidery Society. c1860

WIGHTWICK, Staffs.,
Wightwick Manor.
B Settle; tall-backed with panels showing the four seasons painted by C.E. Kempe. Acquired, 1959. n.d.

WIGMORE, Heref. & W.,
St. James.
B Restored; nave; pews installed; S. porch. Cost, £1,180. 1864

WILBARSTON, Northants.,
All Saints'.
B Possibly panelling, pulpit. n.d.

WILMSLOW, Cheshire,
St. Bartholomew.
BG Restoration of chancel, including new clerestory, & the private 'Jesus chapel'; including new chancel screen incorporating old work (since reduced). 1898

WIMBORNE ST. GILES, Dors.
St. Giles.
B Interior of church classicised in 1732, and re-gothicised by B in memory of 8th Earl Shaftesbury of nearby St. Giles's House. (B's panel-ling in house now removed). B's work destroyed by fire in 1908. J.N. Comper refitted church in 1908 with rich gothic work, including a long screen, altars and organ. 1887

WINCHESTER, Hants.,
Cathedral.
BG Completion of restoration of late 15C choir reredos with C.E. Kempe; central Crucifix. Holy Family group of statues on the lower tier. Work carried out by Farmer & Brindley. 1895-99
B Altar frontal. n.d.
G Memorial. n.d.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Date(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Winchester, Hants.</td>
<td>B Stewart Memorial Gateway (not now in situ).</td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wombourne, Staffs.</td>
<td>B Alterations to medieval house for Col. Thomas Shaw-Hellier. (Ashbee added chapel and billiard room, etc. in 1895-97).</td>
<td>1872-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodlands, Dorset</td>
<td>B New; red brick; central four-bay arcade forming two naves. No height change between nave and chancel. Simple country fittings. For the Countess of Shaftesbury.</td>
<td>1891-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester, Heref. &amp; W.</td>
<td>B Screen and rood.</td>
<td>1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wroxton, Oxon.</td>
<td>B Font in S. aisle.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yarnton, Oxon.</td>
<td>B Restoration; Burlison and Grylls glass.</td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York, N. Yorks.</td>
<td>B New; large; Eleanor Cross style. (Location, near Minster in Duncombe Place).</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G Built c1611, much of the house was demolished in the late 17C. It was a farmhouse until G restored it for R.F. Franklin. S. bay restored in full with three gables; W. bay window rebuilt; interior decoration, and Jacobean style lay-out of gardens.</td>
<td>1897</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
York, N. Yorks., Minster.

B Appointed architect. 1882
B Reported on restoration. 1898
B Restoration carried out. c1898
    (NW & SW towers included). 1904
B Astronomical clock face in N. Transept; painted decoration. 1883
B Memorial; Robert Baker, d. 1880. (Location, E. arm, N. choir aisle). 1884
B Memorials; three to 65th (Yorks. & Lancs.) Regiment. (Location, S. choir aisle). 1886
B Lobby, "The Swiss Cottage". (Location, nave, S.W. door). 1883
B Memorial; Archbishop W.C. Magee, d. 1891. (Location, E. arm, N. choir aisle). 1896
B Memorial; James Raine, d. 1896. (Location, N. choir aisle). 1897
B Lady Chapel; figures for reredos and oak pulpit. 1901
B Two storey block on S.E. Transept/Choir. 1902
B Statue at entrance to north choir aisle. 1903
B Lady Chapel altar cross, executed by Robert Watts. 1904
B West Riding Regiment memorial, South African War. 1904
B Presbytery Nave reredos. Reliefs of 1923 by L.A. Turner. 1905
B Four statues at entrance to south choir aisle. 1905
B Pinnacles and flying buttresses on N. side of nave; flying buttresses, S. side. 1905-07
B Statue, St. Peter, painted, 1944. (Location, nave, main west door). 1906
B Statue, St. Cuthbert. (Location, S. Transept). 1907
OVERSEAS

AUSTRIA

VIENNA, Jubilee Church. B B was British representative on the jury for a church commemorating the jubilee of Emperor Franz Josef. 1899

INDIA

DELHI, Mission Church. B Unexecuted competition design. 1861

NAGPUR, All Saints Cathedral. B Enlarged & adapted at the time of B's death. Nave and transepts lengthened. Chancel, organ chamber and two vestries. Total cost c£2000. E. window by Burlison and Grylls. The original building designed by Lieut. R. Sankey of the Madras Engineers from 1851 onwards. 1904-14

ITALY

FLORENCE, Holy Trinity (Eng. Ch.) B Complete restoration and 'Anglicization' of existing church for the English community. Money was provided by several residents including Spencer Stanhope, an old friend of B. Hallowed by Bishop of Gibraltar, 1904. 1893-95

B Tower; an English gothic campanile. 1902
PAKISTAN

LAHORE, Cathedral. B Design for completion which B was undertaking at his death; lengthening nave and raising the two towers. The original building designed by J.O. Scott 1883 onwards from local pink sandstone in late 13C style. Work completed, 1914. c1907

TASMANIA

HOBART, St. David's Cathedral. BG New; nave, aisles and transepts in English 14C style. 1868-74
BG Chancel; cost, £6,696. Roof and parts of walls rebuilt, 1905-09. Roof of blue gum wood, choir of chapel floor of Sicilian black and white marble. (Foundation stone only of tower; 1892). 1891-94
B Fittings; pulpit, 1903; dossal, canopy and side curtains for altar, 1905; screen, 1916. 1903-36
B Tower and cloisters and first section of tower completed in 1931. 1928-36

TURKEY

CONSTANTINOPLE, Crimean War Mem. Ch. B Unexecuted competition design. Awarded third prize; based on Sant' Andrea of Vercelli. Tower with saddle-back roof. Mosaics proposed for internal walls. Street built a smaller version of his original design. 1857

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif., Grace Church Cath. BH New; later revised by L.D. Hobart; B. died soon after completing the designs, and very little of his work remains in the final building. 1906-15