

**The tempered gaze:
medieval church architecture, scripted tourism,
and ecclesiology in early Victorian Britain**

Edith

0720 0000

Rhona Richman Kenneally
School of Architecture, McGill University, Montreal, August 2002
A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the degree of Ph.D.
©Rhona Richman Kenneally 2002

Abstract

This dissertation explores how architecture is valorized by the cultural artifacts, both visual and text-based, which present and describe it. It examines aspects of the Gothic Revival in early Victorian Britain, to consider the assimilation of models of evolving architectural discourse by one organization with specialized interest in its promotion, and adaptations of that discourse in the realm of popular culture.

The dissertation focuses on the ideology of the Cambridge Camden Society, from its inception in 1839 through to 1850. The Society advocated an appreciation of Gothic churches both for aesthetic, and for religious and moral reasons. A key dimension of its mandate, captured in the rhetoric of ecclesiology, was to prioritize an empirical investigation of extant medieval churches. Findings were to be recorded on specially-devised questionnaires, called “church schemes,” using a text-based, specially-encoded taxonomy. Given the availability both of extensive documentation by the Society concerning these schemes, and of almost seven hundred completed forms, areas of conformity and divergence between the prescriptive, instructional material, and the descriptive material which indicates the actual reception of the architecture, may be discerned.

“Church visiting” hence became the primary means of personal

engagement with the architecture, enacted through the elaborate ritual of scripted tourism spelled out by the church schemes and attendant pedagogical documents. The importance, and the implications, of tourism to members of the Cambridge Camden Society are addressed through an evaluation of travel theories and methodologies, developed, especially, since the 1990s. An understanding of ecclesiology in terms of travel theory enables it to be evaluated in a wider context, namely as part of an emerging tourist ethos based on expanding opportunities and incentives to travel through Britain. From this perspective, the Cambridge Camden Society is to be perceived as part of a larger consortium of advocates of tourism to sights of medieval architecture, who employed similar inducements and terminology, and who created such markers of architectural authenticity as travel guides to mediate the traveller's reception of a given sight. As a result, the possibilities of the widespread dissemination of at least the architectural components of ecclesiological ideals, as part of the groundswell of promotional material devoted to all things Gothic, were enhanced.

Résumé

Cette dissertation analyse la façon dont l'architecture se valorise par les artefacts culturels, à la fois visuels et textuels, qui la présente et la décrit. Elle examine les aspects du néogothique de la Grande-Bretagne du début de l'époque victorienne, afin de prendre en considération l'assimilation des modèles du discours architectural en évolution, par un organisme dont le secteur d'intérêt se situe en la promotion et les adaptations de ce discours dans le domaine de la culture populaire.

Cette dissertation se focalise sur l'idéologie de la Société Cambridge Camden à partir de sa création en 1839 jusqu'en 1850. Cette Société prônait une appréciation des églises gothiques, pour des raisons non seulement esthétiques mais aussi d'ordre religieux et moral. Une dimension clé de son mandat, captée à l'intérieur d'une rhétorique de la *ecclesiology*, consistait à établir l'ordre de priorité d'une enquête empirique relative aux églises médiévales historiques. Les résultats ont été enregistrés à l'aide de questionnaires spécialement conçus et nommés « *church schemes* », en se servant d'une taxonomie documentée et spécialisée. Vu la disponibilité d'un vaste étendu de documentation provenant de la Société au sujet des *schemes*, ainsi que près de sept cent formules complétés, il est possible d'identifier les

points de concordance et de divergence entre le matériel didactique normatif et l'élément de description indiqué par la réceptivité véritable de l'architecture.

Donc, le *church visiting* devenait le moyen principal de l'engagement personnel à l'architecture, promulguée par les rituels complexes du tourisme pré-établi, comme le précisaient les *church schemes* et les documents pédagogiques accompagnateurs. L'importance, et les implications, du tourisme pour les membres de la Société Cambridge Camden sont abordées lors d'une évaluation des théories touristiques et des méthodologies développées plus précisément depuis les années 1990. Une compréhension de la *ecclesiology* exprimée en théorie touristique, en permet son évaluation dans un contexte plus vaste, c'est-à-dire, lorsqu'elle fait partie d'un nouvel éthos touristique fondé sur un éventail d'opportunités et de stimulants incitant les personnes à voyager à travers la Grande-Bretagne. De ce point de vue, on peut identifier la Société Cambridge Camden comme faisant partie d'un plus vaste consortium de partisans du tourisme axé autour des sites d'architecture médiévale, des partisans qui utilisent des incitations et une terminologie similaires, et qui réalisent des repères d'authenticité architecturale, tels que les guides touristiques, afin d'influencer la réceptivité du voyageur à un tel site. En conséquence, on peut remarquer une amélioration des possibilités d'une large diffusion d'au moins les composantes architecturales des aspirations de la *ecclesiology*, grâce à la panoplie de matériel publicitaire consacré à l'architecture gothique.

For Michael, Gavin, my parents
and the ancestors



“View of a Cutting and Bridge near Berkhamstead looking northwest, shewing part of the town,” John C. Bourne, in John Britton, Drawings of the London and Birmingham Railway (London: J.C. Bourne and C. Tilt, 1839) plate XVIII

Table of Contents

Figures	xi
Acknowledgements	xv
Introduction: The Tempered Gaze	1
1 Contextualising Ecclesiological Tourism: The Informed Traveller's Gaze	29
2 Camdenian Field Days: Ecclesiology, Church Tourism, and Church Schemes	97
3 Language as Gothic Marker: The Evocative Power of Church Schemes	159
4 "Thy Paines and Curtesie": Church Schemes as Documented Church Tourism	239
5 "My Pegasus, or Hobby-Horse": Scripted Medieval Tourism in The Popular Press	307
Conclusion: The Practice of Looking	357
Appendix: Church Scheme Headings	375
Works Cited: Primary Sources	387
Works Cited: Secondary Sources	411

Figures

Frontispiece and 1.1	61
“View of a Cutting and Bridge near Berkhamstead looking northwest, shewing [sic] part of the town,” John C. Bourne, in John Britton, <u>Drawings of the London and Birmingham Railway</u> , plate XVIII.	
1.2	83
First- and second-class carriages, Arthur Freeling, <u>Lacey’s Railway Companion and Liverpool and Manchester Guide</u> (Liverpool: Henry Lacey, [1835]) plate XVIII	
1.3	88
Chart for London to Reading, Didcot and Oxford, Henry Cole, <u>Railway Travelling Chart, Great Western</u> (London: Railway Chronicle Office, 1847), n.p.	
2.1	140
Portion of blank church scheme, Cambridge Camden Society, seventh edition, including headings identifying the name and location of the church, the pertinent characteristics of its plan, and alluding to aspects of its interior.	
2.2	143
First and second page of “Notes on Churches,” Sir Henry Dryden, completed for Great Easton Church, Leicester, 12 August 1841.	
2.3	145
First page of entry on Stogumber Parish, Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, “Queries Relating to The Archaeology of Somersetshire,” 1849	
3.1	183
“Norman Interior,” Thomas Rickman, <u>An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation</u> , 2 nd ed. (1819), plate X	
3.2	186
“General Dates and Examples,” Cambridge Camden Society, <u>A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities</u> , 2 nd ed. (1840)	

3.3	193
East window and piscina in North Transept, St. Mary Church, Kidlington, Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, <u>A Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford</u>	
3.4	201
Sample page of church scheme for S. Mary's and S. Michael's Church, Trumpington, Cambridgeshire, Cambridge Camden Society, <u>A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities</u> , 3 rd ed. (1842)	
3.5	203
Page from church scheme for Odense Cathedral, Denmark, probably John Mason Neale, 27 May 1852	
3.6	211
Portion of church scheme for St. Andrew's, Bebbington, Cheshire, Benjamin Webb, 8 July 1840	
3.7	213
Portion of church scheme for Howden Collegiate Church, Yorkshire, Benjamin Webb, 3 July 1840	
3.8	213
West facade of Howden Church, Yorkshire, Edmund Sharpe, <u>Architectural Parallels, or, The Progress of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England Through the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries</u> , 1848	
4.1	259
Spire of St. Mary's Church, Stamford, John Henry Parker, <u>Glossary of Terms Used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture</u>	
4.2	259
Spire of St. Mary's Church, Stamford, Thomas Rickman, <u>An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England</u> , 5 th edition, published by John Henry Parker, 1848.	
4.3	266
Spire of St. Pierre Church, Caen, Thomas Rickman, <u>An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England...and Some Remarks on the Architecture of a Part of France</u> , 1848.	
4.4	275
Desks in Bury Church and Ramsey Church, Huntingdonshire, John Henry Parker, <u>A Glossary of Terms Used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture</u> , 1840-1	

4.5	279
Page from church scheme, Higham Ferrers Church, John Mason Neale, March 1841	
4.6	279
Cusp terminations, Higham Ferrers Church, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon, <u>An Analysis of Gothic Architecture</u>	
4.7	280
Doorway, Higham Ferrers Church, John Henry Parker, <u>A Glossary of Terms Used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture</u> , 1840-1	
4.8	280
Section of porch moulding, Higham Ferrers Church, Thomas Rickman, <u>An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England</u> , 1848	
4.9	280
Font and piscina, Higham Ferrers Church, John Henry Parker, <u>Architectural Notes of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton</u> , 1849	
4.10	281
Wooden roof, Higham Ferrers Church, John Henry Parker, <u>Architectural Notes of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton</u> , 1849	
4.11	281
Tower, Higham Ferrers Church, John Henry Parker, <u>Architectural Notes of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton</u> , 1849	
4.12	291
Plan of St. Mary's Church, New Shoreham, Edmund Sharpe, <u>The Architectural History of St. Mary's Church, New Shoreham</u> , 1853.	
4.13	291
North side of choir, St. Mary's Church, New Shoreham, Edmund Sharpe, <u>The Architectural History of St. Mary's Church, New Shoreham</u> , 1853.	
5.1	321
Triforium on the north side of New Shoreham Church, Felix Summerly [Henry Cole], <u>Felix Summerly's Pleasure Excursions. Shoreham, on the Brighton and Chichester Railways</u>	

5.2	Purse, double piscina, font, west door and chancel arch of Merstham Church, Henry Cole, <u>Railway Travelling Chart</u> , London and Brighton, 2 nd edition	328
5.3	Piscina and sedilia, Preston Church, Henry Cole, <u>Railway Travelling Chart</u> , London and Brighton, 2 nd edition	328
5.4	Font at Winchester Cathedral, <u>Felix Summerly's Pleasure Excursions, Winchester, on the South-Western Railway</u>	334
5.5	Arches in medieval English churches, <u>Sharpe's London Magazine</u> , 28 February 1846	337
5.6	Early English piers and capitals in Salisbury and Lincoln Cathedrals, St. Giles Church, Oxford, and Boxgrove Church, Sussex, <u>Sharpe's London Magazine</u> , 28 February 1846	338
5.7	New College, Oxford, <u>Sharpe's London Magazine</u> , 14 March 1846	340
5.8	The Tomb of Rahere, "Recreations of Mr. Zigzag the Elder," <u>Illustrated Family Journal</u> , 12 April 1845	342
5.9	Sedilia, Stepney Church, "Recreations of Mr. Zigzag the Elder," <u>Illustrated Family Journal</u> , 7 June 1845	344

Acknowledgements

This dissertation was a long time in the making. It coincided with a change in career, and new interests informing the old ones. The problem with interdisciplinary studies is that one is always in danger of reading something that could be applied to one's research.

I would like to acknowledge the financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which funded four years of research for this dissertation, and the School of Architecture, McGill University, for travel funding both for research purposes and to attend related conferences.

There are many individuals to whom I owe heartfelt gratitude, for exposing me to new ideas, materials, and methodologies. The thesis began with research for a paper on George Edmund Street, undertaken while I was an undergraduate architectural student in McGill's professional program. The professor of the course, Annmarie Adams, encouraged me to consider the possibility of developing my ideas in terms of doctoral research. For her early inspiration, and for her meticulous and probing input as co-supervisor, I am very grateful. It was under her influence, too, that I developed my focus on material culture studies. Ricardo Castro, my other co-supervisor, consistently fed my multiple musings, my exploration of critical theory, travel theory, and other forays as valid research methodologies for this dissertation, and I owe him my deep thanks for his patient advice and his stimulating and inspiring dialogue. Thanks, as well, go to the other members of my doctoral committee, Alberto Perez-Gomez and Hans Böker, for their contribution. The courses I took with both professors provided much food for thought.

In England, where I spent wonderful time over several summers, Richard Allen Cave more than deserves my grateful appreciation for opening his home to me, and making me feel so welcome both in Richmond and in Lewes. He and Chris listened patiently to ecclesiological speculations, and offered advice and support in matters both academic and pragmatic, not to mention theatrical. Colin Smythe, Laurence Foley, Michael Hendy and Lito Santiago provided a necessary relaxation component to my daily library and archival visits.

I would like to thank some fellow scholars of the Gothic Revival and nineteenth-century culture for providing information concerning sources and for their helpful suggestions. These include Megan Aldrich, Jan Birksted, Margaret Belcher, James Mordant Crook, James Stevens Curl, A.J. Dodd, John Elliott, George Hersey, Margaret Lantry, Michael McCarthy, Chris Miele, Julian Munby, Stefan Muthesius, Janet Myles, Gavin Stamp, Paul Thompson and Clive Wainwright. Peter Mandler shared information and lists of early nineteenth-century popular periodicals. John Urry met with me to discuss the application of travel theory to ecclesiology. Gillian Varley at the National Art Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum and Robert Elwall, Curator of the Photography Collection in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects were also of assistance.

Moreover, in response to my correspondence attempting to locate church schemes in local archives, members of the following institutions, whom I would now like to thank, sent helpful letters and emails (but, alas, no mention of missing church schemes): Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society; Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society; Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Cornwall Archaeological Society; Derbyshire Archaeological Society; the Dorset County Museum; East Herts Archaeological Society; Essex County Council; the Isle of Wight Council; Kent Archaeological Society; Norfolk and Norwich

Archaeological Society; Norfolk Records Office; Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society; Somerset County Council; Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History; Surrey Archaeological Society; Sussex Archaeological Society; West Yorkshire Archive Service; Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society; Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, Herefordshire; and the Worcester City Council. I also discovered, thanks to Joyce Wallis, that there is a volunteer Church Records division of the National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Societies (NADFAS), which, as late as 1993, published a Church Records Manual in which they, too, set up a "Church Recording Scheme" to catalogue churches and their contents and report on their state of preservation. I am grateful to Sarah Dawbarn, Director of the British Council in Montreal, for her assistance in identifying these groups.

At McGill's School of Architecture, Director David Covo, Peter Sijpkens, Adrian Sheppard, Radoslav Zuk, Derek Drummond, the late Norbert Schoenauer, and the late John Schreiber helped to shape my ideas and to make me think like an architect. Marcia King, Mary Lanni-Campoli, Helen Dyer, Veena Gujrathi and Kathleen Innes-Prévost facilitated administrative matters. Brian Young, who supervised my Master's thesis at McGill's Department of History, taught me to validate and appreciate the study of social history and to look to the institutions of everyday life to learn about culture and society. Gary Wihl, of the Department of English, having also written on the relationship between literature and architecture in Victorian Britain, kindly let me sit in on his Ph.D. proseminar and present some early findings. At McGill's libraries, I appreciated the assistance of Irena Murray, now Chief Curator of the Rare Books and Special Collections Divisions, and Marilyn Berger, Head of the Blackader-Lauderman Library of Architecture and Art. Thanks, as well, to the staff at Interlibrary Loans at McGill.

In Montreal, I must single out the library staff at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, including Head Librarian Gerald Beasley, for the extraordinary roles that they played, above and beyond what a researcher could idealistically expect. Paul Chenier, Pierre Boisvert, Françoise Roux, Suzy Quintal, Guy Le Sieur and Elizabeth Moloney, and most especially, Renata Guttman, Director of Reader Services, were unfailingly helpful and ever willing to accommodate my needs; their warmth made that wonderful environment all the more pleasant, one which itself inspired productive work. Moreover, the fullness of the library's collection in my somewhat eclectic areas of interest was a constant source of wonder to me. My thanks also go to Howard Shubert, Associate Curator of the Prints and Drawings Collection, Louise Désy, Associate Curator of the Photographs Collection, and Alain Laforest, Head of Photographic Services. In particular, I would like to express my profound respect and appreciation for Phyllis Lambert, Founding Director of the CCA, whose vision and tenacity in establishing this institution, and whose very active and ongoing work, have made this an extraordinary, world-class facility for the study of architecture and design.

There are also several personal expressions of appreciation that I would like to make. My fellow full-time professors at Concordia University's Department of Design Art—pk langshaw, Michael Longford, Kat O'Brien, Martin Racine, and Lydia Sharman—have tolerated the duality of my academic focus and listened to my musings. Howard Richman, Gary Richman, Annette and Odd Rost, Wolfgang and Hannelore Zach, Mary Helen Thuente, Dave and Mary Kucer, the late Gita Kolomier, Sylvie Gauthier, and Paul and Janet Dempsey all expressed encouragement when my enthusiasm flagged and offered their own kind of inspiration. Inue was a trusty companion who never left my side. My parents, Pauline and Reuben Richman, may have wondered aloud about when I would ever finish this thesis, but their support of and belief in my academic work

throughout my life has been unwavering. My adored and cherished son, Gavin, who has spent more than half his life with a mother working on a Ph.D., heard “thesis” as a reason for my absence, admittedly too many times; he will be pleased that this is over, also because he now gets the laptop it was written on. To my husband, Michael, must go my most intense *remerciements*. The value of his critical insight, his editing skills, his endurance, and, most of all, his constant and wholehearted endorsement of all that I have achieved over the last twenty-five years, could never be fully acknowledged.

Introduction: The Tempered Gaze

Travellers are very pleasant people. They tell you what picture was produced in their brain by the things they saw; but if they forestalled novelty by that, I would as soon read them as beseech a thief to steal my dinner. *How it looks to one pair of eyes* would be a good reminder pencilled on the margin of many a volume.¹

This dissertation is an exploration of the ways in which architecture is valorized, even legitimized, by the cultural artifacts, both visual and textual, which present and describe it. Written works which contain references to specific buildings—literature, non-fiction, guidebooks, treatises, plaques installed on historic buildings—can be extremely influential in governing the perception of architecture, by creating a series of expectations which the prospective viewer must process while experiencing the actual edifice. Image-based material as well—signage, maps, posters, drawings or paintings— are all pronouncements of the cultural significance of architecture as endowed by previous visitors to architectural sights.² These kernels of data, and the vehicles or markers which

¹Nathaniel Parker Willis, Letters from Under a Bridge (1840), cited in Christopher Mulvey, Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 3.

²I have chosen, in this dissertation, to use the spelling “sights” rather than “sites” to refer to what the Oxford dictionary defines as “those features or objects

contain them, create a framework of knowledge available to anyone who subsequently comes in contact with this information. It is then up to that individual to accept this information, modify it, or reject it according to his or her own set of references, experiences and expertise.

The recognition of the power of markers of architectural significance is most profound when the building is experienced outside one's immediate geographical context, away from familiar destinations. Entering a new environment requires a guide, a map, a sign, or directions given by locals, from the very moment of arrival. That is, the traveller must navigate according to information made available through conscious stages of encounter. It is true that an arbitrary turn around a corner might bring an anonymous building into view, which could then be analysed, be appreciated, even treasured, say by someone familiar with the history of architecture and able to recognize its distinctive features. But, usually, someone travelling to a destination not previously experienced, attempts to compensate for this displacement from the known by seeking out the local pivotal sights—the Eiffel Tower; St. Peter's in Rome; the Sydney Opera House. Why? Because those structures have been designated by some sanctioned source as most worthy of investigation. It is this notion of scripted tourism—of prior exposure to influences which mediate the reception of

in a particular place or town which are considered to be specially worth seeing.” This spelling is also consistent with the word “sightseeing” and implies a conscious act of experiencing, through the eyes, a landscape or a piece of architecture. *Oxford English Dictionary*, Concise Edition (Oxford University Press, 1971) II, 2819.

visited sights—which constitutes the point of departure for this investigation.

It was with a particular predisposition toward Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris, emanating from a book read during childhood, that I came, as a young teen, to experience that extraordinary building. I had been given a biographical novel on Desirée Clery, whose sister had married Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon. Fascinated and infatuated by her formidable almost-relation, even after his marriage to Josephine, Desirée attends the coronation of the emperor and empress at Notre Dame. I could not remember the exact description of the event, except for Napoleon's mythological snatching of his crown, and placing it triumphantly on his own head. Nor did I anticipate the impact that the story would have on the architecture. I discovered that entering the nave, and moving along the center aisle toward the altar, were such profound interactions that the feel of the floor under my feet, its hardness, its very materiality, is with me to this day. The awe was in knowing that I was treading the same path as Napoleon had done almost two hundred years before; it was in becoming profoundly aware of how the architecture could carry those associations in such a way as to envelop and encompass one's consciousness, so intensely as to short-circuit daily reality—and yet *be* daily reality as well, in the sense that other visitors to the church were walking beside me and could appreciate it in their own ways. The resonance of the architecture, the convergence of the present and the past, were due in large measure to its encapsulation as words in the narrative I read, and to its reputation, articulated by guidebooks and other means, as a prime sight to visit

in Paris. Subsequently, when I began to study architectural history in high school and later at university, Notre Dame's identity as a pre-eminent Gothic cathedral was simply overlaid on that first experience.

Since then, I have experienced numerous other personal appropriations of prior, distanced acquaintance with architectural sights. Witnessing Mycenae as an architectural student would have been nowhere near as magical had I not been familiar with Homer's epics, and with James Joyce's *Ulysses*. Borobudur, in Indonesia, necessitated a detour from a conference in Singapore, and four hours of relentless afternoon heat, because of an introduction in class by the distinguished architectural scholar, Norbert Schoenauer. And I remember spending a very frustrating hour in Bangkok, looking for a particular famous old and gnarled tree that had been mentioned in a travel book, which, because I was unable to locate it, made the rest of the day's tour—of spectacular temples and the amazing klongs—less than perfect. On the other hand, it was a bit shocking to discover that a high-rise in New York in which I attended a reception decades ago, is actually the Seagram Building, and I was inside it without knowing its significance.

The questions that interest me, then, are as follows. How does what a person already knows about a building before s/he first inspects it—its cultural significance, its iconography, its position within (or outside) the architectural canon—affect the understanding and appreciation of what is subsequently viewed? How does exposure to a description or analysis of a particular building or

landscape before actually seeing it—a guidebook, an architectural paradigm, even a map—contribute to our response to that architectural entity? Does such prior acquaintance indeed “forstall” the novelty of physical exploration of that building or landscape? How are buildings perceived differently when discovered for the first time, as compared with subsequent contact? Most critically, how might I be able to find records of those first impressions of architecture, out of which answers to these questions might be gleaned?

To consider the perception of architecture from the perspective of the viewer also requires a close investigation of the treatises, guidebooks, or other informative documents themselves, which influence this view. It also presupposes an understanding of motives and strategies of the creators of the messages situated in these markers. How is architecture promoted for consumption by groups with varying interests and agendas? How does the ideological baggage, the set of rules created to govern the reception of one distinct architectural typology, shift as it accommodates an audience different from the one which initiated the model? There are, then, two distinct groups of data to be evaluated, in order to study the relationship between architecture and its presentation through cultural indicators like guidebooks. These consist of the *prescriptive* cultural artifacts which highlight the architecture and contribute to the construction of its meaning by the viewer, and the *descriptive* responses to the architecture made by the viewers themselves—preferably responses unadulterated by heavy revision or subsequent reflection.

Fortunately, an excellent opportunity to delve extensively into this issue presented itself when I perused the holdings of the library at the Royal Institute of British Architects in London. There, motivated by a desire to explore the absorption by the architect George Edmund Street of contemporary theories about medieval architecture, I discovered a collection of records of visits to Gothic churches undertaken through participation in the Cambridge Camden Society, later known as the Ecclesiological Society.³ The Society had been established in 1839 by a group of fervent High Anglicans with a mandate to study these churches, promote an appreciation for them, and overlook the construction of appropriately-designed neo-Gothic churches as a means of recovering and enhancing a spiritualism and morality which they believed to have been in decline since the end of the medieval period. In the process, the executive members of the Society prioritized the development of what they considered to be a scientific model through which to study and document the churches, and of which these records were a crucial part. Known as “church schemes,” they were created with

³The original name of this society was the Cambridge Camden Society; between 1846 and 1852 it was known as the Ecclesiology Late Cambridge Camden Society, and finally as the Ecclesiological Society. For the most detailed study of the reasons for the change of name, see James F. White, The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962) 117-155. Throughout this dissertation, this group will be referred to as the Cambridge Camden Society for simplicity sake. This decision was made in part on the basis of the fact that, even after the name change took place and the relocation from Cambridge to London took place, the Society continued at least occasionally to refer to itself by the older and more familiar name. Cambridge Camden Society, A Hand-book of English Ecclesiology (London: Joseph Masters Aldergate Street, 1847) 48.

an aim to encourage supporters to study churches empirically, by visiting as many of them as possible and recording salient characteristics of each one, with the intention of establishing a personal, one-on-one association with the architecture. The schemes were mass-printed blank forms with specific headings already printed on them, on which visitors were to write their comments about the church in a systematic, pre-ordained fashion. The act of studying and recording a church in this way—not during a church service, significantly, but when the architecture and not the ceremony could receive the concentration of the visitor—was called “taking” a church, the very word implying a symbolic possession of it. The exercise was meant to familiarize as well as instruct, to create and sustain a bond between the architecture and the viewer which would ultimately enrich both. A second collection of church schemes at the library of Lambeth Palace, seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury, brought the number of individual forms close to seven hundred, and gave me a sufficient cohort. Today, these existing completed church schemes—filled in by two founding members of the Society, John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb—provide a rare opportunity to study minutely the immediate response to architecture, to which the respondents had had substantial prior exposure. Indeed, these records are about as close as we can come to standing next to Neale and Webb as they tour the buildings and express their impressions.

The schemes are all the more remarkable because of the significant amount of prescriptive material generated by the Cambridge Camden Society on medieval churches, and of the extensive analysis that the material had undergone

by architectural historians. The Society published pamphlets, handbooks, collections of essays as well as the periodical, The Ecclesiologist, all of which clearly spelled out their particular reading of medieval architecture in the context of early Victorian Britain. These works have been studied as a means to access the paradigm of the Cambridge Camden Society—the methodology, criteria, priorities and rationales they developed through which to explore medieval architecture—and are excellent resources against which the findings in the church schemes could be compared. Hence, both the prescriptive and descriptive components could be made to bear fruit.

Studying the Cambridge Camden Society within the context of travel theory also affords substantial advantages to an understanding of the breadth of its contribution to the Gothic Revival from the late 1830s to the early 1850s. To date, the degree to which church tourism was an integral aspect of the Society's information gathering techniques, and the repercussions of their understanding of churches as travel destinations, has not been extensively considered. For example, the need to document church visits quickly yet accurately was a key incentive in the evolution of the elaborate system through which they classified and analysed churches, elements of which found their way into more widespread use by other architectural observers.

In addition, travel theory acknowledges and highlights the role played by the visitor to an existing architectural sight, subject to filters of information previously obtained about that sight through diverse cultural channels. It

consequently affords an excellent point of departure to focus on the reception of churches by individuals familiar with ecclesiological principles. Previous architectural critics have emphasised the rules and regulations and opinions didactically laid down by the Society, have focussed on their controversial stance regarding church restoration, and have looked to see their effect on contemporary architects, generally through the designs of neo-Gothic churches. In addition to those analyses, here is an opportunity to explore the immediate reactions to the physical architectural specimens—subject to these rules and opinions—of a constituency of medieval aficionados, for whom, as well, church visiting for reasons other than worship was considered to be a rewarding exercise.

Equally important, an understanding of ecclesiology in the context of travel theory enables this primarily architectural discourse to be evaluated in a wider context, namely within a framework of an emerging travel ethos and expanding opportunities and incentives to travel through Britain. From this perspective, the missives of the Cambridge Camden Society are recognized as only one of many voices enticing travellers to make contact with a variety of medieval destinations, for a variety of reasons. Travel guidebooks proliferate during this period, both those dedicated to specific buildings, and those addressing broader regions of Britain. These cater to a wide range of prospective travellers, and run the gamut from lavishly illustrated tomes, to handy pocket formats, to articles in inexpensive magazines. Britons had had incentives to travel for some time: the Grand Tour was an established model which sanctioned

extended educational visits to the Continent for those who could afford it; travel through the British Isles in pursuit of the sensations associated with the ideals of the picturesque was well underway; and a trend was already in place for specialized travel to architectural or archaeological sights, recommended by academic societies intent on advancing their disciplines. But this period, too, marks the origin of organized middle- and labour-class excursions without such narrowly-defined *raison d'être*, those organized by Thomas Cook being one example, as well as the publication of substantial numbers of corporate-sponsored guides designed to be used in conjunction with new railway lines opening up throughout the kingdom. Travel was justified for a series of overlapping reasons. It was seen as a way of sensitising British citizens to their architectural heritage and to nationalist and religious sentiment. It substantiated the scientific pursuit of knowledge, based on accumulating evidence through direct empirical analysis. It was a means of exposing artisans, architects and designers to exemplary precedents in an effort to promote aesthetic excellence, and, in addition, to try to stimulate higher national export and lower import statistics for high-quality goods especially within Europe. It was a way to generate income from passenger travel for railway firms, and a clientele for publishers of guide-books and organized tour agencies. Once undertaken primarily for pedagogical purposes, travel in early Victorian Britain increasingly had a leisure component, or, at least, encouraged a blending of entertainment and instruction. As such, the act of travel—including to medieval destinations—could be made more appealing and more exciting to

popular audiences.

Widening the investigative lens to accommodate the larger cultural landscape of early to mid nineteenth century travel makes it clear that the Cambridge Camden Society can be understood as part of a larger consortium of advocates of tourism to sights of medieval architecture. What is interesting is that, to an astonishing extent, these proponents utilised similar methods of presenting and promoting Gothic churches, including bringing attention to specialized church artifacts used during worship, such as fonts. They also cross-referenced the same factual sources to underpin their writings, and, evidently, knew of each other's efforts in the area. Given this wider context, too, the surprising downplaying in the church schemes and related publications of obvious proselytising, or of material directly addressing the actual religious rituals taking place in each church, puts the Society's church-visiting and information-gathering agenda on a par with other investigations of medieval architecture propagated by travel literature of the age, which did not have such a defined sectarian motive. That is, despite the Cambridge Camden Society's orthodox beliefs, which marginalised it and would otherwise have limited its direct influence except amongst fellow High Anglicans with similar liturgical views, the Society's articulated message, in these documents, about medieval design can be read as more neutral rather than downright eccentric, an evident product, we shall see, of the Society's expressed desire to make church visiting seem appealing to as large an audience as could be attracted. As a result, the possibilities of the widespread

dissemination of at least the architectural component of ecclesiological ideals, as part of the groundswell of promotional material devoted to all things Gothic, were enhanced.

Secondary Sources on the Gothic Revival, Ecclesiology, and the Cambridge Camden Society

Much of what has been written about architecture and the Gothic Revival in Britain habitually centers on influential theorists, patrons and architects. Only to some extent, occurring especially in recent texts, do researchers explore to a substantial degree its interface with popular culture—usually literature, for example the work of Horace Walpole and Sir Walter Scott. Written mostly since the 1950s, most studies follow a general outline. They document the diversion of persons devoted to the study and practice of architecture and architectural history, away from the aesthetic hegemony of neoclassicism. They chart the evolution of various models developed to encapsulate the history and theories of Gothic buildings, including one which eventually became known as ecclesiology, models which generated rules and ways of seeing, that were subsequently applied to new and restored architecture. They also consider the degree to which this controversial deference to designs which were originally applied centuries before,

is to be considered a productive preoccupation or misguided reactionism in the nineteenth century--a transitional age which paradoxically accommodated both historicism and enthusiasm about progress and technology. The Gothic Revival in England has been singled out for scrutiny on its own.⁴ It has also been seen in terms of other historical revivalism of the age⁵; and been divided up into periods such as early and high Gothic⁶. Its famous architects have been the subject of

⁴See, for example, Megan Aldrich, Gothic Revival (London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1994); A.J.B. Beresford Hope, The English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century (London: John Murray, 1861); Chris Brooks, The Gothic Revival (London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1999); Basil F.L. Clarke, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Gothic Revival in England (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1938); Charles L. Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival, ed. and with an Introduction by J. Mordaunt Crook (1872; New York: Humanities Press, 1978); Kathleen Mahoney, Gothic Style: Architecture and Interiors from the Eighteenth Century to the Present (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995); Christopher Miele, "The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture: The Restoration of Medieval Churches in Victorian Britain," diss., New York U, 1992.

⁵Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, eds., The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); James Stevens Curl, Victorian Churches (London: B.T. Batsford, 1995); James Stevens Curl, Victorian Architecture (Newton Abbot and London: David and Charles, 1990); Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius, Victorian Architecture (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978); Peter Ferriday, ed., Victorian Architecture (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963); John Gloag, Victorian Taste: Some Social Aspects of Architecture and Industrial Design from 1820-1900 (1962; Trowbridge, Wiltshire: Redwood Press, Ltd., 1972); H.S. Goodhart-Rendel, English Architecture since the Regency (1953; London: Century, 1989); Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1958); John Summerson, Victorian Architecture: Four Studies in Evaluation (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970).

⁶Simon Bradley, "The Gothic Revival and the Church of England 1790-1840," diss., U of London, 1996; George L. Hersey, High Victorian Gothic: A

individual works⁷; and its influence beyond Britain proper, analysed.⁸

Study in Associationism (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972); Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Early Victorian Architecture in Britain (1954; New York: Da Capo Press, 1972); James Macaulay, The Gothic Revival: 1745-1845 (Glasgow and London: Blackie, 1975); Michael McCarthy, Origins of the Gothic Revival (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987); Stefan Muthesius, The High Victorian Movement in Architecture: 1850-1870 (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972); C.M. Smart, Jr., Muscular Churches: Ecclesiastical Architecture of the High Victorian Period (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1989).

⁷Megan Aldrich, "Thomas Rickman (1776-1841) and the Architectural Illustration of the Gothic," diss., U of Toronto, 1983; Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright, eds., Pugin. A Gothic Passion (London: Victorian and Albert Museum, 1994); John Leslie Baily, "Thomas Rickman. Architect and Quaker: The Early Years to 1818," diss., U of Leeds, 1977; Margaret Belcher, A.N.W. Pugin: An Annotated Critical Bibliography (London: Mansell, 1987); Eve Blau, Ruskinian Gothic: The Architecture of Deane and Woodward 1845-1861 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); David B. Brownlee, The Law Courts: The Architecture of George Edmund Street (Cambridge Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 1984); Alexandrina Buchanan, "Robert Willis and the Rise of Architectural History," diss., U College London, 1994; Michael Chandler, The Life and Work of John Mason Neale (Leominster, Hertfordshire: Gracewing Books, 1995); David Cole, The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott (London: Architectural Press, 1980); J. Mordaunt Crook, John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival, Volume 17 of Occasional Papers from the Society of Antiquaries in London (London: W.S. Maney and Son Ltd., 1995); J. Mordaunt Crook, William Burges and the High Victorian Dream (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Benjamin Ferrey, Recollections of A.N.W. Pugin, and his Father, Augustus Pugin; with Notices of their Works (1861; New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972); Janet Myles, L.N. Cottingham 1787-1847. Architect of the Gothic Revival (London: Lund Humphries, 1996); Phoebe Stanton, Pugin (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971); Arthur Edmund Street, Memoir of George Edmund Street, R.A., 1824-1881 (London: John Murray, 1888); Paul Thompson, William Butterfield (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971).

⁸See, for example, Mathilde Brousseau, Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1980); Basil F.L. Clarke, Anglican Cathedrals Outside the British Isles (London: SPCK, 1958); Gregg Finley, "The Gothic Revival and the Victorian Church in New Brunswick: Toward a Strategy for Material Culture Research," Material History Review, 32

Two works deserve to be singled out for their more comprehensive links between evolving attitudes toward medieval architecture, and more general phenomena connected to the popular culture of the day. The relationship between architecture and other cultural manifestations, especially literature, is taken by the late Chris Brooks, who served as Chair of the Victorian Society. His The Gothic Revival is multi-disciplinary in orientation, selectively covers the whole period from original mediaeval to today, and, although it addresses Britain primarily, strays beyond to look at Europe and America as well. The fact that Brooks actually includes a photo of dolls inspired by the first film version of Dracula—F.W. Murnau's Nosferatu of 1922, toys apparently available on the internet—already suggests more than a cursory curiosity about the interface between architecture and popular culture.⁹ Brooks follows a Gothic narrative that

(1990): 1-16; Michael J. Lewis, The Gothic Revival (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002); Kathleen Mahoney, Gothic Style: Architecture and Interiors from the Eighteenth Century to the Present (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995), Part V, "The Arrival of Gothic in the United States"; Myles, L.N. Cottingham, chapter on reciprocal influence of English, French and German neo-Gothicism, entitled "Gothic Revivalism, Antiquarian and Preservationist Pursuits," 14-27; J. Philip McAleer, "St. Mary's (1820-1830) Halifax: An Early Example of the Use of Gothic Revival in Canada," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 45:2 (1986): 134-147; William H. Pierson, Jr., American Buildings and their Architects: Technology and the Picturesque, The Corporate and the Early Gothic Styles (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1978); Douglas Scott Richardson, Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland, 2 vols. (New York and London: Garland Publishing Co., 1983); Phoebe Stanton, The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968).

⁹Brooks 412-419. Brooks was also co-editor with Andrew Saint of The Victorian Church.

spans from medieval times to the late 1970s, when the fascination with its many facets stretches beyond buildings, novels and films, to Goth bands such as Siouxsie and the Banshees. The second is an article by Rosemary Hill, on Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. Pugin was a passionate proponent of the aesthetic, moral and nationalistic superiority of the medieval age over his own industrial time, of structural rationalism inherent in arch-based medieval architecture, and of the literal, precise and accurate application of medieval design elements to contemporary buildings. His contribution to the Gothic Revival is acknowledged by virtually every commentator on the period.¹⁰ The evolution of his views have been conventionally attributed to his mentorship by his father, Augustus, whose Specimens of Gothic Architecture served as a source of vital education to the son, to A.W.N.'s adoption of Tractarian sentiments that precipitated his conversion to Roman Catholicism, as well as to philosophers including Thomas Carlyle, August and Friedrich Schlegel, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint-Simon, and François-Auguste-René, vicomte de

¹⁰See works by Stanton and others which refer to Pugin. His own most influential publications include Contrasts; or a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste: Accompanied by Appropriate Text (London: Printed for the Author and Published by him, at St. Marie's Grange, near Salisbury, Wiltshire, 1836), and True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture, set forth in Two Lectures delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott (London: John Weale, 1841).

Chateaubriand.¹¹ Hill goes on to expand on other stimuli. One was his mother, Catherine Pugin, whose Anglicanism was challenged—as was Pugin’s—to the point of deep frustration in the light of contemporary circumstances, with attendant concern about the fate of Gothic architecture. And, significantly, other sources of inspiration and information were to be found in popular culture:

In an age preoccupied...with comparing itself with the past, such ideas were journalistic commonplaces of Pugin’s childhood. The growing interest in the Gothic past was to be found in many currents and crosscurrents of thought and taste. It was expressed in the popular enthusiasm for the “olden times” that created a market for Scott’s novels and hundreds of modestly priced prints. It animated the public debate about the state of the established church, and, *aided* [my emphasis] by books of measured drawings of medieval buildings like A.C. Pugin’s, it offered an alternative model at a time when discontent with contemporary architecture was becoming general.

Pugin’s familiarity with popular taste was, in addition, a product of his contact with the theatre, where he worked in the late 1820s and 1830s. Productions in which he assisted included Kenilworth and Henry VIII.¹² Pugin, the eccentric from whom ecclesiology had ultimately to distance itself was, no less than the

¹¹Stanton, “The Sources of Pugin’s Contrasts,” Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner, ed. John Summerson (London, 1968) 120-139; and A.W.N. Pugin, with an introduction by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Contrasts (1836; Leicester, 1969); both cited in Rosemary Hill, “Reformation to Millennium: Pugin’s Contrasts in the History of English Thought,” Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 58:1 (1999): 41. Hill asserts that Catherine Pugin was indeed an Anglican, a point disputed by earlier critics. See also Watkin, The Rise of Architectural History 70.

¹²Hill 39-40.

Cambridge Camden Society, a product of his times.

There is also significant secondary-source literature in the area of ecclesiology and the Cambridge Camden Society: the subject is considered in the vast majority of books and articles which explore the British Gothic Revival. Highly informative wholly-dedicated works appeared as early as 1962 with James F. White's The Cambridge Movement and the newest collection of essays, edited by John Elliott and Christopher Webster, entitled "A Church as It Should Be": The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence was published in 2000.¹³ In recent years, Chris Miele has produced excellent work in the field, specifically addressing the role played by the Cambridge Camden Society in terms of church restoration.¹⁴ His doctoral dissertation, completed in 1992, contains references to church schemes and to the travelling mandate of the Society, and also makes important breakthroughs concerning the commitment of the Society to follow a scientific model in the arrangement and classification of their research material on

¹³White, The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival; Webster and Elliott, eds., "A Church as It Should Be": The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence (Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2000).

¹⁴Miele, "The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture: The Restoration of Medieval Churches in Victorian Britain"; see also Miele, "Their interest and habit: professionalism and the restoration of medieval churches, 1837-77," The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society, eds. Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) 151-172 and Miele, "Re-Presenting the Church Militant: the Camden Society, Church Restoration, and the Gothic Sign," "A Church as It Should Be" 257-294.

medieval churches.¹⁵

Generally agreed upon is the pivotal role played by the Society in the dissemination of validating information concerning the Gothic Revival. What remains to be studied—and it is the goal of this dissertation to carry the analysis further—is precisely how channels of communication could have been established between Society members and the public at large.

The Material Culture of Ecclesiology

Another pivotal methodological influence on this dissertation has been inspired by research in the field of material culture. Say the words material culture, and the automatic association is with three-dimensional cultural artifacts. The variety is endless—clothes, food, machines, landscapes, buildings, toys and leisure equipment: the inclusive quality of the list is one of the reasons why this area of study is so appealing. It is through cultural artifacts, claim proponents of

¹⁵See the references to Brooks above; another relevant article, “‘The Stuff of a Heresiarch’: William Butterfield, Beresford Hope, and the Ecclesiological Vanguard” appears in “A Church as It Should Be” 121-148. See also Elliott, “The Architectural Works of Richard Cromwell Carpenter (1812-55), William Slater (1819-72) and Richard Herbert Carpenter (1841-1893),” diss., London U, 1995, and “A Trusted Disciple: Richard Cromwell Carpenter,” in Webster and Elliott, eds., “A Church as It Should Be” 149-172. Elliott is honorary editor of Ecclesiology Today, journal of the Ecclesiology Society, which is still in existence today.

material culture, artifacts with which all humans since the beginning of time have surrounded themselves, that an understanding of their lifestyles, values, aspirations, productivity, and so on, may be gained. Given the current historical focus, since the 1970s, on seeking to gain insight into the lives of previously-excluded social groups--the "average" person; women; children; the poor or disabled, for example--the objects of everyday become the most immediate points of contact through which to derive cultural information. What becomes of great importance, then, is to acknowledge *things* to be as legitimate a basis for interpretation as written documents or statistics, and to develop a proficiency to read them as sources of non-verbal communication.¹⁶

So material culture studies were fashioned out of a perceived need to explore three-dimensional objects as cultural markers. However, there is nothing to preclude an application of its strategies to two dimensional objects as well, or even to artifacts which deliver textual--that is, word-based--material. For example, here is one definition:

Material culture is the array of artifacts and cultural landscapes that people create according to traditional, patterned, and often tacit concepts of value and utility that have been developed over time, through use and experimentation. These artifacts and landscapes objectively represent a group's subjective vision of custom and order.¹⁷

¹⁶For one example of the application of material culture methodology to these ends see Finley 1-16.

¹⁷Howard W. Marshall, Folk Architecture in Little Dixie: A Regional Culture in Missouri (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981) 17.

Jules Prown clarifies what is meant by the "array of artifacts and cultural landscapes": he defines the realm of material culture as any "objects made or modified by humans," which "consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, reflect the belief patterns of individuals who made, commissioned, purchased or used them, and, by extension, the belief patterns of the larger society to which they belonged."¹⁸ The primary criterion under which something qualifies as an artifact, then, is the fact that it is a "thing," a physical object which has been subjected to human intervention. It is important to note that texts themselves are hence not necessarily excluded from the definition, as is made clear by Henry Glassie:

I do not mean...that I am opposed to the use of documents or that I am in favour of purely artifactual, nondocumentary history. After all, documents are artifacts, and any serious historian will use all sources--oral testimony as well as artifacts with and without words--to get the tale told.¹⁹

There are other characteristics of the study of material culture which relate directly to the investigation of medieval scripted tourism. One is the articulated aim to link the object under scrutiny to the wider cultural realm, to "see through objects...to the cultural meaning to which they relate or which they might

¹⁸Jules Prown, "Mind in Matter," Winterthur Portfolio 17:1 (1982): 1-2.

¹⁹Henry Glassie, "Studying Material Culture Today," Living in a Material World, ed. Gerald Pocius (St. John's: ISER, 1991) 254.

mediate."²⁰ That is, an acknowledgement of the significance of studying the broader context in which cultural artifacts reside, extends the parameters for analysis beyond architecture and architectural drawings, models, treatises and so forth. Another is the encouragement to work in an interdisciplinary mode, to use methodologies or ideologies in related disciplines or fields.²¹ In the case of this dissertation, the disciplines of literary and architectural history and criticism, sociology, and historical geography will all be called upon. And both two- and three-dimensional resources—buildings; texts; maps; illustrations; “minor” documents such as pamphlets and the church schemes—will all be utilized.

Navigating Scripted Ecclesiological Tourism

I begin with a chapter devoted to contextualisation of scripted ecclesiological tourism, that takes into account both the opportunities for tourism which existed in early Victorian Britain and the formidable body of research on travel theory which has developed over the last decade. Much of the latter

²⁰Thomas Schlereth, "Material Culture or Material Life: Discipline or Field? Theory or Method?", *Living in a Material World*, ed. Gerald Pocus (St. John's: ISER, 1991) 240.

²¹Schlereth 240.

addresses exactly the period under review, but none that I found alludes explicitly to ecclesiology or indeed to the Gothic Revival. Hence it became necessary to formulate a suitable synthesis of work in this field, more substantial than could be accommodated as part of the literature review in this introduction. John Urry's isolation of what he calls "the tourist gaze" from everyday reactions with architecture sprang from the discourse of Michel Foucault, and paved the way to consider just how much the experience of new vistas is a socially-engaged construct, consciously entered into by the enthusiastic "cultural tourist." The writings of Urry, Dean MacCannell and Celia Lury, especially, will be discussed at length, as offering rewarding precedents to approach markers which validate and give meaning to the architecture they depict. Then, a variety of markers which had the power to mediate medieval tourism will be presented, ending with a section on guidebooks as a special subset in this category.

Chapter 2 brings attention to the Cambridge Camden Society specifically, by investigating key concepts which arise from the previous chapter. One is a consideration of scripted tourism associated with the pursuit of the picturesque, in order to bring to light a parallel connection between that aesthetic movement and ecclesiology. The intention is to highlight how each derived from the incentive to seek out new visited destinations, and carefully modulated the reactions that the traveller might have to that destination. Historians of the Gothic Revival have had mixed opinions concerning the degree to which ecclesiology constituted an extension of or opposition to ideas couched in the pursuit of the picturesque: my

own reading emphasises their connections, on the basis of how both encompass an approach to the targeted sight based on an emotional, associational reading of it. The other major concept to be considered in this chapter also flows from the premise that the Society advocated the controlled reception of medieval architecture, and focuses on the specific role which church schemes can be seen to play as cultural markers in the creation and propagation of that image of Gothic churches.

Chapter 3 continues to devote attention to church schemes, this time by exploring them as artifactual constructs which fascinatingly prioritise text over image. The goal here is to establish that there was a preoccupation, noted in significant elements of the historiography of the time on medieval architecture, with language over drawing or other visual media, as an optimum conveyor of what was thought of as a scientific model for understanding Gothic buildings. To that end, the chapter begins with a summary of pertinent moments in the evolution of Gothic Revival theory, especially from the turn of the nineteenth century, a summary that is presented to reveal a consistent strategy to sort and date the architecture using a text-based classification system. Paving the way here in particular was Thomas Rickman, (an architect and Quaker and hence someone with a different set of religious principles than those of the Cambridge Camden Society), but also to be considered are the efforts of other key figures including John Carter, John Britton, and Matthew Holbeche Bloxam. Ecclesiologists were central in this evolving taxonomic system, and their own

methods of parsing churches into encoded words were clearly spelled out in the church schemes and their accompanying literature. The repercussions of using text-based language and of naming individual components of the church—implicit in the schemes—are profitably brought to light through an application of the ideas of J. Hillis Miller in his book entitled *Topographies*.²² He argues that language and place-naming—in literature, in his case—have the ability to overwrite the experience of a particular landscape, by turning it, instead, into an “inscape” that reflects the author’s imposition on it. Particularly relevant here is what Miller calls the non-linearity of the relationship between the name, the thing that is named, and the implications of the naming. As a result, whereas the churches themselves activate and validate the church schemes, Miller encourages us to deduce (and travel theory reinforces this conclusion) that the schemes themselves, as markers, reinforce and legitimize the churches in turn.

Chapter 4’s focus is an evaluation of the differentiation between the prescriptive writings of the Cambridge Camden Society, and the descriptive material to be found in the completed church schemes. To that end, my priority was to track every church for which a filled-in scheme still exists, against texts published by the Society as well as other contemporary works on the history of Gothic architecture. The result is to some extent both a confirmation and an indication of the limits of the power of schemes themselves, as well as other

²²Miller, *Topographies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

Society documents, in perpetuating the vision imposed by ecclesiology. For example, consistency of terminology reveals how much the threads of the prescriptive writing are woven into the reception of the church: the encoded language of Decorated, Perpendicular, Early English, Debased, Norman and Saxon or their derivatives recurs and is always the primary means of engaging the architecture. This *is* really the principal way that ecclesiology processed medieval church history. So central is the model of English ecclesiology in this vision, that even schemes filled out for churches in other countries—France; Denmark—betray few concessions to accommodate Continental differences in medieval architecture. Moreover, there is a demonstrated pedagogical commitment to be discerned in the completed schemes, for example, in tracking down and analysing construction which appeared to the observer as antedating the Norman Conquest, in sympathy with the mandate and agenda of the Society as a whole. On the other hand, there are surprising deviations from the recommended scientific engagement, even in these schemes, which were executed by the very observers who set the ground rules. Church visiting was fundamentally a serious spiritual endeavour to Neale and Webb, but mixed in, it seems, were other stimuli associated with seeing new sights and appreciating them in ways ultimately not governed or governable by the rules and regulations.

The fifth and final chapter takes advantage both of information gleaned in the previous four concerning the terminology used by the Cambridge Camden Society and other architectural theorists, and of previous discussions of scripted

medieval touring. The intention is to demonstrate the consistency between the writings in schemes and other documents, and the narratives on medieval churches which appear in more general works which encourage travel through Britain. Most of these are not intentionally preferential to medieval architecture, which makes them all the more revealing of the extent to which ecclesiological-type material becomes transformed and disseminated beyond the original intentions of the creators of this program of understanding medieval architecture. What is interesting here is that priorities which predominate ecclesiological tourism can be seen even in these texts, which include popular journals with very broad readership.

Ecclesiology and Popular Culture

Architecture is, finally, a public manifestation, and will be appreciated differently by each individual. Architects, as designers of architecture, aspire to anchor their own values, interests, and understanding of their discipline in the structures they create, and hope that these intentions translate to make their architecture a positive experience for the individuals who use and visit them. But architects are not the only arbiters who impose their vision on the public. Other commentators too—architectural theorists, guidebook writers, photographers, bodies like Parks Canada or English Heritage—will publish works, give interviews, arrange tours, and offer advice to instruct, stimulate, and orient, just as

was the case in early Victorian England.

Ecclesiologists and others worked very hard to send out the message that medieval church designs possessed a special essence which gave them value beyond their bricks and mortar, worked hard to let that message filter as much as they could make it do, to the users as well as the creators of architecture.

Organizations such as the Cambridge Camden Society, authors of popular works in the field, and other commentators could indeed have an influence by encouraging exposure to authentic designs, establishing frameworks of knowledge through which the designs could be understood, and generally communicating an appreciation for medieval churches, even modest ones in obscure parishes, as important heritage sights. And there evidently was success in the efforts of ecclesiologists to promote an appreciation for Gothic design. As Kenneth Clark reluctantly acknowledged:

The [Cambridge] Camdenians, for complicated reasons, insisted on certain forms; and the average man, who asks nothing more than to have his forms supplied ready-made, accepted them. As these shapes moulded his vision, he became uncomfortable if he did not see them everywhere, not merely in churches, but in shops and railway stations and in his own home; so that instead of building his Gothic villa with simple and practical Tudor windows, he darkened his rooms and complicated his life by trying to set a sash window between decorated mullions. When we consider the inconvenience of applying correct ecclesiological detail to domestic architecture, we cannot but admire this triumph of idealism in a utilitarian age.²³

The public's attention had been attracted. They had seen versions of Gothic, had

²³Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* (London: John Murray, 1962) 174.

travelled to it, read about it in various texts, and made it their own, in their own homes, and on their own streets. Nevertheless, despite these pedagogical interventions, the personal appropriations of medieval forms by these architectural amateurs were often the exact antithesis of what the Society considered acceptable, adaptations subjected to individual taste and experience.²⁴ And there was little that the Cambridge Camden Society, or any other recommendatory body, could do about that.

²⁴John Mason Neale writes contemptuously about “the parties of pleasure one finds on a pic-nic expedition to some abbey. I have seen such a set dining in the choir of Byland Abbey, the altar-stone serving as a table, and the grey old walls ringing again with their reckless merriment. Loud laughter in a desecrated priory always sounds to me like the mirth of a maniac [sic].” Neale, Hierologus; or, The Church Tourists (London: James Burns, 1843) 8-9.

Chapter 1

Contextualising Ecclesiological Tourism: The Informed Traveller's Gaze

Upon arriving at the end of our journey, we cannot take a retrospective view of our wonderful flight without deep feelings of astonishment. In five hours and a half we have travelled 112 miles, and swept through seven of the fairest counties in England; and this we have effected by the mighty energy of a little vaporised water. Truly, if sublimity in the operation of this tremendous agent, either when revealed in the convulsions of the earthquake, or when putting forth its terrific might in the service of man, is as yet a total stranger to the highest and noblest emotions of the human soul.¹

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, travel in Britain was facilitated by a number of changes in that nation's transportation infrastructure. By 1839, a train ride of one hundred and twelve miles in five and a half hours was something to marvel at. This one innovation especially, the "mighty energy of a little vaporised water"--comparable to an earthquake, no less--revolutionized travel, and fed an enthusiasm as well as opportunities for tourism that were not lost on early Victorians.²

¹Drake's Road Book of the London and Birmingham and Grand Junction Railways...to which is appended the Visiter's [sic] Guide to Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester (London: Hayward and Moore, 1839) 96.

²The terms tourism, travel, excursion, etc., will be used more or less interchangeably in this chapter. Some travel theorists distinguish between them,

Current work, over the last decade, on the history of travel and tourism has addressed the implications of the rise of mass public travel, and of travel for leisure as well as instructive purposes. Most significantly, researchers such as John Urry, Chris Rojek, Dean MacCannell and Jonathan Culler have explored the relationship between the tourist/traveller and the targeted toured sight.³ In particular, they highlight how travel to new destinations is routinely engaged through a process of cultural validation of the tourist sight, which occurs in large measure before that travel takes place. A variety of signals, or markers, are integral to this validation process. Texts and artifacts such as guidebooks and other published accounts, signs, maps, drawings are employed to create an impression concerning a piece of architecture, an impression that profoundly affects the visitor's ultimate experience of that architecture.

These three elements, then—the improvement in transportation, the recent emergence of a body of critical material on travel, and an investigation of the role of markers in the appreciation of tourist sights—comprise the three main sections of this chapter. The first of these considers the advance and expansion of travel

differentiating, for example, between the tourist and the traveller in the degree to which this voyager immerses him- or herself in the culture of the place which is visited. This debate is outside the parameters of the issues raised in this dissertation.

³MacCannell actually focuses his attention on the initiation of “modern” travel, but, as he points out, and as confirmed by this dissertation, mass travel of the public at large is underway by the 1840s. See Patricia Jasen, Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914 (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1995) 6.

possibilities within Britain, in order to illustrate the growth of mass tourism and expanded possibilities for travel, whether for leisure or for instructive reasons. The second is a presentation of travel theory discourse pertinent to the area of scripted church tourism, such as will be applied, in the remaining chapters, to the Cambridge Camden Society and to ecclesiology. The third is a concentration on the role played by markers in the dissemination of information concerning travel destination.

The overarching goal here is thus to set the stage for an investigation of the scripted church tourism configured as part of ecclesiological discourse, as the basis for the valorisation and legitimisation of medieval churches. Such areas of exploration are relevant to the Gothic Revival—and especially to ecclesiology—precisely because the pedagogical potential of the excursion was appreciated and exploited both by ecclesiologists and by those who more generally extolled the virtues of British architecture. In these instances, the excursionist was encouraged to undergo preparation for the experience of making visual contact with the buildings in question. The idea was not to get lost on the country roads or in the townscapes, and passionately embrace whatever edifice the traveller found in his or her path. Instead, the Cambridge Camden Society, and other groups or individuals promoting an appreciation for Gothic design, asserted that the fullest absorption of the interesting and informative and indeed entertaining aspects of the venue, the most advantageous method to avail of the opportunities afforded by going away in the first place, were most strongly to be

achieved by taking the advice of knowledgeable people who had been there before. In an ideal world, the traveller would have the time and opportunity to study the architecture and its culture in depth before departure, by reading treatises or literature or by discussing them with experts, more in the manner of the Grand Tourists. Instead, all sorts of abbreviated marker-teaching tools became available, which facilitated the pre-engagement and set the conditions for the experience of seeing. These allowed the advance preparation to take place more succinctly (possibly, even during the visit), more precisely (focussing, for example, on specific buildings rather than offering more sweeping analyses), and in a more entertaining fashion, being interspersed with illustrations or anecdotes and straightforward, unintimidating language.

Potential was hence created for these prefiguring media to leave their impression: the actual experience of medieval churches could be most profoundly affected by the viewer's prior exposure to some model of architectural interpretation, in which the description and analysis of the actual building resides. Based on the willingness on the part of the traveller to partake of the proffered instruction, this discourse, oral and written, could overwrite at least to some degree the perceptual experience which subsequently took place. Ideally, in the context of nineteenth-century medievalism, just another old building in the English countryside would be consequently conceptually transformed into a Gothic structure; a Gothic parish church; a fourteenth-century church from the reign of Edward II; a Decorated church with cinquefoil east windows and an

octagonal font. And, in this way, anyone remotely interested would be acquainted, during what need not be anything but a most pleasant outing, with the salient aspects of medieval architecture. At least some of its basic design characteristics were bound to resonate in the now more acutely informed mind, and perhaps even inspire a home renovation or the purchase of a piece of pointed-arch furniture. In other words, a taste for Gothic—and Gothic Revival—would herewith be established or fortified.

Communion with the architecture was, in this way, personalized. And while it is true that the discourse which influenced its consumption was meant to generate a collective perception—for example, people reading the same guidebook were exposed to the same informative material—ultimately the data would be consumed selectively and customized by everyone who was exposed to it, on the basis of his or her own distinct mix of knowledge, experience and wisdom.⁴

Nineteenth-century Travel in Britain: New Possibilities and Expanded Constituencies

The promulgation and promotion, for popular consumption, of a mediated

⁴The perception by the 1840s that vision is subjective and resides in the body of the individual has been fascinatingly explored by Jonathan Crary in his work, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1990). Such standardization will be shown to take place as part of the ecclesiological paradigm.

perception of medieval architecture developed in tandem with a rapid progression in transportation and the evolution of a related pastime, the travel excursion. During this period, travel throughout England was substantially facilitated, and opportunities for pleasure travel significantly increased.

The educated and wealthy classes had for centuries before manifested a number of travel interests. The Grand Tour, that multi-destination European voyage which combined pedagogical, cultural, pleasurable and health pursuits, first developed in the sixteenth century, was in its heyday in the eighteenth century, and continued albeit in a modified form into the nineteenth century.⁵ The search for the picturesque, explored by such advocates as William Gilpin from the 1780s onward, had attracted travellers particularly to the rugged landscapes of such destinations as the Wye Valley and the Lakes District. And antiquarian pursuits which first developed in seventeenth-century Britain had placed a premium on exploring the relics of Britain's past, and were advocated by the work of such figures as William Stuckley (1687-1765).⁶

However, researchers on the history of tourism and the impact of the

⁵See, for example, Lynne Withey, Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750-1915 (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1997) 6 - 7, and Chloe Chard, Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600-1830 (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999).

⁶John Towner, An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World 1540-1940 (Chichester, NY: John Wiley and Sons, 1996).

railroad have recognized that from around the eighteen-teens onward, there was a significant rise in the number of travelers who took to the roads--rail and otherwise--in England and who crossed the Channel to the continent. Moreover, possibilities existed as never before for those social groups who did not have the means to embark on a grand tour, to use public transportation for recreational and pedagogical travel.⁷ For one thing, the trend to journey abroad was being slowly challenged by advocates of more local excursions who criticized the fact that “universal rage for Foreign Travel has long occasioned an unaccountable neglect of the Beauties and Wonders of our own Country.”⁸ Such a refocusing of attention and fashion was advantageous to those who might not afford to cross the Channel; it also accommodated the apprehensive tourist who did not relish foreign customs; and, of course, was substantially reinforced by the French Revolution and the subsequent war with France.

There were technological reasons for the shift as well. Ian Ousby points

⁷Wolfgang Schivelbusch, The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century (Leamington Spa: BERG, 1977) 7; Jack Simmons, The Victorian Railway (Thames and Hudson, 1991); Esther Moir, The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540-1840 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964) xv.

⁸Thomas Hurtley, A Concise Account of Some Natural Curiosities in the Environs of Malham in Craven, Yorkshire (London, 1786) 23. Cited in Ian Ousby, The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 10.

to improvements in coach travel, including the replacement of leather coach braces by steel springs by the mid eighteenth century and the invention of the elliptical spring in 1804, as well as the emergence of turnpike trusts which began to establish a system of roads more conducive to long-distance journeys.⁹ Jack Simmons points to such developments as the advent of steamboats to carry passengers in much larger numbers after 1815; these crossed the Channel, plied the British coastline, or moved along some of its picturesque rivers.¹⁰

Trains themselves afforded many possibilities. Railways first appeared in England in 1825. By 1842 there were already over 1300 miles of track in Great Britain, necessitating a Railway Clearing House to deal with the connections from one local train system to another.¹¹ Passengers could travel some twenty to thirty miles per hour, saving time and extending the distance which could be covered in a day. Discount fares for day trips to such destinations as the Liverpool Charity Festival or race-meetings, were offered as early as 1830 by the Liverpool and Manchester, and later by other railway companies. Sunday schools and the Mechanics' Institutes were among the first groups which chartered what came to be called "excursion trains," special trains provided by a railway company either on

⁹Ousby 10.

¹⁰Simmons 295.

¹¹James Buzard, The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) 41.

its own initiative or by arrangement with other persons or groups, whereby passengers would be carried on a return trip, normally back and forth on the same day, for a substantially reduced price.¹² By 1844 Parliament obliged railway companies to run what were called cheap trains at least once per day, such that passengers were charged not more than a penny per mile; moreover, the charge for a first class passenger was restricted to threepence per mile.¹³ James D. Russell's doctoral dissertation on the subject asserts that these trains were strongly received by the "poorer classes."¹⁴

Excursion trains, which brought passengers to a particular destination, or package tours, such as those which were first organized in the 1840s by entrepreneurs such as Thomas Cook--a name associated to this day with travel and tour packages--carried travellers who could rely on tour guides or group leaders for information on their destinations. Cook's initial and ongoing target, into the 1850s, was the middle and working classes. He arranged his first tour, in 1841, to take 570 people from Leicester to a Temperance rally at Loughborough and back on a specially chartered train, for one shilling per person. For the next four years he arranged similar tours to provide workers with a form of leisure that

¹²Buzard 272.

¹³W. Fraser Rae, The Business of Travel: A Fifty Year's Record of Progress (London: Thos. Cook and Son, 1981) 16.

¹⁴Russell, "Passenger Accommodation on Early British Railways: the Plight of the Poorer Classes, 1825-1844," diss., U of New Mexico, 1984, 5-6.

did not center on alcohol.¹⁵ An excursion to Scotland in 1846 was booked by some 400 enthusiasts, and was such a novelty that a parade and party at City Hall were planned in their honour; this excursion was successful enough to precipitate three more that year.¹⁶ Revealing of both his intentions and his constituency, Cook also ran excursion trains to the Great Exhibition of 1851, and helped persuade employers to give workers time off to attend the exhibition. He himself rode the railways to provincial towns in the months before the event and encouraged the formation of “Exhibition Clubs,” effectively group savings plans.¹⁷ Cook’s motives were financially-based, of course, but also pedagogical: he wrote that the working person had an obligation to see the exhibition “not as to a show or place of amusement, but a great School of Science, of Art, of Industry, of Peace and Universal Brotherhood.”¹⁸ It is clear that his passengers comprised quite a social diversity, at least by 1864, when one chronicler describes Cook’s clientele:

The trips to Edinburgh, and the excursions in England, attract tradesmen and their wives, merchants’ clerks away for a week’s holiday... [and] swarthy mechanics, who never seem to be able entirely to free themselves from traces of their life-long labour, but who...are by no means the worse

¹⁵Buzard 51.

¹⁶Withey 136-137.

¹⁷Withey 53.

¹⁸Cook’s Excursionist, 31 May 1851, 2. Cited in Buzard 54.

informed, and are generally the most interested about the places they visit.... As to Swiss excursions, the company is of a very different order; the Whitsuntide trip has a good deal of the cockney element in it... [who] carry London everywhere about them in dress, habits, and conversation, and rush back, convinced they are great travellers. From these roysterers the July and September excursionists differ greatly; ushers and governesses, practical people from the provinces, and representatives of the better style of the London mercantile community, who form their component parts, all travel as if impressed with the notion that they are engaged in fulfilling the wishes of a lifetime, in a pleasant duty never to be repeated.¹⁹

Responses to the increase in train travel and the range of people who became tourists were varied. John Ruskin did not take to trains very well: "The railroad...transmutes a man from a traveller into a living parcel. For the time he has parted with the nobler characteristics of his humanity for the sake of a planetary power of locomotion. Do not ask him to admire anything. You might as well ask the wind."²⁰ On the other hand, even John Mason Neale, immersed in the medieval world as he was, nevertheless resigned himself to the fact that there were distinct advantages to this form of modern technology:

But I must think that the traveller on the railway has many new and beautiful scenes opened out to him; and much the advantage if he be gifted with any power of abstraction, over the traveller by the old method, in point of picturesqueness.... Let us be content to take the advantages of the system, without troubling ourselves by hoping to stop that onward

¹⁹Edmund Yates, *Cook's Excursionist*, 6 July 1864, 6. Cited in Buzard 58.

²⁰John Ruskin, "The Lamp of Beauty," *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1903), chapter IV, paragraph 21, 159.

motion which is irresistible....²¹

Some spokespersons perceived danger exactly because a larger social constituency acquired increased mobility. The Duke of Wellington worried that the railways would encourage “the lower orders to go uselessly wandering about the country.”²² Railway owners saw the penny fares as creating a possible dilution of established class distinction, in giving those with limited income the same opportunity to travel as their wealthy “superiors,” albeit on different carriages. Steam in general was seen, for good or ill, as “a great leveller, not only of roads, but of social rank.”²³ Mobility was indeed a contributing factor to social change in the nineteenth century, albeit only one of many.

So travellers of many social and cultural backgrounds slowly embraced this new technology, and in sufficient number for the journal the Railway Chronicle to declare in 1844 that railway excursions were “becoming our chief national amusement.”²⁴ Popular journals with mass appeal, such as Sharpe’s

²¹Neale, Hierologus; or, the Church Tourists (London: James Burns, 1843) 92, 94.

²²Cited in Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991) 15 and quoted in Buzard 45.

²³Russell vi. Quote by George Rose in Out for a Holiday with Cook’s Excursion through Switzerland and Italy (London: George Routledge, 1870) 10, cited in Buzard 45.

²⁴Cited in Simmons, The Victorian Railway 273.

London Magazine and the Illustrated Family Journal, published articles which, directly or indirectly, communicated the virtues and the thrills of travel through Britain. Individual articles, “How to Choose a Travelling Companion” for example, and others released as a series, such as “Recreations of Mr. Zig-Zag the Elder,” both brought attention to and reflected the rising interest of recreational and pedagogical sightseeing by the 1840s.²⁵

Travel Theory: The Act of Travel and Scripted Tourism

A key aspect of travel is its isolation from the routine of everyday life. The act of travel creates excitement; it almost always involves preliminary activity of some kind, such as the preparation of articles of clothing or devices to record the experience, perhaps a camera, as well as inevitable contemplation of how this deviation from familiar norms will unfold. Chris Rojek defines a tourist sight as “a spatial location which is distinguished from everyday life by virtue of its natural, historical or cultural extraordinariness,” and goes on to say that “‘the extraordinary place’ spontaneously invites speculation, reverie, mind-voyaging and a variety of other acts of imagination.”²⁶ Anticipation, then, is an important

²⁵“How to Choose a Travelling Companion,” Sharpe’s London Magazine 1 (1845): 81-4; “Recreations of Mr. Zig-Zag the Elder,” Illustrated Family Journal 12 April 1845: 82-4; 7 June 1845: 209 - 212.

²⁶Rojek, “Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist

component of this voyage. It whets the appetite, and puts the traveller in a frame of mind to seek to make the most out of what is to come for the duration of the experience. For instance, a family reunion might stimulate plans for long reminiscences and renewed acquaintances. A journey to explore a designated environment is usually undertaken with the acknowledgement that travelling to a place is the best way to get to know it and experience it for oneself.

The focus of this analysis of travel theory discourse will be on “cultural tourism,” whereby “one does not simply see more of the world by engaging in ... forms of tourist activities” which “improve the ‘culture’ of the tourist,” but “also accepts the invitation to become a better person.”²⁷ This would clearly have been a goal of ecclesiologists on tours of churches, who would find gratification in making a contribution to their own knowledge about ecclesiastical architecture, in addition to assisting the societies in the accumulation of information. In the case of the more general traveller in the 1830s-50s, especially in an age full of incentives to improve public “taste,” using a guidebook seems by definition to be a gesture towards learning about one’s country and, by extension, one’s heritage.

Stimulated by the anticipatory rituals of travel, the voyage itself becomes all the more an exercise in generating a maximum absorption of the experience.

Sites,” Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory, eds. Rojek and Urry (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 52.

²⁷Rojek and Urry, “Transformations of Travel and Theory,” Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory, eds. Rojek and Urry (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 4.

While this involves all the senses, theorists have argued that, by the end of the eighteenth century, it is the eyes which had the primary role in the traveller's perception of a sight.²⁸ Following in the wake of Michel Foucault's analysis of "the gaze" in *The Birth of the Clinic*, John Urry has identified and evaluated the "tourist gaze," a way of viewing and hence perceiving landscape and townscape based on a differentiation of these objects from those of everyday experience.²⁹ He begins his argument by assuming that it is the nature of sightseeing, of experiencing new vistas, that the traveller gaze upon special target sights in a distinctive way, namely with particular "interest and curiosity" resulting from the fact that those sights elicit distinct pleasures "which involve different senses or are on a different scale from those typically encountered."³⁰ Moreover, "sight becomes highly significant in the ordering of tourist and travel discourses," in which there is a "particular emphasis" on the "seeing and collecting" of sights. This is substantiated by examples of everyday language equated with travel, such

²⁸See Judith Adler, "Origins of Sightseeing," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 16 (1989) 7-29.

²⁹For a succinct analysis of the significance of Foucault on the tourist gaze see Carol Crawshaw and Urry, "Tourism and the Photographic Eye," *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, eds. Rojek and Urry (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 177-8. Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*. London: Tavistock, 1973. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1990).

³⁰Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* 1, 11-12.

as “‘seeing the sights,’ ‘capturing the view,’ [and] ‘eye-catching scenery.’”³¹ As Urry and Carol Crawshaw assert in a pivotal article on tourism and the camera, the visual is of critical importance in the construction of the travel experience:

First, people’s memories of tourist sites are often invoked because of particular visual images which they have seen in advance or seen while they are visiting. Second, visitors themselves help to construct their memories through the photographs they take and the postcards they purchase.... At home, afterwards, visual images are interwoven with verbal commentary to remember the experience and to tell others about it.... Third, many of the images that we visually consume when we are travelling are, in effect, the memories of others which are then visually consumed by us. But finally, there is an enormous array of photographic images within tourism which we are exposed to and which can bombard and overload our memories, images that may provide little in the way of meaning and which make it hard to put together and hang on to our personal memories of a particular place.³²

Indeed, during the early Victorian period, “the history of ‘leisured’ travel has been inextricably bound up with the modes in which the visual has been given objectified form, first through painting and the development of the ‘landscape,’” and then through the desire to hold onto these images permanently, ultimately with photography.³³ The significance of the primacy of sight in the experience of travel, and the impulse to record and memorialize visual data in a permanent way

³¹Crawshaw and Urry 178.

³²Crawshaw and Urry 179-180.

³³Rojek and Urry, “Transformations of Travel and Theory” 6. They are actually introducing the argument of the article of Crawshaw and Urry, “Tourism and the Photographic Eye.”

will be made clear below, with regard to the church schemes of the Cambridge Camden Society³⁴. Before the widespread use of the camera, the schemes were conceived specifically to achieve a precise, accurate, and immediate record of what the traveller sees. The tourist gaze, then, and its role in the appropriation of

³⁴Existing church schemes issued by the Cambridge Camden Society which comprise the basis of this dissertation belong to two major collections. Those located at the library of the Royal Institute of British Architects seem to have been compiled by Benjamin Webb, as his name appears in most cases on the list of visitors of the church in question. These number 142 and are dated between 1839 and 1841. They were given to the Institute by Mr. P. Webb, presumably a descendent. See *Church Schemes*, Royal Institute of British Architects, 5 vols. Subsequent references will be labelled RIBA, along with the volume number in which the scheme is to be found. Since the schemes' numbering system is not sequential, it will not be used. The second group apparently was assembled as the collection of churches visited by John Mason Neale, alone or with companions, between 1839 and 1842, plus a small cluster from the early 1850s; it consists of 440 schemes (including 96 duplicates, either of schemes at the RIBA or of its own schemes). See *Church Schemes* belonging to the Cambridge Camden Society, MSS 1977-93 and 2677, Lambeth Palace Library. Subsequent references will be labelled Lambeth, and will provide the manuscript number. Their provenance is listed as a donation from Neale's old friend and sister's husband, the Revd. E.J. Boyce, who had written a Memorial of the Cambridge Camden Society in 1888. It is possible that he received them from Neale or his family and passed them on to Lambeth Palace Library. It should be understood that a duplicate does not mean an exact copy: in virtually all cases, there are slight modifications to each entry. For the purposes of this dissertation, they will be referred to as the Webb schemes and the Neale schemes, although there are exceptional cases whereby schemes are bound in the Webb's collection on which his name does not appear; this is also true for the Neale collection. The Neale schemes at Lambeth Palace are accompanied by a list of churches he visited in 1840-2, which corresponds roughly to his collection of schemes at that location. Attempts were made by this researcher to locate additional schemes in other collections, such as at county archives in parts of England known to have had active ecclesiological societies. Unfortunately, none was located, except one in the collection of documents at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in the Oxford Architectural Society holdings.

designated travel venues—especially given “the complicity of visual domination in the control exercised by scientific knowledge” as understood even by ecclesiologists—becomes a very relevant subject for this dissertation.³⁵

This is especially true because of the most important characteristic of the gaze, which is consistently underlined by travel theorists. Not aimless, not arbitrary, it is, instead, "socially organized and systematized," that is, it is at once authorized by cultural discourse related to the destination, and influenced by the personal experience of the viewer, in terms of his or her education or "enlightenment."³⁶ There are two points to be made here. The first is that the place which is visited is always “culturally conceived,” that is, it operates within one or more models or ideologies which designate it as having a particular identity and value.³⁷ These change over time and can also overlap. The city of Rome, for example, can be thought of as the capital of the Roman Empire, or as a manifestation of Renaissance urban design as executed by Pope Sixtus V. In some cases, it becomes difficult to extricate the place from a specific preconceived identity: Esther Moir cites a Thomas Cook tour in the mid-nineteenth century as “a round of well-selected ‘beauty spots’ under the care of a

³⁵Rojek and Urry 177.

³⁶Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* 135.

³⁷Adler 7.

well-briefed conductor [which] left little room for individual initiative.”³⁸

Second, from the perspective of the traveller, “ways of seeing” are “social and historic products” which arise out of the personal circumstances of the individual, whose own distinct personality, education and interests comprise a unique point of view and unique expectations.³⁹ In her book on women travel writers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Elizabeth Bohls takes this position when she argues that travellers “carry with them an entire apparatus for assimilating their new experiences to comfortable systems of belief.”⁴⁰ In short, “the relation of the tourist to the sight is...always culturally detailed and mediated.”⁴¹ Coming back to the activity of the tourist gaze, then, the effect is summed up by Ousby, in terms of an individual’s “taste,” by which he means

the application of general tendencies of thought and cultural attitude to the act of judging one’s aspect of our environment as interesting, beautiful or otherwise worth attention and rejecting others as not. Travel quickly converts these judgements into practical, local and specific terms. In doing so, it creates a habit of vision and a corresponding habit of blindness: seeing our environment, getting to know a region of England or an aspect of its life, increasingly become a matter of appreciating

³⁸Moir xvi.

³⁹James Overton, Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture and Development in Newfoundland (St. John’s: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1996) 56.

⁴⁰Elizabeth Bohls, Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics 1716-1818 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 18.

⁴¹Rojek, “Indexing” 70.

particular sights from a particular angle.⁴²

Travel, then, “involves mobility through an internal landscape which is sculptured by personal experience and cultural influences as well as a journey through space”: it is an orchestration combining the selection of an itinerary (pre-existing in the format of a guided tour or not) with tacit and specifically-accumulated knowledge about the destination and an anticipated sense of what one hopes to discover there; and, for the guidebook or church scheme user, there is an addition of other layers of discourse which further hone expectation as well as perception.⁴³ As a tool of “taste,” travel also solidifies abstract ideas and, as such, provided nineteenth-century excursionists with the opportunity to confirm their respect for and appreciation of medieval architecture.

Roles Played by Markers

It remains to consider just how the encoding of information on specific sights could be achieved, and how travellers are able to register and interpret the significance of a particular destination within a particular frame of reference. The task to encode is undertaken by “professionals” who bestow a particular aura or

⁴²Ousby 5.

⁴³Rojek, “Indexing” 53. The nature and effects of the discourses of Gothic-Revival dialogue in guidebooks and schemes will be taken up in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

special identity on a destination. Professionals informing about Gothic churches, for example, would have consisted of architectural theorists, architects and archaeologists who studied medieval architecture. However, for the general public, which would not have access or choose not to be influenced by such experts, this range of experts would have expanded to include “travel writers, travel agents, tour operators...and tourism policy makers.”⁴⁴ Urry incorporates the ideas of Dean MacCannell into his own theory of the tourist gaze, by referring to MacCannell’s belief that each tourist attraction “involves complex processes of production in order that regular, meaningful and profitable tourist gazes can be generated and sustained.” Urry continues “Such gazes cannot be left to chance. People have to learn how, and when and where to ‘gaze.’ Clear markers have to be provided and in some cases the object of the gaze is merely the marker that indicates some event or experience which previously happened at that spot.”⁴⁵

Markers play a key role. MacCannell defines a marker as being an indicator of information about a sight; “including that found in travel books, museum guides, stories told by persons who have visited it, art history texts and lectures, ‘dissertations’ and so forth.”⁴⁶ Indeed, he reduces the experience of travel to three basic components, as the relationship between “a tourist, a sight,

⁴⁴Crawshaw and Urry 176.

⁴⁵Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* 9.

⁴⁶MacCannell 110.

and a marker," and observes that "it would be impossible for a layman to recognize, on the basis of appearance alone" those attractions which are often "otherwise...indistinguishable from their less famous relatives."⁴⁷ A moon rock, for example, cannot be differentiated from a mere stone without a marker; a monument denotes the final resting place of Christopher Wren in St. Paul's Cathedral. Moreover, the effects of markers are residual, as Jonathan Culler asserts:

Not only do [markers] create sights; when the tourist encounters the sight the markers remain surprisingly important: one may continually refer to the marker to discover what features of the sight are indeed significant; one may engage in the production of further markers by writing about the sight or photographing it; and one may explicitly compare the original with the reproduction.... In each case, the touristic experience involves the production of or participation in a sign relation between the marker and the sight.⁴⁸

Celia Lury reiterates this power in different terms: "the career or biography of objects [markers]—their emergence, movement or salience in relation to other social practices...has the capacity to influence not only the preferred destination of the tourist but also the nature of the tourist practices undertaken once the tourist arrives."⁴⁹

⁴⁷MacCannell 41.

⁴⁸Jonathan Culler, Framing the Sign: Criticism and its Institutions (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988) 161.

⁴⁹Celia Lury, "The Objects of Travel," Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory, eds. Rojek and Urry (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 77.

How, then, do travellers utilize markers? MacCannell, Culler, Urry and Rojek refer to tourists as “agents of semiotics,” able to read the marker-signifier to understand the destination-signified.⁵⁰ Markers serve as vehicles for what MacCannell calls “an elaborate set of mechanisms, a twofold process of *sight sacralization* that is met with a corresponding *ritual attitude* on the part of tourists.”⁵¹ Stages involved in this process include “naming the sight, framing and elevation, enshrinement, mechanical reproduction of the sacred object, and social reproduction as new sights (or ‘sites’) name themselves after the famous.”⁵² So entrenched can these mechanisms be in the comprehension of the identity of a particular space, that they can reconfigure this environment such that its original characteristics become unrecognizable. James Buzard explains that this capacity for obliteration was not lost on travellers even in the mid-nineteenth century, a comment which also helps to underline the pervasiveness of markers and the public awareness of them even at that time. He writes:

Witnesses saw or suspected that tourism was capable of both physically remaking places (by introducing railways, hotels, restaurants, Thomas Cook offices, souvenir shops, crowds of tourists) and *re-presenting* them in a series of mnemonic stereotypes (symbols of Paris, Rome, Italy, the Rhine), and that it involved both material and “rhetorical” coercion. By the latter I mean a tendentious construction of unity...also referred to as

⁵⁰MacCannell 110 - 158; Culler 155; Rojek and Urry, “Transformations of Travel and Theory” 4.

⁵¹MacCannell 42.

⁵²Summarized in Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* 9 - 10.

‘one-making’:...in visual terms...the necessity of omitting certain intrusive details in order to make a balanced pictorial whole.⁵³

He gives as an example a passage from a picaresque novel written by Charles Lever in 1844, which reveals the extent to which guidebooks--in this case the series by John Murray which covered European as well as English destinations--had proliferated sufficiently to warrant the mechanical attention of tourists in the course of their travels:

And now, in sober seriousness, what literary fame equals John Murray’s? What portmanteau, with two shirts and a nightcap, hasn’t got one Handbook? What Englishman issues forth at morn without one beneath his arm? How naturally does he compare the voluble statement of his *valet-de-place* with the testimony of the book. Does he not carry it with him to church, where, if the sermon be slow, he can read a description of the building? Is it not his guide at *table d’hôte*, teaching him when to eat, and where to abstain? Does he look upon a building, a statue, a picture, an old cabinet, or a manuscript, with whose eyes does he see it? With John Murray’s, to be sure!⁵⁴

It is possible, then, for the marker to take the primary role in orchestrating a particular perception of a travel destination. Consequently, the flux or dynamic between the marker and the sight--the interrelationship between the two in terms of cause and effect--is a crucial clue in evaluating that which might be gleaned by church visitors engaged in ecclesiological sightseeing.

⁵³Buzard 11 - 12.

⁵⁴Charles Lever, *Arthur O’Leary: His Wanderings and Ponderings in Many Lands* (1844) reprinted in *The Novels of Charles Lever*, vol. xx (Boston: Little Brown, 1894-5) 46. Cited in Buzard 65.

Medieval Markers in Early-Victorian Britain

There was a great variety of cultural markers generally available to colour the public's reception of medieval architecture during the early Victorian period. Examples include book works, including literature as well as popular non-fiction, pattern books of Gothic designs, public events targeted for popular consumption, and existing architecture and design. Another pivotal domain was the growing body of travel guidebooks and similar documents, devoting space and attention to medieval architecture.

Literature and Non-Fiction Works

The relationship between the burgeoning taste for medieval architecture and literature has been taken up by a variety of critics. Charles Eastlake is among the first to single out the service rendered by Sir Walter Scott to the cause of the revival by awakening "popular interest in a style which had hitherto been associated, except by the educated few, with ascetic gloom and vulgar superstition. With the aid of his magic pen, the Castle of Coningsburgh is filled as of yore with doughty warriors; Branksome Hall is restored to its feudal splendour; Kenilworth becomes once more the scene of human love, and strife, and tragedy; the aisles of Melrose echo again with a solemn requiem." In short, "the fortunes of the Disinherited Knight... [and other elements of plot from these

novels] did more for the Gothic Revival than all the labours of Carter and Rickman.”⁵⁵ Kenneth Clark, too, agrees that the Waverly Novels “spread Gothic sentiment to every class of reader... [and] gave...solid nourishment to the imagination. They described real historical events and associated them with clear descriptions of Gothic architecture.”⁵⁶ Even the Ecclesiologist was laudatory to Scott:

...we are disposed to trace the progress which has of late been made in a considerable degree to the writings of Sir Walter Scott: and whatever be his place among the chiefs of English Literature, he will we believe earn from posterity a higher praise than is ever the lot of any mere literary man, from the purity of his writings, and the lessons which his readers could not fail to draw from the truthful and attractive pictures he has given of those times which the grossness of a later age had treated with unmixed contempt.⁵⁷

Horace Walpole and Mary Wollstonecraft are two additional writers who contribute to the new genre of Gothic novels, texts which spin ghostly yarns of damsels in distress and knights in armour wandering amongst ruined abbeys and

⁵⁵Charles L. Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival, edited and with an Introduction by J. Mordaunt Crook (1872; New York: Humanities Press, 1978) 113, 115. The influence of John Carter and Thomas Rickman, two influential architectural theorists of the age, will be considered in chapter 3. For additional research on the significance of Sir Walter Scott see Mark Girouard, The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) 30-38.

⁵⁶Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste (London: John Murray, 1962) 71.

⁵⁷“The French Académie and Gothic Architecture,” The Ecclesiologist VI (1846) 83.

other backdrops of old or neo-Gothic design.⁵⁸

Chris Brooks and Peter Mandler expand on the range of Gothic literature which became available, and fed the popular market. Both scholars give credit to what Mandler calls “the commercial initiatives that established a modern culture industry.” These included the general-circulation, non-fiction magazine (The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction was the first, dated 1823) and the cheap novel, which existed from the mid 1820s, and which might cost no more than sixpence a volume. Illustrated annuals also saw the light of day from around 1823, and were the plagiarized source of romantic literature for cheap weeklies and monthlies produced by an increasing number of groups with political, religious, or purely commercial agendas.⁵⁹ Brooks points to a similar body of early nineteenth-century mass-produced, low-priced fiction, intended specifically for the consumption of a mass audience. These were individual publications of horror stories as well as abridged versions of longer and more artistic Gothic novels, collectively known as “shilling shockers.” Here the incentives for publication were clearly profit-directed, rather than pedagogical. In

⁵⁸Brooks, The Gothic Revival (London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1999), Chapter 5, “Monsters and Maidens, the Gothic Novel” 105-26. See also Megan Aldrich, Gothic Revival (London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1994), and Michael Lewis, The Gothic Revival (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002) 13-35.

⁵⁹Mandler, The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997) 25-7.

short, this is the dawning of the age of pulp fiction, “and it dawned gothic.”⁶⁰

Non-fictional works devoted to a presentation of medieval architecture were also available, including those aimed at a general readership. One example is Alexander Hogg’s 1795 text, Antiquities of England and Wales, which John Frew calls “the first genuinely ‘popular’ antiquarian publication” and which had a clear idea of its intended market:

A Knowledge of the Antiquities of England and Wales is at this Juncture particularly sought after by *all ranks of People*: but hitherto, none except the Affluent have been able to purchase Works of this Kind, which...have...been sold at most extravagant Prices. To accommodate Readers in general the present publication is undertaken on the most *elegant, cheap, desirable, and liberal* plan...adapted to all Pockets and Dispositions...[and] afford[ing] Persons of every Description in the Kingdom (Poor as well as Rich, and the middle class of the world) an opportunity of being possessed of a *valuable* work.⁶¹

A key British producer of publications on Gothic architecture, which apparently captured the public’s imagination, was John Britton.⁶² His series entitled the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain appeared between 1807 and

⁶⁰Brooks 121.

⁶¹H. Boswell, The Antiquities of England and Wales (London, 1795), Preface, cited in Frew, “An Aspect of the Early Gothic Revival: The Transformation of Medievalist Research, 1770-1800,” Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute 43 (1980): 180.

⁶²See J. Mordaunt Crook, “John Britton and the Genesis of the Gothic Revival,” Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner, ed. John Summerson (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1968) 98-119, and Megan Aldrich, “Thomas Rickman (1776-1841) and the Architectural Illustration of the Gothic,” diss. U of Toronto, 1983, 56-63.

1814, and the Cathedral Antiquities series was first issued in six volumes between 1814 and 1835.⁶³ In addition, he produced A Chronological History and Graphic Illustrations of Christian Architecture in England in 1826, essentially a fifth volume in the Architectural Antiquities series, and A Dictionary of the Architecture and Archaeology of the Middle Ages, published in 1838.⁶⁴ Not all of his output focussed exclusively on medieval architecture: The Beauties of England and Wales, co-written with E.W. Brayley, appeared as nineteen volumes between 1801 and 1818 and contained entries for such buildings as Stowe.⁶⁵ And, on a contemporary note, he also offered a historical description of the “Origin, Progress, General Execution, and Characteristics of the London and Birmingham

⁶³Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, 4 vols. (London: Longman... and the author, 1807-1814). Each volume of the Cathedral Antiquities series was entitled History of the Cathedral Church of..., beginning with Salisbury in 1814 and Norwich in 1816, and ending with Hereford in 1831 and Worcester in 1835. The other churches mentioned were Winchester; York; Lichfield; Canterbury; Oxford; Wells; Exeter; Peterborough, Gloucester and Bristol.

⁶⁴Britton, Chronological History and Graphic Illustrations of Christian Architecture in England: Embracing a Critical Inquiry into the Rise, Progress, and perfection of this species of Architecture.... London: Longman, Rees, etc., 1826. Britton, Dictionary of the Architecture and Archaeology of the Middle Ages: including words used by the Ancient and Modern Authors.... London: Longman, 1838.

⁶⁵Britton and Edward Wedlake Brayley, The Beauties of England and Wales, 19 vols. (London: Vernor & Hood etc., 1801-1818) I, 285.

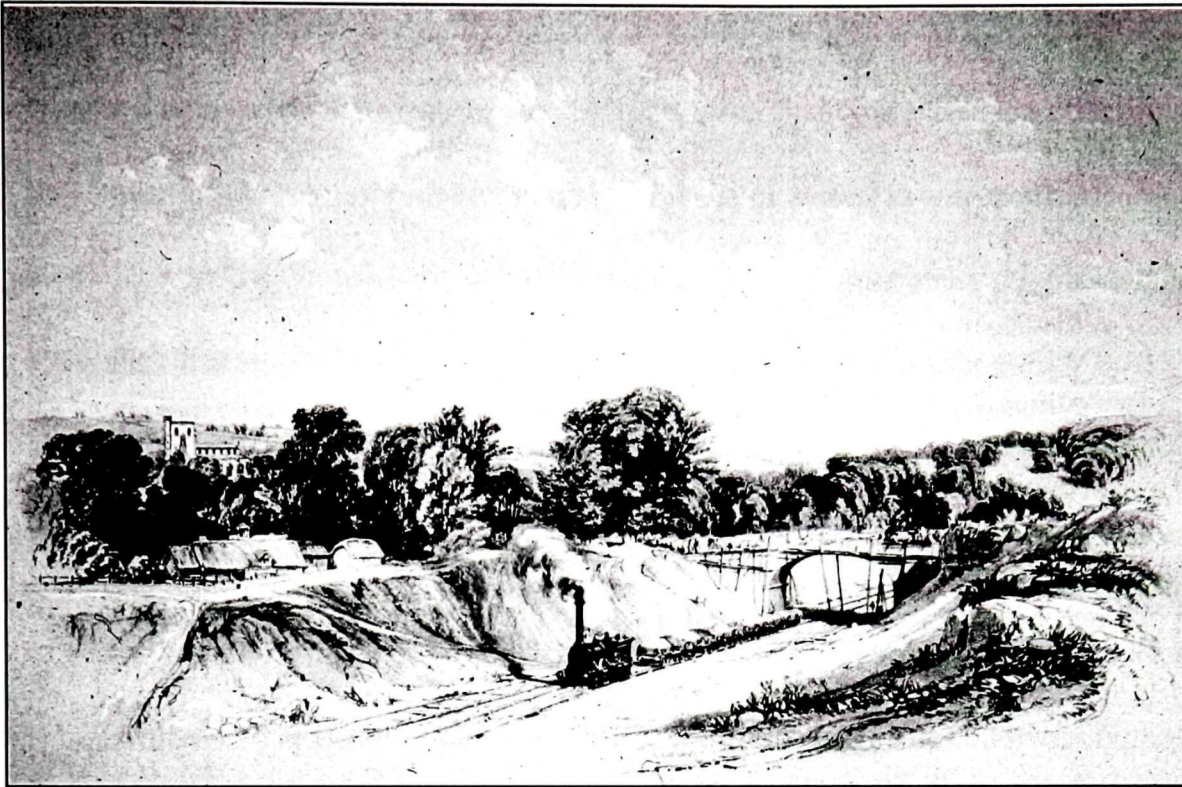
Railway” to accompany illustrations by John C. Bourne, in 1839.⁶⁶ Attention here is devoted to railway stations, viaducts, tunnels and embankments as well as interesting stops along the line.

But it is as a disseminator of information on the Gothic that Britton plays a pivotal role. Even in his book on the railway, Britton takes the opportunity to single out a church at Leighton Buzzard as well as a “very beautiful” stone cross in the marketplace, with “five sides, and as many buttresses at the angles; and a central column, sustaining an upper story, with niches, statues, pinnacles, and other decorations.”⁶⁷ At Berkhamstead, the station office is built “in the ‘Gothic style,’” and “the church, at this place, is a large edifice of cruciform plan, and contains several ancient monuments.” In the accompanying illustration by John C. Bourne (See Figure 1.1), the engineering marvels of the train and its track are in the foreground, but the church, with its large tower, is not overlooked, and creates a contrapuntal relationship between heritage and up-to-date technology.

There was something for every Gothicism in Britton’s books. The illustrations alone were “a real honour to the country...scientific enough to excite professional attention, and sufficiently picturesque and diversified to afford an

⁶⁶Drawings of the London and Birmingham Railway by John C. Bourne with an Historical and Descriptive Account by John Britton F.S.A. (London: J.C. Bourne and C. Tilt, 1839).

⁶⁷Britton, Drawings of the London and Birmingham Railway 21.



1.1 “View of a Cutting and Bridge near Berkhamstead looking northwest, shewing [sic] part of the town,” by John C. Bourne. John Britton, *Drawings of the London and Birmingham Railway*, plate XVIII.

ample treat to the general reader.”⁶⁸ For example, the *Chronological History and Graphic Illustrations of Christian Architecture in England* contains eighty-six plates to study and appreciate, including “Plans, Sections, Elevations and Views,” and, for the more exacting enthusiast, an alphabetical list of architects of the middle ages, a chronology of ancient churches, and a dictionary of architectural terms. Its text also takes up the contemporary debate concerning correct Gothic nomenclature and refers to the key players in the debate as well as their historic

⁶⁸*New Annual Register* (1815): 423. Cited in Crook, “John Britton and the Gothic Revival” 111.

justifications for referring to Pointed or Gothic or English or Christian architecture.⁶⁹

Britton was effective in sustaining medieval architecture's toe-hold. The Ecclesiologist gives him praise, albeit qualified

With ecclesiology in its most technical sense, John Britton had little sympathy or acquaintance. But it is undoubted that his elaborately illustrated works were among the earliest of the causes which led to that revived appreciation in England of medieval ecclesiastical architecture, of which ecclesiology is the complete expression. For that let John Britton be honoured in the Ecclesiologist.⁷⁰

A.W.N. Pugin provides perhaps the most revealing indication of the impact of Britton when he rails against the indiscriminate use of elements of medieval design by undiscerning fans: "upholsterers seem to think that nothing can be Gothic unless it is found in some church. Hence your modern man designs a sofa or occasional table from details culled out of Britton's Cathedrals, and all the ordinary articles of furniture, which require to be simple and convenient, are made not only very expensive but very uneasy."⁷¹ Secondary sources also acknowledge the significance of Britton. According to Kenneth Clark, Britton's

⁶⁹John Britton, Chronological History and Graphic Illustrations of Christian Architecture in England.... (London: Longman, Rees, etc., 1826) preface, 33 - 44.

⁷⁰"Notices and Answers to Correspondents," The Ecclesiologist XVIII (1857): 70.

⁷¹Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (London: John Weale, 1841) 40. An illustration of these designs appears on the following page.

books were inexpensive and appeared in great number.⁷² Basil Clarke called his “the best of the illustrated works” in the field, such that “[i]t was now possible at last for ordinary people to know something about medieval architecture.”⁷³ And Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius assert the “relentless popularization and specialization in architectural history, for instance through the illustrated works of the indefatigable John Britton.”⁷⁴

Pattern Books

Another important collection of markers of Gothic design were the pattern books containing architectural drawings and templates to be utilised for the creation of an actual, physical neo-Gothic environment. These were readily-available sources, which must have made the services of an architect seem unnecessary or redundant.⁷⁵ Some of these designs were accurate, precise

⁷²Kenneth Clark 79.

⁷³Basil Clarke, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century (London: SPAK, 1938) 17.

⁷⁴Dixon and Muthesius, Victorian Architecture (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978) 21.

⁷⁵Rudolf Wittkower points out that this “vulgarization,” namely a proliferation of books “written primarily for the artisan class of the building trade,” actually appeared on the scene originally to promote neoclassical design. Inexpensive and in “pocket-size format,” they “represent a phenomenon without

renderings of authentic medieval architecture, and the idea was to select this window or that door opening and devise a complete building. Others were more original interpretations which evoked rather than simulated the originals, but might be presented as a completed design which could be built more or less as is.

Among the earliest and the most vilified of this latter category was Batty Langley's Ancient Architecture, Restored and Improved, dated 1742, which later appeared as Gothic Architecture, Improved by Rules and Proportions.⁷⁶ The premise for the work was his attempt to classify and systematise elements of medieval design—his model in this were studies of classical architecture such as those of Palladio and Serlio—which provided him with a system on the basis of which he justified his designs for windows, doors, and garden buildings. For example, Langley's research on Westminster Abbey generated the theory that there were five Orders of Gothic columns.⁷⁷ Such a deduction did not stand up to subsequent architectural historiography: Horace Walpole, whose Strawberry Hill displayed accurate quotations of medieval buildings, albeit in unprecedented

parallel in the history of architecture.” In this capacity, they “rapidly helped to transform the imported classical idiom into a truly national style.” Wittkower, Palladio and English Palladianism (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974) 105-107. Gothicists simply followed this trend. Batty Langley, who will be discussed below, was himself primarily a classicist.

⁷⁶Langley, Ancient Architecture, Restored and Improved (London: 1742); Langley, Gothic Architecture, Improved by Rules and Proportions (London: John Millan, 1747).

⁷⁷Brooks 91.

permutations and combinations, was particularly irate. Langley had “ENDEAVOURED TO ADAPT [emphasis his] Gothic architecture to Roman measures” and “*invented* five orders for that style.” Moreover, “All that his books atchieved [sic] has been to teach carpenters to massacre that venerable species, and to give occasion to those who know nothing of the matter, and who mistake his clumsy efforts for real imitations, to censure the productions of our ancestors.”⁷⁸ Michael McCarthy, in his study of the early days of the revival, nevertheless defends Langley by asserting that the condemnation does not take into account the nature of the publication and the paucity of research on Gothic at that time; nor does it recognise that Langley believed that he was doing a service to medieval architecture by proposing that it could be categorised under the same criteria as classical architecture.⁷⁹

Later pattern books include John Claudius Loudon’s 1833 Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture.⁸⁰ Specifically targeting the middle-

⁷⁸A footnote in the text reiterates that Langley’s “new orders” were “very generally applied to minor purposes” and also that “This work has been the oracle and textbook of carpenters and bricklayers.” It then cites the “best edition” of this “precious” [one presumes sarcasm] book, “for alas! there have been several.” Horace Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England (London: John Major, 1827) IV, 212. Capitals and italics in the original text.

⁷⁹Michael McCarthy, The Origins of the Gothic Revival (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987) 6-7.

⁸⁰Loudon, An Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture (London: Longman, 1833).

class market, this work contains designs, costings, site plans, information about materials and construction, and interior designs and furnishings.

Loudon utilises a variety of styles including free adaptations of Gothic, but nevertheless argues that whereas “expression of architectural style” is one means of communicating information about the building’s purpose, occupants, and relationship to the landscape, most of this data is more effectively to be gleaned by the fitness of functional elements of the home, including its windows, chimneys and doors.⁸¹ John Gloag claims that the Encyclopedia “became the principal copy-book for builders all over the country for at least fifty years after it was published.”⁸² This kind of manipulation of Gothic language is exactly what Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin—perfectionist and loudest advocate of Gothic architecture as the supreme and unalterable form—hated most and decried in The True Principles of Pointed Architecture: “What can be more absurd than houses built in what is termed the castellated style? Castellated architecture originated in the wants consequent on a certain state of society: ...the necessity of great strength and the means of defence suited to the military tactics of the day.... [A]s models for our imitation they are worse than useless. What absurdities, what

⁸¹George Hersey sees Loudon’s Encyclopedia as an early articulation of associationism, which will be considered in Chapter 2. See Hersey, High Victorian Gothic: A Study in Associationism (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972) 6-16.

⁸²Gloag, Victorian Taste (Trowbridge, Wiltshire: Redwood Press, Ltd., 1972) 47.

anomalies, what utter contradictions do not the builders of modern castles perpetrate!”⁸³ That these designs were indeed somewhat absurd is evident upon perusal of one of Loudon’s designs for “A Villa for a small Family,” also cited in Gloag:

The *situation* for a villa in this style according to general associations, should be on a bold, commanding rocky prominence, where it might be supposed that, in some former period, a baronial castle for actual defence may have been placed. It is not necessary on that account, however, that it should be accompanied by fortified outworks; but still the terrace-walls, and other ornamental architectural appendages which accompany it, should either be in some degree marked by the lines and finish of fortified walls, or should imitate their ruins.... A slight degree of acquaintance with Military Architecture, or with the existing ruins of castles of the fourteenth century...will afford many excellent hints....⁸⁴

The Encyclopedia was well received in the U.S. as well, where Andrew Jackson Downing, along with Alexander Jackson Davis, would further develop these ideas of the picturesque villa meant to reflect the personalities of the owners. Downing acknowledged his debt to Loudon, and also provided his readers with a comprehensive design package. Davis’s Rural Residences (1838), and Downing’s Cottage Residences (1841, with contributions by Davis) and The

⁸³Pugin, True Principles 58. John Summerson, on the other hand, remarks on the originality of some of the designs in the Encyclopedia, and singles out the contribution to Edward Buckton Lamb in this work, who provided “most of the designs for Gothic and Elizabethan furniture and all the villa interiors” as “by no means an architect of the pattern-book school, but [one who] constantly endeavoured, even at the expense sometimes of beauty, to exhibit originality.” Victorian Architecture: Four Studies in Evaluation (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970) 56-57.

⁸⁴Loudon Design XX, 919; cited in Gloag 50-51.

Architecture of Country Houses (1850) gained influence there, too, despite the awkwardness of promoting Gothic designs, with their British associations, in a country not long independent, and having not so long before (1813) emerged from war against England.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, as William Pierson Jr. concludes, “After 1840, from Bath, Maine, to Marshall, Michigan, the Gothic house appeared and stood side by side with the Greek temple on the streets of almost every American town.”⁸⁶

Public Events

Other positive indicators of medieval design may be mentioned. There was the Great Exhibition of 1851, organized in large measure by Sir Henry Cole, a designer who was in favour with Prince Albert and who was later instrumental in establishing the Victoria and Albert Museum. An entire medieval section was included in the Exhibition, for which Pugin himself was responsible.

Public entertainment with a medieval flare also included one broadly advertised pageant, the Eglinton Tournament in Eglinton Castle, Ayrshire, which took place on 28 August, 1839. Some 80,000 people attended this occasion at

⁸⁵Gloag 39-49; Brooks 197-200.

⁸⁶Pierson, *American Buildings and their Architects* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1978) 384.

which knights in armour representing the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were to joust in competition; there was a covered stand in the medieval style for the nobility, and open stands for the rest of the attendees, some of whom travelled from other countries especially for the occasion. Unfortunately, a downpour made the field so muddy that the “knights” could not properly compete. But out of this occasion, nonetheless, arose subsequent markers that assumed their own influential trajectory, a variety of mementoes including “souvenir music-sheets, jog-saws, medals, jugs, plates and scent bottles,” the latter having knights’ helmets for stoppers.⁸⁷ All these objects, descriptions and analyses made of them, talk of them at parties or clubs or in classrooms, would have contributed to a collective awareness of the Gothic style, and perhaps be called upon when medieval buildings were actually visited. And each visit, in turn, had the potential to produce more markers to reinforce the impact of subsequent contact with the architecture.

Existing Architecture and Design

New buildings with Gothic ornamentation also marked approval of the original medieval forms, and ranged from Strawberry Hill and Fonthill to the new

⁸⁷John Steegman, *Consort of Taste: 1830-1850* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd., 1950) 93-97; Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) 105.

Palace of Westminster, begun in 1836. The parliament buildings themselves had been deliberate markers representing the British Government's attempt to instruct the public in "taste": a Royal Commission established to oversee their reconstruction specified in 1835 that competition submissions be either in the Gothic or Elizabethan styles because these were deemed the most favourable to nationalist sentiment and aesthetic pedagogy.⁸⁸

As far as original medieval architecture is concerned, what is interesting in the exploration of the potential specifically of churches to serve as markers of medieval ideology, say by 1820, is how meagre that potential may have been. Scholars generally agree that the legacy of original Gothic religious architecture, certainly at the level of the parish church—the focal point of ecclesiology—may well have been a large collection of disfigured and delapidated buildings, certainly before the efforts of restorationists such as the Cambridge Camden Society. As Michael Lewis notes, the desecration of medieval churches and abbeys during the Reformation, "stripping of church altars, walling up chancels,

⁸⁸The decision to emphasize the Gothic style was by no means undisputed; Eastlake himself considers the controversy in his history of the period. See Eastlake 170-186. In a famous letter to the Earl of Elgin, one of the trustees of the British Museum, W.R. Hamilton contends that "this is the first instance in the history of the world" that a secular institution such as the parliament buildings "should be executed in a style of bygone times," a decision all the more difficult to condone since no British precedents for such a design were available "but of places of divine worship, or erected for monastic and collegiate purposes." This comment was, of course, aimed to dilute nationalist arguments in favour of the Gothic. Letter from W.R. Hamilton to the Earl of Elgin, on the New Houses of Parliament (London: W. Nicol, 1836) 4-5.

pulling down rood screens and even selling off the lead from the roofs” was clearly evident.⁸⁹ Chris Miele researches Victorian architectural journalists commenting on the quality of existing Gothic churches—including contributors to The Ecclesiologist—who note that the original interiors of most of them were cluttered and often substantially hidden by pews and galleries. In many cases, wooden roofs had been boarded over, further distorting the view. Superimposed on the walls of the churches were post-Reformation iconography, including Royal Arms or private memorials. On the outside,

many parish churches were plain, unassuming structures; the most obvious marks of medieval design, tracery, buttresses, high pitched roofs and steeples were not much in evidence. Cornices and copings were gone, roof ridges were not straight, parts were in ruins, and walls seemed dangerously out of plumb.⁹⁰

Church schemes and The Ecclesiologist contain numerous descriptions of churches in poor repair, although the reports in the latter have been accused of being exaggerated.⁹¹

⁸⁹Lewis, The Gothic Revival 90-1. See also James Stevens Curl, Victorian Churches (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd., 1995) 47. A rood screen is a carved stone or wooden screen separating the nave from the chancel in a church. To Reformists, it emphasised the hierarchical separation between clergy and parishioners, and was thus anathema.

⁹⁰Chris Miele, “The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture: The Restoration of Medieval Churches in Victorian Britain,” diss., New York U, 1992, 144-5.

⁹¹Miele refers to researchers such as Nigel Yates and Thomas Hugh Cocke who suggest that church repairs had been undertaken during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that medieval fittings in churches may not have been

Moreover, the requirements of Protestant worship, as evolved through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, themselves resulted in a model of church design which conflicted with that of medieval structures and devalued those components of the churches which proponents of ecclesiology most treasured. As Brooks points out, the Anglican Sunday service, by the mid-eighteenth century, suppressed the ritualistic aspect of worship—the part that highlighted the altar and all its formal fittings—in favour of the sermon, “delivered from a towering pulpit in a nave fitted out as an auditorium, with box pews and galleries all smartly classical.”⁹² As a result, the removal of even more of what were left of such fittings from medieval parish churches was undertaken.⁹³

It is important to understand, then, that the validity of the churches themselves as medieval markers could well have been obscured by the interventions made on their fabric over the years, changes which were inconsistent with the then-current definitions of medieval aesthetic. That is, the ability of these churches to assert their own legitimacy as indicators of Gothic identity would inevitably have had to be supplemented by other means of validation. Lewis hints at this, when he comments that the sad state of medieval

displaced quite to the extent broadcast in *The Ecclesiologist*. Still, as Miele concludes, “Victorian architectural critics did not create the image of the decayed and neglected ancient church from nothing. Many structures were on the verge of collapse....” Miele, “The Gothic Revival” 146-7.

⁹²Brooks 100-101.

⁹³Brooks 100.

religious architecture would have been particularly acute to educated, late eighteenth-century or nineteenth-century observers, *especially* after these observers had been made familiar, through other resources, with how these buildings *ought* to have looked.⁹⁴

Domestic medieval architecture—both old and new—needs also to be considered, especially given the concurrent pervasiveness of Gothic literature, where it often served as the stage set for all those heroes and heroines. In a particularly relevant study, because it focuses on another significant example of nineteenth-century scripted tourism, Peter Mandler uses the country homes of the British aristocracy as his subjects, and explores their popularity as travel destinations to study prevailing attitudes among the popular British public between 1815 and 1974. Mandler finds that in the early nineteenth century, the historic stately homes were “popularized as symbols of the common national history shared by all classes.” Perceived as common property—not just as the private residences of the family—they accommodated “a rapidly growing audience for national history in its desire to write about, read about and indeed to visit the mansions of England.” Consequently, the mid nineteenth century is to be

⁹⁴Lewis, *The Gothic Revival*, 91. On the other hand, ruins of churches and other religious institutions fueled the passion for the picturesque and the sublime, both important incentives to travellers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

recognized as the “first great age of country-house visiting.”⁹⁵

The key significance of architecture, then, became its nationalistic aspect, the link it demonstrated to British heritage. “Historical consciousness,” in these terms, “was one of the crucial ways in which popular culture enfranchised itself” such that “a national history was rediscovered and used to correct the social imbalance of the ‘polite vision’ of the eighteenth century.”⁹⁶ English mansions thus became a pivotal element in this transformation, because the “aristocratic past had to be retrieved selectively so as to provide a historical basis, not for the imagined fopperies, corruptions and profanities of the eighteenth century, but for the fair, civilized, prosperous and above all *English* nineteenth century.”⁹⁷ In this way national heritage entered the realm of popular culture.

What was the nature of this national heritage? To Mandler, it focussed on the fascination with medievalism, filtered through popular culture by means already mentioned, including Sir Walter Scott, whose “simpler, more informal verse forms” attracted a wider audience and whose books “were suffused with intimacy and locality.” Helping to disseminate this medieval view were attendant technological innovations, including steam printing and stereotyping, followed by lithography and lithotinting, and the consequent rise of works with medieval

⁹⁵Mandler 3-4.

⁹⁶Mandler 21.

⁹⁷Mandler 22.

subject matter in the popular press.⁹⁸ Significantly, until the middle of the century, the content of these works generally was not channelled to accommodate different reading groups: “there persisted a central segment of the culture industry that generated products for general consumption—that could be picked up and enjoyed by shopgirl and clubman alike—for whom a uniform ‘serious’ cultural style had to be devised.”⁹⁹ Medievalism served nicely as the attractor around which this “uniform ‘serious’ culture” could cluster.

It is important to recognize, however, that for Mandler, medieval and Gothic are not synonymous. Indeed, his book reads as demonstrating a preference over Gothic--generally understood as ranging between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries--for the last phases of the medieval period, specifically Tudor and early Stuart eras, which have collectively been called ‘Olden Time.’¹⁰⁰ He bases this view in part on his observation that, amidst this surge of popular interest in architectural heritage, he finds an overall negative criticism of early, picturesque, neo-*Gothic* mansions whose use of the medieval language was loose and fanciful. These were criticised as “inauthentic, barbarous, unfeeling”; they toyed with their historical precedents and disrespectfully implied that “anyone

⁹⁸Mandler 24.

⁹⁹Mandler 25-7.

¹⁰⁰As will be seen in Chapter 3, theorists studying the Gothic period also habitually devoted careful attention, too, to the architecture of Saxon and Norman Britain, that is, from about 600 A.D. through to the twelfth century.

could build an abbey.”¹⁰¹ Significantly, Mandler argues that this critique emanated, not from the “pedantry and sectarianism of an élite current,” presumably including the Cambridge Camden Society, but from “a much wider and deeper source, the very large body of opinion that was now mobilized in search of history rather than taste.”¹⁰² That is, the emerging feelings of British nationalism were driven by “a wave of sensibility sweeping up rather than down the social scale.”¹⁰³

Mandler concludes that by the 1840s, there were two distinct camps drawn along these lines: the more scholarly, which espoused the Gothic, and the mass market, which favoured ‘Olden Time.’ And whereas “the Gothic became the mode by which popular Victorian writers induced terror, suspense and alienation—following established trends in popular as well as élite culture,” the “Olden Time became the Victorians’ common heritage, the past in which the whole nation saw itself.”¹⁰⁴ To reinforce this claim, especially in the context of the rise of popular travel which he also delineates, Mandler notes that the Tower

¹⁰¹Mandler 16-17.

¹⁰²Mandler 17.

¹⁰³Mandler 3-4, 17.

¹⁰⁴Mandler 31-2.

of London and Hampton Court become the most visited venues by the 1850s.¹⁰⁵

If Mandler's conclusion is valid, it calls into question the assertion that the Cambridge Camden Society was working in consort with advocates of medieval tourism in the popular realm, in promoting the Gothic period. Ecclesiologists clearly perceived the architecture belonging to 'Olden Time' as less meritorious, and, especially by the reign of Edward VI, 'Debased.'¹⁰⁶ Yet Mandler's position is destabilised when his argument is studied exhaustively. Most important is his reading of travel guides and popular journals as prioritising 'Olden Time' over the Gothic period as a whole. However, a substantial selection of travel guides and popular journals from the 1830-1850s do have their share of pre-'Olden Time' subject matter.¹⁰⁷

One case in point may be offered. Mandler singles out a guidebook by

¹⁰⁵Mandler 36-75. Mandler also gives evidence of the "shop class" travelling by the 1820s and of day trippers in the 1830s especially given the rarity of paid holidays until the end of the nineteenth century (Mandler 73). He describes railway extensions which expanded the range of the traveller, and of the significance of guidebooks offering a wide range of advice and suggestions to stimulate the voyage.

¹⁰⁶Even the Cambridge Camden Society's range of Gothic includes the reign of Henry VIII, even if, during this time, a decline in architectural quality is perceived: the prevalence of the low, four-centered arch, which, during the period, became "extremely depressed, cased, by violating that great principle of Gothick Architecture, vertical ascendancy, the gradual decay of the art till it received its death-blow at the Reformation." *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1842) 13-18.

¹⁰⁷These guides will be analysed in Chapter 5.

William Howitt called Visits to Remarkable Places, which is presented by Mandler as beginning “the work of drawing up a literary and historical map of England for the new age of mass tourism.” Howitt and his wife Mary are credited with being the “foremost early Victorian proponents of ‘culture’ as a national patrimony that had to be reclaimed from aristocratic exclusiveness for the whole of the people.” To this end, Mandler writes: “Howitt’s animus against the aristocracy of his own time was closely connected to an admiration for the aristocracy of the Olden Time, and pilgrimages to castles and country houses of the Tudor and Elizabethan periods are central to the two volumes of Visits.”¹⁰⁸ Only in a footnote, however, does Mandler let it be known that Howitt was “no architectural sectarian” and had “high praise” for Gothic churches as well as eighteenth century mansions such as Blenheim and Castle Howard. Still, Mandler concludes, Howitt’s “own pattern of visits reveals his true preferences.”¹⁰⁹

A look at Visits to Remarkable Places, however, shows appreciation enough for Gothic. Howitt recounts a visit he made to Winchester Cathedral, about which his praise is most effusive, and which prompts him to voice his appreciation of medieval buildings in general. He even uses the term: “*Gothic*

¹⁰⁸William Howitt, Visits to Remarkable Places (Longmans, 1840), second volume published 1842. Cited in Mandler 45, 50.

¹⁰⁹Mandler 425, note 61.

[my emphasis] architecture...–the architecture of Christian Europe–is in fact, the poetry of architecture. Every great and perfect cathedral is a great and perfect religious Epic....”¹¹⁰ And Howitt speaks competently about the church, cites as one of his sources the respected architectural theorist John Milner–surely, a member of Mandler’s “élite”–and delineates the cathedral’s Gothic characteristics, including its

...tower [which] still exhibits its primitive Norman round-headed windows, varying from those of the simplest kind to others with the round spandrel, embracing the pointed arch and flowing tracery. Towards the east end, again, you catch traces of round and trefoiled arch-work, supported on the short Saxon pillar borrowed by the Normans; and then in different parts of the church, every variety of lancet and pointed arches, and of perpendicular and florid tracery, which mark the progress of English architecture to the time of Henry VIII.¹¹¹

Here, then, is at least one Gothic destination, lovingly, enticingly and professionally portrayed. ‘Olden Time’ most likely did indeed become a pervasive theme in the nineteenth century, but the degree to which it displaced Gothic rather than coexisting with it seems yet to be ascertained.¹¹² And the question remains as to whether the Victorian public was clearly aware of the distinction between the two periods, or, like many critics of the period, lumped

¹¹⁰Howitt I, 449.

¹¹¹Howitt I, 442.

¹¹²Steegman, for example, considers its appeal as an intermediary phase of the 1840s and 1850s, “before Ruskin’s medievalist doctrine had had time to permeate public taste.” Steegman 90.

them together.¹¹³ This appears to be the case in a book by John Coney, entitled Ecclesiastical Edifices of the Olden Time, which includes Bosham Church in Sussex and Howden Church, Yorkshire. The former was recognized, during the early nineteenth century, as having the characteristics of Saxon design, and the latter, of the Decorated period—both considerably earlier than the age that Mandler denotes as “Olden Time.”¹¹⁴ Still, as evidence of the role played by architecture in framing public appropriation of Gothic (and Tudor and Stuart), and in highlighting the appeal of medieval scripted tourism, Mandler’s The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home is thought-provoking and inspiring.

Travel Guides and Guidebooks

Guidebooks of various types had existed before the nineteenth century. Ousby argues that the concept of the guidebook was a creation of the eighteenth century.¹¹⁵ They catered, for example, to the person on the Grand Tour, including

¹¹³Mandler also acknowledges the fact that many critics studying the nineteenth century have not differentiated between the two periods, calling them collectively Gothic or medieval. See note 24, page 422.

¹¹⁴Coney, Ecclesiastical Edifices of the Olden Time: A series of Etchings, with Ground-Plans and facsimiles of Hollar’s Views, of the Cathedral and Conventual Churches, Monasteries, Abbeys, Priories, and other Ecclesiastical Edifices of England and Wales, 2 vols. (London: James Bohn, 1842).

¹¹⁵Ousby 12.

the Gentleman's Pocket Companion for Travelling Into Foreign Parts, dated 1722 and Thomas Nugent's Grand Tour of 1749. These generally addressed a privileged audience, and "were apt to be the rather hybrid, discursive productions of an individual, rambling from accounts of the author's own travels to facts and opinions on manners and customs, to commentary on the classical texts germane to the tour."¹¹⁶ Toward the end of the eighteenth century, guides are "clearly written more and more with an eye to helping subsequent travellers along the same road, offering recommendations, warnings and information that ranges from practical details of prices to potted local history" and became popular staples of publishing.¹¹⁷

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the term "guidebook" was apparently coined.¹¹⁸ Travellers came to depend on their availability: "wherever you go, printed information is to be found concerning every thing which deserves a stranger's notice."¹¹⁹ Nineteenth-century guidebooks had to consider the needs of travellers on restricted budgets and with limited time to travel. They offered

¹¹⁶Buzard 67. See also John Harris, "English Country House Guides, 1740-1840," Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner, ed. John Summerson (London: Allen Lane, 1968) 58-74.

¹¹⁷Ousby 12.

¹¹⁸Ousby 12.

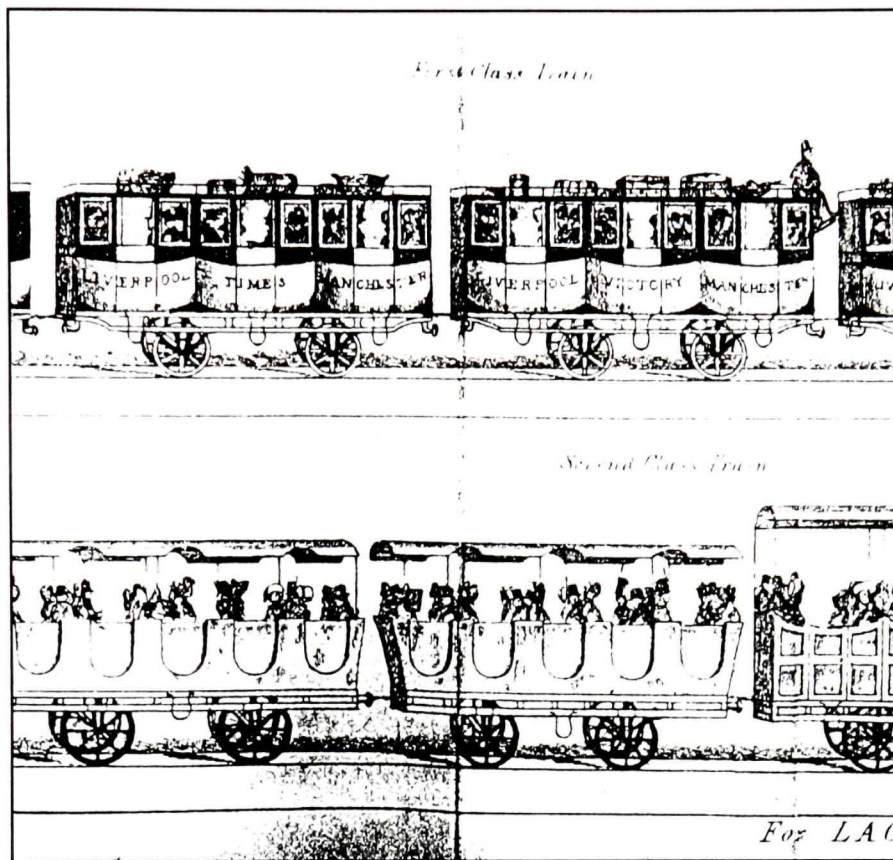
¹¹⁹Robert Southey, quote dating from 1808, cited in Ousby 12.

condensed itineraries, advice on how to avoid difficulties along the way, such as overpaying on services, and were themselves deliberately inexpensive and usually conveniently small in size.¹²⁰

Guidebook writers and promoters were also quick to recognize that train passengers were literally a captive audience. Train travel during the years of its infancy was a dirty, noisy, and even dangerous affair. Second and third class carriages were either in open air, or “cushionless, windowless, curtainless, comfortless vehicles, [which] seem to have been purposely constructed so that the sweeping wind, enraged at being outstripped in his rapid flight, might have an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance upon the shrinking forms of their ill-fated occupants.”¹²¹ Figure 1.2 illustrates the difference between first- and second-class cars in 1835. Open train carriages had their own dangers, principally three, most effectively avoided by positioning oneself as far away from the engine as

¹²⁰See, for example, Edward Mogg, Mogg's New Picture of London; or Stranger's Guide to the British Metropolis (London: E. Mogg, 1838) 94-95, which provides a list of sights in London to be visited during an eight-day trip. Henry Cole's Travelling Chart, Great Western, London to Reading, Didcot and Oxford (London: Railway Chronicle Office, 1847) recommends that travellers to Iffley—which requires a boat trip—should arrange the price with the boatman before starting out. Many of the guidebooks, including Mogg's New Picture of London, are deliberately compact in size and inexpensive. See also Drake's Road Book, 1839 and Arthur Freeling, Lacey's Railway Companion and Liverpool and Manchester Guide (Liverpool: Henry Lacey, [1835]). See also John Vaughn, The English Guide Book c. 1780-1870: An Illustrated History (London: David and Charles, 1974) 87.

¹²¹Drake's Road Book, 1839, London to Watford on the London and Birmingham Railway 8.



1.2 First- and second-class carriages, Arthur Freeling, *Lacey's Railway Companion and Liverpool and Manchester Guide* (Liverpool: Henry Lacey, [1835]) plate XVIII

possible:

First, should an explosion take place, you may happily get off with the loss of an arm or a leg—whereas if you should happen to be placed near the said piece of hot machinery, and an unfortunate accident really occur, you would very probably be “smashed to smithereens”.... Secondly—the vibration is very much diminished the further you are away from the engine. Thirdly—always sit (if you can get a seat) with your back towards the engine, against the boarded part of the waggon; by this plan you will avoid being chilled by a cold current of air which passes through these open waggons, and also save you from being nearly blinded by the small cinders which escape through the funnel.¹²²

This is quite shocking advice given that it is not meant to discourage passenger

¹²²Francis Coghlan, *The Iron Road Book and Railway Companion* (London: A.H. Baily, 1838) 18.

train travel.¹²³

Guidebooks were conceived as a welcome distraction to the more inconvenient or uncomfortable aspects of rail travel. For one thing, train personnel could not be relied upon, as carriage drivers had, to provide travel information en route, and passengers could not as easily stop for assistance as they might have while travelling on horse-drawn vehicles. Edgar Mogg had provided Pocket Itineraries of main coach roads of England and Wales as early as 1826; by 1840 he diverted his attention to providing handbooks for railway travellers. He presented railway excursions to be very different from coach travel, “where a well-informed guard or intelligent driver was generally at hand ready to answer some few inquiries at least of the inquisitive passenger.” On the other hand, “the conductor of the railway train is too far removed from the majority of the company,” and, “as no intervening village inn is passed at which some honest Boniface information might be occasionally derived,” a written

¹²³Other guides also warned of the discomforts of second class, and recommended that passengers wear veils to protect themselves in dusty weather. See Edward Mogg, Mogg’s Handbook for Railway Travellers; or, Real Iron-road Book (London: Edward Mogg, 1840) vi. First class carriages were quite comfortable. A first-class coach for the London and Birmingham line, in operation around 1838, is described as “[American pine flooring to be covered] with the best Brussels carpet. The backs and cushions to be stuffed with the best curled hair, the quantity required for the three bodies being about one hundred and twelve pounds. The seats to be divided with four arms in each body, fixed on with iron corner plates and screws, and finished with broad mahogany tops, varnished; each seat also to be numbered with japan label with gild figures.” F.W. Simms, ed., Public Works of Great Britain (London: John Weale, 1838) 50-51.

guide was invaluable.¹²⁴ Drake's Road Book of the London and Birmingham and Grand Junction Railway also emphasized its priority to provide useful, accurate information for the edification of the actual as well as "fireside" traveller: "the materials have been collected by a careful personal survey of the whole line, and by a diligent examination of numerous topographical, historical, and scientific works."¹²⁵

Moreover, train journeys, especially those of longer duration, "even when performed at the rapid rate of railway travelling" were "generally complained of as tedious."¹²⁶ To this end emerged the rise of bookstalls situated right at the train stations, established by Smith's and others, to provide reading material to passengers about to embark on their excursions; it is even possible to argue that a Victorian passion for reading was directly connected to this being a standard way to overcome the tedium of sitting in one place for a long period of time.¹²⁷

¹²⁴Edward Mogg, Mogg's Pocket Itinerary of the Direct and Cross Roads of England and Wales with part of the Roads of Scotland (London: Edward Mogg, 1826); Mogg's Handbook for Railway Travellers, 1840, v. See also The Eastern Counties Railway Illustrated Guide (London: James Truscott, Nelson Square, 1851), introduction, n.p.

¹²⁵Drakes's Road Book, 1839, advertisement preceding the body of the book.

¹²⁶Mogg's Handbook for Railway Travellers, 1840, p. v, Drakes's Road Book, 1839, advertisement preceding body of guide.

¹²⁷By 1851 Smith's, for example, had 35 bookstalls at railway stations throughout Britain. See Simmons, The Victorian Railway 246-7; Ann Cooper,

Popular works were issued and new versions of older material reissued as series specially formulated for railway travel: the Routledge Railway Library is one example, launched in 1848.¹²⁸ Novels and periodicals, of course, served as useful reading material: it is interesting to note that the Eastern Counties Railway Illustrated Guide promotes itself as “nearly equivalent to a volume of a novel.”¹²⁹

Guidebooks found their niche as well, and the contents and internal arrangement of many of them were deliberately designed for ease of use while on the train itself. In these, destinations worthy of notice or visit were listed in a sequence which paralleled the train’s own schedule. Travellers would thus be able to plan their holiday with a clear knowledge of what was conveniently in proximity to the train stations, or of how to get to more distant but recommended venues. The format of the material further assisted the tourist in his/her planning. Folded accordion style, as in the Railway Travelling Charts of Henry Cole (see Figure 1.3), or arranged in book form to be read sideways, that is, with the pages in landscape rather than portrait configuration, as in Arthur Freeling’s Windsor Railway Companion, a few even symbolically reproduced the tracks themselves, as thick black lines which extended unbroken down the leaves, and divided the

“For the Public Good: Henry Cole, his Circle, and the Development of the South Kensington Estate,” diss. The Open U, 1992, 26; R.D. Altick, The English Common Reader (1957) 89, 305, cited in Simmons, The Victorian Railway.

¹²⁸ Simmons, The Victorian Railway 246.

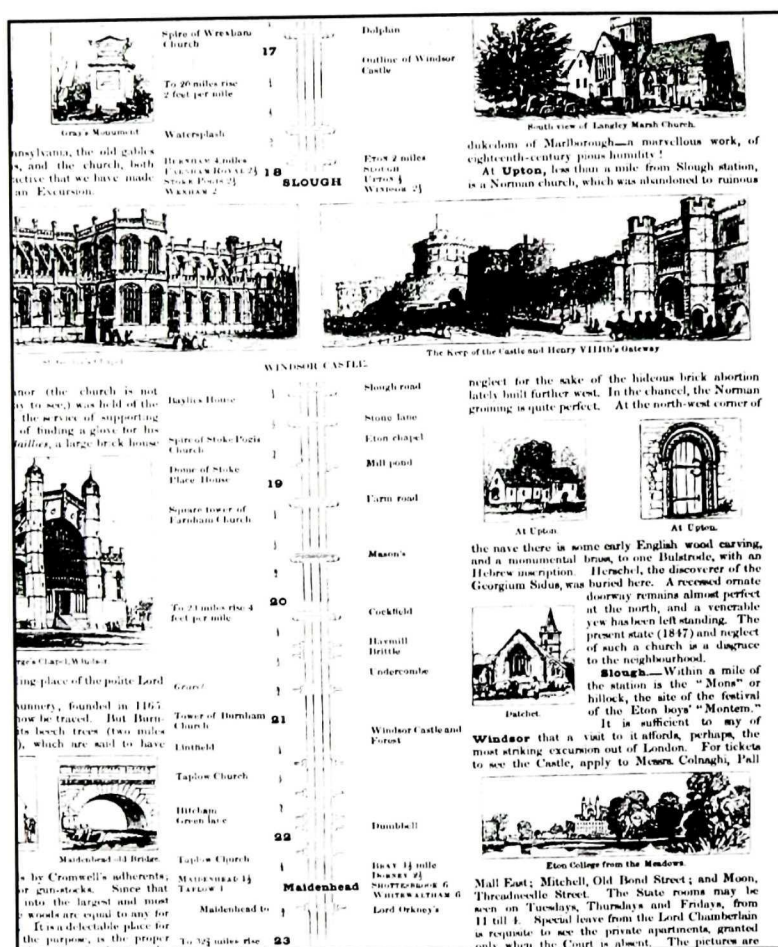
¹²⁹ The Eastern Counties Railway Illustrated Guide, introduction, n.p.

text and images on the pages into left- and right-side columns. To be able to follow the guide simply and effectively, a passenger need only choose a seat facing in whatever direction that lined up the contents of the left column of the guide with whatever landscape could be seen through the windows on the left side of the railway car.¹³⁰ Road books had served as the precedent for this format. One example, from 1675, is John Ogilby's Britannia series, for example showing the Stamford section of the Great North Road.¹³¹ Train guides were their natural successors.

There was a variety of incentives for these articles and guides promoting travel. The "iron road books" were a mutually-beneficial arrangement between the railway consortiums and the writers of the guides to encourage passenger train travel, through a scripted presentation of the train's own routes as the basis for a satisfactory sightseeing itinerary. This reflects a sharp acceleration of the commodification of travel, for commercial purposes. The goal was to transform the idle Rambler, whose route may otherwise have been random or arbitrary, or based on personal needs—say, to visit a particular person in a particular place—to

¹³⁰Henry Cole, Railway Travelling Charts, 1846-7; Arthur Freeling, Windsor Railway Companion (London: George Bell, 1840). Other examples of guides using this type of format were Lacey's Railway Companion and Liverpool and Manchester Guide (Liverpool: Henry Lacey, [1835]); Coghlan's Iron Road Book; Edward Churton The Rail Road Book of England (1851; London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1973); Black's Tourist Guide to Derbyshire (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1855).

¹³¹See Ousby 16-17.



1.3 Chart for London to Reading, Didcot and Oxford, Henry Cole, *Railway Travelling Chart, Great Western* (London: Railway Chronicle Office, 1847), n.p.

someone following a proscribed, predefined route, a consumer of goods and services including tour agents, hotels, guidebooks, public transportation, and so forth. There certainly was compliance between the guide writers and these commercial enterprises: Henry Cole, for example, in one of his earlier career iterations as a contributor to the journal *The Railway Chronicler*, sought and received free rail tickets in order to compile his *Travelling Charts*.¹³² But Cole,

¹³²Diary of Sir Henry Cole, entry for 21 May, 1845. Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, volume for 1845.

and many others, also saw their task as a commitment to develop and enhance the health and “taste” of those whom they had perceived as the less encultured masses, by urging them to take forays out of the increasingly dense and polluted industrialized cities, and introducing them to their national heritage. Cole, later co-organizer of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and initiator of the Victoria and Albert Museum, was delighted, for example, with the establishment of the London to Cambridge line and its cheap fares. This pleasure was articulated in one of the guidebooks he wrote, as a means to cajole his readers: “No one has any excuse for not visiting Cambridge if he can afford 5s. for the railway trip. Wisely the railway company offer the temptations of so low a fare as 5s. more than once in the season, and even the Bethnel Green weaver is thus enabled to make acquaintance with things purifying and informing, which heretofore has been out of his reach.”¹³³ His petitions to eliminate entrance fees to such destinations as Hampton Court, and to extend the opening hours of galleries to accommodate those who were employed during the day, were publicised in his A Hand-Book for Holidays Spent in or Near London, in an effort to spur on those with even less disposable income.¹³⁴ In this guide, as well, prospective visitors were advised, “before making a visit to any of our national exhibitions, the Tower, Hampton

¹³³Railway Travelling Chart, London to Bishops Stortford and Cambridge on the Eastern Counties Line, [1847], n.p.

¹³⁴Felix Summerly [Henry Cole], A Hand-Book for Holidays Spent in or Near London (London: George Bell, 1842) vi.

Court, Westminster Abbey, etc., ...to whet his appetite for full enjoyment by learning somewhat of their history and peculiarities. He will then come prepared to seek for remarkable and interesting points which might otherwise escape his attention.”¹³⁵ The publishers of Sharpe’s London Magazine: A Journal of Entertainment and Instruction for General Readers saw their publication as fulfilling a similar obligation vis-à-vis its own readership. The articles it produced advocating travel to, and an understanding of, medieval church architecture will be analysed in more detail in Chapter 5. Efforts centered on creating exciting narratives, in an effort to “supply the general reader with matter of an amusing and instructional character, for the hours of recreation.” The strategy was

...an extension of a literary taste beyond the class of merely literary men. The professional student, whose business lies in his books, can afford time to dig for his necessary knowledge through the bowels of the most ponderous folios.... But thousands have now been taught to regard knowledge as a necessity, whose pursuit of it can be followed only by snatches, at intervals of relaxation from their ordinary business and labour; and to those, [a periodical such as this] desultory and fragmentary though it is, of presenting it, prepared and trimmed for immediate use, the husk removed, the shell broken, and the kernel ready for mastication, is as indispensable as the daily supply of the common necessities of life. Their Magazine must come to their doors as regularly as their milk or their beer.¹³⁶

In short, the agenda of travel literature was directly related to the overall

¹³⁵ Summerly [Cole], Handbook...London vii.

¹³⁶“A Few Words at Starting,” Sharpe’s London Magazine, 1 (1845): 8.

Victorian preoccupation with blending economic criteria—the need to be competitive in the creation of goods and services for domestic and export markets, hence to educate producers to appreciate and propagate sanctioned design—with criteria reinforcing the hegemony of the dominant Victorian ideology, namely to promote moral, socially-sanctioned behaviour.

Keeping in mind these disparate motives to stimulate scripted tourism, it is useful to superimpose observations of critics who have noted a transformation in travel treatises by the beginning of the nineteenth century, as compared with the texts which preceded them over the two previous centuries. John Urry, for example, argues that there was a marked shift in emphasis from a scholastic-based perspective which contextualized the act of touring primarily as an opportunity for discourse, to travel understood as the basis for eye-witness observation. The growth of guidebooks by the beginning of the nineteenth century was commensurate with their promotion of these new ways of prioritizing the act of seeing, specifically, the informed tourist gaze.¹³⁷ For example, guidebooks formulated for the trains both valorized indirect judgements of the landscape from the isolation of the passing railway car, and encouraged periodic diversion from the train schedule, to visit sights in the proximity of train stations and to understand them as an aggregate of components worth careful visual

¹³⁷Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* 4.

examination.¹³⁸ And if, indeed, guidebooks were “active agents in the formation of an optics of tourism,” their significance as the underlying stimulus for the tourist to perceive the sight in a certain way put the text, rather than the tourist, at the foreground of the experience.¹³⁹

Given, as will be demonstrated, the breadth and complexity of the information disseminated through these guidebooks to the traveller/consumer of medieval church architecture, it seems to follow that using a guide-text more-or-less automatically configured Gothic churches as objects to be appreciated simultaneously as an intellectual engagement—worthy of detailed architectural investigation—and a means to emotional gratification, that is, as awe-inspiring entities. In other words, informed travellers were made familiar with medieval design, were acclimatized to its presence, and made to appreciate its ability to cater to a variety of investigative intentions. Those travellers eager to put into practice the models of analysis deemed scientific by ecclesiologists,

¹³⁸Examples of railway guides which highlight the image through the railway windows, rather than the destinations themselves, include Drakes’s Road Book, 1839. Lacey’s Railway Companion and Liverpool and Manchester Guide [1835] is also primarily about the view from the train, although it has a separate section called “Walks or Rides” which supplies added detail. See also John Towner, An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World 1540-1940 (Chichester; New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996) 256.

¹³⁹Rudy Koshar, “‘What ought to be seen’: Tourists’ Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe,” Journal of Contemporary History 33 (1998): 339; Esther Allen, “‘Money and little red books’: Romanticism, Tourism, and the Rise of the Guidebook,” LIT 7 (1996): 224.

archaeologists and architectural theorists, could appreciate the presentation of medieval church knowledge as a seemingly ordered system. Enthusiasts of picturesque, emotional or associationist criteria of church touring could admire the dramatic, romantic or sublime connotations of the architecture. In short, the reception of medieval churches could be pleasing and unintimidating to a general audience and stimulating to those who were attracted by the challenge to learn about them at some level of detail.

Travel and Travel Writing

Travel and travel writing, then, are informative fields of research in understanding the transmission of information on Gothic architecture, an instrumental aspect of the Gothic Revival. These fields confirm the trend that broader groups of people were being provided with a wealth of information on the landscape of the country. It is said, for example, that William Gilpin democratized tourism through a variety of means, for example, by assembling, in his guides, itineraries that virtually anyone could follow. Moreover, his first travel book which advocated picturesque tours, Observations on the River Wye, shows a transition between its first (1782) and second (1789) editions, the latter providing loose translations of the Latin quotes which appeared only in their

original language the first time around.¹⁴⁰ Travel and travel writing research also puts ecclesiological tourism into useful relief. Patricia Jasen believes that by the turn of the nineteenth century, travellers had become accustomed to being guided by the recommendations of a person or a book.¹⁴¹ James Buzard explains that the years between 1820 and 1850 marked the establishment of

numerous institutions either indirectly enabling tourism or designed expressly to facilitate it. As an interlocking system of these institutions came together, the tourist became ever more firmly identified as their creature, as the product and client of commercial structures that administered leisure travel according to the exigencies of business and bureaucracy.¹⁴²

As a result, the idea of a day's ramble was increasingly circumscribed by someone else's determination of what that ramble should encompass and how it should unfold. Guides to the Lakes District, for example, comprise one early example cited by Esther Moir. Thomas West's A Guide to the Lakes was first published in 1778 and "found its way into the pocket of every assiduous tourist," the tenth issue appearing by 1812:

By now there could be no doubt that the way of looking at the landscape had become formalized, and the picturesque vocabulary hardened into a convention. West knew the district, he could tell the tourist what to look for, where to find it and what he should feel about it.

¹⁴⁰Andrews, The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800 (Aldershot, 1989) 11. Cited in Mandler 12.

¹⁴¹Jasen 10.

¹⁴²Buzard 47.

To that end, the lakes were divided into viewing stations and the tourist encouraged to make almost a pilgrimage of them by his “carefully detailed” catalogue, details written up in quite captivating, lyrical language. Even tourists who chose to alter the route and stop at “inferior stations” were still adhering to the parameters of West’s plan.¹⁴³ And such picturesque preoccupations could be overlaid with pedagogical intentions: an 1842 guidebook on the Lakes District by the poet William Wordsworth contained geological sections written by experts in the field and botanical lists supplied by the eminent John Gough. As Moir remarks, “here was the fare for the new tourists who left their prosperous middle-class homes and expected their money’s worth of good honest scenery, thoroughly documented and without fantasy or extravagance.” Indeed, the whole country was slowly being mapped over, charted by those upon whom the travelling public increasingly relied. Moir concludes

Earlier tourists had taken the whole of England for their journeyings, delighting as much in the sight of a field of saffron, a coal-pit blazing on a heath, a Druid circle, a newly-installed cotton mill, a Gothic abbey or a salt mine. Now the discovery had been made, and that all-embracing curiosity of the earlier tourists has given place to pleasant family expeditions to well-known haunts and carefully preserved beauty spots.¹⁴⁴

In light of this general trend, ecclesiological excursions to Gothic churches, or explorations of medieval buildings tantalizingly offered for perusal

¹⁴³Moir 141-3.

¹⁴⁴Moir 156.

in more general guidebooks, have to be seen as in some ways no more than a specialized version of these kinds of tours, instructional, entertaining, and, at the same time, just a thing that people did. Travellers were becoming used to being led around the country, and to the pedagogical component that such tours implied. Learning about Gothic architecture, then, did not have to be a solemn, tedious undertaking; rather, it could be an adventure.

Chapter 2

Camdenian Field Days: Ecclesiology, Church Tourism, and Church Schemes

[At Foxton] we find a very fine old church, but in a sad state of neglect and dilapidation. The east end has a beautiful triplet of lancets: some curious paintings on oak panels, apparently taken from the rood-screen, are discovered; and a fine Early English font, very artistically decorated with lamp-black and whitening, and having arches upon which it is supported blocked up with rubble, arrests the attention of all. A brick being taken up from the floor contiguous to the font, it is forthwith made to the Churchwardens for leave to disinter this fine old font, and to remove the rubbish from under the arches. Permission being granted, and the requisite implements procured, the whole party fall violently to work, chopping and hacking and scraping, with coats off, it proving rather harder work than was expected. Soon it is ascertained that the font has a beautiful octagonal stem in the centre, which had been quite blocked with masonry; which discovery sets all to work with renewed enthusiasm. In the midst of the work the President [of the Cambridge Camden Society] enters the church, to the unfeigned joy of all; upon which there is a vast deal of shaking hands and congratulations, as if we had not seen him for a year before, and the President explains how he had followed in our track, and endeavoured to overtake us, but could not do so because we rode faster than he was used to do; which, seeing he is the President, we are bound to believe. Two or three barrows full of rubbish being now removed, the Churchwarden kindly sends a supply of stout ale for the refreshment of the exhausted labourers; and vehement expostulation ensues with one or two insubordinate members of the party, who seem rather inclined to drink it in the church, the rest protesting that it is not at all a catholick [sic] thing, being in fact condemned *totidem verbis*, in the Canons called “A Few Words to Churchwardens,” and piously sitting in the wheelbarrow outside the porch to drink theirs. After having drawn up our report, and received every attention from the Churchwarden, and admired the romantic seclusion of his farm-house, which is quite one of the old style, we proceed,

obligingly accompanied by his son, to the ancient church at Meldreth.¹

The members of the Cambridge Camden Society had a very serious mandate—to foster Christian reverence and rescue churches that had been subject to mistreatment or neglect—but they strove to communicate the idea that church visiting, the central tenet of ecclesiology, could be an enjoyable as well as an informative and productive experience, replete with camaraderie. This chapter explores scripted church tourism as an integral part of the goals and strategies of the Cambridge Camden Society. Its first section documents the intentions of the Society in promoting church visiting, and the overlapping attitudes of similar institutions which were devoted to an understanding of architectural or archaeological artifacts through empirical means. The next section devotes special attention to the legacy of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century travel in pursuit of the picturesque, as influencing medieval and ecclesiological tourism. This section is divided into two, the first serving as an introduction to the theory associated with picturesque, and the second, as an application of these ideas to the aspirations of the Cambridge Camden Society. Finally, a third section focuses on the church scheme as a specialized document designed to prompt and receive the commentary of ecclesiological visitors to churches. The goal is to highlight the centrality of scripted tourism in the agenda of the Cambridge Camden Society:

¹“A Camdenian Field Day,” *The Ecclesiologist* I (1842): 61-3.

the primacy of empirical investigation and the compatability of this priority with other manifestations of early Victorian organized travel; the parallels between ecclesiology and picturesque tourism, in encompassing the tourist sight with preconfigured ideology; and the potential of the church scheme as a principal medium of ecclesiology, in bestowing on Gothic churches additional, concentrated attention and further legitimacy, as significant tourist destinations.

Ecclesiology as Church Tourism

Church tourism was a central factor of ecclesiology. Indeed, Henry-Russell Hitchcock describes ecclesiology as being driven by tourism: “The avowed members of the Camdenian ‘party,’ the seven hundred or so [members] in the Camden Society itself with perhaps as many in the less fanatical Oxford Architectural Society and in various other diocesan archaeological societies, were supported by an immense body of ‘fellow travellers’ among the clergy, the more pious churchmen, and the younger members of the architectural profession.”²

The habit of church tourism antedated the very establishment of the Cambridge Camden Society itself, and was from the first a central consideration

²Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* (1954; New York: Da Capo Press, 1972) 131. For other references to church tourism see, for example, Charles Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, ed. and with an introduction by J. Mordaunt Crook (1872; New York: Humanities Press, 1978) 196; and Basil F.L. Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Gothic Revival in England* (London: SPCK, 1938) 76.

to that organization. The Rev. Edward Jacob Boyce (afterwards Rector of Houghton), co-founder with Benjamin Webb and John Mason Neale, recounts that he and Neale “spent the Long Vacation together at S. Leonard’s, and from that centre made visits to all the Churches in the neighbourhood, Neale registering results, and myself copying the fonts. In the Long Vacation of 1838 [a year before the founding of the society] we went together through Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Durham, on to Newcastle, Carlisle, and Glasgow, taking notes of Cathedrals and other Churches. During shorter vacations in these years, various big tours were undertaken through Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Sussex, etc.”³ An early Society regulation levied “a fine on all members who did not visit some specified Church within four miles of S. Mary’s Church [Cambridge] *weekly*.”⁴ And the laws of the association, both before and after it moved to London in 1845, specifically invite Society members “to examine every church in their power, to furnish reports and drawings thereof to the Secretaries, and to contribute original papers on any subject connected with its designs.”⁵

³John Mason Neale, Letters of John Mason Neale, ed. Mary Sackville Lawson (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910); Eleanor A. Towle, John Mason Neale, D.D.: A Memoir (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907) 35; Edward Jacob Boyce, A Memorial of the Cambridge Camden Society...and the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society.... (London: G. Palmer; Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co., Winchester: Warren & Son, 1888) 8.

⁴Letter by Boyce in Letters of John Mason Neale, 14.

⁵“Laws of the Cambridge Camden Society,” Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for [1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844] (Cambridge: Printed for the

During the summer of 1841, for example, some four hundred churches were visited.⁶ The other university organization with similar interests, the Oxford Architectural Society, had similar strategies, as did more remote archaeological and ecclesiological groups, for example at Exeter, Aylesbury, Northampton, Dorchester and Devizes.⁷

There were a number of ways in which these visits could be arranged. Individuals could, of course, make their own plans and go alone or in small groups, but the advantages of the group excursion were generally recognized. The Cambridge Camden Society urged its members to participate in these

Society, 1840-) XVII.

⁶“Report of the Twenty-First Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society,” *The Ecclesiologist*, I (1841): 8.

⁷Chris Miele, “The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture: The Restoration of Medieval Churches in Victorian Britain,” diss., New York U, 1992, 512. The Oxford Architectural Society was that university’s equivalent to the Cambridge Camden Society insofar as its primary aim was the study of medieval architecture in England. Unlike the Cambridge Camden Society, it was not solely devoted to churches, and had no religious agenda, but it did have a similar function as an important repository of information which could be used for church design and restoration. For more information concerning the Oxford Architectural Society (which changed its name several times), see W.A. Pantin, “The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, 1839-1939,” *Oxoniensia*, IV (1939): 174-94; S.L. Ollard, “The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society and the Oxford Movement,” *Oxoniensia*, V (1940): 146-60, and David Prout, “‘The Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture’ and ‘The Oxford Architectural Society,’ 1839-1860,” *Oxoniensia*, LIV (1989): 379-91. For further information on the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society see Martin Cherry, “Patronage, the Anglican Church and the Local Architect in Victorian England,” *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, ed. Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) 173-91.

activities:

If you are anything of an equestrian, do not fail to accompany the members of your Society on "Field-Days." In these cases a route will be marked out with the special object of comprising as many and as interesting churches as can be seen within the limit of a day, and you will then have the benefit of the advice and suggestions of more experienced persons than yourself. You need not feel any reluctance in obtruding yourself on a strange party, for Camdenians are all friends and brothers, and will feel pleasure in assisting you.⁸

Groups of co-visitors travelling together are also noted in the church schemes by John Mason Neale, and in accounts published in the Ecclesiologist.⁹

Group excursions also took place under the auspices of the Oxford Architectural Society, the other university institution devoted to studying medieval architecture, although at a lesser frequency than was the case with the Cambridge group. One trip, for example, to Uffington Church, Berkshire, as well as Sparsholt and Stanford, occurred in 1852, when regret was expressed that few such outings had been arranged in recent times, especially because "our sister Society the Ecclesiological [Cambridge Camden] Society, while still appertaining to that University derived much advantage from these expeditions."¹⁰ A quite

⁸"How to Attain Some Knowledge of Church Architecture," The Ecclesiologist I (1842): 89.

⁹See, for example, the complete entry entitled "A Camdenian Field Day," which has been excerpted as the introductory quote to this chapter. The Ecclesiologist I (1842): 61-63.

¹⁰Oxford Architectural Society, Reports of General Meetings, 1848, entry for 16 June 1852, 206 recto.

detailed report of an Oxford Society excursion to Kenilworth and Warwick which was to take place on Whit-Tuesday, 29 May, 1855, shows that forty-one persons were to travel via express train from Oxford to Leamington, then by omnibus to Kenilworth and back to Leamington. Lunch was planned at the Warwick Arms, Warwick, followed by a visit to a church, the Leicester Hospital, and Warwick Castle before departure at 7 pm for the return to Oxford.¹¹ Smaller

ecclesiological organizations also endorsed excursions and appreciated the added benefit these had in attracting members and potential patrons to their cause.¹²

One example is the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, whose quarterly report of 1845 cites “travelling Committees which have been formed from time to time for the purpose of visiting more distant Churches,” and which published reports of visiting Committees which were printed accounts complete with illustrations.¹³

In some instances experts such as architects were invited along for the benefit of their expertise.¹⁴ Chris Miele notes that in the 1850s societies began to combine

¹¹Oxford Architectural Society, OAS Excursion Accounts and Miscellaneous Notes, 1854-71, 4 recto.

¹²Miele, “The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture” 512-18.

¹³Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, vol.II (Exeter, 1847): 105, Quarterly Report read 24 July 1845. Another Visiting Committee Report was read at a meeting on 13 Nov. 1845, where destinations included Sampford Peveril church, whose printed description is appended to the meeting’s minutes. See pages 119-132 in the same volume.

¹⁴Miele, “The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture” 514.

their excursions and ordinary meetings, thus further emphasising the centrality of travel.¹⁵

Records of all the ecclesiological associations reveal a perceived need to visit and make studies of actual Gothic architecture as opposed to relying primarily on written accounts. This message is articulated by the Cambridge Camden Society:

We are a reading age, and people expect to learn everything at home from books. We do not undervalue books; there are many of extreme value to the Ecclesiologist...[for example] architectural works which exhibit elevations and details scientifically drawn with accurate sections and measurements.... But we must first learn by sight: afterwards we may extend our researches and begin to classify our knowledge by means of books.¹⁶

Applied to church architecture, this meant that “the only safe way to arrive at any general principles...is to observe and describe the details and arrangements of unmutilated churches, or parts of churches; and from a large collection of such observations, if carefully recorded, much advantage may accrue to the science.”¹⁷ For this reason, the society’s main pedagogical pamphlets, A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities and its larger and more substantial successor, A Hand-Book of English Ecclesiology, both of which were created to

¹⁵Miele, “The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture” 495.

¹⁶“The Practical Study of Ancient Models,” The Ecclesiologist, I (1842): 151.

¹⁷Cambridge Camden Society, A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1842) 16.

introduce the reader to the basics of Gothic church architecture, are designed specifically to be used on-site. They begin by initiating the excursionist into the language and classification system preferred by the society, and subsequently encourage its exact application on every church visit. In the case of A Few Hints, the system is further demonstrated by applying it to two particular churches as examples, namely St. Mary's and St. Michael's Church in Trumpington, and St. Andrew's, Cherry-Hinton, both in Cambridgeshire. The Society then recommends that the reader "pay an early visit to Trumpington church with your 'Hints'" to understand how the process operates.¹⁸

The Rules and Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural Society are more ambiguous in this regard, in declaring the "objects of this Society [as being] to collect Books, Prints, and Drawings; Models of the forms of Arches, Vaults, &c.; Casts of Mouldings and Details; and such other Architectural Specimens as the Funds of the Society will admit."¹⁹ Here, primacy seems to be given to the accumulation of reproductions and texts rather than direct contact with the actual building. This is justified, however, by concern over the distances and effort

¹⁸"How to Attain Some Knowledge of Church Architecture," The Ecclesiologist I (1842): 88. See also Cambridge Camden Society, A Hand-Book of English Ecclesiology (London: Joseph Masters, 1847) iii, which is "intended for active and *travelling* Ecclesiologists: it is meant to be the companion of their church tours...."

¹⁹Rules and Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural Society, vol. I (Oxford, 1839-47).

involved:

From the scarcity of records, existing monuments are the safest guides in this research: but as they are widely separated, the labour of examination and comparison is so great, that, without some more systematic plan of operation than has hitherto been adopted, we can scarcely expect that the task will be satisfactorily accomplished.

To compensate for these difficulties, “it has been suggested, that this inconvenience may be best met by the formation of Local Associations, having for their principal aim the collecting of Drawings, and descriptions of the Edifices in their immediate neighbourhood....”²⁰ An OAS report dated 1852 clarifies the situation: “Our members should bear in mind that much more real architectural information is derived from the ocular inspection of a few good examples, than from the perusal of books however correctly and beautifully illustrated and in this lies the chief benefit to be derived from architectural excursions....”²¹ And the Oxford society’s hopes in calling upon local associations to fill in the gaps were apparently satisfied by numerous regional groups. One example is the project of a Thomas George Norris, presented at the annual meeting of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society in April 1844, which contains notes in tabular form on most of the parish churches in Devon. Answering such questions as the number of

²⁰“The Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture,” Rules and Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural Society, vol. I (Oxford, 1839-47).

²¹Oxford Architectural Society Reports of General Meetings, 16 June 1852, 206 recto.

fonts in the Decorated style to be found in these churches, Norris explains that this was his personal contribution to

...the common cause [of his own and kindred societies] of obtaining and diffusing information through the agency of individual members, each according to his means. In my own case these are so limited that I determined to confine my efforts to a tabular record of particular features in such Churches of the county as I could obtain through the intermedium of kind friends, or were within visiting distance to one whose professional avocations necessarily prevented his taking a large circuit....²²

In this way, little by little, person by person, data was collected and tabulated, and enthusiasts of medieval church architecture honed their skills at reading and understanding Gothic churches.

Ecclesiology and the Picturesque

The Objectives and Strategies of the Picturesque

The importance and repercussions of one-on-one connections between church visitors and medieval architecture can also be profitably understood in the light of more general incentives to travel which were already in operation as ecclesiology gained momentum, incentives which had clustered around the eighteenth-century appreciation of the picturesque. Significantly, picturesque

²²Thomas George Norris, "Observations on Church Delapidations," *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, vol. II (Exeter, 1847) 15-33.

tourism, which began originally as an amusement for the nobility, was, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, a popular pursuit amongst the middle class as well.²³

The rubrics of picturesque ideology, as prepared for tourist consumption, also emphasized controlled vision and the importance of individual empirical exploration. Associationism was an important element, and reflected the belief that the visited sight or landscape has the power to elicit an emotional reaction on the part of the viewer, a viewer whose sentiments were informed by, indeed precipitated by, the kinds of discourse which tempered and regulated perception. It will be argued that the methods and strategies of picturesque travel-gazing become transposed by the first quarter of the nineteenth century into medieval and even ecclesiological gazing, even if the subject being perused changed from primarily nature-based landscape compositions, to Gothic buildings. It might also be possible to say that ecclesiological ideology was itself influenced by picturesque ideology, a position which some previous critics have challenged.

Picturesque travel was all about achieving a maximum-intensity visual experience of nature and the landscape, generated by personal knowledge and

²³See, for example, James Macaulay, *The Gothic Revival: 1745-1845* (Glasgow and London: Blackie, 1975) 179-80; Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 172; Esther Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540-1840* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964) 141-143; Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914* (Toronto Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1995) 10.

sentiment, and guided by a learned understanding of how an environment is encountered through the senses. Seeking out resemblances and associations between nature and art was the predominant impulse: the term picturesque itself implies this quest to perceive a landscape vista, composed in such a way that it resembled a picture or a painting. The work of Claude Lorraine was considered particularly inspirational.²⁴ The assumption is that the scene being viewed has the capacity to precipitate an emotional and intellectual reaction on the part of the viewer, who associates what s/he is seeing with a framework of previous knowledge or experience in which the subject resides. Scottish philosopher Archibald Alison makes this claim when he asserts in 1790 that beauty is not intrinsic in any particular object, but rather is a product of the mind of the viewer: an emotion results from visual contact, which creates certain associations. If these are intense and well-rounded and well-connected enough, the object is beautiful. The function of education is thus to equip the mind with sufficient data to stimulate associations, and the function of the artist is to ensure that the object viewed is laden with sufficient capacity to inspire these associations.²⁵

²⁴Emily Jane Cohen, "Museums of the Mind: The Gothic and the Art of Memory." *English Literary History* 62:4 (1995): 883-905. For a revealing, recent exploration of this topic, see, Onno Oerlemans, *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002) 148-99, chapter 5, "Moving through the Environment: Travel and Romanticism."

²⁵Archibald Alison, *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790), "Of the Nature and of the Emotions of Sublimity and Beauty," pp. 4-7. Cited in George Hersey, *High Victorian Gothic: A Study in Associationism* (Baltimore

Richard Payne Knight carries further this philosophical attitude in terms of picturesque ideology in his Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste. He begins by justifying his research in terms of the familiar argument that taste is a necessary prerequisite to production, and adds a paternalistic twist, arguing that “it is upon practical good taste, in our more elegant manufactures, that the resources of this country, and consequently the liberties and civilization of mankind, in some measure depend.”²⁶ The acquisition and development of taste is to be exercised by subscribing to the ideals of picturesque perception. It is precisely the relationship between painting and these ideals that “affords the whole pleasure derived from association,” a pleasure only available to those “persons in a certain degree conversant” with painting as an art form, or indeed, with other arts such as poetry. Natural scenery most intensely makes an

and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972) 10-11. It is interesting that Alison singles out the pleasures gleaned by antiquarians as the result of a similar process; his description seems particularly applicable to ecclesiologists: “The antiquarian in his cabinet, surrounded by the relics of former ages, seems to himself to be removed to periods that are long since past, and indulges in the imagination of living in a world, which, by a very natural kind of prejudice, we are always willing to believe was both wiser and better than the present.... The...patriotism of antiquity [rises] again before his view, softened by the obscurity in which [it is] involved.... The dress, the furniture, the arms of the times, are so many assistances to his imagination, in guiding or directing its exercise, and, offering him a thousand sources of imagery, provide him with an honest inexhaustible field in which his memory and his fancy may expatiate.” Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste (Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1812) 36.

²⁶Richard Payne Knight, An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste, 2nd ed. (London: Payne and J. White, 1805) iv.

impression on this viewer who has already made contact with pre-established aesthetic or intellectual articulations of that landscape: what happens is that the actual environment recalls “to the mind the imitations, which skill, taste, and genius have produced; and these again recall to the mind the objects themselves, and show them through an improved medium—that of the feeling and discernment of a great artist.”²⁷ An informed basis for appreciation is thus critical:

As all the pleasures of the intellect arise from the association of ideas, the more the materials of association are multiplied, the more will the sphere of those pleasures be enlarged. To a mind richly stored, almost every object of nature or art, that presents itself to the senses, either excites fresh trains and combinations of ideas, or vivifies and strengthens those which existed before: so that recollection enhances enjoyment, and enjoyment heightens recollection.... [A] spectator [whose] mind [is] enriched with the embellishments of the painter and poet...[feels] beauties which are not felt by the organic sense of vision, but by the intellect and imagination through that sense.”²⁸

By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, neoclassical supremacy, under whose influence Payne Knight favours classical poetry as the inspiration for picturesque appreciation, was already being eroded and increasingly challenged by indigenous sources of inspiration such as Milton. Equally

²⁷Payne Knight 152-3.

²⁸Payne Knight 143, 154. See J. Mordaunt Crook, The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern (London: John Murray, 1987) 20. Crook also quotes a similar comment by William Chambers, in his Treatise on Civil Architecture of 1791: the impact of visible objects on the viewer “is not alone produced by the image on the [eye]; but by a series of reasoning and association of ideas, impressing and guiding the mind in its decision.” (p. 108), Crook 21.

importantly, this decline of the hegemony of one distinct manifestation of aesthetic “taste” also gave further credence to the idea that the recognition of beauty is subjective.²⁹ Informed travellers were thus all the more encouraged to frame and evolve their own impressions and declarations of beautiful landscapes.

For the picturesque tourist, the gaze was contingent upon, not only the personal associations of the viewer, but also upon a prior understanding of guidelines on what kinds of landscape to appreciate, and how and even from which vantage points to appreciate them--in other words, orchestrating a “highly directed approach to seeing.”³⁰ William Gilpin’s first guidebook, Observations on the River Wye, dated 1782, declares that the tourist take up a “new object of pursuit,” distinct from rationally-oriented inquiry, and “examine the face of a country by the rules of picturesque beauty: that not merely describing; but of adapting the description of natural scenery to the principles of artificial landscape.”³¹ In the hands of Gilpin and other observers such as Uvedale Price,

²⁹See Malcolm Andrews, The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain 1760-1800 (Aldershot, England: Scholar, 1989) 41.

³⁰Lynne Withey, Grand Tours and Cook’s Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750-1915 (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1997) 47. As mentioned in the introduction, viewing “stations” were set up around popular picturesque destinations, from which travellers were meant to appreciate the targeted landscape. This was one of the many techniques used for guiding travellers on the manner to absorb the vista.

³¹William Gilpin, Observations on the River Wye, and several Parts of South Wales, &c., relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; made in the Summer of

picturesque ideals are configured as a dismissal of such traits as utility and proportion; instead, they prize obsolescence and disproportion as evoking particular aesthetic appeal. Through these impulses, variety, of texture and of contour, assumes pivotal significance and the ruin gains credence as the ultimate aesthetic destination.³² Pristine, wild-looking settings are also desirable because they facilitate and enhance the recording of the picture, allowing the artist a “free, bold touch” in execution.³³ This last requirement was the pragmatic incentive which linked the ideas of the picturesque to travel in the first place, because such locations were to be found, by definition, in less cultivated, isolated regions of the kingdom, including parts of Scotland, Wales, and northern England.³⁴

The preferred visual image, then, was rustic and untouched. However, savants of the picturesque emphasize the degree to which artifice could be used freely to affect this image. Gilpin makes this point clear in a number of examples. He asserts that “the painter, who adheres strictly to the *composition* of nature, will rarely make a good picture”; some alteration of the foreground, “a

the Year 1770 (London: R. Blamire, 1782) 1. See also Withey 38.

³²Andrews 55.

³³Andrews 57.

³⁴The landscape in question must also not have appeared to have been subjected to human intervention, a requirement which placed the gardens of Capability Brown, for example, out of favour because they were too “smooth.” Andrews 64. Continental appreciation of the picturesque highlighted similar destinations, such as the Alps. See Withey 45.

liberty, that must always be allowed” must compensate for the fact that “he is rarely so fortunate as to find a landscape completely satisfactory to him.”³⁵ He singles out the ruins of Tintern Abbey, as a sight which lends itself particularly well as the subject matter for a picture, but acknowledges wistfully that “a number of gable-ends hurt the eye with their regularity; and disgust it by the vulgarity of their shape. A mallet judiciously used (but who durst use it?) might be of service in fracturing some of them; particularly those of the cross isles, which are not only disagreeable in themselves, but confound the perspective.”³⁶ Gilpin also offers advice for the creation of an appropriate picturesque landscape through the addition of trees, nature’s “richest, and most ornamental mantle.”

Since “man cannot put a twig in the ground without formality” the goal is to

...plant profusely; and thus to afford scope for the felling axe. The felling axe is the instrument, which gives the finishing touch of picturesque effect. It forms the outline, and marks the breaks. No human judgment can manage this business compleatly [sic] in the first planting; yet human judgment, in the first planting, should nevertheless do what it can: and under the management of taste an artificial wood may attain great beauty; and vie in some degree with the superior effect of nature.³⁷

Effect, rather than authenticity, is the priority, just as impression, rather than utility, is to be admired.

³⁵Gilpin, Observations on the River Wye 19.

³⁶Gilpin, Observations on the River Wye 32.

³⁷William Gilpin, Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain; particularly the High-Lands of Scotland. 2nd ed. Vol. II (London: R. Blamire, 1792) 165-66.

If the picturesque gaze was tempered, then, by the nature of the individual mind and by picturesque discourse, it was subjected as well to manipulation in the acts of perception and recording through the use of a number of devices. These devices captured and distorted images so that they could be “fixed,” and also circumscribed the way in which data was documented. Malcolm Andrews includes a chapter full of “Travelling ‘knick-knacks’” in his book on the picturesque, and likens the creation of a picturesque image, with its pre-determined viewing stations, special equipment, and connotations of bringing the wild under civilised control, to big-game hunting.³⁸ Here the target was sought not through the viewfinder of a gun but with what was known as a “Claude glass” (named for the painter)--a small convex mirror, sometimes tinted, which the viewer aimed at the landscape s/he wished to capture. Sitting, then, with his or her back to the original vista, the painter then worked to reproduce, on paper, the image in the mirror. Nature was, in this way, personalized, tamed, miniaturized, framed, with details appropriately diminished except in the foreground, and with requisite moody tones induced through the tinting. The result, paradoxically, was both a faithful reproduction of a particular sight, and a synthetic manipulation and modification.³⁹ Another benefit was a hastening of the recording process,

³⁸ Andrews 67-70. See also Cohen 883.

³⁹ See Jean Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958) 141-2, and John Dixon Hunt, “Picturesque Mirrors and the Ruins of the Past,” *Art History* IV (1981): 254-70.

inasmuch as the visitor could determine and sustain the parameters of the scene relatively quickly, and reduce one day's worth of the effects of changing light, to the selection of a suitably curved and tinted Claude glass.⁴⁰ A second boon to the traveller was what was known as a "Travelling Journal," described by Andrews as a

...lavish, purpose-built volume, published with that title on its cover in London in 1789 and used that year for a tour in Scotland. The tourist was meant to use a whole two-page opening at one time. Two narrow columns were provided for recording dates and place-names, and two broad ones for "Observations, etc" and "Omissions." The status of the Omissions column is a little enigmatic. It seems it could be filled in with anything from documentary enlargements on well-known places and paintings missed during a country house visit to afterthoughts on the atmosphere of a particular site.⁴¹

Enigmatic or not, the "Omissions" column makes it evident that the book was meant to accompany the traveller for the purposes of recording data on site. What is unfortunately not clear is the degree to which such journals were used, whereas Claude glasses were apparently frequently carried by tourists of the picturesque.⁴²

The Picturesque, Medievalism and Ecclesiology

A pivotal link between picturesque travel and Gothic travel has already

⁴⁰Andrews 70.

⁴¹Andrews 73.

⁴²Andrews 68.

been mentioned. This is the medieval ruin, whose asymmetry, obsolescence and sublime characteristics were valued by one ideology, and whose craftsmanship, authenticity and nationalistic characteristics cherished by the other. But the apparent affinity of Gothic architecture to picturesque ideology goes beyond the ruin. Writing before theorists such as Thomas Rickman developed elaborate taxonomies which formed the basis for what ecclesiologists saw as a “science” of Gothic architecture, Payne Knight appreciated medieval architecture because he believed it, too, to be something almost wild, not subject to control. It had “no rules, no proportions, and consequently no definitions,” and “depended entirely upon circumstances and situations; and were confined by no...systems of architecture,” being only a “corruption of the sacred architecture of the Greeks and Romans, by a mixture of the Moorish or Saracenesque, which is formed out of a combination of the Aegyptian, Persian, and Hindoo.”⁴³

Later scholars have considered other overlaps. Making the point that “Gothic was from the first a literary style with an appeal which was purely associative,” Kenneth Clark considers the link between Gothic and picturesque in terms of the broadening of public interest in the latter by the beginning of the nineteenth century. He notes that the fashion taken up by the élite of picturesque travel consequently declined by that time, since “exquisite and awful sensations cannot be shared with the vulgar.” Moreover, he finds it “easy to see how this

⁴³Payne Knight 165.

craze is connected with the Gothic Revival”:

Opinions might differ as to the exact definition of the word picturesque, but all agree that nothing was so undeniably picturesque as Gothic architecture. Picknickers, following in the wake of some sentimental traveller, sought the shadow of a Gothic abbey; many who were young in the last quarter of the eighteenth century must have associated these buildings with sweet and poignant moments, and through life Gothic must have kept for them some perfume of their poetical youth.⁴⁴

Michael Bright’s position is unequivocal: medieval architecture’s strength was the facility with which association could take place: “Although both Wordsworth and Coleridge maintained that sensitive minds needed very little from the object by way of stimulation, less poetic imaginations depended on particular features in the object for the apprehension of beauty, and it so happened that Gothic architecture possessed these features to a far greater extent than did classical. This ability of buildings in the Gothic style to arouse the imaginations of nineteenth-century people goes a long way in explaining the popularity of the Gothic Revival.”⁴⁵ Medieval churches were considered to have special associative characteristics. In analysing the early career of architect John Carter, Simon Bradley takes this position:

the growing number of new-Gothic churches that were built from the 1770s onwards suggests that Carter and his circle partook of a wider shift in taste [away from classical architecture]. Indeed, by the last years of the

⁴⁴Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* (London: John Murray, 1962) 56, 68-9.

⁴⁵Michael Bright, *Cities Built to Music: Aesthetic Theories of the Victorian Gothic Revival* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1984) 193.

eighteenth century the connection between Gothic architecture and religious feeling had become a convention of Associationist aesthetics.... Proponents of exclusive classicism were thus compelled to acknowledge the associative power of Gothic before dismissing the style, rather than appeal to its “self-evident” barbarity as might have been done half a century before.⁴⁶

More controversial is the degree to which shared ideology between the picturesque and the Gothic Revival can be understood as integrated into the specialized tenets of ecclesiology. As we will see, some theorists have seen the rise of attitudes of those such as Pugin and the executive of the Cambridge Camden Society as the antithesis of picturesque, and to some extent their arguments are unassailable. To ecclesiologists, Gothic design was vital rather than obsolete, the means to gain ground in the struggle to restore religiosity.⁴⁷ They also believed that the importance of the building superceded that of the landscape, whereas the opposite was true in the picturesque way of thinking.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Bradley, “The Gothic Revival and the Church of England 1790-1840.” diss. U of London, 1996, 77-78.

⁴⁷Bradley seems to imply this position when he argues that the picturesque was not relevant to recently-built churches: “the obvious newness of such churches in itself signified the Establishment’s vitality and activity in new suburbs and settlements. Furthermore, the ivy-grown picturesque church was hard to dissociate from suggestions of neglect, somnolence or decline....” Bradley 362.

⁴⁸In The Dilemma of Style, Crook argues that “Picturesque theory subordinated architectural detail, architectural planning, and indeed architecture itself, to scenic considerations” (p. 32). That is not necessarily to claim that ecclesiologists did not appreciate nature, an accusation refuted by James F. White, who quotes an article from The Ecclesiologist which notes a feeling “in its present intensity a peculiar feature of modern times, the appreciation of what is

For example, a sketch of the vista surrounding a church is considered gratuitous to the editors of the Ecclesiologist unless it furthers ecclesiological doctrine, hence “It is not often that general views [of the exteriors] of churches are particularly valuable: when they are taken, it should be from such a position, at the southwest, as to combine with the western facade a distinct view of the Chancel.”⁴⁹

Another serious distinction is that ecclesiologists strove to assert emphatically that, Payne Knight to the contrary, there were rules to Gothic which were fast and rigorous. Moreover, ecclesiology was based on a careful analysis of sometimes minuscule details while picturesque perception often suppressed or distorted details, in conjunction with the use of the Claude glass. Most significantly, picturesque travellers placed no emphasis on the ecclesiastical nature of the venues they visited. Indeed, Gilpin and Uvedale Price express gratitude to those who were responsible for destroying the religious institutions which they now revered as ruins, because doing so was an effective purging of residual Catholic sentiment in the country.⁵⁰ And many critics see a discrepancy

called *romantic* scenery,” a circumstance “specially vouchsafed to the Church of our days,...suited to remedy the diseases of the present Church, and therefore to be thankfully received and jealously guarded.” “Church Restoration,” The Ecclesiologist, VII 1847): 164; J.F. White, The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962) 32-33.

⁴⁹“A Few Words to Sketchers,” The Ecclesiologist I (1842) 106.

⁵⁰Price writes that these ruins, “pride and boast of this island” are to be

between the gaze of the picturesque, which advocated “sensory fusion and confusion,” and the scrutiny of ecclesiologists, exemplified in the church schemes, which sought to be precise and objective.⁵¹

But even those who take the position that the picturesque and ecclesiology diverge rather than overlap are qualified in this assessment. For example, Agnes Addison writes “About 1820 the attitude toward the Gothic changed. The architects, at least, instead of looking at the old buildings sentimentally began studying them carefully. The architectural approach followed the emotional; instead of hiding the outlines of a Gothic building in trees and shrubs, they began drawing them mathematically to scale.” But she immediately qualifies this observation: “the sentimental attitude has not completely died out even today and it continued throughout the century.”⁵² Henry-Russell Hitchcock similarly qualifies a strong statement. “The Victorians,” he begins, “when high on their

appreciated not only because they are picturesque, but because “we may glory that the abodes of tyranny and superstition are in ruin.” Essay on the Picturesque, II (1798) 301. Gilpin celebrates the release from popery committed by Oliver Cromwell, “that picturesque genius,” who “omitted no opportunity of adorning the countries through which he passed, with noble ruins.” Both cited in Andrews 46-7. See also Margaret Aston, “English Ruins and English History: the Dissolution and the Sense of the Past,” Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institute, 36 (1973): 231-55.

⁵¹See Judith Adler, “Origins of Sightseeing,” Annals of Tourism Research 16 (1989): 22-3.

⁵²Agnes Addison, Romanticism and the Gothic Revival (1938; New York: Goridan Press, 1967) 146.

critical battle horses, almost consistently abjured the Picturesque as such.”⁵³ But he continues, “it might be still more accurate to say that they were rather seeking extra-aesthetic sanctions for what had become ingrained visual preferences.”⁵⁴

The greatest vacillation appears in J. Mordaunt Crook’s The Dilemma of Style of 1987, an indication, if there ever was one, that the word picturesque itself could take on a variety of tones. His first direct reference to the topic is clear: Pugin “rejected” the philosophy of the picturesque.⁵⁵ In a subsequent elaboration, however, he casts this very statement into doubt. He says that for Pugin, the “‘modern’ Picturesque was a sham: ‘when a building is *designed to be* picturesque, by sticking as many ins and outs, ups and downs, about it as possible’” [the result is] “‘so *unnaturally natural* as to appear ridiculous.’” On the other hand, as Crook quotes Pugin, “‘old English catholic mansions’” in which “‘each part...indicated its particular [purpose]’” displayed the “‘*true*’ Picturesque.”⁵⁶ A “true” picturesque of some qualified description must thus have

⁵³Bright elaborates on why this statement is inaccurate without taking into account the subsequent tempering reconsideration. See Bright 174-176. In making his own defense, Bright ends up drawing conclusions which, finally, are mining the same vein as those of Hitchcock: “For the Revivalists, then, the picturesque was wrong if taken as an end in itself but quite permissible, indeed, very desirable, if a natural consequence of a building’s primary, functional goal.”

⁵⁴Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Early Victorian Architecture in Britain 25.

⁵⁵Crook, The Dilemma of Style 42.

⁵⁶Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, The True Principles of Pointed or

been an attraction to Pugin, rather than a principle which he completely “rejected.” Crook goes on to say that “Catholic ecclesiology has replaced the Protestant Picturesque”--presumably meaning that objective scrutiny and historically authentic medieval church design, authorized by the religiously orthodox Cambridge Camden Society, supplanted the more secularized “Protestant” focus on the visual for visual’s sake--and then turns this on its head when he later writes that by the 1850s “The Puginian Picturesque had been replaced by the Ruskinian Sublime.”⁵⁷ Does Crook think that the picturesque had something in common with ecclesiology? Probably, because he reverts to the idea that the followers of Pugin agreed that ““truth”” meant the ““true Picturesque’: aggregated units expressing organic plan.”⁵⁸

Other critics feel less encumbered and explore the ways in which picturesque legacy survived and was transformed to accommodate the appreciation of medieval architecture. Usually, the associational thread is emphasized, as in the case of George Hersey’s work on High Victorian Gothic and the impact on it of the Cambridge Camden Society.⁵⁹ David Brownlee agrees

Christian Architecture. Set Forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott (London: John Weale, 1841) 51-2, cited in Crook, The Dilemma of Style 44-45.

⁵⁷Crook, The Dilemma of Style 70.

⁵⁸Crook, The Dilemma of Style 70.

⁵⁹Hersey 61-92.

that such associational arguments “justified the Gothic Revival on the basis of the connections between medieval architecture and the ancient and presumably better state of the Church and of society as a whole.”⁶⁰

The argument may be taken to further levels of complexity. The picturesque traveller was preoccupied with visual effect and illusion, with creating a visual impression that was pleasing for its own sake. Ecclesiological travellers would see this as an immense frivolity in and of itself. But they would also believe that their own agenda—to learn about and set accurate markers for an appreciation of Gothic churches to fire up renewed religiosity—sanctioned and justified their excursions, not to mention their pursuit of appropriate neo-Gothic design and the many visual manipulations that these entailed. As Neale writes:

It is granted, that in themselves those “ornaments of the Church and the ministers thereof,” which it is now wished to reintroduce, ... rood-screens, deep chancels, sedilia, and the like, – can conduce nothing to holiness, and, in so far as they do not, cannot please God. But, in their effects, they may, with His blessing, do both. Those poor, to whom the Gospel is preached, are much influenced by these outward and visible signs.... We do not think that the rood-screen, by itself, will make any man feel the essentiality of an Apostolical Succession, or the benefit of Priestly Absolution, but it will at least partially teach him the difference between the clergy and the laity, when he sees the different position of the two classes in church....⁶¹

He adds, “None will deny that, except we first pay a strict attention to aesthetics,

⁶⁰David Brownlee, The Law Courts: The Architecture of George Edmund Street (Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 1984) 22.

⁶¹Neale, Hierologus x-xii.

we are not likely to win any from the Roman Communion in England to our own: and, if this were the only reason for paying it, have we not more than enough?"⁶²

This is what Hitchcock means when he writes that ecclesiology reflected the Victorian tendency to develop "extra-aesthetic sanctions for what had become ingrained visual preferences."⁶³ For ecclesiologists, in the context of the picturesque, "The purely aesthetic arguments for irregularity [which ecclesiology advocated too], long put forth by the critical champions of the Picturesque, were scorned as hedonistic; but the Picturesque lesson had nonetheless been thoroughly learned.... A non-aesthetic theory apparently had to be developed in order to defend—and even finally to crystallize—a change in visual taste."⁶⁴ It need not be surprising, then, that Pugin, who had similar feelings about the potential of church architecture to awaken religious sentiment, should use the term "picturesque" in a favourable way. And ecclesiologists as well seem unable or unwilling to avoid being captivated by what they recognized as picturesque charms exhibited by churches, despite their zealous efforts to be rational.

Indeed, a real flavour for picturesque compatibility with ecclesiology may be discerned in texts related to the Cambridge Camden Society as well as related sources. There are two passages from *Hierologus*, Neale's fictional account of

⁶²Neale, *Hierologus* xiv-xv.

⁶³Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* 25.

⁶⁴Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* 72.

ecclesiologists on church-visiting excursions, which resonate with picturesque appreciation. One describes St. Asaph church, in Wales, a building whose flaws may have tarnished it in terms of ecclesiology, but that might still be appreciated in terms of its attractive setting in the landscape:

What a perfect Cathedral effect there is about this little building? And, yet, there is hardly a correct detail in it. No one, though it is smaller than many of our parish churches, could mistake it for anything but what it is. And how lovely its situation, on the side of this gentle declivity? How prettily does the village, with its old tower, cluster below us! The tabernacle work, though not good, has an elaborate appearance, and, considering that it was carved by an idiot, is really wonderful.⁶⁵

Similarly,

Landwade Church, built by the Cottons in 1445, though not of an elegant shape, is a very pretty and complete perpendicular building; and girt with its belt of tall trees, and quaintly laid out in flower-plots of every possible mathematical shape [granted, contrary to picturesque principles], its deep moat, rookery, great hospitable porch, and unpruned shrubberies, forms a very pretty picture.⁶⁶

Other sympathetic references to picturesque gazing may be found, both emanating from the Cambridge Camden Society, and from other contemporary societies studying medieval architecture. *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, a Cambridge Camden Society publication, favours picturesque impressions, for example by advocating wooden porches in new churches for the sake of “their elegant and

⁶⁵Neale, *Hierologus* 169.

⁶⁶Neale, *Hierologus* 237.

picturesque effect.”⁶⁷ An article in the *Ecclesiologist* on the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which argues in favour of recovering the “original scheme of the edifice as conceived by the first builder” for this church which manifested different phases of construction, justifies this position on the following grounds:

But even if it had not been absolutely necessary for the safety of the fabric to remove [the belfry stage which was a Tudor addition], yet, when an opportunity for a general restoration was offered, who can doubt that it was right to recover the *original* appearance of the church, and to restore it to its own peculiar and interesting character, when this might be done at the sacrifice of no feature of architectural or even picturesque interest?⁶⁸

In addition, the secretary of the Oxford Architectural Society, E.A. Freeman, in a paper read before its members on 6 May 1846, praises one church as follows: “In our survey of the exterior we have met with little which at all mars the effect of the most varied and picturesque outline which it has ever been my lot to behold.” Specifically, by “retaining the picturesque variety of gables, a large cruciform Church with two Towers has no appearance whatever of aspiring to resemble what it is not; it is still completely a village Church, and has no pretensions to be looked on as a miniature Cathedral.” Moreover, the “charm” of churches such as at Purton or Kidlington “is chiefly their picturesque effect.”⁶⁹ Hostility towards

⁶⁷Cambridge Camden Society, *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, First Series (London, 1847), plate XLIX. Cited in J.F. White 33.

⁶⁸“Church Restoration,” the *Ecclesiologist*, I (1842): 65.

⁶⁹Handwritten draft of a paper read to the Oxford Architectural Society by

the picturesque, then, was not an automatic ecclesiological reaction.

The commonality between picturesque and ecclesiological principles can be taken even a step further, and a clue is provided by Chris Miele in an unpublished article which explores architect George Gilbert Scott's plans to restore the medieval church of St. Mary, Stafford in 1840-41. In his design, Scott challenged ecclesiological wisdom which advocated stylistic consistency: in this case, predominant elements of the church manifested the Perpendicular style, except for a restored Early English-period transept. Miele writes, "instead of improving the church by applying the outmoded ideals of the picturesque, [Scott] was faithfully interpreting archaeological evidence...."⁷⁰ How is the definition of picturesque transformed here by Miele to accommodate a church interior? This is an important question, because it brings under consideration another seeming disharmony between the picturesque and ecclesiology. The former has been demonstrated to shun utility in favour of appearance. Ecclesiology is said to have utility as its governing strategy, utility in terms of creating an environment for optimal High Anglican worship. Indeed, to that end are justified many ecclesiological architectural design specifications, such as the removal of pews for the élite so as to increase interior space and make the poor feel more

E.A. Freeman, 6 May, 1846, pp. 14-17, in a collection entitled MSS. of papers read at meetings, 1839-46, Oxford University Libraries.

⁷⁰Chris Miele, "Real Antiquity and the Ancient Object. The Science of Gothic Architecture and the Restoration of Medieval Buildings." Unpublished essay, p. 4.

welcome,⁷¹ or the preference for the slender Gothic column over the massive classical one so as to allow maximum visibility.⁷² Even the strict prohibition of sham designs or materials might be interpreted as having traces of these functionalist impulses: by using them “we confess that we know what we ought to provide, and at the same time own that we have not piety or munificence or, it may be, ability to provide it.”⁷³

The answer is that the kind of utility being sought is less in terms of daily life or even convenience for liturgical purposes. It is a utility primarily to accommodate symbolic, associational functions, not practical ones. This is partially revealed by an article in The Ecclesiologist by Archdeacon Thomas Thorpe, President of the Cambridge Camden Society, in his report on the attendance of William Wordsworth of a society meeting in November of 1844. The Romantic poet “might be considered one of the founders of the Society. He had sown the seed which was branching out now among them, as in other directions, to the recall of whatever was pure and imaginative, whatever was not

⁷¹See Cambridge Camden Society, Twenty-four Reasons for Getting Rid of Church Pews (or Pies) (Cambridge: Stevenson, 1846).

⁷²See Bradley 86.

⁷³Cambridge Camden Society, A Few Words To Church Builders, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Stevenson, 1842) 4.

merely [my emphasis] utilitarian, to the service of both Church and State.”⁷⁴

Merely utilitarian were the “preaching boxes” of new dissenting religious groups, and the Commissioner’s churches which had recently been constructed primarily with economy in mind. What these were missing was symbolic utility, the ability to send out associational messages which transcended quotidian reality and evoked medieval idealism. In another instance, a book called Church Architecture by the Reverend J.L. Petit was criticised by the Cambridge Camden Society because it, too, took “a merely utilitarian view of the subject,” treating it “as a matter of trade, convenience, caprice or arbitrary arrangement, instead of one that has ever involved and been influenced by the most unvarying and exalted principles.”⁷⁵ In light of these quotes, one can conclude that Miele calls ecclesiologically-approved church interiors picturesque because they, too, are created visual illusions—subject to their own rules just as Gilpin established his. That is, these deliberately modelled interiors are to be absorbed by the viewer, the church visitor, whose response is meant to be emotional, personal, and intense—ideally projected toward an experience of religious epiphany—informed and inspired by knowledge about Gothic architecture and design.

So Cambridge Camden Society policy dictated that ecclesiastical churches

⁷⁴Thomas Thorp, “Report of the 39th Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society,” The Ecclesiologist IV (1845): 26.

⁷⁵“Remarks on Church Architecture,” the Ecclesiologist I (1842): 91.

were not be designed to be merely utilitarian. Neale and his colleagues, rather, “worked from a principle which was the opposite to pragmatic.”⁷⁶ It is interesting that Cardinal Newman himself did not favour neo-Gothic churches and singled out Pugin’s as inconvenient to Catholic liturgy in a number of respects.⁷⁷ Galleries were forbidden although they could have boosted church capacity.⁷⁸ Heating systems were discouraged because chimneys obscured the original architecture of medieval churches but also because they “amuse the irreverent, and distract and unutterably disgust all who have the least sense of catholic propriety.”⁷⁹ Substantial chancels and transepts were recommended even if,

⁷⁶Michael Chandler, The Life and Work of John Mason Neale (Leominster, Herefordshire: Gracewing Books, 1995) 36.

⁷⁷Newman complained that Pugin’s “altars are so small you can’t have a Pontifical High Mass at them, his tabernacles so low that you can scarce have an Exposition, his east windows so large that everything is hidden in the glare, and his screens so heavy that you might as well have the function in the sacristy for the seeing of it in the congregation.” Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, ed. C.S. Dessain (1961), xii, pp. 213-215, 6 June 1848. Cited in Crook, The Dilemma of Style 277, note 53. See also J. Patrick, “Newman, Pugin and Gothic,” Victorian Studies, XXIV (1981): 185-207.

⁷⁸See, for example, Cambridge Camden Society, Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement (Cambridge: Stevenson, 1843) 4.

⁷⁹More suitable, instead, would be “*to open [the church] for Daily Prayers*. The Effect caused by this means in producing warmth and dryness is so astonishing as to appear scarcely credible to those who have experienced it.” It did not matter that the effect might not even be credible to the daily church participant, because warmth was ultimately dismissed as a contemporary weakness: “our ancestors were more self-denying than we: they did not go to church to be comfortable, but to pray.” “The Warming of Churches,” The Ecclesiologist III (1844): 136;

contrary to medieval times, seating for large numbers of clergy was not required.⁸⁰ Rood screens were installed as indicators of the sanctity of the altar space despite the fact that they obscured the view of the altar table. Even the preference for the Decorated style of Gothic made churchbuilding more difficult, since, as Crook points out, it was the most difficult to adapt and to master.⁸¹

Symbolic utility was the priority. The baptismal font, for example, was a very significant church fitting, so much so that later editions of church schemes devoted a series of entries to its characteristics and location. These criteria were ideologically determined:

[Ecclesiologists] much disliked the practice of placing the font near the altar and it is chiefly due to them that it is now so rarely found in England. Their sense of order was disturbed by an infant being allowed into the holiest part of the church before it was even baptised. A font had to be near the church door, not for any reasons of convenience, but as symbolising that Baptism was the way into membership of the Body of Christ.⁸²

Moreover, as is revealed in a memorial to the Cambridge Camden Society by Edward Jacob Boyce, “the Font, of stone, in its ancient place, at the entrance of the Church (a matter of sufficient importance to form the subject of one of our

Cambridge Camden Society, Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement 19.

⁸⁰Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius, Victorian Architecture (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978) 195.

⁸¹Crook, The Dilemma of Style 61.

⁸²G.W.O. Addleshaw and Frederic Echells. The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship (London, Faber and Faber, n.d.) 207.

Canons) would be a standing memorial both of the Rock on which the Church is built and of the vows which bind those who have been brought into it.”⁸³ The chancel was another preoccupation. One “of fair proportions and separate from the nave, might lead men to a more reverent estimation of the Sacrament of the Eucharist.”⁸⁴ The pamphlet A Few Words to Church Builders explains:

The twelve thousand ancient churches in this land, in whatever else they may differ, agree to this, that every one has or had a well-defined Chancel: that is, an eastern portion expressly appropriated to the more solemn rites of our religion. In such a division our ancient architects recognised an emblem of the Holy Catholick [sic] Church; as this consists of two parts, the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant, so does the earthly structure also consist of two parts, the Chancel and Nave; the Church Militant being typified by the latter, and the Church Triumphant by the former.⁸⁵

The complexity of this symbolic basis for ecclesiology, and the effectiveness of the strategy to orchestrate religious sentiment will be further considered in the next chapter. For now, it is imperative to see such symbolism as the underlying theme of ecclesiological church design.

Given the priority of symbolic utility, then, image and emotion—associationism à la Gothic—were combined very elaborately and very

⁸³Boyce 19.

⁸⁴Boyce 19.

⁸⁵A Few Words to Church Builders, 2nd ed. (1842) 5-6. See also Michael Hall, “What do Victorian Churches Mean? Symbolism and Sacramentalism in Anglican Church Architecture, 1850-1870,” Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 59: 1 (2000): 85.

specifically for effect. In fact, such stimuli were recognized and acknowledged even before the establishment of the Cambridge Camden Society. Simon Bradley may not acknowledge a picturesque overlap with ecclesiology but even he grants that “by the first decade of the nineteenth century it was scarcely questioned that the interior of a substantial Gothic church, more than any other form of building, afforded the viewer ‘religious and sublime ideas’ or ‘impressions of veneration and awe’; that it ‘impressed the soul with a religious fear and inspired devotion,’ and could ‘induce us to attend more readily to the precepts of morality, or to the sacred truths of religion.’”⁸⁶ Helped by the hands of ecclesiology, church fittings and ornaments gained significance: here, again, the growing number of categories in subsequent editions of church schemes will testify to the increasingly meticulous attention such minutia as aumbreyes, misereres, and Easter sepulchres were expected to generate.⁸⁷ The Ecclesiologist reflects such priorities in its

⁸⁶J. Taylor, ed. Essays on Gothic Architecture... (London: J. Taylor, 1800) ix; Robert Mitchell, Plans...also an Essay, to Elucidate the Grecian, Roman and Gothic Architecture (1801), 15; Samuel Woodburn, ed., Ecclesiastical Topography (1807), vol. I, caption to the plate of Kensington; Essays of the London Architectural Society (1808) ii. Cited in Bradley 102.

⁸⁷Aumbreyes are small cupboards or recesses inserted into the south or east wall of the church, usually near the altar, in which are placed the ornaments or sacred vessels used for the mass or communion. Misereres are carved brackets which support a hinged seat when turned up for use. An Easter sepulchre is a tomb or recess which houses the consecrated host from Good Friday until Easter morning. See Mark Child, Discovering Church Architecture: A Glossary of Terms (Princes Risborough, Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, 1996) 10, 37, 25.

commitment to cover, in addition to “the connexion [sic] of architecture with Ritualism, the science of Symbolism [and] the principles of church arrangement...articles on church musick [sic] and on all the decorative Arts which can be made subservient to Religion.”⁸⁸ Colour, materials, symbols (the shape of the cross, specific numbers such as clusters of *three* windows for the Father, Son and Holy Spirit), other sensory stimulants such as incense, decorative elements such as altar cloths, carved chalices, clerical costumes, all contributed as an elaborate stage set for evocative worship.⁸⁹

Scientific exactitude was the goal in the acquisition of knowledge about churches, but not for one moment did that mean that the mystery of the church and its sacred associations were to be subsumed by rationalism. Just as science was at the time utilised as a means to demonstrate the glory of the creator of the ordered universe, ecclesiology as a science was meant to serve the renewed glory of Anglican worship.⁹⁰ In this context, associational stimuli of all descriptions

⁸⁸“Preface,” The Ecclesiologist IV (1845) 1.

⁸⁹See Victor Fiddes, The Architectural Requirements of Protestant Worship (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1961) 83.

⁹⁰Basil Clarke likens the relationship of ecclesiological science and Gothic church associationism, to the differentiation between astronomy and astrology: “Astronomy is the serious scientific study of the stars; astrology attempts to find a mystic significance to them,” and adds that whereas “astrology would probably not be considered a science by most educated people,” ecclesiology “was taken seriously, at any rate by good Churchmen, and it was regarded as a sure sign of unspirituality, even of heresy, if anyone were unable to appreciate it.” Basil Clarke 77-8.

were called into action.

One more analogy between picturesque and ecclesiological associationism is important. Gilpin dared not go so far as to cause further destruction to Tintern Abbey although its residual symmetry annoyed him, but he saw no deterrent in synthetically creating a wild-looking landscape to accommodate picturesque principles. The Cambridge Camden Society, too, was accused, for valid reasons, of promoting the destruction of portions of medieval churches which displayed the additions, alterations and renovations which took place over the years. These are the visual inconsistencies which George Gilbert Scott preferred not to erase at St. Mary's, Stafford, but which ecclesiologists believed compromised what Miele called their "picturesque" overall effect. Miele rightly defends ecclesiological intrusive reconfigurations of these churches as a result of conventual ideas about authenticity, which, until about 1850, at least, gave value to the design and not the actual stone which was carved.⁹¹ But was a further justification to advocating dogmatic stylistic homogeneity not derived from picturesque-based inducements to create as convincing an interior landscape as possible, if necessary by sacrificing literal authenticity in the interest of subscribing to the "scientific" application of accurate stylistic consistency? After all, as was asserted by Hitchcock, ecclesiological image-making was picturesque with a purpose, an

⁹¹See Miele, "'Their Interest and Habit': Professionalism and the Restoration of Medieval Churches, 1837-77," *The Victorian Church*, ed. Brooks and Saint, 151-172.

aesthetic sanctioned by serious imperative—with the excuse of creating conditions conducive to more emphatic worship.

The Church Scheme as a Key Component of Scripted Ecclesiological Tourism

Travel theory and its consideration of the creation and effect of markers of designated sights also helps put into perspective the significance of the church scheme as a tool which circumscribes the tourist gaze for the purposes of ecclesiology. Schemes will be the subject of close analysis in the next two chapters, but it is important, for now, for them to be understood as resources which are the direct product of the church touring agenda and hence reflect one of the prime directives of ecclesiology, namely the empirical understanding of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture. Because the Cambridge Camden and other societies devoted to the study of Gothic churches all emphasized the need for learning to be centrally based on direct scrutiny of buildings, the accumulation of knowledge was perceived in essence to derive from the recording and collection of individual gazes, data which together comprised an archive subsequently exploited as the basis for evolving ecclesiological discourse.

Church schemes were not the only records which were made on-site—drawings, brass rubbings and other visual images were also composed—but schemes were singled out at the time as especially significant and reliable

vehicles for the efficient, precise and accurate documentation of pertinent information. Their format coincides with what appears to be a pattern of record-taking by formalized questionnaire, already in use by other organisations that prioritised empirical study of artifacts according to some comprehensive model. As very important ecclesiological markers, they exhibit the capacity to colour profoundly the perception and appreciation of Gothic architecture.

There are two primary, significant characteristics of the church scheme and its centrality to ecclesiology. One is the fact that the scheme was integral to the ecclesiological tourist gaze, both as a document which received the visual response of church visitors, and, later, as an important source of information to the various societies which collected them. The second is that the church scheme, true to its function as a marker serving to direct this gaze, and consistent with the idea that the tourist gaze is culturally mediated, was deliberately intended to intervene in the very act of perception of the tourist sight.

Indeed, the Cambridge Camden Society and the church scheme had a co-genesis: the diary of Benjamin Webb, co-founder, describes it. At a wine party hosted by Neale, the core group of sympathizers “joined the new society: Neale made President and I sec. and treasurer. Chose the name of Cambridge Camden Society. We drafted a Church Scheme and sent it to be printed.”⁹² At least

⁹²Diary of Benjamin Webb, 9 May 1839, cited in A.G. Louth, The Influence of John Mason Neale (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1962) 7.

sixteen editions were printed, four of which appeared in the first six months of the society's existence. The number of categories—and thus the length of the schemes—grew over the years, consisting of 58 “particulars” in the first edition, rising to 260 by the seventh and about 275 in the sixteenth.⁹³ By the fourth edition, two formats were available: one a long slip of folio paper, meant to be conveniently filled in on-site, and the other consisting of eight quarto pages on which the pencilled folio notes were to be recopied for preservation.⁹⁴ Figure 2.1 illustrates a portion of a blank folio version of a seventh-edition scheme. All extant completed schemes are in quarto format, but there is no way of knowing whether these are copies or were used for initial contact. A list of completed schemes by May 1841 numbers 432 entries in 35 counties and does not include all schemes which are today located at the Royal Institute of British Architects and the Lambeth Palace Library. Nor does it acknowledge duplicates which still exist: only one entry per church is listed.⁹⁵ Church schemes continued to be in use at least until 1847, the publication date of the Hand-Book of English Ecclesiology, which was specifically designed to be used in conjunction with the

⁹³Boyce 28; J.F. White 54.

⁹⁴Boyce 28.

⁹⁵“List of the Reports of Churches sent in From May 1839, to May 1841.” Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society, Part I. A Selection from the Papers Read at the Ordinary Meetings in 1839-45. Cambridge: University Press, 1845. Appendix I, 57-68.

No.	Cambridge Camden Society.																											
<i>The Society trusts that its Members, while pursuing their Antiquarian researches, will never forget the respect due to the character of the edifices which they visit.</i>																												
Date.	Name of Visitor.																											
Dedication.	Diocese.																											
Parish.	Archdeaconry.																											
County.	Deanery.																											
I. Ground Plan.																												
<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">1. Length</td> <td style="width: 10%;">{</td> <td style="width: 20%;">of Chancel</td> <td style="width: 10%;">{</td> <td style="width: 10%;">Nave</td> <td style="width: 10%;">{</td> <td style="width: 10%;">Aisles</td> <td style="width: 10%;">{</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Breadth</td> <td>}</td> <td></td> <td>}</td> <td></td> <td>}</td> <td></td> <td>}</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Transepts</td> <td></td> <td>Tower</td> <td></td> <td>Chapel</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>					1. Length	{	of Chancel	{	Nave	{	Aisles	{	2. Breadth	}		}		}		}			Transepts		Tower		Chapel	
1. Length	{	of Chancel	{	Nave	{	Aisles	{																					
2. Breadth	}		}		}		}																					
		Transepts		Tower		Chapel																						
3. Orientation.																												
II. Interior.																												
I. Chancel.																												
1. East Window.																												
2. Window Arch.																												
3. Altar.																												
a. Altar Stone, fixed or removed.																												
b. Reredos.																												
c. Piscina.																												
(1) Orifice.																												
(2) Shelf.																												
4. Sedilia.																												
5. Aumbry.																												
6. Niches.																												
7. Drinkets.																												
8. Easter Sepulchre.																												
9. Altar Candlesticks.																												
10. Altar Rails.																												
11. Table.																												
12. Steps—number and arrangement.																												
13. Apse.																												
14. Windows, N.																												
S.																												
15. Window Arches, N.																												
S.																												
16. Piers, N.																												
S.																												
17. Pier Arches, N.																												
S.																												
18. Chancel Arch.																												
19. Stalls and Misereres.																												
20. Chancel Seats, exterior or interior.																												
21. Elevation of Chancel.																												
22. Corbels.																												
23. Roof and Groining.																												
II. North Chancel Aisle.																												
1. Windows, E.																												
N.																												
W.																												
2. Roof and Groining.																												
III. South Chancel Aisle.																												
1. Windows, E.																												
S.																												
W.																												
2. Roof and Groining.																												
IV. North Transept.																												
1. Windows, E.																												
N.																												
W.																												
2. Transept Arch.																												
3. Roof and Groining.																												
V. South Transept.																												
1. Windows, E.																												
S.																												
W.																												
2. Transept Arch.																												
3. Roof and Groining.																												
VI. Lantern.																												
1. Windows.																												
2. Groining.																												
VII. Nave.																												
1. Nave Arch.																												
2. Panelling above Nave Arch.																												
3. Rood Screen.																												
4. Rood Staircase.																												
5. Rood Doors.																												
6. Rood Loft.																												
7. Piers, N.																												
S.																												
8. Pier Arches, N.																												
S.																												
9. Triforia, N. 1st. Tier.																												

2.1 Portion of Blank Church Scheme, Cambridge Camden Society, seventh edition, including headings identifying the name and location of the church, the pertinent characteristics of its plan, and alluding to aspects of its interior.

questionnaires.⁹⁶ Instructions were clear to all those who wished to be Cambridge ecclesiologists: “Make extensive use of Church Schemes.”⁹⁷

Other societies were interested in and utilized schemes as well. One completed form in the Cambridge Camden format is bound with the Rules and Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural Society for 1840, located at the Bodleian Library.⁹⁸ Three letters in the OAS Calendar of Correspondence dated 1841 request blank Cambridge schemes, include completed ones, or inquire about existing schemes of churches in Gloucestershire.⁹⁹ That same year, Benjamin Webb offers schemes to members of the Oxford Society “at a reduced price” after sending a number of blank forms as a gift.¹⁰⁰ It seems that shortly before this

⁹⁶Cambridge Camden Society, A Hand-book of English Ecclesiology (London: Joseph Masters, 1847). Indeed, the format of the Hand-Book itself made it a kind of journal: blank pages alternated with ones containing text, and were apparently meant as a space to make additional notes. A copy at the Canadian Centre for Architecture contains a few comments handwritten on these blank sheets opposite relevant pages.

⁹⁷“Suggestions for Co-Operation with the Objects of the [Cambridge Camden] Society,” the Ecclesiologist, I (1842): 39.

⁹⁸Both texts are bound in the Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural Society, vol. I: 1839-47.

⁹⁹Calendar of the Correspondence of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, 1835-1900, letter 60, p. 27 recto; letter 61, p. 27 recto; and letter 75, p. 32 recto.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., letter 40, p. 19 recto; Oxford Architectural Society Reports of General and Committee Meetings, Feb. 1 1839- Dec. 4, 1844, meeting of

offer the Oxford group placed an order for one thousand schemes: Webb writes to ask whether the schemes were ordered “personally or officially for the Society,” and whether from the Cambridge Camden Society or directly from the printer.¹⁰¹ No further mention is made of this matter. The Oxford society even considered compiling its own database of schemes to cover every medieval church in England and Wales.¹⁰²

On the other hand, the OAS apparently also produced a prototype questionnaire of its own, called “Notes on Churches,” by August 1841 (see Figure 2.2). It was designed and used by Sir Henry Dryden to record his visit to the church at Great Easton, Leicester.¹⁰³ Dryden was a committed church visitor who made numerous architectural notes and drawings of hundreds of churches in Northamptonshire, also contributing heavily to the restoration of Woodford Church in that county in 1877. He was also an active member of the Northamptonshire Diocesan Architectural Society.¹⁰⁴ These Notes to Churches

February 10, 1841, p. 33 recto. See also Pantin 177.

¹⁰¹Calendar of the Correspondence of the OAHS, letter 40, p. 19 recto.

¹⁰²Ibid., letter dated 29 June 1843.

¹⁰³Sir Henry Dryden, “Notes on Churches,” completed for Great Easton Church, Leicester, 12 August, 1841, located with Manuscripts of Papers read at meetings of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, 1839-46.

¹⁰⁴Chris Miele, “The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture” 405.

2.2 Sir Henry Dryden, first and second page of "Notes on Churches," completed for Great Easton Church, Leicester, 12 August 1841.

must have begun to accumulate, since an OAS Memorandum Book of 1845-8 contains a suggestion that a “Register Book” be kept “for the entry of Church Notes only,” and that indexes of entries be made; such a collection “wd. prove most useful, & wd. be the means of preserving, brief notices of Churches. &c wh. are not, or at least may not be considered, by members, of sufficient length or moment, to form the subject of a paper.”¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, no response is made and it is thus impossible to know whether the suggestion was followed. To date, only the one copy of Notes on Churches has been located, and Cambridge Camden Society schemes must have continued to be used, since they were “also [to] be had on application” according to the Proceedings of the Oxford Society for modeled after those utilized by the “French Government Commissions” which were compiling their own databases of ancient monuments. The forms were seen by the Cambrian Association to enable research to be “carried on throughout Wales on something like a uniform plan; discoveries may be more easily compared, illustrated, and classified...”¹⁰⁶ The Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society created its own questionnaire at least by 1849 (see Figure 2.3); its format resembles the Cambridge scheme, even if its questions exclude references to churches and cover broader ground than ecclesiological

¹⁰⁵Oxford Architectural Society Memorandum Book, 1845-8, p. 12 recto.

¹⁰⁸“On the Study and Preservation of National Antiquities,” Archaeologia Cambrensis: A Record of the Antiquities of Wales...and the Journal of the Cambrian Archaeological Society, I (1846): 15.

SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

QUERIES RELATING TO

The Archaeology of Somersetshire,

Addressed to Residents in the County, disposed to furnish information on any of the subjects referred to, or to assist the Society in their investigations.

Date, *November 10th 1849* Hundred, *Stogumber* Parish, *Stogumber*
Name of Respondent, *J. Otto Trevelyan*

I.

- 1.—Are there in the Parish any Rocks or Stones which are objects either of tradition, or of popular superstition?
- 2.—Are they naturally adherent to the soil, or placed there by the hand of man?
- 3.—What are they called?
- 4.—What is their Number?
- 5.—Their Positions?

None

II.

- 1.—Are there any Trees, Wells or Springs, which are of historical or legendary interest?

None

III.

- 1.—Is there any ancient Road or Trackway in the Parish?
- 2.—Its materials? Construction?
- 3.—To and from what place does it lead?
- 4.—Is it winding or in a straight line?
- 5.—What name and history in the locality, is generally attached to it?
- 6.—Its direction by compass?

None There was an ancient road near the camp in *Carton* perhaps Roman. *W.C.T.*

E. by N. W.C.T.

IV.

- 1.—Is there any spot historically known, or traditionally said, to be a Battle Field?
- 2.—Have any remains supporting such tradition been found thereon, or in the immediate neighbourhood?

None

promote appreciation and restoration of churches and church ornaments: “A solitary wanderer over the country, with his pencil and note-book, and a church-scheme for his passport, may in a single day procure the restoration of half a dozen fine old Fonts, and that at the expense of about as many words on his part, simply by pointing out their age and describing their beauties.”¹¹² And the usefulness of these resources in evolving ecclesiological knowledge is appreciated: the Hand-Book of English Ecclesiology, with its section on characteristics of the different periods or styles of Gothic design and examples of churches that exemplify them, and its large index of churches for cross-referencing, was based on “a prodigious heap of MS, materials, church schemes, papers, and drawings, the labour of years, on the part of at least fifty, more or less active, fellow-labourers....”¹¹³

Useful as they were, church schemes and the other similar, formal questionnaire-type forms were not an innovation as a method of organizing and systematising an excursion. Other methods of accommodating on-site research had previously been generated for the purposes of picturesque travel as well as by architectural researchers. Tabular formats had lent themselves to statistical efficiency and ensured that nothing be forgotten. The Gentleman’s Magazine, a

¹¹⁴“Suggestions for Co-operation with the Objects of the Society,” The Ecclesiologist I (1842): 38.

¹¹⁵Cambridge Camden Society, Hand-Book iii-iv.

journal whose contents included articles on both the picturesque and on Gothic architecture (John Carter was a notable contributor) published a checklist, serving as something between a scheme and a map, to facilitate maximum exposure to picturesque landscapes. These were arranged as a grid, with desirable categories of picturesque gratification—rivers, mountains, “prospects,” etc.—defining the columns, and various possible destinations determining the rows. A dot with a pencil in the appropriate cell indicated which sight has the greatest potential in any one category, and qualitative assessments were determined by increasing the number of marks in each cell. For example, an especially beautiful mountain range in one location would receive three dots, a mildly interesting mountain, only one. In this way, the excursionist could plot the most rewarding itinerary.¹¹⁴ Malcolm Andrews’ study of the picturesque mentions a questionnaire with 150 items, used by the first Duchess of Northumberland in her travels in 1760. One of her questions was “is the place chearful [sic] melancholy romantic wild or dreary?”¹¹⁵ J. Mordaunt Crook notes that John Britton had also taken advantage of formatted query sheets, which were “frequently used as a supplement to

¹¹⁶“On Foreign Travel,” letter in The Gentleman’s Magazine, June, 1783, p. 501. Cited in John Towner, An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in The Western World 1540-1940 (Chichester, N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons, 1996) 122, 125.

¹¹⁷Cited in turn by S. Piggott, Ruins in a Landscape (Edinburgh, 1976) 124-5, and Andrews 73. Original source not given.

personal investigation by topographers.”¹¹⁶ Questionnaires which were more architectural in nature were devised by William Whewell and Thomas Rickman, for their research on Gothic architecture conducted in the early nineteenth century.¹¹⁷

In other compilations of material gleaned from medieval tourism, the format was less important, but the ability to produce a spontaneous record is granted a high priority. One example, not of a formatted check-list, but of another means of quick response to on-site documentation, is Arthur Young’s Farmer’s Tour Through the East of England, which asserts its authenticity as a function of its genesis from the prompt translations of observations to text. The book showed “proof in every page of the time when [the notes on the tour] are written: the principal part is executed during the journey, recording intelligence on the spot, and at the same moment; or minuting at night the transactions of the

¹¹⁸Crook, “Introduction,” A History of the Gothic Revival, by Charles Eastlake <14>.

¹¹⁹William Whewell, “Suggestions on the Method of Making Architectural Notes,” Architectural Notes on German Churches with Remarks on the Origin of Gothic Architecture (Cambridge: J. & J.J. Deighton, 1830) 70-78; Diary of Thomas Rickman, 1811, third-last leaf, recto and verso. John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb were very familiar with Rickman’s study of medieval architecture, and might have been aware of Rickman’s method. Rickman’s list was probably for his own use. And Whewell was an early member of the Cambridge Camden Society, having been a Professor of Mineralogy at Cambridge since 1828. See Miele, “The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture” 65-6. Eastlake refers to Whewell as the “famous master of Trinity,” i.e. Trinity College, Cambridge. Eastlake 130.

day.” Systems were useful, then, to arrange and keep track of both the picturesque and the pedagogical gaze. And the data of the freshly-perceived experience ensured that memories were fresh, impressions at their most potent, and accuracy at its greatest.

There is no wonder, then, that Edward Boyce believed that “In these [church] Schemes the great and original strength of the Cambridge Camden Society was considered to lie.”¹¹⁸ Charles Eastlake, who devised a query sheet of his own while compiling data for his study of the Gothic Revival, agreed that the Cambridge Camden schemes “formed a stock of ecclesiological lore, which has since become most useful not only to amateurs, but to professed students of Mediaeval Art.”¹¹⁹ James White calls them “an item of great importance to the Society,” and Chris Miele sees them as the basis for the culmination to that point of a systematic taxonomy of knowledge concerning the Gothic Revival.¹²⁰

Specifically, he calls them an

...important vehicle for spreading the new system of history writing. The Scheme was the most tangible expression of the success of scientific historiography. By its very arrangement, it transformed buildings from

¹²⁰Boyce 28.

¹²¹Eastlake 197. For brief information on Eastlake’s questionnaire see J. Mordaunt Crook’s introduction <14>. Crook notes that John Britton had also taken advantage of formatted query sheets, which were “frequently used as a supplement to personal investigation by topographers.”

¹²²J.F. White 55; Miele, “The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture” 79-81 and 499-500.

perceptual phenomena into rigid conceptual structures....In place of the time-consuming and rarely accurate sketch, the Scheme offered a record of statistical accuracy, one which eliminated picturesque incident.¹²¹

The pervasiveness and perceived significance of church schemes and similar forms, their ordered precise nature, their double function as tour facilitators and records of visiting experiences, make them very significant markers of the kind defined by Dean MacCannell. Schemes designated the visited sights as belonging to the worthy class of buildings called Gothic churches; they singled these churches out of the landscape and out of the collection of all other buildings as autonomous, preferred destinations; they gave the medieval churches “enshrinement” by articulating their value as destinations (all the more as one of a group of sights visited in a formal excursion) and enhancing the churches’ worthiness by demanding nothing less than intense and meticulous scrutiny of them. Schemes also stood as textual reproductions of the churches, in a sense as substitutions for the churches themselves when compiled into volumes collectively comprising a society’s database. Finally, schemes could be appreciated as forming the compendium out of which subsequent design of neo-Gothic churches and renovation of original ones were to derive—this was the reason for the large section in the Hand-Book of prototypical details and furnishings which had been located in large measure on the basis of church schemes.

¹²³Miele, “The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture” 80-81.

The most significant fulfilment of their role of markers, is that the schemes were an integral part of the process which controlled the selection of destination sights, and the perception and recording methods which would subsequently determine ecclesiological policy and strategy. There is no mistake about this: the Hand-Book, the ultimate guide to using the schemes, is, like the Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities before it, deliberately formatted to cover and teach about Gothic churches in exactly the same sequence as the various categories appear in the schemes. It serves to decode abbreviations and explain the meanings of categories in the schemes, and solicits appropriate and satisfactory entries by supplying specific criteria for the recognition of typical and deviant medieval design in each category. In short, as the society boldly asserts,

It is wished to point out [in the Hand-Book, and thus through the schemes] what is most worthy of observation, and how to observe it best; to enable the Ecclesiologist, on a tour, and thus precluded from consulting larger works, to decide of the value of a discovery, or the rarity of an arrangement, to lay before him, in a condensed manner, the latest researches that have been made in the science; to assist him in familiarizing his eye with the more important features of churches, and to enable him to 'take' them [ie fill out a scheme] well and thoroughly, and at the same time expeditiously.... For this purpose, the arrangement of the Church Scheme has been followed, because experience has provided it to be the best practical method of ensuring that no essential feature of a church has been overlooked.¹²²

A final significance of schemes is brought to light in response to an article by Carol Crawshaw and John Urry. Their topic is the "discourse of photographic

¹²⁴Hand-Book 1-2.

desire,” the urge to fix or make permanent a visual perception which, beginning in the 1790s and rising through to 1839 when the age of photography began, was “well-represented among the intelligentsia in Europe and parts of North America.” This desire was a further indication of the centrality of vision as the preferred mode of perception at this time (a point taken up by Judith Adler and others). It was especially pervasive amongst those who lamented the inevitably fleeting sensations associated with picturesque gazing, William Gilpin, for one, articulating this annoyance in conjunction with his journey down the Wye River. Along with Bentham’s panopticon, the “other great ocularcentric system of the modern world,” photography involved “the material production of bodies, of the bodies that are gazed upon and the bodies that undertake the gazing.” This “autonomisation” of sight enabled the quantification and homogenization of visual experience, as radically new objects of the visual began to circulate, including “commodities, mirrors, places, photographs, phantasmagoria, and various ‘tourist objects.’” Photography, then, is not to be understood as the continuous evolution of technology which finally permitted fixed visual representations. Instead, it was a key element in a “new and homogeneous terrain of consumption and circulation in which an observer becomes lodged,” and is “ineluctably bound up with the...subjectivity of the observer and the extraordinary proliferation of signs and images that the world ushered in during the first half of

the nineteenth century.”¹²³

A church scheme is not a visual rendering per se, since it represents a scene with textual notation rather than illustrating it with drawings. However, a scheme, too, might be seen as an attempt to record a visual impression resulting from contact with a visited sight, stimulated, perhaps, by the same yearning to freeze a powerful setting, element by element, point by point, in perpetuity. It is interesting that Crawshaw and Urry highlight the connection of this wish to advocates of the picturesque, since, as has been argued above, the Gothic Revival and ecclesiology in particular, as well, appropriate to some extent the visual priorities of that aesthetic. Of course, an image of the interior of a church cannot be considered fleeting--it was the ephemeral impression that needed recording according to observers like Gilpin--but perhaps the associational connotations, evoked when the categories of the scheme were considered one by one, were what ecclesiologists wanted to capture as much as the authentic site circumstances which comprised the basis of their research. Rather than producing records as impressionistic picturesque sketches, which would strive to articulate emotion at the cost of accuracy and precision, Neale, Webb et al chose an encoding system based on a frame of reference they understood as science-based, to express the reaction resulting from making the link between what they perceived with their

¹²³Crawshaw and Urry, “Tourism and the Photographic Eye,” Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory, ed. Chris Rojek and John Urry (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 181-182.

eyes, and what that perception stimulated in their minds. Urry and Crawshaw assert that photography can ultimately be seen “as part of the dominant ideology of a society, reproducing and enhancing its preferred images while appearing to present entirely accurate representations.”¹²⁴ The details of the Cambridge Camden Society’s dominant ideology with regard to Gothic churches, the significance they placed on accurate representation, how that dominant ideology is articulated through church schemes and attendant documents, how the ideology is disseminated, implicated in actual church visiting, and perpetuated using church schemes as a vehicle, will be taken up in the next two chapters.

Ecclesiological Tourism and Popular Culture

One more point has to be made clear. It would probably be naive to argue that ecclesiological church travel alone--field days organized by the Cambridge Camden Society or similar organizations or individual trips undertaken by their members--could have generated the fascination that propelled the Gothic Revival to the degree observed by Kenneth Clark and others. These committed travellers comprised only a small proportion of the English population, albeit influential enough as patrons of church restoration and church building. There were those who scorned and challenged the ecclesiological interpretation of architecture in

¹²⁶Crawshaw and Urry 183.

terms of ritualized obsessive anachronisms:

‘Architecture is, then – the [Cambridge] Camden Society sort of thing: pots of holy water, altars, pixes, piscinae, stained glass; old manuscripts; bishops; rubbings of brasses, ecclesiastical needlework; images scarcely decent, pictures horribly worse, gorgons, hydras and chimeras dire; madonnas, crosses; queer illegible kinds of printing; freemasonry, curious locks, keys and hinges; and – all sorts of funny old things; isn’t it? O dear no. No, no, not at all: that’s not Architecture, that’s Archaeology, mon cher, the science of Rubbish. That is, in general, the C.C.S. version of it.’¹²⁵

It is for this reason that the whole concept of ecclesiological church visiting has to be understood in the wider context—as one component of a much broader call to cherish this architectural heritage. As we will see, the Society’s influence lay in the formulation of its method for reading and understanding church architecture in such a way that the main tenets of that method were compatible with and could be taken up by other, less marginalised voices bent on promoting an appreciation of medieval architecture. In an age where travel was an exciting phenomenon, the very gesture of defining ecclesiology as a discourse enacted through tourism gave it an immediacy and relevance to the bigger picture of early Victorian Britain. Couching ecclesiology primarily in scientific terms helped to recast the “funny old things” like piscinae as methodologically-driven new things that required careful scrutiny and exacting classification, and also effectively further distanced the practice of church visiting from the direct connotations of church worship. Designing church schemes--and the pamphlets

¹²⁷Robert Kerr, *The Newleafe Discourses* (1849) no page given. Cited in Prout 379.

that explained how to use them--as precise yet simple vehicles for what, in effect, became church mapping, was a key method of reinforcing and solidifying a taxonomic approach to studying medieval church architecture, an approach that itself reflected and also helped publicise the collective work of the leading architectural scholars of the age. In the hands of other individuals and groups, more mainstream than these clergymen-scholars from Cambridge, the study, articulation, and pedagogy of medieval church design would be transformed, reconstituted, and, indeed, to some extent, cast in a more secular light in the sense that it could subsequently tempt a bystander who did not have such strong religious affiliations.

Chapter 3
Language as Gothic Marker:
The Evocative Power of Church Schemes

And O, ye swelling hills, and spacious plains
Besprent from shore to shore with steeple towers,
And spires whose 'silent finger points to heaven;'
Nor wanting, at wide intervals, the bulk
Of ancient minster lifted above the cloud
Of dense air, which town or city breeds
To intercept the sun's glad beams – may ne'er
That true succession fail of English hearts,
Who, with ancestral feeling, can perceive
What in those holy structures ye possess
Of ornamental interest, and the charm
Of pious sentiment diffused afar,
And human charity, and social love.
– Thus never shall the indignities of time
Approach their reverend graces, unopposed;
Nor shall the elements be free to hurt
Their fair proportions; not the blinder rage
Of bigot zeal madly to overturn;
And, if the desolating hand of war
Spare them, they shall continue to bestow
Upon the thronged abodes of busy men
(Depraved, and ever prone to fill the mind
Exclusively with transitory things)
An air and mien of dignified pursuit;
Of sweet civility, on rustic wilds.¹

¹William Wordsworth, "The Excursion," The Complete Poetical Works of Wordsworth, ed. Andrew J. George (1795-1814; Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1932) 477-8, lines 17-41.

If Gothic architecture was brought to the attention of “thronged abodes of busy men” through the medium of travel—either instigated by literature, by a model established through the pursuit of the picturesque, or by religious, archaeological or architectural incentives—this “dignified pursuit / Of sweet civility, on rustic wilds” was informed by a variety of means.

Ostensibly, church schemes served as the medium between the ecclesiological traveller and church architecture. Schemes’ form and language, the selection, sequence and arrangement of categories they contained, the opportunities for response that they accommodated, all prefigured in significant ways, the very nature of the response which the traveller would have to the visited sight. And because these schemes were also the basis for subsequent analysis and interpretation of medieval designs, they must be understood as contributing in turn to the very model for investigating church architecture which generated them in the first place.² It is crucial, then, to study church schemes in order to understand their role as markers, both in terms of their travel function, and as influencing perceptions and practices related to neo-Gothic design. As we will see, schemes were handy, simple, and easy to use. They made theoretical architectural discourse relatively accessible and unintimidating to the novice.

²A clear example of this is the fact that each edition of the church scheme was more precisely detailed than the previous one: numbers of entries increased as additional church artifacts were individually delineated or previous ones asked about in more precise detail. See Appendix I, which provides copies of blank early and late edition schemes.

They facilitated accuracy and precision, and offered a consistent, methodical approach to a complex subject.

This chapter focuses on those components of the church scheme which made it such a potentially effective medium for engaging scripted church tourism.

The first section explores the ways in which schemes represented a consolidation and development, by the Cambridge Camden Society, of ideology on medieval architecture contemporaneously being generated by scholars in the field. This consolidation is evident in the two Society publications that were expressly designed to work in conjunction with church schemes—A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and the Hand-book of English Ecclesiology.³ The next section highlights a key characteristic of the church scheme, one which may not be anticipated given its capacity as a vehicle with which to record visual architectural impressions: church schemes are essentially text-based. They transformed vision into words and demanded this transformation as an automatic response mechanism to be triggered concurrently with the first visual contact with the destination sight. The reasons for prioritising text over illustrations on the schemes are presented, along with a consideration of the efficacy of this strategy. A third section applies the observations of literary

³Cambridge Camden Society, A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1840); 3rd ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1842); 4th ed. (Cambridge: Stevenson, 1843). Subsequent references labelled A Few Hints will specify edition and date. A Hand-book of English Ecclesiology (London: Joseph Masters Aldergate Street, 1847). Subsequent references labelled Hand-book will be made to this edition.

critic J. Hillis Miller to shed more light on the repercussions of this entrenchment of design criteria within the realm of words. The transformation of undifferentiated space to encultured place is achieved in large measure through the process of language, by attributing meaning and location through the granting of verbal identification to a distinct part of a landscape. Miller has pondered this verbal hegemony in ways which can tellingly be applied to the text of the church schemes. Schemes helped precipitate the reduction of architectural place into codified words, and, consequently, because of the formalization which naming something bestows, activated a series of cultural connections with future implications. The last section considers the implied assumption of the Cambridge Camden Society that the evocative power of its ecclesiological terminology would implicitly convey the symbolic and associational messages concerning medieval church architecture that were important for proselytising reasons. If church visitors were going to make the connection between architecture and enhanced religiosity, it would be by acknowledging, as ecclesiologists did, the connections between the named parts of the church and the iconographic roles that these parts play according to Christian ideology. Finally, the conclusion ponders the range of possibilities, in terms of potential engagement of ecclesiological church visiting as a widespread practice, to which church schemes could ultimately contribute.

Ecclesiology and Early Nineteenth-Century Approaches to Medieval Church Architecture

Inherent in church schemes is a system of classification and designation of medieval church architecture which reflects contemporary research in the field. As Simon Bradley notes, ecclesiologists “sought more to refine than to overturn existing attitudes and tastes.”⁴ A quest to capture an informed understanding of medieval church architecture through the formulation of a consistent taxonomy and nomenclature was already in the process of development. Ecclesiologists grafted their own evolving paradigm onto this existing framework—modified it, to be sure—but nevertheless drew on and extended its basic aspects. The Cambridge Camden Society, however, due to its evangelical mandate, also overlaid on this basic framework an additional component, which represented an attempt to formulate and integrate into the discourse what can be described as a systematic representation of religious symbolism associated with church ornaments and church design. This additional dimension differentiated ecclesiology from other models which defined Gothic architecture, and resulted, ultimately, in a

⁴Simon Bradley, “The Gothic Revival and the Church of England 1790-1840,” diss. U of London, 1996, 24, 115. Bradley is responding to a tendency amongst historians to point to the 1840s as an important stage of development, marked by the rise of ecclesiology and the crescendo of Pugin’s career as a church architect. Consequently, Bradley’s goal is to reveal “the strength of continuity across this artificial division” and link up late 18th-century theories and programmes with those espoused by such groups as the Cambridge Camden Society.

prescribed script that encouraged (even if it could not guarantee) a distinct reading of medieval church architecture. Not surprisingly, this script substantially determined the format and content of the church scheme.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, a significant common position shared by most British architectural historians in the field of medieval revivalism was that the history of gothic architecture could be formulated as the study of how to determine and articulate the architecture's age and stylistic integrity as a function of the shapes of the building's salient parts.⁵ That is, windows, mouldings, capitals and a variety of other components of the churches were

⁵The archaeologist and scientist John Aubrey was apparently the first observer who divided English medieval architecture into distinct chronologic phases or stages on the basis of such criteria as window tracery; his Chronologia Architectonica appeared in the 1670s. During the eighteenth century, Thomas Warton made a contribution in a similar vein in his observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen, as did Captain Francis Grose in the preface of his Antiquities of England and Wales; both were excerpted in the influential Essays on Gothic Architecture, first published in 1800. This collection also included an essay by the Reverend John Milner, who focused specifically "On the Rise and Progress" of the gothic arch. James Bentham's essay in the same collection is credited by John Frew as particularly instrumental in setting the precedent for asserting the value of stylistic analysis, rather than documentary evidence, as the primary means of dating medieval remains. See David Watkin, The Rise of Architectural History (London: The Architectural Press, 1980) 49-50; Thomas Warton, "Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser," 1762 edition and Captain Francis Grose, Preface to the Antiquities of England (London, 1773) in Essays on Gothic Architecture, ed. J. Taylor (London: J. Taylor, 1800). The other essays in the collection are John Milner, "On the Rise and Progress of the Pointed Arch," excerpted from his The History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, and a Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester (Winchester, 1798-1801); and James Bentham, "Historical Remarks on the Saxon Churches," the fifth section of his History of the Christian Church of Ely of 1771. See also John Frew, "An Aspect of the Early Gothic Revival: The Transformation of Medieval Research, 1770-80," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute 43 (1980) 181.

analysed and sorted into chronological directories on the basis of what was perceived as a process of stylistic evolution. Both the individual church components and the headings and subheadings of these directories were bestowed distinct names or terms, and scholars were then able use these terms both to parse existing churches, and to compare findings (for example, one church versus another, or one scholar's interpretation versus another's). Hence, the taxonomic arrangement of these terms formed a model against which all English Gothic churches could subsequently be evaluated, and also served as the template for renovations and new church design. On the whole, a study of the plan of Gothic churches was far less important than data which could be accessed primarily through the elevations—the steepness of an arch; the clustering of columns and the tracery of a window. And that steepness was captured and given a place in the Gothic lexicon by such terms as lancet or Tudor; Norman columns were not clustered but Decorated ones could be; and Decorated window tracery could have flowing, organic patterns, whereas Perpendicular tracery was more geometric.⁶

Pivotal Architectural Theorists

There were a number of architectural critics whose taxonomic divisions of Gothic design were specifically endorsed and appropriated in those Society

⁶A lancet arch is narrow and steep; a Tudor arch is comparatively flat and four-centered.

pamphlets devoted to teaching the ecclesiological method of church recording. For example, John Britton's plan to "subdivide Christian Architecture into five species or styles, all of which will be readily contradistinguished from the others by definite marks and forms," which appeared in his 1826 Chronological History and Graphic Illustrations of Christian Architecture in England, was recommended in A Few Hints.⁷ Britton's subdivision was an extension of the "Sketch of a Nomenclature of Ancient Architecture," which had appeared in the first volume of his earlier Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, in which he "intended to affix precise terms to each peculiar style in English [ie medieval] buildings."⁸

Another scholar working to the same end was John Carter, an architect and draughtsperson associated with the Society of Antiquaries who contributed articles and images to the Builder's Magazine and later wrote over three hundred

⁷Britton, Chronological History and Graphic Illustration of Christian Architecture in England: Embracing a Critical Inquiry into the Rise, Progress, and Perfection of this species of Architecture... (London: Longman, Rees [etc.], 1826)32. See also J. Mordaunt Crook, "John Britton and the Genesis of the Gothic Revival," Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner, ed. John Summerson (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1968) 98-119. Cambridge Camden Society, A Few Hints, 2nd ed. (1840) 8; 3rd ed (1842) 13; 4th ed. (1843) 17.

⁸Britton, "Sketch of a Nomenclature of Ancient Architecture," The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain represented and illustrated in a Series of Views, Elevations, Plans, Sections and Details of Various Ancient English Edifices with Historical and Descriptive Accounts of Each, vol. I (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, ... and the Author, 1807) 3, section devoted to Malmsbury Abbey Church.

articles in the Gentleman's Magazine.⁹ Having establishing himself as a “zealous admirer of Gothic” to the satisfaction of the Society, at least by 1843, what the Society calls his Specimens of Ancient Architecture, Painting and Sculpture reached the recommended reading list by the fourth edition of A Few Hints.¹⁰

Matthew Holbeche Bloxam was yet another sanctioned scholar concerned with Gothic taxonomy . What could be simpler than the format of his book, The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture Elucidated by Questions and Answers? The questions are exceedingly basic, such as how a church interior is divided; or what a rood-loft is.¹¹ Here, too, the styles of medieval church architecture are presented systematically and meant to be applied

⁹Articles he wrote for the Gentleman's Magazine are collected in George Laurence Gomme, ed., The Gentleman's Magazine Library: Being a Classified Collection of the Chief Contents of the Gentleman's Magazine from 1731 to 1868, 2 vols. (London: Elliot Stock, 1890).

¹⁰Cambridge Camden Society, A Few Hints, 4th ed. (1843) 17. See J. Mordaunt Crook, John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival, Volume 17 of Occasional Papers from the Society of Antiquaries in London (London: W.S. Maney and Son Ltd., 1995) 2-11. Carter contributed to the Builder's Magazine between 1774 and 1778, and wrote in the Gentleman's Magazine between 1797 and 1817. John Carter wrote two books with titles that might have been merged inadvertently by the Society. One is Specimens of Gothic Architecture and Ancient Buildings in England, Comprised in 120 Views, Drawn and Engraved by John Carter, 4 vols. (London: Edward Jeffrey and Son, 1824). The other is the two-volume Specimens of the Ancient Sculpture and Painting now remaining in this Kingdom, from the earliest period to the reign of Henry VIII (London: John Carter, 1780).

¹¹See, for example, Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, The Principles of Gothic Architecture Elucidated by Questions and Answers, 3rd ed. (London: C. Tilt, 1838) 77, 86.

comprehensively. What is more, Bloxam, too, identifies and describes each style by focussing, in turn, on a sequential examination of building elements.¹² The success of this book, which was recommended by the Cambridge Camden Society in A Few Hints, is demonstrated by its appearance in various editions, which numbered eleven between 1829 and 1882; some 17,000 copies of the book were sold by the tenth edition of 1859.¹³

But of those historians/theorists who were active in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Thomas Rickman was particularly influential to the Cambridge Camden Society. An architect himself, he did not have the same religious affiliations as the Society (he was a Quaker), and, unlike ecclesiologists, he did not feel exclusive allegiance to medieval architecture: his pivotal work, An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to

¹²Bloxam, Principles, 3rd ed. (1838) 16.

¹³A Few Hints recommends Bloxam's Principles of Gothic Architecture in various editions, for example the 4th (1843) 17. The 3rd ed. (1842) 4, 13 both cites Bloxam as a source for the text, and as recommended reading. In the second edition of A Few Hints (1840) 8, it is referred to as the Catechism. In addition, two lectures by Bloxam, "On Chantry Altars" and "On the Tower of St. Benedict's Church" appear in the Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society: A Selection from the Papers read at the Ordinary Meetings in 1839-41 (Cambridge: T. Stevenson... and Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1841). For information on the multiple editions of Bloxam's Principles, see Hanno-Walter Kruft, A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present, trans. Ronald Taylor, Elsie Callender and Antony Wood (London: Zwemmer and New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), 327; and Basil F.L. Clarke, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Gothic Revival in England (London: SPCK, 1938) 77.

the Reformation, includes sketches of the “Grecian and Roman Orders,” and expands on the Gothic for the practical reason that “the many valuable treatises and excellent delineations of the Grecian and Roman buildings...will render unnecessary, in the dissertation, that minuteness which, from the total absence of a previous system, it will be proper to adopt in the description of the English styles.”¹⁴

¹⁴Thomas Rickman, An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the Reformation, 1st ed. (London: Longman, 1817); 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1819), 3rd ed. (Liverpool: G. Smith, 1825); 4th ed. (London: Longman, 1835); 5th ed. (London: John Henry Parker, 1848). After Rickman’s death in 1841, the rights to An Attempt were purchased by John Henry Parker and it was he who revised and reissued the work. Like Rickman, Parker did not confine his attention to medieval buildings. Parker’s earlier publication, A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture (London: Charles Tilt, 1836) reached a third edition in 1840, published in Oxford by Parker himself, as a two-volume work of the same name (although sometimes shortened to A Glossary of Architecture as in the title of the second volume, which contains the plates), and he produced another work a year later called A Companion to the Third Edition of a Glossary of Terms Used in Gothic Architecture. This collection was probably what A Few Hints called the “Glossary of Architecture, in 3 Vols.” (without citing the author’s name) and it, too, was on the recommended list (A Few Hints 4th ed. (1843) 17 for example). Parker was a founding member and one of the first secretaries of the Oxford Architectural Society, and founding member of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Parker, too, was a member of the Société des Antiquaires de Normandie and had developed a friendship with its founder, Arcisse de Caumont. Parker was an aficionado of both medieval and classical architecture: amongst other projects he travelled to Rome on several occasions and supervised the photography of archaeological digs there, for example a Roman house in the Vigna Guidi, southeast of the Baths of Caracalla. See Kenneth A. Breisch, “John Henry Parker: Architectural Historian and Antiquarian,” introductory essay to the catalogue entitled A Victorian View of Ancient Rome: The Parker Collection of Historical Photographs in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, ed. Judith Keller and Kenneth A. Breisch (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, c. 1980) 13-20.

Yet Cambridge Camden Society texts both recommend Rickman's work as essential reading, and incorporate his assumptions in the presentation of their own ecclesiological discourse.¹⁵ Such attention is consistent with the high esteem in which he was held in the early nineteenth century. Eastlake observes that "it was reserved for Rickman to reduce the result of [previous] researches to a systematic and compendious form, and in place of ponderous volumes and foggy speculation, to provide his readers with a cheap and useful handbook."¹⁶ More recent architectural critics also support the assertion that Rickman's model made a strong impact in its day, and note, in particular, the overall chronological accuracy of his observations and the degree to which an understanding of Gothic architecture according to his paradigm was facilitated by his clear arrangement and sequencing of material in this book.¹⁷

¹⁵See, for example, *A Few Hints* 3rd ed. (1842) 4, 13; 4th ed. (1843) 17, which recommend Rickman as an authority; the 2nd ed. (1840) 9 notes that the dates determining the categories of the chronological table of medieval styles, included in this pamphlet, are "taken from Mr. Rickman's work."

¹⁶Charles Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, edited with an introduction by J. Mordaunt Crook (1872; New York: Humanities Press, 1978) 125.

¹⁷See, for example, Megan Aldrich, "Thomas Rickman and the Architectural Illustration of the Gothic Revival," diss., U of Toronto, 1983, 4; John Leslie Baily, "Thomas Rickman. Architect and Quaker: The Early Years to 1818," diss, U of Leeds, 1977, 322; J. Mordaunt Crook, introduction to Eastlake's *A History of the Gothic Revival* <57>; Christopher Miele, "The West Front of Rochester Cathedral in 1825: Antiquarianism, Historicism and the Restoration of Medieval Buildings," *Archaeological Journal*, 151 (1994) 403; Janet Myles, *L.N. Cottingham 1787-1847. Architect of the Gothic Revival* (London: 1996) 15.

Rickman's own positive legacy to the Society was significant. If its members did not always agree with the correlations between style and date which he deduced, or if they modified the terminology used to identify periods—such differences can be seen by the third edition of A Few Hints—Rickman's work nevertheless received their careful attention and his accurate assimilation of Gothic detailing into a clear framework served as the roots of their own research in the field. Moreover, Rickman was committed, as was the Society, to striving to formulate a system of medieval architecture on the basis of the “absolute authority” of actual, existing medieval buildings (no matter how modest), a goal which coincided with the mandate of ecclesiological church tourism.¹⁸

It is revealing, as well, that Rickman's arrangement of his research and findings, that is, the way in which he orders his analysis according to the defined terminology, significantly prefigures the format of the church scheme. John Baily mentions in his dissertation on Rickman that the architect was an inveterate list-maker--of his clothes (each garment was numbered), of books in certain collections, of all the cathedrals and churches he had drawn.¹⁹ His journals, which are located at the Royal Institute of British Architects, are models of order and symmetry. Pocket notebooks, one to a year, they are all identical in colour and size, and devote one verso and one recto page (the notebooks open bottom-to-

¹⁸Rickman, An Attempt, 5th ed. 231.

¹⁹Baily 290-291.

top rather than side-to-side) to each day. The weather and the time of high tide at Liverpool are noted each day. Entries are sometimes in code, for example by substituting the following letter of the alphabet for one which would be used to spell out a word. This system of ordering translated into Rickman's research, and is to be noted in his own version of a church scheme, which he evidently designed for his personal use.²⁰

Such meticulous ordering also stimulated his desire to categorize Gothic architecture into the headings he chose or borrowed from predecessors: Saxon, Norman, Early English, Decorated, Perpendicular. Within these categories, too, subsets were defined: Rickman explains that "In order to render the comparison of the different styles easy," the descriptions of each style—Early English, Perpendicular, etc.—were arranged in distinct sections. The sequence is as follows: doors; windows; arches; buttresses; tablets; niches, ornamental arches or "pannels" [sic]; ornamental carvings; steeples; battlements, roofs, fronts and porches.²¹ While the sequence does not match that of the church scheme, Rickman's strategy of breaking down the buildings into these ordered parts certainly resonates with this ecclesiological equivalent and may have influenced it directly.

²⁰Thomas Rickman, diary for 1811, third-last leaf, recto and verso, Royal Institute of British Architects.

²¹Rickman, *An Attempt*, 1st ed. (1817) 43-44.

A Nomenclature of Gothic Architecture

A substantial amount of attention, in the church schemes and the pedagogical documents by the Cambridge Camden Society which were meant to accompany them, was devoted to the correct nomenclature of Gothic design elements, and to correct chronological attribution. Under the tenets of ecclesiology, anyone interested in medieval church design had to be familiar with the characteristics of each period of medieval church architecture in order to recognize the appropriate design criteria for these sacred environments, both to appreciate Gothic churches as part of British national heritage, and to heighten the impact of these buildings as liturgical spaces. Church schemes, pamphlets such as *A Few Hints*, the *Ecclesiologist*, the Society's commissioned churches and church renovations all demonstrate the centrality of this taxonomy and nomenclature campaign. And whereas this endeavour to categorize and chronologise preceded the existence of the Society itself, the degree to which ecclesiologists embraced this work, gave it their unique perspective, and supported it with the degree of influence they had, justifies the acknowledgement of the Cambridge Camden Society as central to the dissemination of this idea that medieval architecture is the sum of a finite number of styles which evolved over distinct time periods.

A variety of agendas may be discerned in the names used to classify

Gothic architecture, amongst those architectural historians who were pivotal influences on ecclesiology. For example, the nationalistic bent of many British theorists is evident. Appellations selected for use reinforce the theory that Gothic design originated and was perfected in Britain. This position was taken up by John Milner at the end of the eighteenth century: “why need we recur to the caravansaries of Arabia, or to the forests of Scandinavia, for a discovery, the gradations of which we trace at home, in an age of improvement of magnificence, namely, the twelfth century, and amongst a people who were superior in arts as well as arms ... the Normans?”²² Similarly, Carter uses the term “English” architecture to refer to “Gothic,” based on what J. Mordaunt Crook calls “a patriotism which was belligerently chauvinistic.”²³ When this position finally became untenable due to subsequent archaeological research, it sufficed for writers such as Rickman and Bloxam merely to state that English medieval architecture was superior.²⁴ This position seems especially implied by Rickman’s explanation of his use of the term “English” architecture, which differentiated the

²²Milner, “On the Rise and Progress of the Pointed Arch,” in his History and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester, excerpted in Essays on Gothic Architecture, ed. J. Taylor, p. 129. For Bentham’s comments see “Historical Remarks on the Saxon Churches,” the fifth section of his History of the Christian Church of Ely also reproduced in Essays on Gothic Architecture 75.

²³Crook, John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival 66.

²⁴See Bradley 257-61. Bradley concurs that Rickman responded to French Gothic in terms of its deviation from English forms, and did so often in pejorative terms. See also Bloxam, Principles, 3rd ed. (1838) 10-11.

designs of that country from what he thought of as the impure Gothic of other parts of Europe:

as far as the author has been able to collect from plates, and many friends who have visited the Continent [he himself would do so by 1832], in the edifices there, (more especially in those parts which have not been at any time under the power of England,) the architecture is of a very different character from that pure simplicity and boldness of composition which marks the English buildings. In every instance which has come under the author's notice, a mixture, more or less exact or remote, according to circumstances, of Italian composition, in some parts or other is present.²⁵

This, too, was the attitude of Neale, and of the Cambridge Camden

Society as a whole, at least until the rise through its ranks of A.J.B. Beresford-

Hope.²⁶ Neale's position is clearly demonstrated by the characters in his work

²⁵Rickman, *An Attempt*, 1st ed. 37.

²⁶Beresford-Hope became Chair of the Society in late 1845 or early 1846; he became co-editor with Webb of *The Ecclesiologist* by May, 1847. He was a very interesting member of the Society, less interested in symbolism and more tolerant of experimentation with a variety of medieval forms (including those derived from Continental Gothic). His point-of-view was described in *The Ecclesiologist* as "a bold vindication of the right of the architecture of the future to borrow eclectically the merits of every form of the building-art." His close contact with two French and German Gothic Revivalists attests to this openness, namely A.N. Didron, who edited the *Annales Archéologiques* beginning in 1844 and was secretary to the Comité Historique des Arts et des Monuments, and August Reichensperger, publisher since 1843 of the *Kölner Domblatt*. See Myles 24-5. See also Michael J. Lewis, *The Politics of the German Gothic Revival: August Reichensperger* (New York: Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993). It was Beresford-Hope who supported William Butterfield's designs—although not always without disagreement with the architect—for All Saints' Church on Margaret Street, London, a substantial departure from the literal applications of medieval forms and, yet, the intended "model" church of the Society. See, for example, Paul Thompson, "All Saints', Margaret Street, Reconsidered," *Architectural History*, 8 (1965): 73-94; and Paul Thompson, *William Butterfield* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971). For

Hierologus, who, although they mention positive characteristics of French Gothic churches, hasten to add

Do not think that for one moment I give the preference to foreign buildings over English.... What, for example, was Rouen, when compared to York? – the Cathedral so much inferior to the Minster.... It vexes me to the heart when travelled connoisseurs, or they who think themselves so, return from their foreign expeditions with a depreciation for everything English and a commendation for everything foreign. As to Flamboyant, a few days' inspection of it is very well, but a few months sicken one most thoroughly of it.²⁷

Indeed, the general agreement that the first stage of architecture to be characterised by a pointed arch should be called “Early English,” an appellation used by Rickman, Bloxam, Britton, and others, and for a time, by the Cambridge Camden Society, betrays in itself an assumed Anglocentricity which only eventually gives way when the term is replaced by “lancet style” or “first-pointed.”²⁸

a well-summarised analysis of the debate between Neale and Beresford Hope see David Brownlee, “The First High Victorians: British Architectural Theory in the 1840s,” *Architectura*, 15 (1985): 39-46. Benjamin Webb, the other Society founder, found himself somewhere in between. See also “Mr. Hope’s Essay on the Present State of Ecclesiological Science in England,” *The Ecclesiologist* VII (1847): 85-91.

²⁷Neale, Hierologus; *The Church Tourists* (London: James Burns, 1943) 97.

²⁸This Anglocentricity is clear in the assessment of French Gothic in the fourth edition of *An Attempt*. Rickman asserts that if a close study of Continental Gothic buildings is undertaken “with a basis of extensive English knowledge (for I still think that in England will be found the most clearly marked features of each style in its purity) then will every succeeding essay, giving details of buildings in any part of Europe, be eminently useful, and lead the way to what is much wanted -- a general statement of the progress of architecture in

Another contentious strategy in the eyes of medieval revivalists, relating to early nomenclature, was the use of the word Gothic itself, inasmuch as the Goths, for whom the style was named, were believed to have been responsible for the destruction of Rome and the invention of what was consequently considered a barbaric style.²⁹ Britton reports that the current use of the term derived from Thomas Warton, and that the opinion that this branch of architecture came from the Goths “appears to have originated in the school of *Palladio*” and was “the conclusion of *Vasari*, the historian of the arts in Italy; who, in his *Lives of the Painters*, terms the architecture of the middle ages in general “*Maniera Tedesca*,” the German or Teutonic manner.”³⁰ This idea was dispelled as early as 1806, when Dallaway’s *Observations on English Architecture* proclaimed, in its first sentence, “The Goths had no share either in the invention or perfection of that peculiar style of architecture which bears their name.”³¹

Europe.” *An Attempt*, 4th ed. (1835) 321.

²⁹See Baily 304.

³⁰Britton, *Chronological History* 44. Other users of the term Gothic include Bloxam: his *Principles* begins with the answer to the question “What do you mean by the term Gothic Architecture?” His response is to differentiate it from the term “Antique,” and define the term quite widely, meaning both “those peculiar modes or styles” in which most English churches were built, as well as “the styles in which the castellated buildings of the middle ages were constructed.” Bloxam, *Principles*, 3rd ed. (1838) 14.

³¹Baily 304. James Dallaway: *Observations on English Architecture, Military, Ecclesiastical and Civil, Compared with Similar Buildings on the Continent* (London: 1806).

To avoid this negative connotation, a debate ensued to determine a more appropriate name. Milner proposed that it was “properly called the *pointed*, and abusively the *Gothic*, order;” many, including Carter, subsequently followed that advice.³² “Pointed” was also used by Britton to refer to the phases of medieval which were characterised by the pointed arch (he used Saxon and Norman for the earlier phases, and Christian to describe the whole period), not so much because the Goths were anathema, but because “the word *Gothic*, ... conveys no definite description of any one style or class,” rather, in Britton’s mind, denoting “some tasteless, non-descript inventions of the Batty Langley kind, or modern works of a similar character.”³³

Pointed becomes the favoured term by the Cambridge Camden Society, not at first, but in 1845, when an article in the *Ecclesiologist* entitled “On the Nomenclature of Christian Architecture” advocates the substitution of “First,” “Middle,” and “Third” Pointed for Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular, respectively. The decision is to move away from “descriptive nomenclature”: what the article now refers to as Rickman’s system (although the Society used these terms as the basis for their own since its inception, and they appear in completed church schemes, probably by Neale, as late as the eighteen fifties) needs to be purged in favour of “simplicity, symmetry, and universal

³²Milner, “On the Rise and Progress of the Pointed Arch” 127.

³³Britton, Preface, *Chronological History* vii.

applicability.”³⁴ Consequently, the Hand-book of English Ecclesiology recasts its terminology to reflect this change.³⁵

The other synonym used for Gothic was “Christian,” and two advocates of the appellation were Britton, although his was by no means a predominantly religious perspective, and Pugin, whose approach was most definitely related to religion.³⁶ Pugin’s Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture emphasises the link between the architecture of the pointed arch and the Christian faith, and argues that those who skeptically alluded to the delay between the crucifixion of Christ and the development of the style were to be ignored, because they are “measuring the ways of God by mere human capacity.” Moreover, “Byzantine, Lombard, Saxon, and Norman, were all various developements [sic] of Christian architecture on a cruciform plan with Christian symbols. Pointed architecture was the crowning result of these earlier efforts, which may be considered as the centering on which the great arch was turned.”³⁷ Significantly, the Cambridge Camden Society did not, in its literature related to church schemes, refer to

³⁴“On the Nomenclature of Christian Architecture,” The Ecclesiologist IV (1845): 51-2.

³⁵Hand-book xlix.

³⁶For Britton’s justification of the term see Chronological History 31-2.

³⁷A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture (London: John Weale, 1843) 6-7.

medieval as “Christian” architecture until the Hand-book, in which, however, the terms “Gothic,” “Gothick,” or “Pointed” are much more common.³⁸

The details or subcategories in the naming and dating strategies of the Cambridge Camden Society are also a synthesis of previous labours, and rest on more finely-honed links between particular stylistic characteristics and their probable dates of execution. Many theorists contribute such lists of terms which represent distinct eras of medieval design. Warton’s section on Spenser’s Fairy Queen, in the collaborative Essays on Gothic Architecture, establishes stylistic/chronological subcategories as a sequence: Saxon; Norman; Gothic Saxon; Absolute Gothic; Ornamental Gothic; and Florid Gothic.³⁹ Concurrently, Carter experimented with British; Roman; Saxon; Norman; Fantastic. This series was later reconfigured by him as Saxon; Norman; Edwardian; Tudor; and still later as British; Roman; Saxon; Norman; English; Edwardian; Fantastic.⁴⁰ Britton

³⁸Primacy is not given to “pointed” until the Hand-book of 1847, although the word is introduced sporadically as a synonym for “Gothic” by the second, third, and fourth editions of A Few Hints. Otherwise, the word “Gothic” is used in these pamphlets. A Few Hints, 2nd ed. (1840) 3; 3rd ed. (1842) 3. In the 4th ed. (1843) 3-4, it is spelled “Gothick,” no doubt more for orthographical reasons—“Classick” is spelled with a “k” as well—than to affiliate it with the “Gothick” designs of the mid to late eighteenth centuries. See also Hand-book 24, in which, for example, Middle Pointed architecture is depicted as “the perfection of Christian art such as the world has yet known it.”

³⁹Warton 3-10.

⁴⁰Carter, articles in the Gentleman’s Magazine: Vol. 71: i (1801) 413; 71:ii (1801) 1005; 74: i (1804) 29. Cited in Baily 312.

makes important contributions in this area as well, working from the premise that “usual common-place terms of Saxon and Gothic” were extremely vague, and, “from indiscriminate application ... completely nugatory”:

I am not disposed to employ a dictatorial tone, in order to enforce the necessity of the following arrangement and classification, but I am persuaded that every one who feels the necessity of rendering language unequivocal, of being definite and precise in his own writings, and who hopes to avoid all mistakes in construing the terms employed by others, will admit the propriety of the plan, or give it a better modification.⁴¹

Rickman’s nomenclature is the closest to that of the Cambridge Camden Society. His breakdown further clarifies Britton’s classification system, reduces the number of categories, and revised the chronology.⁴² His approach was

⁴¹Britton, “Sketch of a Nomenclature of Ancient Architecture” 3.

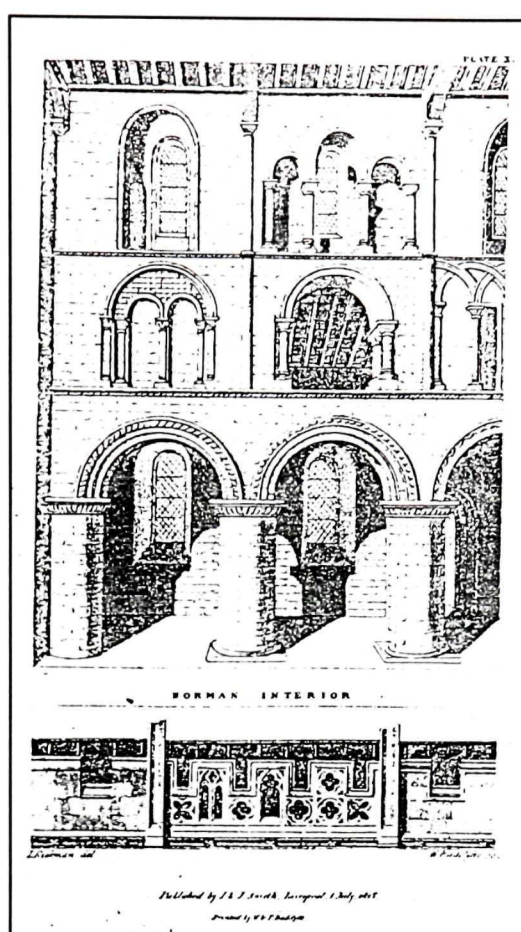
⁴²Saxon is the earliest style he identifies. Rickman adds a section “On Saxon Architecture” only to the fourth edition of *An Attempt*, where it was tacked on at the end. See *An Attempt*, 4th ed. (1835) 299-308. This edition was also the first to contain “some remarks on the architecture of a part of France.” (pp. 309-321). Saxon is followed by Norman, which coincides with the duration of Britton’s Anglo-Norman. Its arches are “generally semi-circular; though sometimes pointed, with bold and rude ornaments.” Early English follows and runs later than Britton’s equivalent English, including, as it does, the time of the reign of Edward I. Its characteristic features are “pointed arches, and long narrow windows, without mullions; and a peculiar ornament, which, from its resemblance to the teeth of a shark, we shall hereafter call the toothed ornament.” Rickman’s period called Decorated “is distinguished by its large windows, which have pointed arches divided by mullions, and the tracery in flowing lines forming circles, arches, and other figures, not running perpendicularly; its ornaments numerous, and very delicately carved.” Finally, Perpendicular English begins during the reign of Richard II and “appears to have been in use, though much debased, even as far as to 1630 or 1640, but only in additions,” and in whole buildings only through to the reign of Henry VIII. As Rickman himself says, “the name clearly designates this style, for the mullions of the windows, and the ornamental pannellings [sic], run in perpendicular lines, and form a complete

straightforward, precise, simple, and clear. His systematic sequencing—each period or “style” of medieval broken down consistently in terms of doors, windows, arches, etc.—made comparisons between this classification and a given actual building element relatively easy. Moreover, Rickman included, in an appendix, a visual counterpart to these terms and their characteristics. The first three editions of *An Attempt*, those of 1817, 1819, and 1825, included ten plates on English Gothic, meticulously drawn and detailed by him, which were what he called “compositions”(see Figure 3.1): rather than reproducing individual buildings, these were architectural details accumulated from his own notebooks, on-site sketches, and other texts, juxtaposed in particular ways to illustrate his theories. Another plate illustrates the Perpendicular style; there is also one of “a Decorated interior,” and a third shows the plan of an imaginary cathedral “composed to introduce as many parts as it was expedient to describe.”⁴³ Megan Aldrich analyses two of these composite pages, in terms of how they reflect the characteristics of Norman and of Perpendicular architecture as described by Rickman in the text of *An Attempt*.⁴⁴

distinction from the last style; and many buildings of this are so crowded with ornament, as to destroy the beauty of the design. The carvings are generally very delicately executed.” *An Attempt*, 1st ed. (1817) 44-46.

⁴³ *An Attempt*, 2nd ed. (1819) 118. See Aldrich, “Thomas Rickman” 22-26.

⁴⁴ Aldrich, “Thomas Rickman” 24-26.



3.1 “Norman Interior,” Thomas Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation*, 2nd ed. (1819), plate X

Ecclesiological Nomenclature

Cambridge Camden Society chronologies pick up where Rickman leaves off. The second edition of *A Few Hints* follows Rickman’s breakdown of names and dates almost to the letter, the main difference being the further breakdown by Society members of Rickman’s Norman period into what they called Norman, and Semi-Norman or Transition, the latter including the reigns of Stephen and

Henry II and covering the dates 1135-1189. In this second edition, too, the Decorated period does not extend beyond the reign of Edward III, and Perpendicular continues through to the reign of Henry VIII. Everything from Edward VI to Charles the Martyr is called Debased.⁴⁵ The third and fourth editions differ from the second one in that the date of the beginning of the Decorated period is moved back in time to include the reign of Edward I. And there is some experimentation with more precise nomenclature to divide Perpendicular into two phases: the terms Plantagenet (the end of the reign of Edward III until the beginning of Henry VII's rule) and Tudor (Henry VII and VIII) appear in the third edition, but revert to Early Perpendicular and Late Perpendicular, while keeping this new temporal division, in the fourth edition. By 1847, the terminology is again transformed in a substantial departure from these descriptive terms. "First Pointed" is divided into "Transitional" (1154-89) and "Developed" (1189-1272); "Second, or Middle Pointed" similarly broken down into "Discontinuous" and "Continuous" (1272-1377); and Third Pointed gets three categories, "Early" (1377-1485), "Tudor" (1485-1546), and "Debased" (1546-1640).⁴⁶

It is clear, then, that the terminology selected to comprise the basis of nineteenth-century derived medieval taxonomy was of sufficient significance to

⁴⁵A Few Hints, 2nd ed. (1840) 10.

⁴⁶Hand-book 4.

require repeated corrections and iterations in the interest of precision and accuracy, and also for the purposes of expressing certain cultural affinities and biases. That is, the words used to describe the physical image of medieval design were given great weight as carriers of that image.

A Few Hints and the Hand-book were devoted expressly to demonstrating the salient characteristics of each style (sometimes even referred to as each “order”) using verbal descriptions and references to specific churches. The arrangement of material in these texts was designed to make learning as easy as possible. They begin with a table that relates terminology with attendant dates as currently understood, as well as characteristic architecture belonging to a given period (see Figure 3.2). The different stylistic periods are defined, category by category, and advice for recognising church ornaments as belonging to a given style is provided. For example,

The marks by which Early English may readily be discriminated from other styles, are the following.... The piers generally consist of a central column surrounded by detached shafts, and joined under common bases and capitals; though much plainer forms constantly occur. The dripstones are usually rather small, with a hollow moulding underneath, and frequently terminated by a devise called a *notch-head*, though this is also found in Decorated work. The roofs and gables are of a very high pitch; the latter are frequently pierced with circular, triangular, or oval apertures; though these commonly occur in other places to relieve any large surface of plain walling. Early English groining is plain but graceful, usually quadripartite, with deeply moulded ribs having foliated bosses at the intersections....⁴⁷

Subsequently, the texts systematically present and describe each element

⁴⁷A Few Hints, 3rd ed. (1842) 7.

GENERAL DATES AND EXAMPLES.

STYLE.	DATE.	REIGNING SOVEREIGN.	EXAMPLES.
Saxon	ends 1066		Tower of St. Benedict's, Cambridge.
Norman	1066—1135	William I. 1066 William II. 1087 Henry I. 1100	Nave of St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge: Nave of Ickleton: ruined Church, Stourbridge: Doors, and Chancel Arches of Milton, Hauxton, and Duxford St. John's: Coton Font.
Semi-Norman } or Transition }	1135—1189	Stephen 1135 Henry II. 1154	Jesus Chapel, Camb.: Soham: Bourn: West Tower of Ely.
Early English..	1189—1307	Richard I. 1189 John 1199 Henry III. 1216 Edward I. 1272	Chancel of Cherry Hinton, and of Eoston: Transepts of Upton: Barnwell Church: no good Font of this style in the county.
Decorated	1307—1377	Edward II. 1307 Edward III. 1327	Grantchester: Trinity Church, Ely: Little St. Mary's, and North Aisle of Trinity Church, Camb.: Lady Chapel at Fordham: Carlton Font.
Perpendicular..	1377—1546	Richard II. 1377 Henry IV. 1399 Henry V. 1412 Henry VI. 1422 Edward V. 1483 Richard III. 1483 Henry VII. 1485 Henry VIII. 1509	Transepts of Trinity, Great St. Mary's, King's College Chapel, Camb.: South Chapel of Little Shelford: Landwade: March: Trumpington Font.
Debased	1546—1640	Edward VI. 1546 Mary 1553 Elizabeth 1558 James I. 1603 King Charles the Martyr 1625	All Saints: St. Peter's College Chapel: St. John's College Library: the Law Schools: Font of St. Mary's, Cambridge.

3.2 "General Dates and Examples," Cambridge Camden Society,
A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, 2nd ed. (1840)

to be found in a church, exactly according to the sequence of a church scheme. In the case of a font, for example, its purpose is indicated; its stylistic characteristics are identified, and changes to these, over time, delineated. As well, examples that are particularly characteristic, or unusual actual examples are noted, as an encouragement both to visit the church which has the font in question, and to gain expertise in identifying the salient attributes of, say, a Decorated font. Finally, the *Hand-book* contains an appendix of churches, by county, with a critique of the strengths and weaknesses of each district's architectural inheritance. Hence, the village churches of Leicestershire "are constantly offering pleasing objects in the landscape, and there is probably no other part of England where so many churches can be seen at once. The prevalence of spires makes them the more

conspicuous, but it must be confessed that in many cases disappointment is felt on a nearer view, the material being often an inferior kind of stone, and the details coarse.”⁴⁸ In short, these ecclesiological guides can be understood as an attempt on the part of the Cambridge Camden Society to overwrite virtually the entire body of medieval churches in England with ecclesiological meaning, by working to encompass the visual experience of any individual church with this circumscribed taxonomy. Church visitors are, in this way, given a sense of what to expect, what to think of as right or correct—anything that coincides with the descriptions in the texts—and, even, what to appreciate or deprecate.

Two final points are important in comparing ecclesiological nomenclature with relevant precedents. It has already been mentioned that the Cambridge Camden Society believed the Tudor and Stuart periods to be inferior in quality, vis-à-vis the earlier periods of medieval church architecture. Indeed, they use the term “Debased” to describe the Stuart phase (see Figure 3.2 above). Given the leanings of the Society, it is easy to believe that the derogatory nature of the word has to do with the effects of the Reformation—that is, that the criticism is couched primarily in religious terms. However, Paul Frankl cites Britton, and not the Society, as the initiator of the “dogma of the *decline of Gothic*, at least for the English public.” That is, it was Britton who first perceived British Gothic architecture as evolution, who advanced the notion that this evolution is organic,

⁴⁸Hand-book xliv.

that is, subject to a growth curve characterised by birth (the beginning of the pointed arch), development (the Early English period), maturity (the Decorated phase), decline (Highly Decorated, later called the Perpendicular), and decay (Debased English, later simply Debased). During this last stage, notes Britton, “we lose sight of all style and congruity.”⁴⁹ Hence, while Society members might have been sympathetic to the moral overtones of the word, they were also simply being consistent with the current connotations of the term—and Britton’s was by no means a primarily-religious mandate.

Moreover, even the Society’s declared preference for fourteenth-century Decorated Gothic as the purest form, worthiest for neo-Gothic churches, can be seen to have originated from earlier critics and to have arisen as much from nationalistic, as from religious or moralistic, roots. There is no question that Decorated is the preferred era:

the interior of the larger edifices, as the Chapter-houses of York and Wells, the Choir of Lincoln, some parts of Westminster Abbey, and the Abbey of S. Mary at York, assumed a flowery, appearance, which charms the eye. They seem garlanded with foliage hanging in clusters from the capitals of the piers, the shafts of the triforia, and the corbels of the vaulting shafts. Every point seems to terminate in a living flower. The doorways had rich strings or fillets of the most delicate leaves.... The windows were now much enlarged, divided by mullions, and the heads filled with geometrical tracery, consisting of trefoils, quatrefoils, circles, &c. Of this kind the east window of Trumpington church is a good plain example.... Later in the style, the window tracery was composed of wavy

⁴⁹Paul Frankl, *The Gothic. Literary Sources and Interpretations Through Eight Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960) 497. Frankl adds that in Germany, Friedrich von Schlegel had already referred to the late Gothic choir of the cathedral in Aachen, dated 1355, as “decline.”

or flowing lines, generally boldly cusped or feathered, and presenting an endless variety of the most graceful curves and beautiful combinations....⁵⁰

But John Carter, no ecclesiologist, had also preferred the architecture of the fourteenth century, that

refined age ... when that pattern of female excellence, Queen Philippa, shone the brightest jewel of a throne; when Edward III humbled the pride of France; and when the venerated William of Wykeham guided the helm of State, governed the Church, and gave Englishmen the finest specimen of the pointed style of architecture that has ever adorned this country.

At that time, “the English nation ... arrived at its meridian of glory. Laws, arms, and arts, shone in all their splendour,” and architecture “was then at its highest degree of perfection.”⁵¹ Again, this preference had been seen as idiosyncratic of the Cambridge Camden Society, as a source of frustration, for instance, to one of the most prominent neo-Gothic architects, George Gilbert Scott. He lamented the Society’s influence over the construction of neo-Gothic churches: “So imperious was their law, that any one who had dared to deviate from or to build in other than the sacred ‘Middle Pointed,’ well knew what he might suffer.”⁵²

⁵⁰ A Few Hints, 4th ed. (1843) 10.

⁵¹ Carter, Gentleman’s Magazine, 69: i (1799) 276; Carter, The Ancient Architecture of England: Including the Orders During the British, Roman, Saxon and Norman Eras.... 1795-1814, new edition, revised by John Britton (London: H.G. Bohn, 1937) 64, 74. Cited in J. Mordaunt Crook, John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival 31-2.

⁵² George Gilbert Scott, Personal and Professional Recollections (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1879) 203. Scott is referring to the Society’s assertion that architects design neo-Gothic churches in what was also

Ecclesiological Nomenclature and Church Tourism

In terms of church travellers, this concern about taxonomy as a function of nomenclature is to be observed, not only within the Cambridge Camden Society, but with other groups which advocated visiting medieval buildings and learning about them empirically. Whereas the Cambridge Camden Society and Rickman were reputed to have created the most reliable taxonomies, based on a large database of buildings on which these conclusions were drawn, the fact that these two sources did not coincide exactly was a source of frustration to those who were forced to choose amongst these and still other interpretations as the basis for their own research.⁵³ For example, the Oxford Architectural Society Report of a General Meeting which took place on 28 February 1849, takes up the debate as precipitated by a paper on “Nomenclature” prepared for that meeting by a Mr. Patterson, who observed, “without undervaluing Mr. Rickman’s great services” that Rickman’s terminology was “unphilosophical and calculated to mislead.” On the other hand, the Cambridge Camden Society’s wording “avoided these evils”

called the “Decorated” style.

⁵³See, for example, Henry Bowman, *Specimens of Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture* (London: John W. Parker, 1846), which contains plates of seven churches. Bowman tabulates these plates at the beginning of the book, first alphabetically according to architectural elements—arcades; arches; bases; etc.—and then chronologically, using Rickman’s terms. In the plates on Capitals, for example, Norman versions are illustrated in Plate 10 on Lambley Church and Plate 8 on Chaddesley; and Early English ones in Plates 2 and 3 on Ruskington Church.

and was consequently recommended for adoption by the Oxford group. The President of the OAS was evidently not completely satisfied with this advice, and “believed that in time a third terminology would arise,” but admitted that, for the moment, one already familiar to researchers would be better. Nevertheless, he thought that “the Ecclesiological terminology would mislead.” Subsequently, “A conversation ensued...after which...the meeting adjourned,” evidently without a resolution of this debate.⁵⁴

In conclusion, then, especially given the absence of illustrations in A Few Hints and the presence only of two major and less than six minor ones in the almost four hundred pages of the Hand-book, words are the sole indicators related to church schemes, of the nature and characteristics of each style element.⁵⁵ Of course, not having visual representations handy to the text was a further incentive for the student of ecclesiology to seek out what these design details actually looked like, using other sources. The fact that the appendix of A Few Hints consists of a detailed completed version of a church scheme for two particular churches with explanations of each category, further encouraged that these other

⁵⁴Oxford Architectural Society, Reports of General Meetings, 1848, meeting of 28 February, 1848, pp. 56 recto, 58 recto; 59 recto.

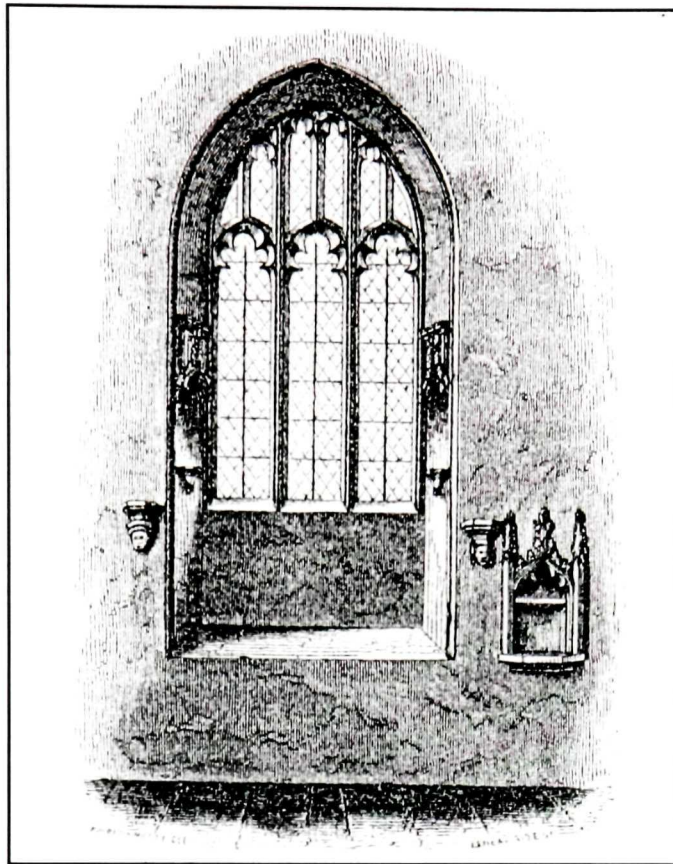
⁵⁵The absence of illustrations in the Hand-book was explained as follows: “it was felt that it would be better not to raise the price of the work by inserting plates, when those for whose use it was written would be in the midst of real examples.” “Eighth Anniversary Meeting of the Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society,” The Ecclesiologist VII (1847): 233.

sources be the actual medieval buildings themselves.

The Priority of Text over Illustration

Significantly, the idea of substantiating medieval terminology by juxtaposing illustrations which show what the buildings actually looked like, was a resolution of the problem which was only partially exploited. Many analysts of the period do make concerted efforts to illustrate the texts they publish on medieval design. For example, the Oxford Architectural Society's A Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford, which was published by John Henry Parker in four parts from 1842-1846, begins with an assessment of Bloxam's terminology, and utilizes the familiar words in its analysis of this architecture. St. Mary Church, Kidlington, for example, "is a large and fine structure, with a lofty and taper [sic] spire: the general style is Decorated, very good, with parts Early English, the clerestory and some windows Perpendicular." Included in the seventeen pages devoted to this church are also a plan, exterior and interior elevations, profiles of mouldings, and drawings of numerous large and small details: windows; the font; a niche in the nave; a crocket, a poppy; the piscina, and so on (see Figure 3.3).⁵⁶

⁵⁶Other examples of works which contain illustrations will appear in Chapter 4. Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, A Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford, Part II (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1844) 56-72.



3.3 East Window and Piscina in North Transept, St. Mary Church, Kidlington, Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, *A Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford*

But other key texts omit illustrations, either through choice or for financial reasons. One example of financial necessity dictating the absence of illustrations, where text is given complete responsibility of representation, is another Parker publication entitled *The Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England*. This project, sanctioned by the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, was ambitious: it aimed to give some information on every church in England and note both military and domestic medieval buildings. Moreover, “best” churches were identified by means of a hand icon (✚) “both in the body of the work and the indexes, which will make them sufficiently conspicuous.” The reason given for the absence of illustrations was the cost, and a promise was made

that plates would be produced and published in a subsequent edition, but not “until a sufficient number of names of Subscribers has been received to give a reasonable prospect of success.” This deficiency did not, however, delay the publication of the text proper, which consequently used the appropriate terminology to communicate, and which quotes Rickman directly in a number of instances.⁵⁷

As already mentioned, Rickman himself included composite illustrations in *An Attempt*. Yet what is interesting about these, is the extent to which they seem tangential to his efforts to define and identify medieval architecture as a function of verbal categories. As Megan Aldrich points out, both the “Description of the Plates” and the plates themselves comprise rather an isolated appendix at the back of the text “and do not relate to it [the text] except in a general way.”⁵⁸ She adds that Rickman, architect of some fifty churches and approximately twenty-five additional buildings, was reputed to have such poor drawing skills that he traced the illustrations contained in other contemporary sources and modified them, possibly for inclusion in his own book.⁵⁹ In

⁵⁷Parker, *The Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England. Published under the sanction of the central committee of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Part I (London: John Henry Parker, 1848), advertisement which appears at the beginning of the work.

⁵⁸Aldrich, “Thomas Rickman” 24.

⁵⁹Aldrich, “Thomas Rickman” 46, 49, 28, 81. Aldrich located an interleaved copy of the second edition of Rickman’s *Attempt*, undertaken by him

addition, while acknowledging the potential benefits of additional illustrations, he was hampered by the added expense that they would require: the preface to the first edition of *An Attempt* asserts that “This essay is by no means intended to supersede that more detailed view of English architecture which the subject merits and requires: an undertaking of this nature must necessarily be expensive from the requisite number of plates, without which it is impossible to give a full view of this interesting subject” and adds that if this edition should prove successful, he might further “intrude himself on the Public.”⁶⁰ Only by the fourth edition, however, the last one published before Rickman’s death, does he rework the illustrations. Keeping their number still at fourteen – three of which cover classical architecture – he combines and reduces portions of the previous illustrations and adds five additional images, including one each on fonts; Saxon; and French Gothic architecture, subjects which had not been illustrated before.⁶¹ Perhaps as a result of both choice and necessity, Rickman’s primary vehicle for

two or so years after the 1817 first edition, which she believes demonstrates “his intention of publishing a lavishly illustrated edition of the book.” Of the sixty-six drawings it contains, forty-eight derive from other sources, including thirty-eight from Britton’s *Architectural Antiquities* and *Cathedrals* series. These were subsequently embellished and modified by him, but their source can clearly be detected. Aldrich attributes this borrowing to the fact that he “did not have a natural ability for drawing,” a point made also by the architect R.C. Hussey, one of his partners.

⁶⁰Rickman, *An Attempt*, 1st ed. (1817) iv.

⁶¹Aldrich, “Thomas Rickman” 39-43. The three posthumous editions of 1848, 1862 and 1881 are published by John Henry Parker, who included copious images, especially in the sixth and seventh versions

differentiating and clarifying each stage of medieval architecture is through the use of words. His ten or eleven medieval plates in the editions which he completed, composed as they were to show as many characteristics of the different styles as was possible, could not substantially emulate the level of analysis and detail that his text reveals.⁶²

Indeed, it was considered completely plausible to write a satisfactory description of a church with only a partial reliance on drawings or other forms of visual reproduction. William Whewell, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge and member of the Oxford Architectural Society, whose Architectural Notes on German Churches was recommended in the Cambridge Camden Society's A Few Hints, gives credit to Rickman's precise breakdown of medieval architecture for facilitating text-based analysis, especially when it is approached in a systematic way.⁶³ In a chapter entitled "Suggestions on the Manner of Making Architectural Notes," Whewell writes:

⁶²In the description of the plates which introduces them, Rickman places the emphasis on the ability to use words as the accurate vehicles of medieval ornament. Regarding Plate V he writes: "no letters of reference are employed [to annotate the various elements being presented], that the student may the more completely acquire the knowledge of parts by mere description [which he subsequently gives using Gothic terminology].... This description ought to be so fully comprehended, that if measures were added, the student should be able to draw the design from the description, being furnished with sections, or some other mode of determining the mouldings." An Attempt, 2nd ed. (1819) 113-4.

⁶³W.A. Pantin, "The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, 1839-1939," Oxoniensia IV (1939) 175; A Few Hints, 3rd ed. (1843) 13.

By comparing actual buildings with descriptions conveyed in precise and determinate phraseology, such as is that of Mr. Rickman, the architectural observer will become aware how completely words alone may avail to preserve and transmit distinct and adequate conceptions of an edifice. And when he has thus begun to feel the import and value of a technical language, a little practice and contrivance will enable him thus to register for himself, or for others, the principal features of any building which may attract his notice.⁶⁴

Moreover, “any sound speculation must be founded on the accurate knowledge of an extensive collection of particular instances;” hence, “some *method* in doing this may be of service.” Whewell subsequently delineates a sequential order with which to approach the recording of the characteristics of a church, beginning with the “GENERAL STYLE” of the work; proceeding with the “GROUND-PLAN, and then the VAULTING”; one “COMPARTMENT of the inside”; followed by the “EXTERIOR.” Within these categories, he also delineates which portions of the church need particular attention.⁶⁵ A list of what he calls technical terms follows, along with page references to descriptions of what they mean, which appear earlier in the book. He then provides a notational system to represent vaulting, using, for example, a system of small crosses (X) and upside-down V’s

⁶⁴Whewell, Architectural Notes on German Churches with Notes Written During an Architectural Tour in Picardy and Normandy, 3rd ed. (London: J. & J.J. Deighton and John Henry Parker, 1842) 132. The first edition, entitled Architectural Notes on German Churches with Remarks on the Origin of Gothic Architecture, appeared in 1830 and includes the chapter from which these quotations are taken.

⁶⁵Whewell, 3rd ed. 133-6.

and U's to represent cells that are pointed or round.⁶⁶ Only then does Whewell give advice on making "Architectural Notes by means of Drawing," and explain that "It may often happen that a very rude or imperfect sketch, such as it requires little skill to produce, will represent the form and relations of some members of architecture better and more briefly than a description in words." In these cases, he suggests either "a geometrical elevation" or, "what is generally better, but more difficult, ... an oblique perspective view." If greater detail is desired, "as in good or remarkable churches it generally is, other sketches that might be included are "the plan of the pier: its capital: the profile of the arch mouldings: any drawing which may be requisite to explain the combinations of shafts in the triforium and clerestory" and others.⁶⁷ Words may not completely replace images, but word-based analysis is meant to comprise the central focus of the presentation, and illustrations, even the "very rude and imperfect sketch," were meant as backup for the text.

For the Cambridge Camden Society, the essential means of articulating the visual impression of medieval churches, at least through to the end of the 1840s, was words. It must be mentioned that the Society did collect drawings executed by its members--some 160 in 1841, for example--but during that same period approximately twice that number of churches were visited and "reported,"

⁶⁶Whewell, 3rd ed. 136-140.

⁶⁷Whewell, 3rd ed. 140-141.

presumably by the submission of church schemes.⁶⁸ Moreover, the usefulness of drawings received was perhaps not entirely consistent: an article entitled “A Few Words to Sketchers” in the April 1842 issue of the *Ecclesiologist* appears in response to “the number of sketches of various kinds which we have within the last six months received,” which “make us anxious to devote a few remarks to the subject, both by way of thanking such as have already favoured us with drawings and in the hope of inciting others to follow their good example.” This incentive is further stimulated by “our lady correspondents” who would be “most glad to draw anything for [the] Society” if they could be informed about “what kind of things are most valuable to it.” A list of what to draw follows, including “accurate drawings of woodwork,” and contributors are alerted that “the object” should be “not to make a pretty picture, but an accurate copy.” Moreover, “it is not often that general views of churches are particularly valuable.” Politeness notwithstanding, it sounds as if improvements were needed before the visual database could hope to meet Society expectations.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, by November of that same year, the Report of the 28th meeting of the Society praises the “very superior style” of the 154 drawings which had been sent in during the past year,

⁶⁸The “Report of the Twenty-First Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society” notes “one hundred and sixty drawings, besides engravings and other presents, received since the last meeting in May, and the names of nearly four hundred churches which have been visited, and for the most part reported, by Members during the summer.” *The Ecclesiologist* I (1841): 8.

⁶⁹“A Few Words to Sketchers,” *The Ecclesiologist* I (1842): 105-106.

and notes a collection of “two large folio volumes or scrap-books” containing “many hundreds of the most interesting details from almost every part of the kingdom.”⁷⁰

Even if these drawings did reliably contribute to the Society’s discourse on ecclesiology, the predominance of text as the medium for engagement is exemplified by the church scheme. As already mentioned, the main document on ecclesiology and the church scheme, A Few Hints, includes a prototype filled-in scheme that has no illustrations at all (see Figure 3.4).⁷¹

The justification given for text-only is to facilitate a speedy recording of salient architectural details:

It is plain, that the only safe way to arrive at any general principles of Ecclesiology, is to observe and describe the details and arrangements of unmutilated churches, or parts of churches; and from a large collection of such observations, if carefully recorded, much advantage may accrue to the science. But it is equally plain, that if all these are to be sketched, a visit to the poorest church would scarcely be comprised in the longest day; and a degree of trouble, attended with no results of proportionate value, would ensue. For this reason the Cambridge Camden Society, on its first formation, issued those Church Schemes which have now reached a ninth edition, and the value of which has been amply proved by the experience of three years. They are by no means intended to supersede sketching, but simply to assist and corroborate it, and to supply its place in the less valuable details of the churches examined.⁷²

⁷⁰“Report of the 28th meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society, Thursday November 10, 1842,” The Ecclesiologist II (1842): 43.

⁷¹A Few Hints, 3rd ed. (1842) 37-45.

⁷²A Few Hints, 3rd ed. (1842) 16.

VII. Lantern.

1. Windows.
2. Groining.

VIII. Nave.

1. Nave Arch.
2. Panelling above Nave Arch.
3. Rood Screen. The lower panels remain, but concealed by pews.
4. Rood Staircase.
5. Rood Door. A square blocked recess in S. wall?
6. Rood Loft.
7. Piers, N. } six fine D. i—v. 4-clustered, each cluster of 3 semi-cir.
S. } shafts with vertical bead : finely moulded cir. caps. and
bases. vi. 3 semi-cir. shafts, with similar caps. Base
to vi. S. of very wide spread, and EE character, on
sq. plinth.
8. Pier Arches, N. } slightly d. of 2 richly moulded orders, labels
S. } terminated by heads not reaching to caps.
9. Triforia, N. 1st. Tier.
2nd. Tier.
S. 1st. Tier.
2nd. Tier.
10. Clerestory, N. four circ. 4fted lights, with bold fillet M.
S. 4 single 3fted. lancets, with int. and ext. labels.
11. Windows, N.
S.
12. Window Arches, N.
S.
13. Eagle Desk.
14. Lettern.
15. Poppy heads.
16. Western Arch. Lofty D. d. 4 cont. orders and label. bases stilted.
17. Parvise Turret.
18. Roof and Groining. Modern, king-post.
19. Pulpit, (*position and description*) N. of P.
ii. on S. good modern.
20. Hour-Glass Stand.
21. Reading Pew.
22. Pews. All mod. but 2 in N. of N. with embossed Jacobean panels.

IX. North Aisle.

1. Windows. E. 1 D. 3 L. 5 f. jamb-shafts, and int. label only.
N. 2 D. 3 L. 3 f. tracery of 4 f. circ. apertures.
W.

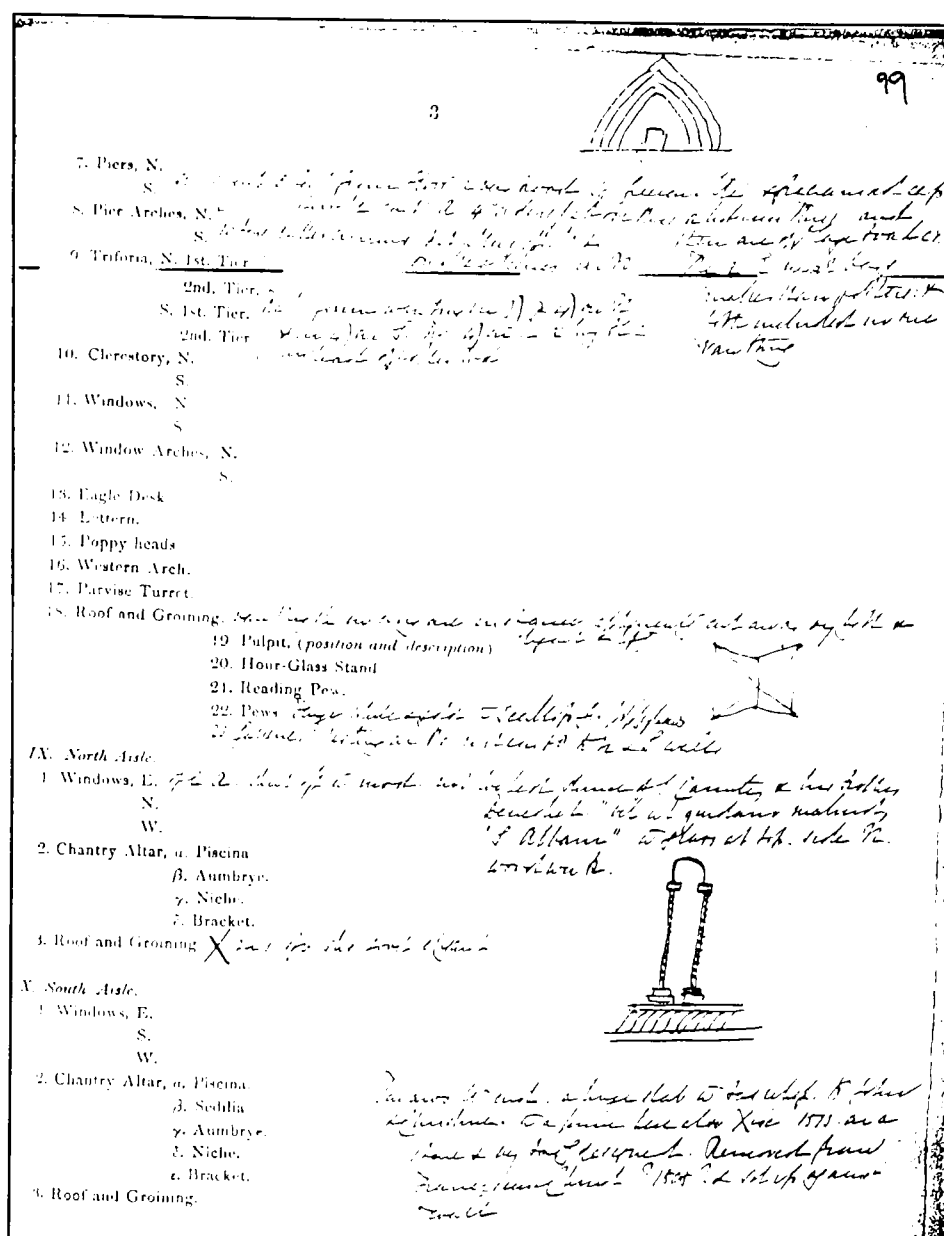
3.4 Sample page of church scheme for S. Mary's and S. Michael's Church, Trumpington, Cambridgeshire, included in *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, 3rd ed. (1842)

This is a potentially paradoxical argument: schemes are not intended to supersede

sketching. Nevertheless, they are offered as a replacement for sketching in order to alleviate "a degree of trouble" which drawing would cause, trouble "attended with no results of proportionate value." It is true that the Society hoped that church visitors would bring along materials for drawing and rubbing brasses, a measuring tape, a pocket telescope and a compass.⁷³ But there is no evidence in the church schemes located by this researcher or in the volumes into which they were eventually bound, of any of these instruments being used on a regular basis. Only a small portion of the schemes report building dimensions; and the category of orientation (by compass) is virtually ignored, even in the sample scheme which is given in the promotional pamphlet. And only a few of the approximately seven hundred filled-in schemes have drawings or sketches, located either on an appended page, or next to printed textual headings which did not elicit a written response. (It is of course possible that schemes which did have substantial illustrations were separated from the others—perhaps in the aforementioned scrapbook—and do not survive.) Images that do appear on collected schemes consist of isolated small sketches of details. An unusual example—due to the presence of no less than three such sketches appearing on one page—may be seen in the scheme devoted to Odense Cathedral in Denmark (see Figure 3.5).⁷⁴

⁷³*A Few Hints*, 3rd ed. (1842) 17.

⁷⁴Scheme for Odense Cathedral, 27 May 1852, probably by John Mason



3.5 Page from Church Scheme for Odense Cathedral, Denmark, probably John Mason Neale, 27 May 1852

Neale. Lambeth MS 1991. When drawings did appear in church schemes (perhaps 10 or 15% of schemes had sketches), they were usually used to depict roof groining, elaborate window tracery, or mouldings. See, for example, scheme for Harfleur, Normandy, France, Lambeth Palace, MS 1988 for two groining sketches; schemes for Oakham Church, Rutlandshire, RIBA vol. II, Lincoln's Inn Chapel, Middlesex, RIBA, vol. I, and Madingly Church in Cambridgeshire which is unusually intricate, RIBA vol. III, for drawings of window tracery; and scheme for Farringdon Church, Berkshire, RIBA vol. IV, for sketches of mouldings. In contrast to the Cambridge schemes, the Oxford prototype "Notes on Churches" has three small, but quite intricate rendered drawings of the church located on the blank sheets used for the description.

And whereas members are implored to make accurate measurements of mouldings using a leaden tape, "and the rough sketch reduced to any required size by the Pentagraph [sic]," extant sketches of mouldings were drawn free-hand, apparently rather quickly.⁷⁵

What seems significant in all these cases is the willingness to let text—let language—take a major role in describing the churches which were visited, a role substantial enough to warrant the accumulation of schemes by the Cambridge Camden Society and the distribution of these documents to other sympathetic societies. And this text-based system was acknowledged, albeit sometimes begrudgingly, as a means of solidifying and disseminating information and ideas concerning medieval design. Even George Wightwick, who felt it “a duty” to “break a lance” to defeat the “hopeless tyranny of English church parsondom” working to give precedence to neo-Gothic design, acknowledged that “What Sir William Chambers accomplished, in giving us a grammar of Greco-Roman Architecture, might be afforded by the Cambridge Society in respect to the required modern Anglo-Gothic.”⁷⁶ And it is true that the result of this simplified

⁷⁵ A Few Hints, 3rd ed. (1842) 15-16. The Hand-book, which succeeds A Few Hints in 1847, offers advice on how to draw moulding profiles, but I have only located one such handbook and it does not contain any drawings; almost all the church schemes at the RIBA and Lambeth Palace antedate the Hand-book. See Hand-book 176-7.

⁷⁶ Wightwick, On the Present Condition and Prospects of Architecture in England (Plymouth, 1845) 1-2; Wightwick, “Modern English Gothic Architecture (continued)” (n.p.: n.p., 1845) 2.

packaging of Gothic ideology and its attendant exposure to those not otherwise trained in architectural scholarship, might not always have satisfied the experts. Neale could have been speaking for all ecclesiologists when he complained about ignorant church visitors: “I cannot bear their slang about grotesque ornaments, Gothic side-aisles, Saxon doorways, and the rest.”⁷⁷ And Nikolaus Pevsner’s disparaging remarks, made in a collection of essays edited by Peter Ferriday, also have an interesting resonance in this context. He argues that a Victorian “breakdown of aesthetic values” can be attributed to the fact that the architectural “clients” of the age were “self-made men without a chance of the education of the Georgian gentlemen and without the leisure to acquire it later in life.” To these people, “historic styles could be more easily appreciated than subtleties of proportion and detail, because the one was a matter of facts which could be learned, the other a matter of sensibility.”⁷⁸ Still, the digestion of medieval architecture as a collection of facts, by Rickman and his sympathisers, and by the Cambridge Camden Society, this over-writing of the visual, seems indeed to have facilitated the engagement of that architecture by the interested public.

⁷⁷Neale, *Hierologus* 8.

⁷⁸Pevsner, “Victorian Prolegomena,” *Victorian Architecture*, ed. Peter Ferriday (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963) 35.

Landscape to "Inscape": Ecclesiology and Miller's Topographies

J. Hillis Miller has explored the significance of naming or identification of place through language from a different context, specifically as the relationship between an actual or imagined landscape, and the description and validation such an environment receives through literature which addresses it. The result is a collection of essays entitled Topographies, which consider the works of such diverse writers as Thomas Hardy, Gerard Manley Hopkins and Wallace Stevens.⁷⁹ Miller's assertion in this work is that words are particularly powerful tools in the creation of markers, through which distinctly configured "place" is designated and delimited in the landscape. Words or other signs, for example a song or poem, can serve as a *locum tenens*, a place holder or place maker which puts definite boundaries and measurements around previously undemarcated environments.⁸⁰ Here place names have a special role to play:

⁷⁹Miller, Topographies (Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press, 1995). The articles addressing these three authors were, along with the Introduction, the most useful in developing this paper: "Philosophy, Literature, Topography: Heidegger and Hardy" 9-56; "Naming, Doing, Placing: Hopkins" 150-168; and "The Ethics of Topography: Stevens" 255-290.

⁸⁰Miller 276-277. It is important to note here that Miller's terminology has shifted slightly vis-à-vis distinctions between undifferentiated space and defined place. Here the distinction is articulated as between "mere place" and "a world," to coincide with the use of these words in Stevens' poem "The Idea of Order at Key West." The contrast between the two is still to be understood in the same terms.

The power of the conventions of mapping and of the projection of place names on the place are so great that we see the landscape as though it were already a map, complete with place names and the names of geographical features.... Place names make a site already the product of a virtual writing....⁸¹

Further, he argues that even when literary texts appropriate a particular geographic setting which already exists, the writing and the reading of the resulting fiction are to be understood as a continuation of the very activities which collectively identified the site to begin with; hence, "novels themselves aid in making the landscapes that they apparently presuppose as already made and finished."⁸² In short, a landscape as place does not in itself pre-exist: it becomes landscape by the "living that takes place within it," transformed, indeed, made "human" in an "activity of inhabitation"--being mapped or by the making of a picture, the placing of a story or a novel in that setting--that the writing of a novel "repeats or prolongs."⁸³

The defining power of topography is so strong that Miller interprets the actual landscape and the text of the novel that refers to it as having not a linear relationship--what's out there originally becomes setting pure and simple--but, rather, as affecting each other in series. According to this point of view, the actual geographic space in question exists not only "in itself," but on the basis of

⁸¹Miller 4.

⁸²Miller 16.

⁸³Miller 21.

previous transpositions, for example as photos or maps. These maps are subsequently reconfigured in the novel which addresses them, by being shot through with the characters and activities which carry the novel's plot. Thus, novels can be seen as "figurative mapping" which traces the movements and emerging relationships that converge to form an imaginary environment, one which is ultimately a synthesis of the original actual landscape and the overlaid subjective meaning imposed by the manipulations of the novel.⁸⁴ From this perspective, Mississippi is ultimately "what it is" in part because of Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha novels, Dorset's identity acknowledges Hardy's Wessex, as Paris is recast through Balzac and Proust.⁸⁵

As has been argued in Chapter 2, church schemes served as markers which collectively authenticated the medieval churches that were their subject, and did so in an immediate way, right on-site, simultaneous to initial visual contact with the subject, that is, in direct conjunction with the "tourist gaze" activated by the excursion. In Miller's terms they are interesting because they are records of the overlay of subjective meaning upon the actual landscape. Cambridge Camden Society schemes, then, can be studied as the superposition of theories concerning mediaeval architecture--framed and textualized as the pedagogical writings of the Cambridge Camden Society and other related

⁸⁴Miller 19.

⁸⁵Miller 16.

sources--directly applied to the church building itself. Moreover, the schemes may also be viewed as concrete manifestations of the figurative mapping, the trait Miller ascribes to novels--the literary legitimators of the landscapes they encompass--mapping which "disarranges" the actual landscape to serve the needs of the text.⁸⁶ In other words, they record the act of envisioning the churches through the influential lens imposed by the topography of ecclesiology. Given that the "what it is" especially of small, rural medieval parish churches had been compromised by the 1830s--due to the desecrations of the Reformation, the disrepair they endured, and further alterations to accommodate contemporary Anglican practices--the role of scripted church tourism, specifically, the potential power of church schemes as illustrated through Miller's work, deserves serious consideration.

Even a blank church scheme (see Figure 2.1 above) shows itself to be integrally about topography, about place writing and place naming. The premise of the scheme is the perception of a church as a composite of place names such as altar, nave, transept, etc.⁸⁷ And the visualization of the building in these terms is

⁸⁶Miller 20.

⁸⁷This focus on place-names reinforces the absence from consideration of issues not related to description and analysis on the basis of place-naming and -identifying. Questions such as the size of the congregation of a particular church, whether it was High- or Low-Church in orientation, etc., matters which one might expect to have concerned ecclesiologists bent on reinforcing religiosity, are not accounted for on the schemes.

meant to be transposed immediately into text. Schemes seem to be designed to be filled primarily by using text or words, rather than sketches or drawings. Figure 3.6 shows a portion of a fairly typical scheme, depicting St. Andrew's Church, Bebbington, Cheshire, which was visited by Neale, Webb and a third traveller on 8 July 1840.⁸⁸ To reiterate, both the blank and the completed versions reveal that there are no large spaces dedicated specifically for sketching, just long narrow blocks or linear spaces next to the printed words. As markers, then, the schemes not only authenticated the churches as architectural "places," but imposed a way of seeing them as well.

As mentioned above, the schemes may also be read as the figurative mapping of the church as part of the realm of text. Such a map reflects the transformation of the real landscape as affected by the writing of the paradigmatic text. Each completed scheme is a figurative map in this way. It traces out the story of the person as s/he explores the church at that particular time on that particular day, and thus becomes in its own right an analysable encryption of the narrative.

What does understanding the scheme in this way reveal? It confirms that the processing of the visual experience, and, apparently, the act of vision as well, were thoroughly permeated by ecclesiological discourse. What is consistent amongst the prototypical scheme in *A Few Hints*, the completed schemes, and

⁸⁸Scheme for St. Andrew, Bebbington, RIBA vol. I.

IV. Nave.

1. Nave Arch.
2. Rood Screen.
3. Rood Loft and Staircase.
4. Piers, { N. 2 P. Sorders 1.3 small Or shafts . 8k h^o & cap
S. 1 1/2 as N. 2 1/2 N. Or . 1/2. cushion cap
5. Clerestory. S side Est. P. pane? 2 double 4 ft.
6. Triforia.
7. Belfry Arch.
8. Windows, { N. D. 3 L. 3 ft. 7. 2 & 1 4 ft in h.
S.

V. N. Aisle.

1. Windows, { N. 1 as N.C.A. Gout fr. 12: 2 L. Gout 1st disengaged.
E. as S.C.A.
W. S under P vaulting shafts . Or. 8k base & cap

VI. S. Aisle.

1. Windows, { S. } as N. A.
E.
W.
2. Sedilia.
3. Piscinae.

VII. "Ornaments."

1. Niches. 1 good D. 8k. stem cap base . crock & fin.
2. Aumbryea.
3. Corbels.
4. Brackets. 1 1/2 8k, pointed . ea side Altar . 1 do N.E. end
5. Mouldings.
6. Arcades.
7. Benatura.
8. Eagle Desk or Lettern.
9. Misereres. 4 in C. one represents a pelican
10. Poppy Heads. 2 in Reading pew. 1. Saw sucking py?
2. angel & shield
11. Pulpit. by V.C.A.
12. Roofs and Groinings.

VIII. Font. (Position and Description.)

Mid. N.C.A.
Prod.

even the "Notes on Churches" of the Oxford Architectural Society, is the specially encoded language instituted and utilized for the purposes of documentation. Not only is the Society-sanctioned terminology used consistently and exclusively, but, since observations had to be recorded succinctly, A Few Hints and well as the Hand-book also supply necessary abbreviations and urge its members to use them.⁸⁹ Hence, the nave piers in the prototype scheme, for example, consist of:

"six fine D. i-v 4-clustered, each cluster of 3 semi-cir. shafts with vertical bead: finely moulded cir. caps. and bases. vi.3 semi-cir. shafts, with similar caps. Base to vi. S. of very wide spread, and EE character, on sq. plinth."⁹⁰

The schemes of Neale and Webb show an even more encrypted version of this abbreviation system. For example, the west window of Howden Church, Yorkshire is described as follows (see Figure 3.7): "4L.transome.5f.top L^s.3f. 2>'L^s; ea h.3 3fls, & above a 4f...."⁹¹ The window thus consists of four cinquefoiled lights, above which is a transom, above which are aligned four trefoiled lights. Above those in turn are two lights described as angular, each of which has a head containing three trefoils; above them is a quatrefoil. Figure 3.8 is a visual equivalent to this description by Edmund Sharpe in his Architectural Parallels

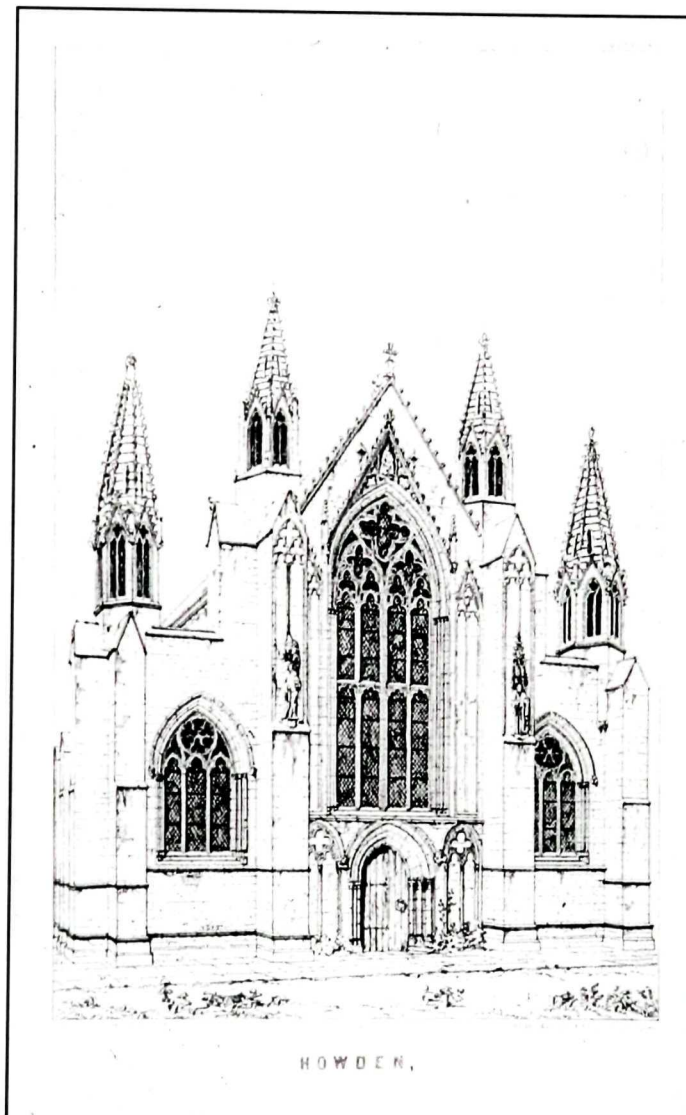
⁸⁹A Few Hints, 3rd ed. (1842) 15.

⁹⁰A Few Hints, 3rd ed. (1842) 39.

⁹¹Scheme for Howden Collegiate Church, Yorkshire, 3 July 1840, [Benjamin Webb], RIBA vol. I.

5. Beacon turret at NW c.
- Exterior.
1. West Window. Beautiful. 4 l. lancet. 5 f. top l. 2. 2 yds; on h. 3 3/4, & above all under a canopy external. With head a niche to get to
 2. Porches. { N. Good grouping. S. 1/2 doorway to splendour. } Father is executed.
 3. Parvise.
 4. Doors. Good early D in N. T. and good P. cont. in S. T. [and 2 decorated 3 p. S. 3 r. covered caps]
 5. Buttresses. Good, niched, with 3 r. heads.

3.7 Portion of Church Scheme for Howden Collegiate Church, Yorkshire, Benjamin Webb, 3 July 1840



3.8 West facade of Howden Church, Yorkshire, Edmund Sharpe, Architectural Parallels, or, The Progress of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England Through the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, 1848

dated 1848.⁹² Through the description in the scheme, it is possible to imagine the basic shapes that comprise the window, although such information as size; location of the window (how high or low it is situated in the wall); and, in this case, what architectural chronologic/stylistic period it belongs to, are not available. Nevertheless, the "inscape"--the original church/landscape overwritten by ecclesiology--is effectively captured.⁹³

⁹²West facade, Howden Church, Yorkshire. Edmund Sharpe, Architectural Parallels, or, The Progress of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England Through the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries (London: John van Vorst, 1848) n.p.

⁹³Miller borrows the word "inscape" from the journals of poet Gerard Manley Hopkins, and as explanation refers back to Hopkins, who describes verse, for example, as "inscape of spoken sound." Gerard Manley Hopkins, The Journals and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins, ed. Humphry House and Graham Storey (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) 289, cited in Miller 168. Hopkins seems to ascribe to the word an imagined or formulated potentiality which successively overwrites a landscape out there. For example, the end of March and the beginning of April "is the time to study inscape in the spraying of trees, for the swelling buds carry them to a pitch which the eye could not else gather--for out of much much more, out of little not much, out of nothing nothing: in these sprays at all events there is a new world of inscape." (Journal 17 March 1871, 205) In September of 1872 Hopkins notes catching "an inscape as flowing and well marked almost as the frosting on glass and slabs; but I could not reproduce it afterwards with the pencil." (Journal 17 Sept. 1872, 227). Later, in a longer quote worth citing here, the quality of an inscape as composed out of the random of landscape--with which Miller's topographical analysis clearly echoes--is clearly articulated: "In the snow flat-topped hillocks and shoulders outlined with wavy edges, ridge below ridge, very like the grain of wood in line and in projection like relief maps. These the wind makes I think and of course drifts, which are in fact snow waves. The sharp nape of a drift is sometimes broken by slant flutes or channels. I think this must be when the wind after shaping the drift first has changed and cast waves in the body of the wave itself. All the world is full of inscape and chance left free to act falls into an order as well as purpose: heaps of snow made by the cast of a broom. The same of the path trenched by

There is another key issue permeating Miller's topographical musings, which addresses the performative capacity of literature and language. A performative, by his definition, "is a contingent act in the human and social world that makes something happen...though it can never be known for sure beforehand exactly what that something will be."⁹⁴ All true performatives "make something happen that was not predictable from the elements that were there to start with.... They exceed the intentions of the builders or singers."⁹⁵ Moreover, they depend "on the presence of a whole set of social conventions, agreements, contracts, laws, constitutions...[and] on the ratification and approval of other people in the right circumstances."⁹⁶ As has already been indicated above, Miller is convinced that "the topography [in this sense configuration] of a place is not something there already, waiting to be described, constatively. It is made, performatively, by words or other signs, for example, by a song or a poem."⁹⁷ He adds that "the

footsteps in ankledeep [sic] snow across the fields leading to Hodder wood through which we went to see the river." (*Journal* 24 Feb. 1873, 230).

⁹⁴Miller 157.

⁹⁵Miller 279.

⁹⁶Miller 157-8.

⁹⁷Miller 276.

naming of places is one of the most important performatives."⁹⁸ Designating a place with a name, for example New York, is a performative act that subsequently attracts particular events to take place *there*--say the building of Wright's Guggenheim Museum--which could not be anticipated when the city received its name.

Can a church scheme be seen as capable of generating a performative effect, and if so, what implications do schemes have on nineteenth-century architecture? If naming a place is a performative act, then, to church visitors who use them, schemes are performatives in bestowing appellations on the various portions of the church which becomes each scheme's subject. The words *piscina* and *sedilia*, for example, have the power to bring the scheme's user to seek out those parts of the church and also imply that the visitors understand the functions of these isolated elements and their role in religious worship.⁹⁹ The *word* font brings attention to the *object* font, singled out by the Society because of its architectural merits, and also because of the significance of baptism and the ecclesiological stipulation that it be ideally located near the church's entrance. In this way, the visitor is encouraged to note and become curious about it; at the

⁹⁸Miller 150.

⁹⁹A *piscina* is a basin recessed into one of the walls of the chancel, used to receive the water with which the clergyman rinsed the chalice after use, and washed his hands. *Sedilia* are seats also built into the wall, usually to the south of the altar, used for priests at the administration of the Eucharist.

same time, this singling-out might also provoke an evaluation of whether the font's position is right or wrong vis-à-vis the imposed rules. Theoretically, such a designation could even result in the font being moved to its ecclesiologically-determined location near the door after being brought to the attention of an excursionist, reiterating the unpredictability which characterises a true performative.¹⁰⁰

Indeed, the very sequence of the categories of the church scheme can be seen to have performative consequences, inasmuch as it turns the process of

¹⁰⁰Perhaps this performative quality can be taken one step further: as was already mentioned, countless mediaeval churches were renovated by neo-Gothic architects during the Victorian period, partly to compensate for years--centuries--of neglect, and partly to purge these churches of modifications made to them in the past, which were inconsistent with the architectural style of their origin. In other words, a predominantly Decorated church with a Perpendicular window could well have been "restored" by removing the anomalous portion, and replacing it with a new window in the Decorated style. This became a contentious issue in the 1850s and 60s and, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, preservation came to be the accepted strategy, whereby the building fabric was to be stabilized, but nothing--mediaeval, Georgian or Regency--altered. Central to this transformation was the establishment of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877, by William Morris. See Miele, "The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture" 532-550; Martin Shaw Briggs, Goths and Vandals: A Study of the Destruction, Neglect and Preservation of Historical Buildings in England (London: Constable, 1952), and Crook, The Dilemma of Style (London: John Murray, 1987) for varying points of view with regard to these interventions. As Miele points out, "The scientific historiography of Rickman and his followers in effect led to a belief that one could have a perfect and absolute knowledge of medieval architecture, and armed with this knowledge architects set out to restore buildings, rebuild them, add new features in period style, or reconstruct others from archaeological evidence without compromising an artifact's integrity as such." (Miele, "The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture" 532) Is this a consequence, at least to some extent, of the performative quality of church schemes and the perception of churches they reflect and reinforce?

experiencing the church into a narrative whose chapters--altar, transepts, nave--are meant to be viewed in a predefined order. The number of headings which comprise the scheme increased in succeeding editions, and was always substantially higher than the categories delineated by Rickman and other earlier researchers, to reflect the ecclesiological mandate of seeking out each discreet element of the church. Throughout the editions of the schemes, the sequence did not essentially change. After allocating space for giving the location of the church, the scheme has space for a "ground plan," which, rather than an architectural drawing, asks to note whether the church has aisles, chapels, transepts, etc. Dimensions are requested in later schemes, but, as indicated above, not often supplied. The church interior is addressed first, starting with the chancel. This was followed by the nave, the "ornaments" such as shrines and niches, and the font. Characteristics of the tower, inside and out, were then proceeded by categories related to the exterior.

To follow the sequence of the scheme and view the church according to the order of the headings, was to reiterate the priorities of the ecclesiologists.¹⁰¹ The altar and chancel are considered right away and are parsed into small details (and this is a section that becomes increasingly more precise with successive editions), in keeping with ecclesiological recognition of them as the most important parts of the church. For example, the east window is the first category

¹⁰¹See list of headings on two editions of schemes, located in Appendix.

in this group, no doubt given primacy because it is closest to the altar; moreover, the style of window tracery was considered an effective means of dating--i.e. classifying--a church. Next are the transepts, traditionally off limits to the congregation and still the domain of the clergy. The headings then progress back toward the nave and aisles, moving outward toward the tower, but not before stopping at the font. The tower, the church's exterior, and the crypt are next on the list, followed by a check-list of relatively minor objects such as the alms chest, and tangential buildings such as a library or well connected to the church.¹⁰² In this way, the building and the ecclesiological model are inextricably linked.¹⁰³

Church schemes had wider-reaching performative dimensions. On the one hand, the paradigm of ecclesiology was itself reinforced for a time by its own

¹⁰²The relatively lesser significance of the tower is confirmed in another Cambridge Camden Society pamphlet, A Few Words to Church Builders, which offers advice on which are the most important parts of a church and how they ought to be designed. Whereas a chancel was "absolutely essential," a tower "though a highly ornamental, is not at all an essential part of a church, and should not for a moment be thought of [in designing a new church], till [sic] Chancel, Nave, and Aisles ARE COMPLETELY FINISHED [emphasis theirs]." Indeed, the text goes on to ask "Does not the contrary assertion in the number of the Dublin Review seem to symbolize one of the errors of Romanism,--the excessive love of show?" A Few Words (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1841) 5, 8.

¹⁰³It seems likely that a scheme would be followed sequentially: A Few Hints explains that "the arrangement adopted has been founded on the principle of allowing the describer to remain in one spot of the Church till that is finished, and to spare him the trouble of running backwards and forwards, as he proceeds onward with his paper." A Few Hints, 2nd ed. (1840) 13, repeated with the word "work" substituted for "paper," in the 3rd ed. (1842) 16.

successful applicability as a means of church topography, by the fact that its rules and logic were so useful in cataloguing and representing the church. On the other hand, the churches themselves were legitimized by the process as well. The rise in attention devoted by scholars to the parish church is one example. Britton and others had written extensively on cathedrals in their attempt to inform an interested audience. Indeed, Bradley notes that early nineteenth-century critics of neo-Gothic frequently complained that “the architects were so mesmerised by the great cathedrals that they neglected the honest plainness of the indigenous parish church.”¹⁰⁴ The church scheme put the smaller-scale parish church at the centre of attention, such that the Cambridge Camden Society and other ecclesiological organizations were committed to having a complete database of all medieval church architecture and had expressed a desire to send its members, schemes in hand, to seek out the smallest churches in the most obscure parishes. The desire to bring obscure churches to light is declared in A Few Hints: “It is the Society’s wish to procure a complete and accurate description in detail of as many Churches as possible; but especially of such as either, from their antiquity or any other causes, may contain objects particularly worthy of record, or, from their remote situation, may have hitherto escaped the researches of Ecclesiologists.”¹⁰⁵ Virtually all the extant schemes are devoted to parish churches. Eastlake and

¹⁰⁴Bradley 281.

¹⁰⁵A Few Hints, 2nd ed. (1840) 12.

Bradley both give credit to the “University Architectural Societies” and the Cambridge Camden Society specifically as having prioritized “the plan and purpose of an ancient parish church, the uses of its several parts, the significance and symbolism of its internal arrangement,” and making “available records of suitable models” as required by architects and other interested parties.¹⁰⁶ By the 1840s, when schemes were in their heyday, “adequate publications” which addressed parish churches in detail were finally becoming available.¹⁰⁷ Examples include works by Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon and Edmund Sharpe, both of which appeared in 1848.¹⁰⁸ In short, it was the ecclesiological societies which helped bring the relatively modest Gothic parish churches under consistent scrutiny; to a significant extent, then, the excuse of filling out a scheme was the incentive for an excursion to visit an obscure parish church, not the other way around.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶Bradley 313; Eastlake 198.

¹⁰⁷Bradley 313.

¹⁰⁸Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon, Parish Churches (London: George Bell, 1848). The work was originally published in twelve parts, beginning in March 1846. In addition to perspectives of the exterior (and sometimes of the interior), plans were routinely given. Another example is Edmund Sharpe’s Architectural Parallels, whose subjects were selected from “abbey churches.”

¹⁰⁹In a similar vein, church schemes may also have created a bias in favour of the routine appropriation, during the 1830s and 40s, of the *rural* parish church as the model of new design. This was the criticism of George Edmund Street, an architect sanctioned by the Cambridge Camden Society, in an article in the

Schemes, then, fulfilled a dual purpose. They were handy receivers of visual data, interactive in the sense that they also prompted the viewer on what to see. But they also established, by their very presence, an already-defined context. As markers affecting the reception of medieval churches by church visitors, they compelled the reader to make contact with the architecture in a particular way, by stressing the extent to which that contact was to be engaged through a discourse that requires exacting analysis. In this sense, too, schemes are performative: they define this type of activity as a function of learning about buildings through their architectural and ornamental details, as a collection of tangible facts.

So a church visitor relying on a scheme for guidance would have to undertake a conscious act of resistance if s/he chose to walk through the church and not notice all those parts which the Society so consistently emphasized as being important and which, by being named, called attention to themselves. Otherwise, the sequence kept the visitor on the ecclesiological course inasmuch as it discouraged deviation from its routine. Similarly, any other criteria for investigation that the visitor might wish to include, but was not listed in the

Ecclesiologist written by him in 1850. Street, "Proper Characteristics of a Town Church," Ecclesiologist XI (1850) 227-233. Street recommended Continental examples instead, reflecting the opinions of Beresford-Hope. Of course, parish churches were very often in rural areas. It is interesting that the church scheme was recognized as less than adequate in depicting urban churches: "It is in the facility afforded for a methodized and minute examination that the great value of our Church-Schemes has been practically found to consist. There is probably not any locality, except the metropolis, which does not afford ready opportunities for following this plan." "The Practical Study of Ancient Models," The Ecclesiologist I (1842) 150.

scheme—use of new or unusual materials or building methods; effective heating solutions; other than derogatory descriptions of non-medieval elements—needed to be addressed supplementarily by the visitor, and confined to the General Remarks section or recorded elsewhere.

Church Schemes, Words, and Symbolism

As has already been said, Neale and Webb, and other members of the Society, had a distinct religious agenda as one of the motivations for ecclesiological church visiting. In an address given by the President of the Society, The Venerable Thomas Thorp, Archdeacon and Chancellor of Bristol, the breadth of this fascination, and the ability to individualize the relevance of each element of the church, ring clearly:

Whatever be the use or uselessness (or worse) of any of the objects [within the church fabric] with which we thus come in contact, whatever their claim to be revered as holy, or cherished as beautiful and appropriate, or renounced as superstitious, or unnecessary, or in bad taste, – from the font to the altar ... each item suggests a tale of some of the countless varieties of hopes and fears, passions and incidents, that mark man's course from the initiatory rite to his final home; tales of parent's love, of plighted troth, of penitential tears; tales of priestly arrogance, of sacrilegious violence, of superstitious fraud, of puritanical pride; each supplies light to the history of times from which we take our warning, and enforces the lesson of proving all things, to hold fast that which is good.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰Thomas Thorp, "Address Delivered at the First Evening Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society, March 28, 1840, by the President," Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXL (Cambridge: Printed for the Society, 1840) 8.

What is fascinating is how that agenda could be accommodated by terms arranged on a blank church scheme, terms whose basis—and whose genesis, as we have seen—was ostensibly architectural, rather than spiritual.

In pursuing this issue, it is important to take into account the words or concepts which do *not* appear on the pages of the church schemes themselves. Qualitative responses which one would think ought to have been relevant, were not asked. For instance, how clearly could the associational qualities of the church be discerned by the church visitor? How conducive was being in it, to feelings of spirituality? The absence of such direct questions implies that whatever indirect response to them could be given, lay in parsing the church and articulating the answers in terms of the architecture-based nomenclature that appeared in the schemes. That is, the assumption inherent in the scheme was that mere contact with each named element of the church through the church-visiting ritual of the scheme, itself brought on the spiritual engagement that ecclesiologists sought to generate.

Significantly, such an assumption was integral to the very way which Neale and Webb themselves understood the relationship between architecture and symbolism. This is most clearly evident in their translation of a medieval text on symbolism by the thirteenth-century theologian William Durandus. The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum was devoted to just this topic, and the introductory lecture to the translation, written by the two contributors, contains detailed arguments in

favour of symbolic interpretations of the Holy Scriptures.¹¹¹

In this work, understood so well by Neale and Webb, many examples are given of the symbolic explanations for various parts of the church. For example, the symbolism of doors receives quite a bit of attention in the introduction, in part because Durandus directed attention to the words of Jesus, “I am the Door,” “uttered as tradition reports it to have been, in reference to the Gate of the Temple, on which the Saviour’s eyes were then fixed.”¹¹² To this end Early English doors become a lesson in demonstrating a “very curious and beautiful progression in symbolism.” In the early stages of Christianity, converts required courage and particular determination to withstand the pressures exerted by religious enemies. As a result, there were “various representations of Martyrdom surrounding the Nave-doors of Norman and the first stage of Early English Churches,” as well as in the “frightful forms which seem to deter those who would enter.” Over time, as Christianity became accepted, the greater challenge lay in being a good Christian, so “as to have part in the communion of Saints:—in other words, to an entrance to the Church Triumphant.” Consequently, in late Early English and Decorated churches, “the symbols which had occupied the

¹¹¹Neale and Webb, “Sacramentality: A Principle of Ecclesiastical Design,” introductory essay to The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments: A Translation of the First Book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, Written by William Durandus, trans. John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb (Leeds: T.W. Green, 1843).

¹¹²Neale and Webb, “Sacramentality” lxlvi.

Nave-Doors in the former period, are now transferred to the Chancel Arch.”¹¹³ In a similar vein, porches were usually situated on the south side of the medieval church, “For as the East was considered in an especial manner connected with the Kingdom of Heaven, so was the North imagined to be under the Prince of the Power of the Air.”¹¹⁴ To Neale and Webb, then, merely gazing at an Early English door or a south-facing porch or a Decorated chancel arch automatically brought these connections to mind. Ideally, a similar effect would ensue for all church visitors, who would then be inspired further to see and understand medieval churches as the metaphor-laden backdrops to ritualistic worship.

Ecclesiology; Text; Scripted Tourism

By contemporary standards, then, as records of factual data, church schemes coincided with conventional expectations made by early nineteenth-century connoisseurs of medieval architecture. The work of Rickman and others was consolidated, simplified, and arranged clearly and systematically in A Few Hints and in The Hand-book, in such a way that it could easily be consulted while visiting a church, scheme in hand. Drawing was not essential—a relief for those who did not know how, a savings in time for others—because the necessary

¹¹³Neale and Webb, “Sacramentality” lxlix-c.

¹¹⁴Neale and Webb, “Sacramentality” ci.

information could be captured precisely and without undue complexity by using the terminology and method of the scheme. Moreover, the Cambridge Camden Society had a key role to play in most effectively merging the study of medieval architecture, with the incentive of early Victorian travel, both for instructive and for pleasurable purposes. In this sense, ecclesiology helped pave the way for the writers of other prescriptive travel texts to promote visits to Gothic churches as an entertaining and worthy pursuit.

As we have also seen, implicit in the ecclesiological system as well, were encouragements to gaze on as many churches as possible, to view them, while immersed in ecclesiological ideology, as sacred sites of superlative design, indeed, as evidence of the glory of God. The significance of the rising number of schemes collected by the Society, and, ultimately, of the Society's influence in the restoration of old and the construction of new churches, attests to a certain degree of success in this area. Yet, by 1846, a contributor to *The Ecclesiologist*, writing about the popularity of church visitors making brass rubbings, complained:

The whole science of Ecclesiology is by many persons regarded as a hobby. They look on it as a kind of child's play: as only a game for grown up children. That we have principles as real as those of the Church itself which they symbolize, is an idea which is utter scorn to many well meaning people.¹¹⁵

The "hobby," the "game" was the process of selectively choosing elements of the

¹¹⁵"Brasses and Brass Rubbers," *The Ecclesiologist* VI (1846): 176.

church that were found to be interesting or amusing—in this case, brass monuments—and ignoring the rest. What had happened? Why did the “principles,” the ritualistic connotations which these pieces “symbolise,” become dissociated from the physical objects which were understood to present them?

Several answers present themselves. One is the surprisingly few direct references--aside from the *implicit* connotations of the nomenclature--either in the schemes, in A Few Hints or the Hand-book, to the symbolic roles of church ornaments. One expects the presentation of such objects as rood screens to be approached in terms of their iconic role: its “doors represent death, as the entrance from the Nave, the Church Militant, to the Chancel, as the entrance from the Nave, the Church Militant, to the Chancel, the Church Triumphant.”¹¹⁶ And, at the end of the introductory section of the fourth A Few Hints, right before the completed church scheme, less than a page is spent reiterating the religious aspects of the pursuit of ecclesiology: “Before we conclude, a few words may be allowed on that part of our study which, as it is the most interesting, so must it be kept constantly before our eyes, if we would enter into the feelings of the great church-builders of other days, now with God.” Those words elaborate the iconic role of the architecture as just mentioned, and end with a “passage from one of the Canons of our Church, too little observed in the present day” that advocates respect of the church as a religious institution:

¹¹⁶ A Few Hints, 4th ed. (1843) 26.

Whereas the church is the House of God, dedicated to His holy worship, and therefore ought to remind us both of the greatness and goodness of His divine majesty; certain it is that the acknowledgement thereof not only inwardly with our hearts, but also outwardly with our bodies, must needs be pious in itself, profitable unto us, and edifying to others. We therefore think it very meet and behoveful, and heartily commend it to all good and well-affected people, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgement by doing reverence and obeysance both at their coming in and going out of the said churches, Chapels, or Chancels, according to the most ancient custom of the primitive Church in the purest times, and of this Church also for many years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.¹¹⁷

However, most descriptions of church ornaments are not replete with detailed explanations of religious connotation, and focus on much more practical matters. For example, the benatura is described as a “Holy-water stoup, placed at the entrance of churches, generally on the right hand of the outer or inner-porch door, or both.”¹¹⁸ Its role as a symbolic means of purification, a purging of the everyday world on entering more sacred space, is not highlighted. In general, the tone of the pamphlets, like the schemes, is matter-of-fact, the information practical and straightforward. Apparently, further prompting was not deemed necessary for those church visitors who automatically understood the links between architecture and spirituality. But for excursionists who were less immersed in the symbolic aspects of medieval church design, such links were not necessarily as automatic. Hence the possibility to treat even ecclesiologically-driven church visits as detective “child’s play,” namely a pursuit prioritising the

¹¹⁷ *A Few Hints*, 4th ed. (1843) 48-9.

¹¹⁸ *A Few Hints*, 4th ed. (1843) 29.

deciphering of styles and dates as an end in itself, rather than as a means to spirituality.

Spurred on, by this comment in The Ecclesiologist, to look for additional cases of the more subtle rendering of explicitly-religious ecclesiological discourse in the schemes and attendant texts, one observes that certain debates about contemporary practices related to worship, which raged in other documents of the Cambridge Camden Society, were curiously downplayed in these works. The continual approval of the use of pews in churches is one example. Pews were located in the nave, and consisted of seating that was separated from the rest of the nave, enclosed, usually, by a wooden box-like separation. They were rented by middle-class members of the congregation, who appreciated their exclusiveness, not to mention the fact that they could be warmed. To ecclesiologists, they were anathema, and the Ecclesiologist decries them, pointing out

that the pue nuisance entails the most offensive and abominable system of open bribery and traffic in churches by those inevitable concomitants called pue-openers. This practice cannot be too strongly reprobated: it is at once illegal, irreverent, and unseemly, and greatly hinders the devotions of such as cannot at all times abstract their attention from these worldly and money-making annoyances.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹“Pues,” the Ecclesiologist II (1842) 61. A Few Words to Church Builders dwells on the degree to which these “monstrous innovations” were to be condemned, for the “unmixed evil of which they have been the cause,” not only on the say-so of the Cambridge Camden Society, but by others, past and present, including the Archdeacon of Lewes, Bishop Bridges of Hereford in 1635, Bishop Montague, Bishop Wren, Archbishop Laud “and others.” A Few Words to Church Builders 17-18. In addition, the Society published an article written by

But there is only relatively minor evidence of this debate in the schemes themselves. A category is included for the despised pews just as for all the other elements of the church.¹²⁰ A reference in A Few Hints is critical inasmuch as it calls pews “abominations” but does not go into the detail which characterises the debate elsewhere; it simply explains that this inclusion should not be taken as an expression of “approval ... but rather from the desire of shewing [sic] how very recent their introduction is,” and thus how incongruous with appropriate church design.¹²¹ The Hand-book refers the reader to “the Society’s History of Pews,” but

John Mason Neale on the history of pews in 1841, and a supplement to it in 1842; a third edition of the two parts published together appeared a year later. These works equate the history of pews as “the history of the intrusion of human pride, and selfishness, and indolence, into the worship of God... a painful tale of our downward progress from the reformation to the revolution: the view of a constant struggle to make Canterbury approximate to Geneva, to assimilate the church to the conventicle”; the determination to eliminate them is called a “goodly Crusade.” On the History of Pews: A Paper Read Before the Cambridge Camden Society on Monday November 22 1841 with an appendix containing a report presented to the Society on the statistics of Pews on Monday December 7 1841 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1841) 3; Cambridge Camden Society, A Supplement to the History of Pews (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1842) 3. There was also a third edition, History of Pews, containing the “Supplement” with additions (Cambridge: University Press, 1843). See also Cambridge Camden Society, Twenty-Three Reasons for Getting Rid of Church Pews (or Pues), (Cambridge: Stevenson, 1846); and Twenty-Four Reasons for Getting Rid of Church Pews (or Pues), (Cambridge: Stevenson, 1846).

¹²⁰ Similarly, a slot for recording the presence of an “Hour-Glass stand” is included, even though these are “relics of Puritanical times.” A Few Hints, 2nd ed. (1840) 17.

¹²¹ A Few Hints, 2nd ed. (1840) 17.

does not dwell on their inadequacies.¹²²

Moreover, the various editions of A Few Hints tone down, if not entirely suppress, other assertions of the Society, and a downright liberal tone, regarding certain contentious matters, is conveyed to a surprising extent. Inclusion of the work of Robert Willis and Pugin in the list of promoted texts on medieval design occurred despite what Society members saw as certain weaknesses which arose when the authors departed in some way from the proscribed mandate of prioritising the classification system which the Society itself embraced so emphatically in the church schemes.¹²³

And earlier editions of the A Few Hints seem almost conciliatory in alluding favourably to Greek and Roman architecture. In the second edition of 1840, the Early English style, for example, is described as standing “midway between the two extremes of perfect Grecian and perfect Gothic architecture”; the evolution of the pointed arch marks the path through which “the stately and majestic Parthenon of Athens was converted into the airy and graceful Cathedral Church of York.”¹²⁴ The next edition does not wax quite so eloquent in

¹²²Hand-book 111-112.

¹²³It is interesting that critics such as Miele see the rise of Pugin and Willis as heralding a new phase in the Gothic Revival, one which championed constructional realism. It was a new phase with only some degree of compatibility with ecclesiology. See Miele, “The West Front of Rochester Cathedral in 1825” 409.

¹²⁴A Few Hints, 2nd ed. (1840) 5-6.

expressing admiration for Greek architecture, but reasserts the connection between Early English capitals and the “Corinthian acanthus.” By the fourth and final addition of *A Few Hints*, and in the *Hand-book*, some of the familiar prejudices creep in but are still somewhat tempered. The association between Greek and Gothic is revived, with the following qualification to eliminate accusations of the latter having been merely a bastardisation of the former:

As the Romanesque originated directly from the Pagan or Classick styles, so it must not be denied that the Gothick, by certain changes and influences which cannot here be explained at length, arose out of the Romanesque, and may therefore be ultimately traced, by regular gradations, to the Grecian. But in the process of transition the Gothick, as if unwilling to acknowledge any obligation to a Pagan origin, worked itself so entirely clear of Pagan forms by diverging into totally opposite principles, and studiously avoiding all recurrence or approximation to its prototype, that it may rightly be regarded as a style in itself independent of all others, the pure offspring of the genius of the Christian religion, and not (as those who gave it the unmeaning though generally received name of *Gothick* seem to have believed) a barbarous departure from and corruption of the Classick styles.¹²⁵

The evidence in the schemes and their related pedagogical texts suggests that there may well have been a strategy of toning down controversial religious and spiritual issues vis-à-vis other publications of the Cambridge Camden Society. Was this an attempt on the part of the Cambridge Camden Society to attract a new audience to their way of thinking, to incite interest amongst a new constituency of church visitors, who could then be introduced, by degrees, to the more comprehensive way of thinking about church architecture? Eastlake

¹²⁵ *A Few Hints*, 4th ed. (1843): 4.

suggests such a conclusion: “it was the peculiar merit of Mr. Neale’s pamphlets to unite, in the advice which they contained, the zeal of an enthusiastic Churchman, the knowledge of a skilled antiquary, and that cautious tact which was essential in an endeavour to enlist the sympathies of the general public, without offending prejudices rooted sometimes in religious principle and more frequently in sheer ignorance.”¹²⁶ Dedicated ecclesiological enthusiasts, as we have seen, would have had ample opportunity to become familiar with every nuance of its rules and recommendations, by reading *The Ecclesiologist* and other Society publications, and by attending Society meetings and lectures. But it was entirely possible to use the church scheme in conjunction solely with *A Few Hints* or with the *Hand-book*, whereby the practice of church visiting it espoused, given the tacit underplay of its spiritual dimension, could well raise the interest and motivation of individuals who were not interested in or disagreed with the orthodox religious dimensions of ecclesiology. Certainly, for example, Oxford Architectural Society members utilised schemes in this way, since their opinions concerning religion differed from those of their Cambridge colleagues. Regardless of whether or not these omissions of more objectionable material were deliberate, the result was a body of information which could appeal to a more diverse constituency.

One more explanation for the dissociation between nomenclature and spirituality suggests itself, specifically, the intentional presentation of

¹²⁶Eastlake 197.

ecclesiology as a science-based endeavour. As has already been mentioned, this adherence to the pursuit of empirical analysis is part of a practice which had been underway since the eighteenth century, undertaken by biologists, archaeologists, and so forth.¹²⁷ It is described by Judith Adler in terms of “travel as ‘experimental’ history.” She argues that “disciplined” travel observations were regarded during that period as “‘experiments,’ a word at that time connoting all investigations relying upon direct sensory experience, on the basis of which sound

¹²⁷Rickman’s habits may also be interpreted as an extension of his self-imposed mandate to approach architecture from a scientific perspective, further paralleling the intentions of the Cambridge Camden Society. It is known that in 1832 he and fellow architectural historian Whewell met and were impressed by the French archaeologist Arcisse de Caumont. De Caumont had founded the Société des Antiquaires de Normandie in 1823, and would, in 1834, found the Société Française d’Archéologie and the Bulletin monumental. Peter Collins explains that de Caumont’s strategy in analysing the Gothic buildings of Normandy was intentionally to emulate the work Linnaeus had done to classify biological species, and that de Caumont had also been influenced in this endeavour by “English archaeological studies.” The strategies of the French theoretician are clearly stated in his Histoire de l’architecture religieuse au Moyen Age, where the careful attention he pays to establishing a nomenclature for the medieval religious architecture of his own country is declared as having been influenced by a contemporary trend: “Les nomenclatures n’ont de valeur qu’autant qu’elles reposent sur des faits, aujourd’hui surtout qu’un esprit d’exactitude et de réserve prévaut dans les recherches historiques comme dans toutes les sciences.” See Aldrich, “Thomas Rickman” 84; Nikolaus Pevsner, Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 42; Peter Collins, Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950 (1965; Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1988) 103; and Baily 322. Baily seems not to have been aware of the contact Rickman made with de Caumont. See also Arcisse de Caumont, Histoire de l’architecture religieuse au Moyen Age. Nouvelle édition (Paris: Derache, 1841) 9.

theories could eventually be inductively constructed and tested.”¹²⁸

Over and over again, the theories of the Cambridge Camden Society, too, are articulated in terms of a science by its members: “...Ecclesiology, like Astronomy and Geology, is an Inductive Science. No sound and truthful generalizations can be hoped for without a careful examination of particulars; and for this work our Society is peculiarly adapted.”¹²⁹ During the early years of the society’s existence, “we had ... to force upon the public the conviction that there is a science of Ecclesiology. This we have long done; and our present task is to develope [sic] that science when occasion requires.”¹³⁰ By 1854, “Church architecture is no longer tentative. It approaches to something of the completeness of an exact science. It is admitted to be a subject not so much of

¹²⁸Adler, “Origins of Sightseeing,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 16 (1989): 16-17. It was not necessary for these researchers to be specialists in their field; indeed, informed amateurs were considered less biased and more capable of “genuine truth and real observation.” See A. Sparrman, “A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope from the year 1772-1776,” translated from the Swedish (1785; London: Robinson, 1971) v. Cited in Adler 17. Increasingly, travellers were encouraged to make note of local customs and conditions, which were usually understood as functions of natural circumstances—air, soil, climate, food, etc. They were also advised to learn the rudiments of mathematics, perspective drawing and map-making, and to carry measuring instruments. Through such collaboration of individual observers, which Adler admits violated subsequent understandings of scientific methods of scrutiny, a “‘new philosophy’ and universal history” was to be constructed.

¹²⁹J.S. Howson, “Scotland and Scotch Architecture.--A Letter” *The Ecclesiologist* I (1842) 60.

¹³⁰Notices and Answers to Correspondents.” *The Ecclesiologist* VIII (1848): 326.

taste as of facts. It has its rules, principles, laws....”¹³¹ The critique in The Ecclesiologist was that “The whole *science* [my emphasis] of Ecclesiology is by many persons regarded as a hobby,” that could somehow be cut off from the underlying “principles” which were scorned. As Miele asserts: “The checklist approach to the study of medieval architecture [exemplified in the schemes] abstracted individual objects and enabled the churches themselves to exist purely as collections of historical markers, architectural features, information.”¹³² Did this perceived scientific pursuit, not to mention congruity with other disciplines similarly seeking to study their subjects in methodical, analytical ways, perhaps deviate some attention from the primarily spiritual goals of the Cambridge Camden Society?

The criticism in The Ecclesiologist is an important reminder of the significant difference between the prescriptive abilities of church schemes, and the descriptive evidence that needs to be teased out of the completed schemes themselves. As formidable as church schemes might appear to be—and as accommodating as they turn out to be, as we will see—in executing their ecclesiological mandate, there were inevitable limits to their efficacy in promoting and advancing ecclesiological church gazing.

¹³¹“Our Centenary Number.” The Ecclesiologist XV (1854): 3.

¹³²Miele, “The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture” 81.

Chapter 4
“Thy Paines and Curtesie”:
Church Schemes as Documented Church Tourism

Now, generous reader, let me intreate thy furtherance thus farre, that, in thy neighbouring churches, if thou shalt finde any ancient funeral inscriptions, or antique obliterated monuments, thou wouldst be pleased to copie out the one, and to take so much relation of the other as tradition can deliver; as also to take the inscriptions and epitaphs upon tombes and gravestones, which are of those times; and withall to take order that such thy collections, notes, and observations may come safely to my hands; and I shall rest ever obliged to acknowledge thy paines and curtesie.

*Weever's Funeral Monuments*¹

As is true of many handwritten documents, completed church schemes are not easy to read, especially to twenty-first-century eyes increasingly reliant on computer-printed text. The writing is dense, and abbreviated, and often minuscule in size, squeezed into the blocks defined by the printed categories. Moreover, the churches which are the subjects of the scheme are sometimes difficult to identify: the name of the town is, on a few occasions, impossible to

¹Cited in Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities*, 4th ed. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1843) 2. This quote also appears in the 2nd ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1840) and the 3rd ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1842). Subsequent references labelled *A Few Hints* will specify edition and date.

trace or verify, partly due to illegible handwriting, or to the changing of town names or jurisdictions (counties themselves underwent boundary and name changes between 1830 and today). The patron saint of a given church is not always provided on the scheme—many are identified only by the town in which they are located—necessitating great care to ascertain, for towns large enough to have more than one extant medieval church, exactly which one is being annotated. Only then can the contents of that scheme can be compared to other writers' descriptions of the church it represents. One more frustration in reading the schemes is that John Mason Neale, especially, very often wrote the date as the Saint's day: on occasion it becomes necessary to trace these back to the conventional calendar, not always simple since there are sometimes multiple dates listed for a particular saint—several for St. Peter, for example. Most of these saints' days are not familiar ones—The Feast of St. Fabian; The Morrow of the Purification; Rogation Monday; The Transformation of St. Edward.² In short, the exercise is a thorough, time-consuming challenge.

And yet, the motivation for persevering is strong. After all, in the midst of *prescriptive* recommendations, advice and admonitions by the Cambridge Camden Society and other experts about how to react to landscape, to architecture, to picturesque-ness, about how one should read and absorb medieval churches, here are the *descriptive* comments and observations which chart the

²See, for example, the Handbook of Dates for Students of English History (London: 1840).

actual reactions. Virtually all the extant schemes were apparently completed by either Neale or Benjamin Webb (alone or in the company of others), certainly two of the most dedicated ecclesiologists in the Cambridge Camden Society, both at the forefront of its pedagogical efforts. Not surprisingly, their schemes reveal a consistent dedication to the tenets of ecclesiology, especially in terms of amassing what they believed was a scientific compilation of data. Theirs is a demonstrated commitment to extending their knowledge base by visiting numerous churches, to conduct church visits as they had urged others to do.

If the schemes can be seen as a tribute to the tenacity and voracity of Neale, Webb and their companions as historians of medieval architecture, that is, as experts seeking to contribute to their chosen field, they are also testaments to these two men as tourists. The elation, the frustration, the occasional perfunctoriness which the schemes exhibit, all put a distinctly human touch on the study of Gothic architecture, one which occasionally seems in opposition to the meticulous attempts to articulate ecclesiology as a function of predefined terms and categories. This human touch is particularly evident, exactly because the church schemes are essentially raw evidence of direct readings of Gothic churches, documents of on-site readings that transpose the visual response into textual notation. Such is the significant value of the schemes, as means to acquire a rounded understanding of ecclesiology--one which supplements the unhesitating pronouncements of the journal The Ecclesiologist or the instructive pamphlets such as A Few Hints, as well as the inherent complexities of the churches built

under the sanction of the Cambridge Camden Society which, after all, also bear the marks of the architects, artisans, and patrons who collectively created them.

This chapter focuses on the material written in the schemes themselves, on how the forms were actually used, as opposed to how they were supposed to function in theory. In this way, their effectiveness as documents underwriting the ecclesiological learning process can be explored. The first section addresses contextual pragmatic details, which are important to know because they can be indicators of the range and depth of ecclesiological church visiting. Hence we see the difficulty in estimating the total number of completed schemes (including Neale's and Webb's) on the basis of available data, at least by comparing statistical evidence gleaned from extant Society sources to the filled-in forms located at the Royal Institute of British Architects and Lambeth Palace Library. Another subsection explores the identities and occupations of the church visitors who accompanied Neale and Webb to these churches, in order to shed light on the constituency of ecclesiologists who practised church tourism. The second section highlights the schemes' effectiveness as documents underwriting the ecclesiological learning process. There is strong evidence that they served as central components of the pedagogical strategies concerning medieval architecture. As such, they demonstrate that it was possible, on the whole, to transform personal impression through the mediating mechanisms of the scripted tourism of ecclesiology, so that perception could take place as a function of those criteria which were isolated and discussed in Chapter 3. This section is further

divided into subsections to focus on the individual merits of schemes. These subsections examine the appropriation of ecclesiological language in completed schemes as the articulation of scripted tourism; the entrenchment of this language as indicated in schemes devoted to medieval churches outside of Britain; and the fulfilment, by virtue of the schemes, of the pedagogical impetus for empirical investigation of medieval churches. On the other hand, an additional subsection brings to light apparent inadequacies of schemes as vehicles to execute these goals. Finally, the third section of the chapter reveals how church schemes can also be seen to display the limitations that the defined scientific record imposed on ecclesiology. Accordingly, a parallel mode of evaluation becomes evident in these collections of schemes, to convey and accommodate the subjective responses which church visits elicited. And these subjective, personalized comments seem to be more in keeping with the symbolic or associational aspects of ecclesiology—its ultimate *raison d'être*, the awakening of religious fervour by virtue of the impressiveness of its architecture. Ultimately, then, even these documents, which circumscribed and substantially predetermined the act of viewing churches, still could not entirely eradicate the urge to respond to the architecture on the basis of a personal, emotional impression—technically outside the prescribed interpretive system which their very format exemplified. This chapter's analysis and interpretation of the schemes thus underline the discrepancy between the scientific gaze and the more personalized one, which coincided with the act of travel and brought back into focus the associationist

approach to medieval architecture taken by ecclesiology.

Quantitative Data on Completed Schemes and Church Visitors

Unfortunately, there is no definite list of schemes possessed by the Cambridge Camden Society at any given time, and, ultimately, no way of knowing how many completed schemes were collected to comprise a database of medieval church architecture. This reflects the overall drawback of the absence of a comprehensive collection of Cambridge Camden Society documents still in existence, such as the one at the Bodleian Library which contains pivotal records of the Oxford Architectural Society.

What does remain is a very misleading, incomplete compilation called “List of the Reports of Churches” sent to the Cambridge Camden Society between May 1839 and May 1841, which appears as an appendix to the Annual Report of 1841 (henceforth called the AR list).³ It lists 432 schemes in total. When carefully scrutinized—for entries of churches in Cambridgeshire and Sussex, for example, two substantially-represented counties—the extent of its limitations can be seen. The AR list shows 49 completed schemes for churches located in Cambridgeshire and 62 for churches in Sussex. Cross-referencing with the Webb

³Cambridge Camden Society, “List of the Reports of Churches sent in From May 1839, to May 1841,” Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLI (Cambridge: Printed for the Society, 1841) Appendix I, 57-68.

and Neale schemes locates questionnaires for ten additional Cambridgeshire churches in the RIBA collection, and eight at Lambeth Palace not found on the AR list, whereas 21 churches on the annual report list do not appear in either the Webb or Neale collections.⁴ Statistics on Sussex entries show 62 churches represented on the AR list, with 29 additional churches referenced in schemes in the Webb collection, and fully 90 more in the Neale collection.⁵ In short, 91 more Sussex churches than the 62 listed in the Annual Report, were the subjects of a church scheme. The discrepancy is not due to schemes appearing either before or after the target dates of the annual report: almost all of Neale's and Webb's schemes for these two counties were completed during the time frame designated in this list.

What can be ascertained is that the schemes of Neale and Webb seem well represented in the compilation. This claim can be made on the basis of correlating the date of the schemes from the AR list, with those on Neale and

⁴Two Cambridgeshire churches are duplicated in the Webb and Neale schemes, and do not appear on the Annual Report list: they are at Orwell and Wimpole. Additional Cambridgeshire churches represented in the Webb collection are in the towns of Newton, Teversham, Stourbridge, Barrington, Great Shelford, Arrington, Bembly and Fen Ditton. Neale schemes exist for churches in Boyston, Bateham, Little St. Mary Church in Cambridge, Arrington and Fowlmere, along with a place whose name resembles "Dorseteater." The Bembly scheme is a rare example of one which appears in the Webb collection at the RIBA but the church seems actually to have been visited by Neale and E.T. Codd, and not by Webb.

⁵Of these, 28 duplicates which appear in both the Webb and Neale collections are missing from the AR list.

Webb's questionnaires. In the majority of cases, when a church appears on the AR list and its corresponding scheme can be located in either the Neale or Webb collections, the date on which the scheme was completed corresponds to the date on the AR list. It seems likely, then, that some of Neale and Webb's schemes are represented in the Annual Report list, but not all. Unfortunately, no criteria governing inclusion or exclusion appear evident.

Several conclusions suggest themselves in the light of these findings. First, whereas there were strong articulations by members of the Cambridge Camden Society of the need to assemble a comprehensive church scheme database, repeated references in a variety of sources of sharing information found in schemes and of their use by other ecclesiological societies, and ongoing efforts, at least to 1848, to promote the rigorous use of church schemes, one formally-compiled collection cannot be traced today, either in existing data or as a complete list cited in Society documents. There is no reason to think that schemes were not collected and used with the frequency and commitment which the descriptive sources suggest—quite the opposite, given Neale and Webb's own collections—but what survived were assemblages of personal, individual databanks, or at least, clustered accumulations of schemes, of which perhaps only a portion of Neale's and Webb's remain. And they may have survived precisely because they were kept distinct from the Society's own collection, given that its own archives no longer exist. Consequently, it seems impossible even to begin to estimate how many church schemes were amassed by Society members. It is

also possible to explain an absence of lists subsequent to that of 1841, by arguing that, rather than expend energy each year annotating, cataloguing and reporting the contents of the schemes in their unprocessed state as had been done in the annual report list, the Society chose to put its main efforts into utilizing these resources by processing them and reformatting them in their lectures and their publications, particularly the various editions of A Few Hints and the Hand-book.⁶ There is no question that the influence of the schemes can be clearly seen in these texts.

More tangible information can be gleaned about the identities and practices of the excursionists who accompanied Neale and Webb on the excursions documented in the schemes, based on the category on the schemes allotted to “names of visitors.” As Society documents advised, travel—always to medieval churches—usually took place in groups, and, as was also recommended, must have been perceived as amicable as well as instructive affairs, given, amongst other evidence, the occasional presence of family members in the group. Amongst the church visitors associated with these schemes—men and perhaps two women—some social diversity may be discerned. Interestingly, not all the church visitors who were listed, were members of the Society. Clergy comprised most but not all of the excursionists; moreover, it is clear that excursionists excluded

⁶These reasons might also help to explain why no further listing of schemes is provided in annual reports after 1841. Cambridge Camden Society, A Hand-book of English Ecclesiology (London: Joseph Masters Aldergate Street, 1847).

architects—even those who were members of the Society. This is interesting because an architect joining an excursion may have chosen to prioritise his reading of the church on the basis of criteria more in keeping with his professional understanding of architecture (for example, a reading which emphasised the structural or architectonic rather than stylistic components of the building). Not travelling with an architect, was further protection of the hegemony of the scheme in mediating the perception of the architecture. As far as ecclesiological doctrine was concerned, then, church visiting seems to have been engaged according to the prescribed guidelines of the Cambridge Camden Society.

Church schemes reveal that an excursion party generally consisted of between two and four participants and could take several days.⁷ For example, Neale and Webb toured together often; one of their trips was to France, where they spent approximately three weeks in late June and early July 1841.⁸ In three

⁷But there were some exceptions. Neale seems to have travelled alone in many cases: roughly one-third of his schemes list only his name. This is especially the case on his visits to Sussex, where, in 1840, he became involved in the renovation of St. Nicholas church in Old Shoreham, and might have been all the more determined for that reason to become familiar with churches in that county. Webb travelled alone much less frequently: a total of 13 of the 142 schemes at the RIBA show only his name, along with two more at Lambeth.

⁸When they did, each usually completed his own church scheme. This seems to support the idea that a scheme was considered a personal record as well as a source of information to the Society. Perhaps for this reason as well, Neale kept copies of schemes completed by others, for example, that of Webb and Codd, for St. Dunstan Church, Stepney, Middlesex, Lambeth, MS 1977. Schemes

schemes there is evidence of larger groups of excursionists. On 16 March 1840, Neale, Webb and three additional members travelled to All Saints Church in Hertford, and on the next day, they visited St. Mary's Church in Lacombe, Herts.⁹ On 15 May, 1841, a party of eight, including Neale and Webb, explored a church in Fen Drayton, Cambridgeshire. The completed scheme for this visit, in the Webb collection, is relatively sparse, but the company must have been impressed with the church, whose rood screen was "very elegant" and pulpit and hour glass stand "very good."¹⁰ Hence, Neale and Webb's excursions may not always have had the mass of participants that "A Camdenian Field Day" implied, but the spirit of group exploration seems to have been demonstrated.

Moreover, there is evidence that church visiting sometimes became a family affair. Neale's sister, Elizabeth, seems very likely to be the E. Neale who accompanied John on visits to churches in 1840 and 1841.¹¹ She married E.J.

completed during the trip to France may be found at Lambeth, MSS 1983 and 1985-8. Even on this journey, the zealous Neale managed to visit two churches more than Webb: one on 8 July at Sauvie (?), Normandy and the second a day later at Belleville, near Caen. Lambeth, MSS 1985 and 1983 respectively.

⁹Scheme for All Saints, Hertford, RIBA, vol. II; scheme for St. Mary, Lacombe, Herts., RIBA, vol. II. The accompanists were Webb's brother Henry, Samuel Gregory and Rev. Charles Colson, all members of the Society.

¹⁰Scheme for a church in Fen Drayton, Cambridgeshire, RIBA vol. III. The group consisted of Neale, Webb, Thomas Thorp (President of the Society), J.G. Young, Charles Colson, F.A. Paley, H. Goodwin and F. L. Lloyd.

¹¹See, for example, the following schemes dated 1840: Pyecombe, Sussex, 16 June, and New Shoreham and Southwick churches, Sussex, 18 June and

Boyce, a member of the Cambridge Camden Society whose name also appears on church schemes, and herself became Superior of the Community of Holy Cross, between 1857 and 1896.¹² Other relations which are listed are C. Neale, possibly John's son Cornelius and, on one entry, the initials "S.C.E.N." appear, which may well stand for Sarah (John's wife), Cornelius and Elizabeth Neale.¹³

Benjamin Webb seems to have travelled with family as well. His younger brother Henry was a member by 1841 and his name appears on schemes in 1840 and 1841.¹⁴ Moreover, the initials C.W and M.W. represent visitors who went with Benjamin to Lincoln's Inn Chapel, Middlesex on 14 or 16 March, 1840 and an

Broachwater, Sussex, on 22 June, all at Lambeth, MS 1979; Effingham, Sussex, 19 June, 1841 and Newdegate, Surrey, 10 June, 1841, Lambeth, MS 1982.

¹²A.G. Lough, *The Influence of John Mason Neale* (London: SPCK, 1962) 4.

¹³C. Neale's name appears on schemes with John and E. Neale, namely those for Pyecombe, and New Timber, Sussex, dated 16 June 1840, as well as St. Nicholas Church, Portslade, Sussex, visited on the day celebrating The Translation of St. Edward, 1840. C. Neale also travelled alone with John, to St. Nicholas, Brighton, on The Vigil of St. John the Baptist, 1840. All of these schemes at Lambeth, MS 1979. The four initials are found on the scheme for St. Andrew, Hove, Sussex and Abinger, Surrey, taken in June 1840 and on 19 June, 1841 respectively, Lambeth, MSS 1981 and 1982. S. Neale joined John on a journey to St. Margaret's Church, Ditchelling, Sussex in September of 1840. Lambeth, MS 1981.

¹⁴Geoffrey K. Brandwood, "A Camdenian Roll-Call," *'A Church as it Should Be': The Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence*, ed. Christopher Webster and John Elliott (Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2000) 447. Henry visited All Saints, Hertford in March of 1840. H.W., in all probability Henry Webb, also accompanied Benjamin to Plumstead Church, and East Wickham Church, both in Kent, on 17 September, 1841. RIBA vol. I.

A.W. joined him on a tour of Erith Church, Kent, in September 1841.¹⁵ Are these, too, relatives? If so, Webb would be following in his colleague's footsteps in combining ecclesiological duties with the social pleasures that family excursions, as well as travelling among friends, can provide.

Whereas a number of architects were members of the Cambridge Camden Society in the 1840s and early 1850s none of the accompanists of Neale and Webb was a professional designer.¹⁶ As could be expected, most were clergymen who had studied at Cambridge, many of them members of the Society from its inception, like Neale and Webb themselves: Rev. E.J. Boyce, Rev. Charles Colson, Rev. Harvey Goodwin (later member of the Royal Commission on

¹⁵Scheme for Lincoln's Inn Chapel, Middlesex, RIBA vol. I; scheme for Erith Church, Kent, RIBA vol. I.

¹⁶These included George Basevi, Jr. (elected early 1840s; had been a pupil of John Soane); George Frederick Bodley (elected 1849-50; first pupil of G.G. Scott); J.A. and J.R. Brandon (elected 1845; also wrote on Gothic architecture); William Burges (elected 1845); William Butterfield (elected 1844, architect of All Saints, Margaret Street and other commissions sanctioned by the Society); R.C. Carpenter (1841); C.R. Cockerell (elected early 1840s); design theorist William Dyce (elected early or mid 1840s); John Hicks (elected 1843; Thomas Hardy was his pupil 1856-9 and later his assistant); F.C. Penrose (elected 1841, president RIBA 1894-6; also archaeologist and astronomer); Anthony Salvin (elected early 1840s); George Gilbert Scott (elected 1842); Edmund Sharpe (elected 1841; author of *Architectural Parallels*); George Edmund Street (elected 1845; his brother, solicitor Thomas Henry Street, joined when he did); William Milford Teulon (elected 1847; his brother, S.S. Teulon joined circa 1854); Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (honorary member, elected 1849-50); Frank Wills (elected 1848; designed Christ Church, Fredericton, New Brunswick; moved to New York and helped found New York Ecclesiological Society in 1848 and worked as its official architect). Brandwood 359-452.

Ritualistic Practices, 1867-70), Rev. T.G.P. Hough, Rev. W.D. Morrice, Rev. F.L. Lloyd, Mesac Thomas (later a bishop in Australia), and Thomas Thorpe, President of the Society between 1839 and 1859 and, at the time, Archdeacon and Chancellor of Bristol (1836-73).¹⁷ Given their religious background, it would be reasonable to assume that these men would embrace both the architectural, and the spiritual, mandates of ecclesiology with the same exuberance as Neale and Webb themselves.¹⁸

¹⁷Brandwood 359-452.

¹⁸Three additional early members who were clergy, and whose names appear on church schemes, must also have been welcome companions on church excursions through to 1842 or so. But a further investigation of their careers reflects the turbulent nature of the Society by the middle of that decade, when a decided reconsideration of their beliefs vis-à-vis the rest of the members took place. The Rev. Edward Thornton Codd was a frequent travel companion both to Webb and Neale. The Society's secretary in 1839-40 (from its beginning), and a committee member in 1840-1 and 1842-4, Codd ceases to be a member at all by mid-1844. This is precisely at the time when a controversy over whether the Cambridge Camden Society was guilty of excessive ritualism—approaching that of Roman Catholicism—threatened to break the society apart. Did he resign for that reason? Those who accused the Society of such transgressions must have felt vindicated when another founding member, Rev. William Henry Lewthwaite, and Frederick Apthorp Paley, who joined in the early 40s, actually converted to Roman Catholicism (as Newman had done), in 1851 and 1846 respectively. Paley had been forced to give up his rooms at St. John's College, Cambridge, in the same year, after being accused of trying to persuade a pupil to convert as well. In the midst of the disputes which troubled the Society in the mid 1840s, it is less likely that these three ecclesiologists would have been comfortable participants in Cambridge Camden Society excursions; no doubt, the Society would have worked to distance itself from Lewthwaite and Paley, just as they dissociated themselves from another co-sympathizer who became too radical, A.W.N. Pugin. See Brandwood. Other clergy whose name is listed on schemes are William Dry who was a chaplain in Tasmania between 1845 and 1860; Rev. Edward Otto Trevelyan; and Rev. James Gavin Young. Trevelyan had gone to Oxford

Amongst the co-travellers with Oxbridge degrees, but who were not clergymen, a modest amount of cultural diversity is apparent. One excursionist listed in the schemes clearly was a member of the upper classes, and was also more generally interested in Britain's historical legacy. James Stewart Forbes joined Neale, Webb and J.G. Young on visits to Cambridgeshire churches in February 1841.¹⁹ He was the fourth son of Sir Charles Forbes and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, having taken a Master of Arts degree at Christ's College, Cambridge. He had been elected to the Cambridge Camden Society by late 1840, and was on its administrative committee during 1841-2 and 1844-6.²⁰ Others did not have noble blood. Arthur Shelley Eddis was a fellow and assistant tutor at Trinity who was treasurer of the Cambridge Camden Society in 1840-2 and on the committee 1842-3. An early excursionist—he joined Webb and Edward Thornton Codd on a trip to Barrington church, Cambridgeshire on 27 November, 1839—he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1842 and had a legal career.²¹ Hugh Parnell studied at St. John's, Cambridge and was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in the same year as Eddis. He accompanied Neale, Webb and Colson to several of the

University.

¹⁹Scheme for St. Andrew, Stapleford, Cambridgeshire, Lambeth, MS 1988. Scheme for Quy and Sawston, Cambridgeshire, RIBA, vol. III.

²⁰Brandwood 392.

²¹Scheme for Barrington Church, Cambridgeshire, RIBA, vol. III; Brandwood 388.

churches they visited in Merionethshire in late July/early August, 1840, having joined the Society around that time.²² W. Francklin, who took a B.A. at Balliol, Oxford, was an “ordinary” member in 1841 and accompanied Neale and another man on a trip to Somersetshire for four or so days in mid-March, 1842. He visited thirteen churches, perhaps having chosen to participate in this trip, or having been invited, because he lived in North Petherton, Somersetshire.²³ His career is unknown.

Other church visitors evidently did not attend university. Samuel Gregory became a London solicitor at the Lord Mayor’s Court Office. A member by late 1840, he was one of the group of five who had travelled to Hertfordshire in March of 1840.²⁴ A Captain E.A. Percival was a member of the Society by 1842. Other than his rank, his occupation is unknown. A resident of Langford, Somerset, he was included on the tour of that county that Francklin had also joined in 1842.²⁵

It seems that not all those who participated in these tours of churches were even members of the Cambridge Camden Society. J. Armitage, who joined

²²Brandwood 423; for related schemes see Lambeth, MS 1980, and RIBA vol. II.

²³Cambridge Camden Society, *Annual Report*, 1841. Schemes for these Somerset churches may be found at Lambeth, MS 1990.

²⁴Brandwood 397.

²⁵Brandwood 425.

Neale, Webb and Colson on several excursions to churches in Merionethshire in August, 1840, does not appear on any membership list.²⁶ Neither does W.K.L. Russell, who accompanied Neale on St. Thomas of Canterbury Day in 1840 to Wistorn (?) Sussex, nor a “Dr. Rutherford,” who joined Neale and Webb at Vaucelles, Normandy in July 1841.²⁷

It is most unfortunate that church schemes filled out by “ordinary” members, rather than by the initiators and leaders of ecclesiology, are not available for examination. To what extent was that group guided and assisted by the categories in the different fields of the scheme? How dedicated were they to “taking” churches routinely? There is an attempt made in the 1841 annual report, to egg on these members: “Had every member exerted himself with as much energy as those actually did whose reports are before you, we should now have been in possession of reports of more than one half the churches in this kingdom. Your Committee cannot but regret that any of our members should have passed (as many must have passed) the whole summer vacation in districts abounding with curious churches without bringing back to enrich us a description of that parish church which they entered Sunday after Sunday during the whole of the

²⁶See schemes for St. Michael, Llanfihangel, St. Tanwg, Llandaring, and St. Mary, Tal-y-Llyn, Merionethshire, for example, RIBA, vol. II.

²⁷Scheme for Wistorn (?), Sussex, Lambeth, MS 1982; and for Vaucelles, Normandy, Lambeth, MS 1987. Brandwood 432 identifies a Rev. John Fuller Russell as being a member sometime in the early 1840s.

summer.”²⁸ Nevertheless, a careful scrutiny of the Neale and Webb documents, especially given their substantial number, proves immensely rewarding and revealing. True, these schemes represent the ideal contributions of the most committed, and most informed, members. If this is the case, however, certain characteristics of the schemes are all the more interesting and surprising.

Completed Schemes and the Fulfilment of Ecclesiological Expectations

The most essential characteristics of the extant church schemes of Webb and Neale, is that they do, as prescribed, translate the visual experience into a primarily text-based system of recording and interpreting data on medieval churches. A very good example is the tower and spire of St. Mary Church, Stamford, visited by Neale and Codd on Easter Tuesday, 1840. The scheme describes the tower—first the spire, and then the sides of the tower proper—as follows:

EE. w- a magnificent spire, 8<: roll moulding at edges: on alternate sides wds g, [something illegible] and finialled, w- Δ^r canopy: trans'd and similar niches w- full length effigies of saints. Tower, [something illegible] w- two buttresses on each side, sq. w- edges chamfered....

4. Sides **N.** 1. Arcade of 5 c's; ⊙ shafts and cap's 2. 3. Do 4. arcade

²⁸And yet, a reason to celebrate follows: “by one of our members our schemes have been used for the description of the venerable church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.” Unfortunately, the scheme cannot be located today. Cambridge Camden Society, *Annual Report*, 1841, 40-41.

of 3 3f'd A's: ☉ shafts and cap: under 2 exterior A's: 4f
 [☉?]: under centre 3f wd of one 1. 5. three wds. Three
 detached shafts. band halfway up. toothed. corbel table
 round top.
W. 1.2 w. door. 3. arcade of 3. do 4. do
S. as N.
E. do.²⁹

This is an Early English tower with an octagonal spire. The spire has a roll moulding along its edges. On alternate sides, its windows are ogee-shaped and finialled, with a triangular canopy.³⁰ There are transomed openings, as well as similarly-shaped niches which contain statues of saints. The tower itself has two buttresses on each of its sides, the buttresses being square with chamfered edges. The description of the tower, as opposed to the spire above it, is broken down in terms of its sides, of which the north, south and east are identical. On these, beginning from the base, there are three levels of arcades which consist of five lancet-shaped openings each, with circular shafts and capitals.³¹ The fourth level is an arcade of three trefoiled arches with circular shafts and capitals; under the two extreme ones (those at the edges) is a quatrefoiled opening, whereas under

²⁹Square brackets denote illegible words. Scheme for St. Mary, Stamford, Lincolnshire, Lambeth, MS 1978.

³⁰An ogee arch is one which has a double curve, concave above, convex below, which springs from two opposing radii.

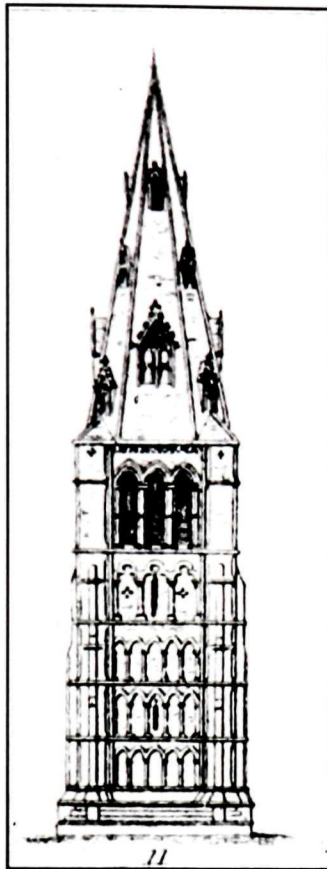
³¹A lancet arch makes a narrow opening; the angle of the sides formed by the arch is small.

the centre arch is one trefoiled window. The fifth level has three windows with detached shafts, whose profile was carved in an extended pattern that looks like teeth. These shafts are banded halfway up, and have a corbel table (a projecting moulding) that extends outward horizontally, away from the springing of the arch. The west side of the tower has a door and doorway equivalent in height to the first two rows of arcades on the other sides, followed by three successive rows of trefoiled arcades.

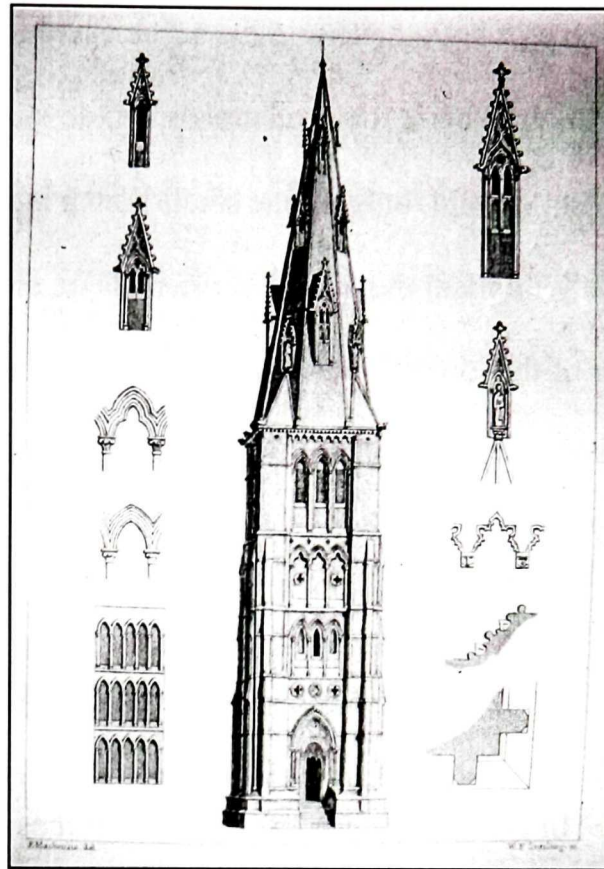
Two collections of images dating from the late 1840s give a visual component to this description. John Henry Parker includes an illustration in the comparison of towers in his Glossary, where a representation of one of the three similar sides is featured (see Figure 4.1).³² The side containing the door appears along with a series of details of the tower and spire, in the fifth, posthumous edition of Thomas Rickman's An Attempt, also published by Parker and significantly modified, primarily with the inclusion of numerous illustrations, in 1848 (See Figure 4.2).³³

³²John Henry Parker, A Glossary of Terms Used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture. 3rd ed., enlarged. (London: John Henry Parker, 1840-1). This consists of three volumes. The first, dated 1840, contained the glossary itself; the second, published the same year, contained the plates, and the third, dated 1841, is called The Companion to the Third Edition of a Glossary of Terms Used in Gothic Architecture and contained additional examples. See vol. iii. XXXVIII, number 11.

³³Thomas Rickman, An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the Reformation; with a Sketch of the Grecian and Roman Orders, Notices of Numerous British Edifices, and Some Remarks on



4.1 Spire of St. Mary's Church, Stamford, John Henry Parker, *Glossary of Terms Used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture*.



4.2 Spire of St. Mary's Church, Stamford, Thomas Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England*, 5th ed. published by John Henry Parker, 1848.

The text of the scheme and images appear to correspond: for the purposes of ecclesiology, they are, essentially, two different versions of the same thing. In this case, the priorities of representation are similar as well. With two exceptions,

the *Architecture of a Part of France*, 5th ed. (London: John Henry Parker, 1848), opp. p. 120. Earlier additions are as follows: 1st ed. (London: Longman, 1817); 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1819), 3rd ed. (Liverpool: G. Smith, 1825); 4th ed. (London: Longman, 1835). The fifth edition is the first to add that St. Mary Stamford, specifically, is an excellent example of an Early English steeple: "the spire is of somewhat later date than the tower, but the general character is well preserved and the proportions are good," and besides, "It is not unusual to find Decorated spires added to Early English towers." Neale and Codd thus correctly identified it as an Early English spire, although they did not, in this case, note the later timeframe of the upper portion.

the details of both the text in the scheme and the illustrations in Rickman's—really now Parker's—book focus on arches, windows, and ornamentation. Even in the 1848 *An Attempt*, only in one small sketch is the structure of the tower even remotely implied: this is in a horizontal cut, showing the buttresses across a corner of the tower, a mere one of ten supplementary representations which accompany the key image. Constructional or architectonic information is evidently not a priority.

Individual Appropriations of Ecclesiological Nomenclature

In general, the job of parsing churches according to the instructions of the Cambridge Camden Society seems to have been effectively satisfied by using a scheme. So straightforward and easy to use was this method that duplicate schemes show remarkably similar employment of language and idiom. Of course, companions visiting a church together may well have discussed their responses to these churches as well as recording them in the schemes, which would help account for this consistency. Still, entries seem individualised by small variations in the way that ecclesiological terminology was utilised. This is an important observation, because it suggests that each individual gaze—those occurring during different visits, or by different viewers—was mediated uniquely, and capable of being articulated uniquely, through ecclesiological travel-related taxonomy and nomenclature. That is, each recorded church visit reflects a reception of the architecture that was subtly distinguishable from other or

previous engagements with that architecture, based on varying circumstances or experiences.

For example, Neale and Boyce both paid a visit to the church of St. Mary the Virgin, in Dunton, Bedfordshire. Two schemes exist for this church, each listing both visitors, but dated a day apart, on 14 and 15 January, 1840. It is impossible to determine if each man completed his own scheme for the church, if both collaborated on two schemes, or even if they did indeed visit on the same day. In any case, distinctions between the two schemes makes it clear that they were not identical copies of each other. Yet they echo with similar responses, even where they do not agree. The east window of the chancel is described in one case as “G.D. of 5L: the divisions of the tracery 4fd: very good.”³⁴ The second description of the same window is “Very good G.D of 5L’s: but rather too broad in proportion to its height.”³⁵ The perception is generally the same: of a window that is ogee-shaped and of the Decorated period, cinquefoiled and well-executed, except, in one observation, for being disproportionately wide. The north and south chancel windows in the 14 Jan. scheme are as follows:

N. 1 D of 3L blocked at top: 1 Db of 2L

S. 1 D of 3L blocked at top, and supermullioned: 1 Db of 2L.

³⁴Scheme for St. Mary Church, Dunton, 14 January 1840, Lambeth MS 1977 (subsequently referred to as 14 Jan. scheme).

³⁵Scheme for St. Mary Church, Dunton, 14 January 1840, Lambeth MS 1977 (subsequently referred to as 15 Jan. scheme).

The 15 Jan. entry reads:

N. 1 P. of 3L, wh seems to have been good, but is now almost completely blocked up at the top. 1. Db. 2L.

S. 1P of 3L supermullioned: 1Db

Other than the discrepancy as to whether two of these windows were Decorated or Perpendicular—a hesitation perhaps explained by the early dates of these schemes—and the fact that the first scheme and then the second provides extra bits of information, their means of engaging the architecture are virtually, though not exactly, identical.

The duplicate schemes for Eggleton Church, Rutlandshire, visited by Neale and Codd on 22 April 1840, clearly show two people speaking the same ecclesiological language, with subtle differences reflect a personalization of the idiom. For example, the RIBA version (by Codd?) describes the north window of the chancel as “1.P.3L.5f’d - 1.P of 2L5f’d supermull’d 3f’d” while the Lambeth version appears as “One P. of three l’s 5 f’d. One P. of two l’s. 5 f’d. sup. m. 3 f’d.”³⁶ Similar evidence can be found for duplicate schemes for Sts. Martin and Gregory Church, York, visited by Neale and Webb on 6 July 1840. Here, too, except for different styles of delineating detail and tiny changes in words—“lofty” replacing “high” to describe the chancel arch--there is an almost exact match

³⁶Schemes for Eggleton Church, Rutlandshire, RIBA vol. II; Lambeth MS 1978.

between the two, even in the pronouncement of the gargoyles as “good.”³⁷ Minor deviations between duplicates occasionally occur, but, again, do not seriously undermine this unity of perception. At Arrington Church, the RIBA version identifies the font as “in disgustingly neglected state,” a sentiment perhaps felt, but not articulated, by the compiler of the Lambeth scheme, which simply says that the font is not being used.³⁸ A more provocative remark can also be found in a Lambeth duplicate, this time for St. Andrew Church, visited by Neale, Webb and Colson. Both schemes note that the nave was modernized, but the Lambeth (Neale?) version adds that the renovation was “in tolerable Grecian taste.”³⁹ Thus, whereas the schemes show a consistency in the use of ecclesiological terminology, reinforcing the homogeneity of the vision which ecclesiology projected and promoted over these years, they also record the uniqueness of each individual tourist experience.

³⁷Schemes for St. Martin cum Gregory Church, York; RIBA vol. I; Lambeth MS 1979.

³⁸Schemes for St. Nicholas Church, Arrington, Cambridgeshire, RIBA vol. III; Lambeth MS 1977.

³⁹Schemes for St. Andrew Church, Wimpole, Cambridgeshire, RIBA vol. III; Lambeth MS 1977.

Continental Ecclesiology

Indeed, so established is this method of reading medieval architecture, that it becomes the basis for examining even Continental churches. The result is a rather skewed overlay of positive attributes gleaned from an analysis of British medieval design, as the basis of perception of churches which had their own heritage. As already mentioned, Neale and Webb spent about three weeks visiting churches in Rouen and Normandy during the summer of 1841. The schemes for these churches, as well as a text published by Benjamin Webb on Continental architecture, and a collection of schemes dating from the early 1850s and covering churches in Scandinavia and other parts of Europe, all seem to underline the degree to which even non-English architecture were rendered ecclesiological, that is, brought under the jurisdiction of its classification system, albeit with some modifications. To assert this position is not to criticize only Cambridge Camden Society members unduly for their restricted point of view. Rather, it places them in the company of other English historians of the same period who were also content to explore European medieval design primarily on the basis of historiography on English precedents, and confirms the nationalistic bias which characterises most contemporary British prescriptive texts on medieval architecture.

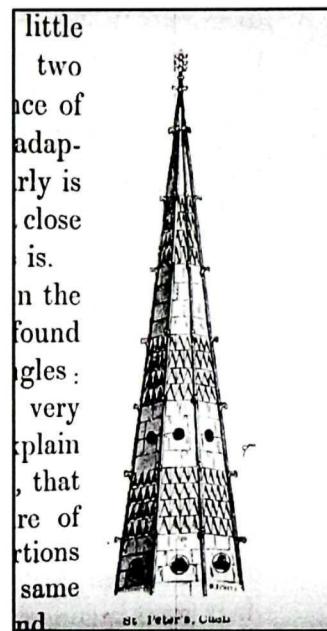
Chapter 3 of this dissertation has already alluded to the ongoing inquiry, which continued through the 1840s, into links between French and English Gothic

design. The title of Rickman's fourth edition, dated 1835, of An Attempt, for example, is extended to include "Some Remarks on the Architecture of a Part of France," which no doubt resulted at least in part from his visit, by 1832, to Picardy and Normandy; an image of the spire of "St. Peter," Caen, is included in the fifth edition of 1848 (see Figure 4.3).⁴⁰ Rickman adjusts his terminology so that Early English becomes Early French, Decorated retains its meaning, and, for "the last period, after 1400, being in its arrangement so peculiar and so different from our perpendicular style as to require a different and particular appellation," he borrows the term he attributes to Arcisse de Caumont, namely Flamboyant, to categorize this period of architecture.⁴¹ The Rev. William Whewell, Rickman's travelling companion in France who published his own impressions of the journey in 1842, also pays lip service to the need to differentiate between French and English Gothic: he says that "'Early English,' in its pure English form, is not commonly found in [France]: its place in the series of styles is taken by what we may call the Early Gothic...."⁴² However, in his description of Beauvais

⁴⁰Rickman, An Attempt, 5th ed. (1848) li.

⁴¹Thomas Rickman, Four Letters on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of France, addressed to John Gage, Director [Royal Society of Antiquaries] (London: Royal Society of Antiquaries, 1833), Letter IV, 178-182.

⁴²Rickman, Four Letters, letter I, 159. William Whewell, Architectural Notes on German Churches, with notes written during an architectural tour in Picardy and Normandy, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: J. and J.J. Deighton and John W. Parker, 1842) 232.



4.3 Spire of St. Pierre Church, Caen, Thomas Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England...and Some Remarks on the Architecture of a Part of France*, 1848.

Cathedral, he forgets his own advice. Pier capitals are formed “of Early English stiff leaves with free curling tips... and the arch mouldings have the same very simple Early English character,” and a “quasi-triforium” under a window is “formed of a little range of Early English trefoil-headed arches on short little shafts.”⁴³

Ecclesiologists, too, apparently felt little need to adjust their familiar terminology, deeming it sufficient, as these other English travellers did, to add Flamoyant, and, sometimes, Early French, to the list of styles. This is revealed in an 1848 publication by Webb, *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology*, based on

⁴³Whewell, *Architectural Notes on German Churches* 246-7.

travels in 1844 and 1845.⁴⁴ Here he retains the Cambridge Camden Society post-1845 terms First- Middle- and Third-Pointed as well as the implied organic character of the sequence from early to late Gothic, “embracing respectively its growth, full perfection, and decline.” He adds, too, that “This series is most clearly marked in England: and should be borne in mind in order to understand Foreign Pointed, in which the same succession as really, though less systematically and less apparently, ran its course.”⁴⁵ Hence, the English

⁴⁴Benjamin Webb, Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology, or Church Notes in Belgium, Germany and Italy (London: Joseph Masters, 1848). Travel dates are given in a handwritten page inserted opposite a list of books referred to in the text, in the copy located at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal. Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology is an interesting text, and not only because it records a devout Gothicism’s confrontation of great Renaissance architecture—such as that of Brunelleschi, Alberti and Michaelangelo, “whose works however the Ecclesiologist must deplore even if forced to admire” (316). As in the schemes themselves, Webb challenged himself while on this excursion, to record, in the most immediate way, the experience of discovering the architecture: “these notes, if unequal in their general character, have the uniform recommendation of being original,—made in all cases on the spot, and portraying [sic] the actual impressions of facts, scenes, or churches.... Nor have they been enriched by the second-hand information of Handbooks or Guides, except in a very few cases, where their own ambiguity was explained by collation” (x-xi). The resulting entries reveal themselves as generated by impulses similar to those at the heart of Webb’s English ecclesiology—to seek out and emphasise the associational qualities of medieval religious architecture. To that end, for example, whereas Frankfurt’s ecclesiology was deemed “not of the highest order,” the impression of that city’s St. Bartholomew church, “good Middle-Pointed,” is enhanced by its three-sided apse, which, “... is a great advantage in point of symbolism over a square end. There is the Holy Trinity symbolized to begin with, which must give more scope to the further symbolism” (91) Can it be possible that a French-style apse is preferable to the habitual medieval square English termination?

⁴⁵Webb, Sketches xv.

manifestation was the benchmark, and the French, a blurrier, somewhat distorted version.

Moving from this book to the schemes themselves is to observe, again, a fairly consistent ecclesiological approach. There are fifty schemes from France in the Lambeth collection, which record Neale and Webb's journey. In them, it is possible to see the usual form of annotation. La Croix de Bayeux Church in Normandy, for example, has a tetragonal apse with "4 Wds.D.2l's.g.3f a loz.g.4f in hd."⁴⁶ Hence, it has four windows which correspond to the Decorated period, of two lights each, ogee shaped, trefoiled, with a quatrefoil, ogee-shaped lozenge at the crest of the window. Treschateaux Church in Picardy has similarly encoded material, for example in the description of the exterior of its entrance, as does the scheme for St. Nicholas Church in Normandy in the section describing the east window.⁴⁷ The term Early French (E.F.) appears, for example, in the schemes for St. Nicholas, Normandy (the east window) and Bretieville Church, Normandy (the tower, "elegant E.F."); the tower at Vaucelles, Normandy, is T.E.F, presumably Transitional Early French.⁴⁸ Old habits die hard, however: St.

⁴⁶Scheme for La Croix de Bayeux Church, Normandy, Lambeth MS 1983.

⁴⁷Scheme for Treschateaux Church, Picardy, Lambeth MS 1983; scheme for S. Nicholas, Normandy, Lambeth MS 1987.

⁴⁸Scheme for S. Nicholas, Normandy, Lambeth MS 1987; scheme for Bretieville Church, Normandy, Lambeth MS 1985; scheme for Vaucelles Church, Normandy, Lambeth MS 1987.

Aubrey Church in Liniay, Picardy, has a font described in the scheme as “Good E.E.”⁴⁹

The six schemes for other European churches are dated May, 1852 and May, 1853, ten years later than the French ones. They do not supply the names of the visitor(s), but appear with the Neale collection at Lambeth. The churches visited in 1852 are Lund Cathedral and St. Peter, Malmö, both in Sweden, and St. Canute, Odense, and Ringstaed Churches in Denmark. The 1853 schemes are for Santa Maria Maggiore in Tora (?), Spain, and the cathedral in Porto, presumably Portugal.⁵⁰

It is interesting that in this late collection of schemes, whereas the windows and other architectural elements are not thoroughly parsed as in earlier examples, there do continue to be carry-overs in encoding strategies. Continued references to applications of the Early English style appear: at Odense Cathedral, “All work seems late EE” and the “whole structure” of the interior of the

⁴⁹Scheme for St. Aubrey Church, Liniay, Picardy, Lambeth MS 1987.

⁵⁰All these schemes: Lambeth MS 1992. A clue to provenance accompanies the Spanish scheme, which is bound with an excerpt from a document entitled Memoria Historica do Mosteiro de Leca do Balio, in the top right corner of which is pencilled Neale’s name, and a date, 1 June, in the 1860s—the final digit is not clear. It is known that Neale had visited Europe, having travelled to Madeira as early as the winter of 1843, the first of three spent there in an attempt to improve his health. See Lough 10. Neale also published Notes, Ecclesiological and Picturesque, on Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Styria, with a visit to Montenegro (London: J.T. Hayes, 1861).

cathedral at Porto is “EE.”⁵¹ Moreover, the tower at Ringstaed Church is “sq. Pyramidal. effect that of New Shoreham,” a Sussex church for which Neale completed two schemes.⁵² Evidently, it was impossible or undesirable to escape the preconceived vision of European medieval architecture in terms of English precedents.

Completed Schemes and Ecclesiological Pedagogy

If a principal goal of the Cambridge Camden Society as a whole was to locate, chart, and bring under the ecclesiological gaze as many medieval churches as could be visited in Britain, then Neale and Webb worked to execute this task with dedication and enthusiasm. Church schemes in the RIBA and Lambeth collections are essentially concerned with investigation and discovery—discovery of how the actual architecture lived up to the expectations imposed by ecclesiology. Most of the time, the schemes reflect the expertise of these ecclesiologists and highlight these men’s ability to break down, in methodical fashion, the characteristics of the churches into constituent parts. And substantial amounts of the material contained in the schemes can be demonstrated to have found their way into the pedagogical tracts published by the Cambridge Camden

⁵¹Schemes for Odense and Porto Cathedrals: Lambeth MS 1992.

⁵²Scheme for Ringstaed Church: Lambeth MS 1992.

Society.

But church visits were not only opportunities to document the expected. They were learning experiences, even for Neale and Webb. Schemes contain references to guides on medieval architecture written by other researchers in the field, illustrating the accretive aspect of pedagogy on medieval churches, whereby individual explorers learned from each other. They also reveal an interpretive processing of data gleaned from medieval churches that was very much in progress—not completely informed by previous knowledge, but dependent on empirical findings exactly as it was supposed to be. As we will see, this interpretive processing occurred, for the most part, in tandem with emerging theories concerning medieval design, but it is possible to isolate evidence of the Society's parallel commitment to spiritual engagement with the architecture, which uniquely coloured the reading of certain elements of the church. Throughout this investigation of the completed schemes, the curiosity and delight of new discoveries, which springs from their pages, makes them, all the more, fascinating documents to explore.

Completed church schemes can be seen as fulfilling the most pragmatic objective of church visiting—to bring new architectural discoveries to light, so that they can be integrated with the emerging architectural model on medieval churches being generated by the Cambridge Camden Society. Many examples of information recorded in extant schemes, subsequently found their way into the educational material on Gothic churches published by the Cambridge Camden

Society. For example, Neale and Webb made much of a stone reredos or altar screen at St. Mary Church, Geddington, Northamptonshire, which they visited in 1840:

Five stone the Wds emb: and beneath a row of 11 g's center large: in spandrels of g's 3 f'd except in center wh has 5 f's. A buttress of two sgs on each side: below a single row of 4 f's w- a rose for cusps. Underneath side buttresses a corbelhead.⁵³

By 1843, the fourth edition of A Few Hints and, later, the Hand-book, draw attention to this altar screen, the former listing it as a “fine example.”⁵⁴ In other examples, The Hand-book cites Clymping Church in Sussex as one of the “very fine instances” of First-Pointed or Early English in the country.⁵⁵ Moreover, the annual report of the Society for 1842 announced that its Committee even had working drawings made of the wooden seats from Clymping.⁵⁶ Both these impressions coincide with scheme data. The scheme listing Neale’s visit to

⁵³The notation is as follows: a stone altar of five [divisions?] the window-like openings embattled: and beneath a row of eleven ogee arches, the center one large: in the spandrels of the ogees a trefoiled ornament, except the centre one where the ornament is cinquefoiled. A buttress comprised of two segments is situated on each side, and below this is a single row of quatrefoils whose cusps are rose-shaped. A corbelhead lies under each side buttress. Scheme for St. Mary Church, Geddington, Northamptonshire, Lambeth MS 1978.

⁵⁴A Few Hints, 4th (1843) 23; Hand-book 48.

⁵⁵Hand-book 22.

⁵⁶These drawings were commissioned to facilitate reproduction of seats as necessary in other churches. Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLII (Cambridge: Printed for the Society, 1842) 26.

Clymping, back in April 1841, praises it as “Perhaps the most elegant & perfect EE church in W. Sussex.”⁵⁷ Similarly, various editions of A Few Hints recommend Balsham Church as one of Cambridgeshire’s “excellent subjects for the study of Architecture,” while Hitchin Church is singled out in the Hand-book as a “large and rich” “very good example” of Third-Pointed or Perpendicular design.⁵⁸ Webb and Young may have been influenced by this knowledge when they visited Balsham in 1841, but their own perception reinforced this positive stance: the scheme is especially effusive about a number of elements of the church, including the chancel roof, “lately restored to old pitch.”⁵⁹ Neale and Webb’s scheme for Hitchin, dated June 1840, is also painstakingly detailed, including gargoyles “excessively good and grotesque” and they even added a section to the scheme to describe a “very rich P embattled” south porch.⁶⁰

Certainly, “taking” churches was recognized as an opportunity to see for oneself, and appropriate into the ecclesiological gaze, that which had been described in the variety of sources that served as markers of Gothic church design. Neale and Webb were evidently very familiar with nineteenth-century

⁵⁷Scheme for Clymping Church, Sussex, Lambeth MS 1982.

⁵⁸Hand-book cxviii

⁵⁹Scheme for Holy Trinity Church, Balsham, Cambridgeshire, RIBA vol. III.

⁶⁰Scheme for St. Mary Church, Hitchin, Hertfordshire, RIBA vol. II.

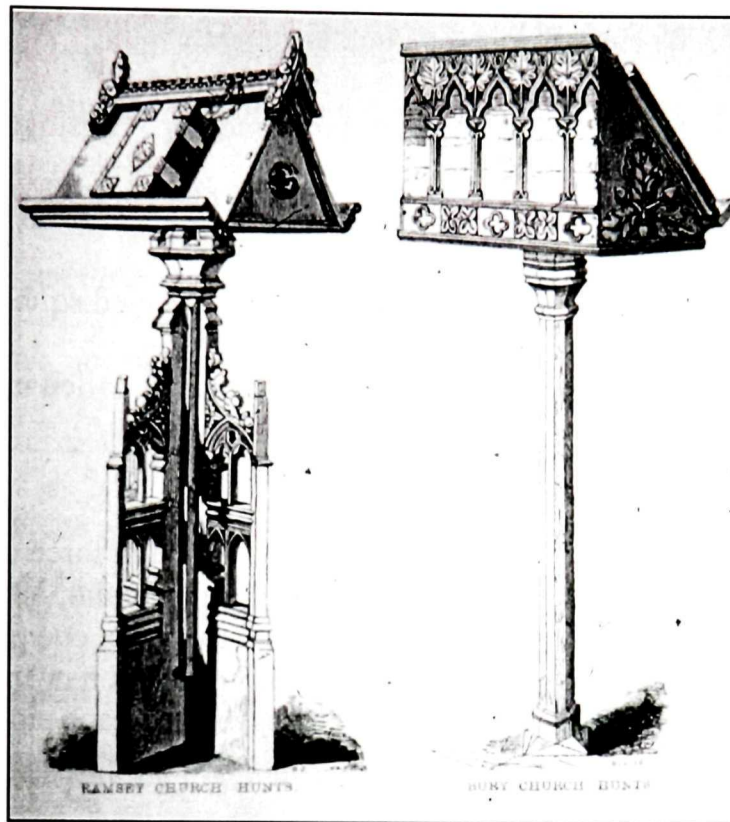
historiography of medieval churches, and this can be seen directly in the schemes, in which they make a number of references to guidebooks and the writings of other architectural historians. For example, they note in two schemes that a lectern in Bury Church, and a desk in Ramsey Church, were both represented in drawings in John Henry Parker's Glossary (See Figure 4.4).⁶¹ Moreover, the scheme for Webb and Codd's visit to Malmesbury conveys a sense of anticipated excitement about "The famous porch" whose inner doorway is "most magnificent Norman," that they must obviously have heard about elsewhere.⁶² Schemes executed during trips to Europe also reveal prior knowledge of what other critics had written about the architecture. That for Lund contains the note "I see Murray" concerning its pulpit; the reference is to the series of Murray's guides to Europe which were very popular at the time.⁶³ Neale and Webb describe the stained glass at St. Patrice, Rouen as "Very magnificent—described in guide book."⁶⁴ And it is most interesting to discover that Neale's 1840 scheme for the church at St. Botolph, Sussex, records a desire to confer with Matthew Holbeche

⁶¹Scheme for Bury Church, Huntingdonshire; scheme for Ramsey Church, Huntingdonshire, both Lambeth MS 1979 ; John Henry Parker, vol. ii A Glossary of Terms Used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture 50.

⁶²Scheme for Malmesbury, Wiltshire, RIBA vol. IV.

⁶³Scheme for Lund Cathedral, Scania, Sweden, Lambeth MS 1991.

⁶⁴Scheme for St. Patrice Church, Rouen, France, Lambeth MS 1987.



4.4 Desks in Bury Church and Ramsey Church, Huntingdonshire, John Henry Parker, *A Glossary of Terms Used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture*, 1840-1

Bloxam, concerning the possibility that this church had Saxon origins. A note in the scheme reveals that Neale “wrote to Bloxam on this church the same day. He [Bloxam] recognises it as Saxon in the 4th Ed. of his catechism,” namely the The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture Ecucidated by Questions and Answers, mentioned in Chapter 3.

There are several examples of schemes reporting findings that were unexpected, and the curiosity aroused by them can be measured in Society publications which subsequently consider and attempt to account for these anomalies. For example, several unusual piscinae attracted attention: there were three in Southwick Church, in Sussex, which was visited by Neale and his sister

in January 1840. The entry for the one in the chancel reads “? At S. side E. end C. an orifice sgs at bottom and a semi Ⓞar hd”; another, “A singular ?piscina?” is found on the south side of the arch separating the chancel from the nave and a third, “a singular orifice, only thicker and more ornamented sq. hd.” on the north side of that arch.⁶⁵ Two years later, Society members are called upon to solve the mystery in an *Ecclesiologist* article:

From the Society’s *Church Schemes* we find that in three churches [including]... Southwick in Sussex... there is a singular, and we believe unnoticed kind of recess. It resembles two Piscinae, one placed above the other, and between the two is an embattled projection or transom. In ... Southwick... there are two of these niches, one on each side [of] the western face of the Chancel-arch.... At Southwick there is an oriffice [sic] both above and below....⁶⁶

This effort proved futile, however: a reference to this church in the *Hand-book* mentions “a projecting kind of orifice in both quasi-piscinae.... Of the use of these things we profess our total ignorance.”⁶⁷

In general, it is possible to see a compatibility between the ecclesiologically-mediated readings of churches as recorded in the schemes, and the accounts of churches which are documented in texts by early-Victorian scholars. Similar architectural traits are highlighted, and, although the encoded

⁶⁵The entry for the orifice in the chancel reads “at south side of the east end of the chancel, an orifice, [segments?] at bottom and a semi circular head.” Scheme for Southwick Church, Sussex, Lambeth MS 1979.

⁶⁶“Notices,” *The Ecclesiologist* I (1842) 210.

⁶⁷*Hand-book* 62-3.

shorthand of the schemes is unique, the parsing and evaluating system itself is, on the whole, consistent with that of other researchers in the field. This is apparent in two examples. One is a comparison of available material on the church at Higham Ferrers, in Northamptonshire, which is copiously detailed in the completed scheme, and almost lovingly rendered in a variety of texts published in the 1840s. The second is an exploration of contemporary ongoing research into the church architecture designated as Saxon, which could be seen to be holding a fascination equally for ecclesiologists as for other architectural historians. In this sense, ecclesiological church visiting served to confirm and elucidate what was written in books, according to the mandate of the Cambridge Camden Society. And yet, in at least one pivotal example, a significant deviation in the goals and objectives of the Society may be discerned, as an attempt to gain an understanding of an architectural detail which seemed modest when first perceived, but took on major symbolic value when overwritten with ecclesiological interpretation.

St. Mary's Church at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire appears to have been highly appreciated by many historians as well as by Neale, Webb and Young, who visited it in March 1841. The scheme is unusually rich in detail about a variety of elements and ornaments, and as a record it is both accurate and precise. This is a "very interesting church" on the whole, not the least because of its "deadhouse very curious" and notwithstanding its "huge and ugly" pews. The open wood roof, visible from the interior, the piscina and font, and, especially, the

tower and a small porch receive extensive attention in the scheme.⁶⁸ Indeed, this is one example where insufficient space is available in a number of the fields and the descriptions extend beyond their designated blocks, as Figure 4.5 demonstrates.

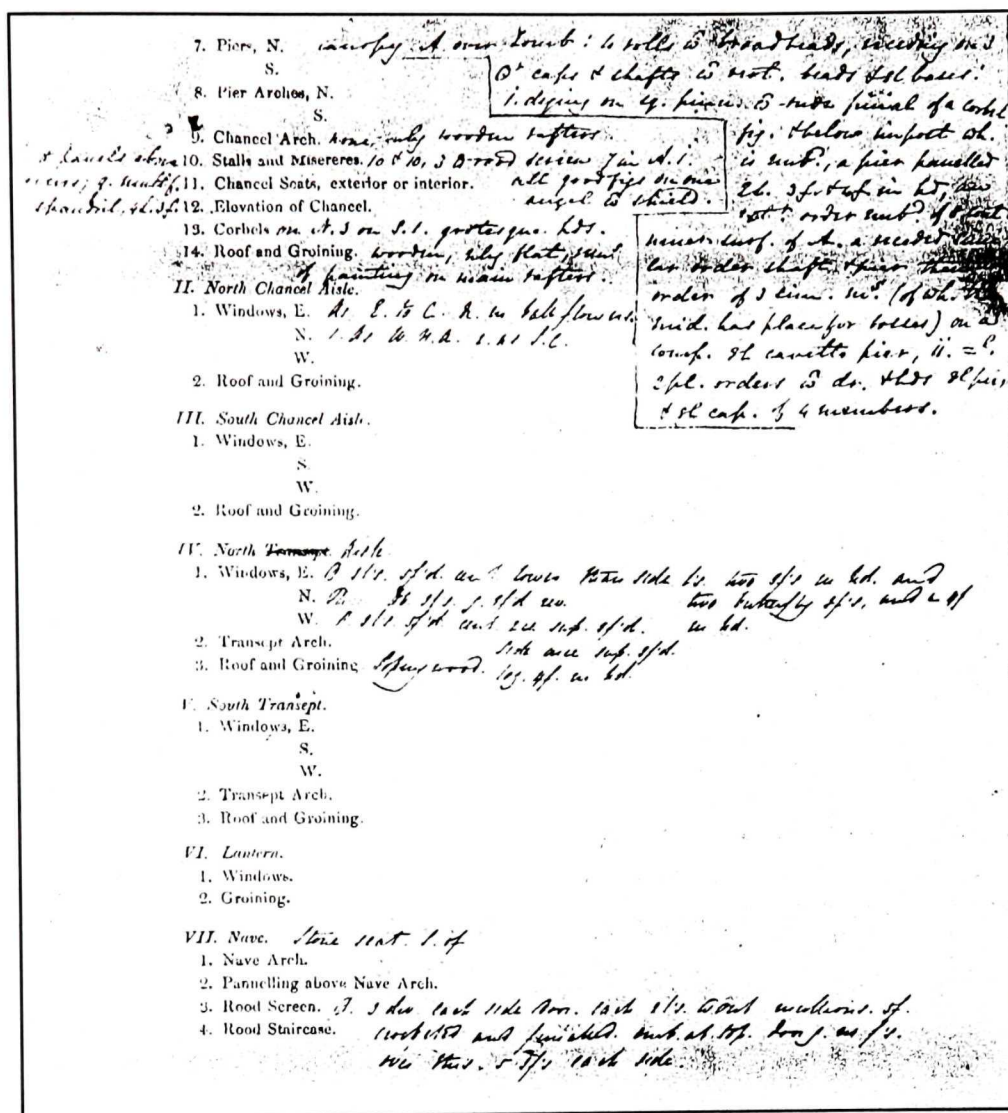
In their own documentation, other researchers wax eloquent both visually and textually about the high quality of Higham Ferrers. The wooden roof is mentioned by Bloxam and by Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon in An Analysis of Gothic Architecture. The latter also contains an illustration of cusp terminations in unspecified locations (see Figure 4.6), cusps which are mentioned several times in the scheme, including in a priest's doorway situated in the south wall of the chancel.⁶⁹ Parker's Glossary has an image of a door, in the porch, which is carefully recorded in the scheme, including its ten carvings of Christ's descent from the cross (see Figure 4.7); and the 1848 edition of An Attempt provides a section of the mouldings of the porch (see Figure 4.8).⁷⁰

In addition, Parker published a collection entitled Architectural Notes of

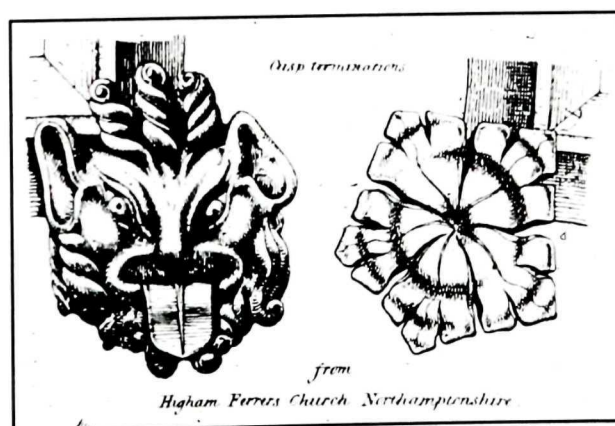
⁶⁸Scheme for Higham Ferrers Church, Northamptonshire, Lambeth MS 2677.

⁶⁹Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, The Principles of Gothic Architecture Elucidated by Question and Answer, 4th ed. (Oxford: John Henry Parker 1841); Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon, An Analysis of Gothic Architecture, new ed. (London: W. Kent and Co., 1860) vol. I, 93 and section II, Plate 30. An Analysis also contains an illustration of the priest's door itself, vol. I, 76.

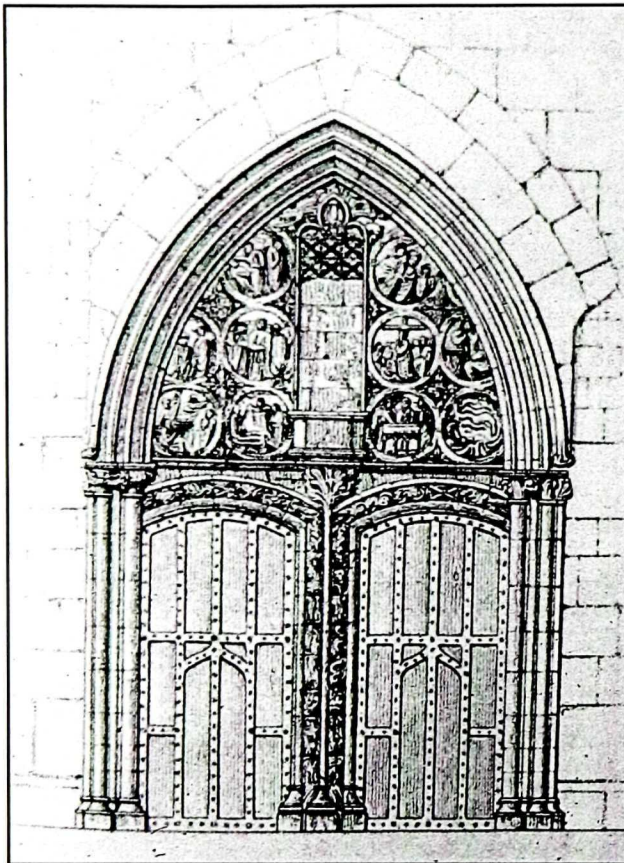
⁷⁰John Henry Parker, Glossary, III, XXII; An Attempt, 5th ed. (1848) 111.



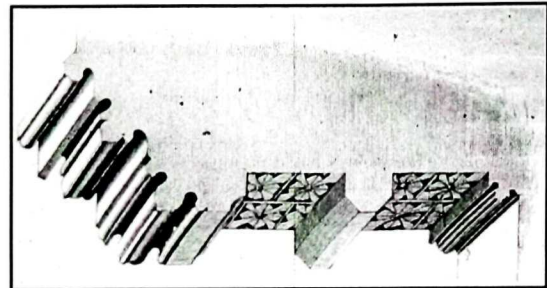
4.5 Page from church scheme, Higham Ferrers Church, John Mason Neale, March 1841



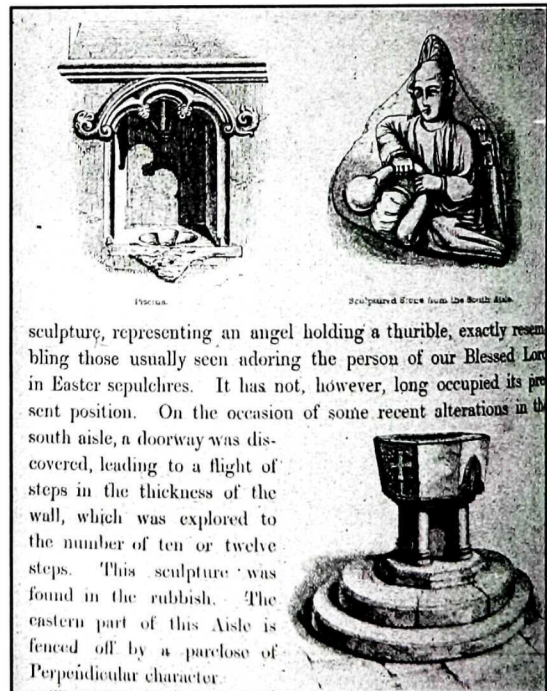
4.6 Cusp terminations, Higham Ferrers Church,
Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon, *An Analysis of Gothic Architecture*



4.7 Doorway, Higham Ferrers Church, John Henry Parker, *A Glossary of Terms Used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture*, 1840-1



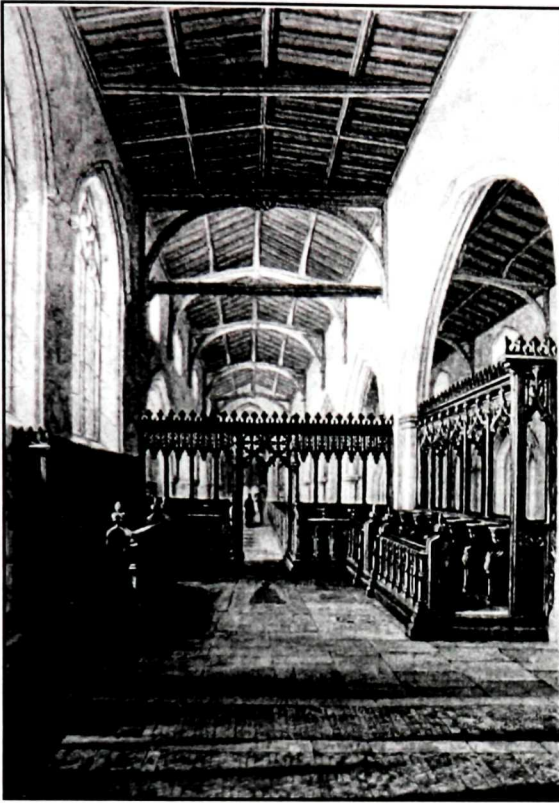
4.8 Section of porch moulding, Higham Ferrers Church, Thomas Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England*, 1848



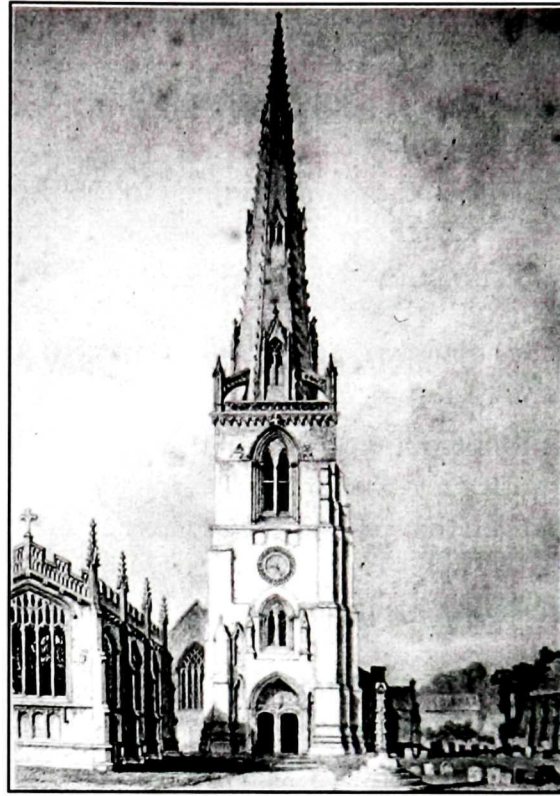
4.9 Font and piscina, Higham Ferrers Church, John Henry Parker, *Architectural Notes of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton*, 1849

the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, and it has comprehensive coverage of this church, reproducing the section of the porch which appears in An Attempt, and adding images of the font and a piscina, the wooden roof, and the tower (See Figures 4.9 - 4.11).⁷¹ In all these examples, as well as in the

⁷¹G.A. Poole, E.A. Freeman et al, Architectural Notes of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton (London: John Henry Parker, 1849) 1-17.



4.10 Wooden roof, Higham Ferrers Church, John Henry Parker, *Architectural Notes of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton*, 1849



4.11 Tower, Higham Ferrers Church, John Henry Parker, *Architectural Notes of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton*, 1849

completed scheme, this is a church that is considered exemplary.

Comparing the completed schemes to contemporary work in medieval church architecture is perhaps at its most exciting when emphasis is placed on the learning process, then underway, concerning Anglo-Saxon architecture. The fifth edition of *An Attempt* devotes an entire appendix to “Saxon Architecture, or such buildings as may be presumed to have been erected in England before the Norman conquest.” In the appendix, editor Parker enumerates those churches which were believed to have been built before the year 1000, selected “on the basis of their masonry, their forms and their details, which by the difference from works of known Norman date give reason to suppose them of this very early

period.” He supplements this list with another of churches presumed by other researchers to be Saxon, adding that some may lose this distinction upon close scrutiny, and others be added to the list when discovered to have the prescribed characteristics.⁷²

Church schemes attest to how enthusiastically Cambridge Camden Society visitors embraced this investigation. Once more, the schemes show a combination of prior awareness of the characteristics of Saxon design, and, on occasion, insufficient expertise in recognizing the actual evidence. For example, St. Andrew’s, Brigstock had a tower identified in a Neale and Codd scheme as having segments which are “Saxon [and] have long and short at corners. and rubble between hid by rough cast.” Long and short referred to a particular bond of thin bricks in the walls, which were said to characterise Saxon work. However, its chancel arch inspired much less certainty, and is described as “? Saxon. semi Ⓞr. square stone.cap.”⁷³ Neale also wonders about the western arch of the nave of Bishopstone Church, visited in 1841, which is (possibly)

⁷²An Attempt, 5th ed. (1848) iii, xxxiii-xxxv.

⁷³Scheme for St. Andrew, Brigstock, Northamptonshire, Lambeth MS 1978. This is one of the churches which Rickman acknowledges as Saxon on the basis of its tower, and also as regards its nave arch and piscina; neither of the latter elements is accordingly recognized as such in the scheme. St. Michael’s church in St. Albans, Herdfordshire, had a belfry arch also listed to have “Decided remains of long & short work,” only in this case, later interpreters saw this as evidence of Roman, rather than Anglo-Saxon, origins. Scheme for St. Michael, St. Albans, Herdfordshire, RIBA vol. II; A Few Hints, 4th ed. (1843) 5; Glossary, vol. I, pp. 178-9.

“?Saxon?”.⁷⁴

On the other hand, certain schemes reveal a clear command of indicators of pre-Conquest architectural design. Neale and Codd’s scheme for All Saints, Brixworth, shows no hesitation in pronouncing many components to be of this era—the chancel arch; one transept arch; the nave arch; four small arches in the triforia; the lower part of the tower including three small windows and a door; another door from the belfry to the nave; and the exterior, “the whole [having] Saxon masonry for about 3/4 of its height.” Such confidence may well have arisen from a familiarity with contemporary writings on the church.⁷⁵ Brixworth was quickly absorbed into ecclesiological discourse. Reference to it is made in the second, third and fourth editions of A Few Hints and in the Hand-book; the 1841 annual report notes a small grant given towards its restoration, and F.A. Paley, a member of the Society, gave a lecture about it in May, 1841.⁷⁶ Finally, the scheme for St. John’s Church, Barnack, visited by Neale and Codd on Easter

⁷⁴Scheme for Bishopstone Church, Sussex, Lambeth MS 1988.

⁷⁵See, for example, Thomas Rickman, Four Letters on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of France 167. Brixworth was also considered by Bloxam in Principles, 4th ed. (1841) 6-7; 33, 41; 201, and in Parker’s Glossary, vol. I, 187 and 192, vol. III, 2.

⁷⁶Scheme for All Saints, Brixworth, dated St. Mark’s Day, 1840, Lambeth MS 1978. See also An Attempt, 5th ed. (1848) v, xvi-xix; A Few Hints, 2nd ed. (1840) 8; 3rd ed. (1842) 13; 4th ed. (1843) 17; Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLI 39; Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLIII (Cambridge: Printed for the Society, 1843) 68.

Monday, 1840, is another example of Neale and Codd's ability to identify Saxon remains. The visitors may have been uncertain about the "Saxon" belfry arch, but the tower was unmistakably identified. An unusual ornamentation on the tower, at its second stage "in the centre under round A - an ornament resembling a tree" is later isolated as a giveaway clue to its Saxon heritage.⁷⁷ By 1843, the Society felt comfortable enough to boast that its members were responsible for first identifying, as Saxon, Bosham, Bishopstone, St. Botolph in Sussex (about which Neale had consulted Bloxam), St. Mary, Bishophill Junior, in the city of York, as well as portions of three additional churches.⁷⁸

One important issue, however, which is taken up in the completed schemes, stands out as a clear sign that, at certain stages, ecclesiology and more secular investigations of medieval ecclesiastical design parted company. The subject was lychnoscopes, small, low windows sometimes located at the south-west or north-west end of the chancel, or the south-east or north-east end of the nave, usually in Early English churches. It was through schemes that evidence about them was originally gathered and then subjected to the scrutiny of the Society. Not identified, as such, by a specific caption in the schemes, they first captured ecclesiological attention as incongruous anomalies. For example, Neale and Webb visited St. Sampson Church in York, in July 1840, and noted three

⁷⁷Scheme for St. John Church, Barnack, Northamptonshire, Lambeth MS 1978; *A Few Hints*, 3rd ed. (1842) 4 and 4th ed. (1843) 4.

⁷⁸*A Few Hints*, 4th ed. (1843) 5.

windows in the north aisle. Those in the north and east walls of the aisle were foiled, yet the west one consisted of “3 l’s mullions simply intersecting.”⁷⁹ The following September, at Selsea Church in Sussex, again in the north aisle, Neale and Webb found the west window, lancet-shaped, to be different from the others, and “deeply splayed.”⁸⁰

Lychnoscopes, as such, seem not to have attracted the attention of historians other than those affiliated with the Cambridge Camden Society. But their mystery clearly engaged the imagination of ecclesiologists, and reflects their particular ideological priorities. By the time of the publication of the Hand-book, the reason they deduce for the presence of lychnoscopes reflects strong symbolic, spiritual overtones. If the chancel of any church is the representation of Christ’s head, and the nave and transepts, respectively, his body and arms, “we might therefore not unreasonably imagine that some reference to the Wounds of the Feet” would be found at the northwest end of a church, and “Hence it is proposed to argue that the Wound in our Lord’s Side was set forth by the lychnoscope.”⁸¹ Notwithstanding the fact that this ecclesiological determination could never be proven—that these windows were deliberate differentiations on the part of their

⁷⁹Scheme for St. Sampson Church, York, Lambeth, MS 1980.

⁸⁰Scheme for Selsea Church, Sussex, RIBA vol. V.

⁸¹That this theory would be controversial seems to have been anticipated, as this analysis is followed by the statement, “We leave the point for the consideration of our readers.” Hand-book 207-211.

designers, to anthropomorphise the church—the rationale of this interpretation was derived from evidence gathered during church visits, and was hence believed to have been based on concrete evidence.

Once the idea of a lychnoscope as a distinct symbolic element caught on, any unusual window in the specified location was given particular significance as a further example of this particular medieval phenomenon. The Hand-book consequently cautions church visitors not to dismiss these sometimes quite rough-looking openings as, perhaps, irreverent, relatively recent attempts to add light to the church interior. Instead, they are to be given the respect they deserve: “Now [lychnoscopes] are generally passed by, and called a modernism; whereas a little consideration might show that light is very seldom wanted in this place, and were it wanted, could not be had by those means. The arrangement is ancient....” And the church at Singleton, Sussex, is presented in the Hand-book reference as an example of one in which a lychnoscope might be missed because it appears to be no more than a “rude hole.” Evidently, this was the voice of experience speaking: a perusal of the scheme for Singleton, visited by Webb and Neale in September, 1841, reveals mention of an unusual west window in the north aisle, as a “mod. hole.”⁸² Hence, whereas ecclesiological church tourism was informed by, and also contributed to, more generally-held perceptions of medieval architecture, there were important areas of departure whereby the engagement with spiritual matters overwrote the more commonly-held views.

⁸²Scheme for Singleton Church, Sussex, RIBA vol. V.

The Limits of Church Schemes

On the whole, as handy forms which facilitated the recording of encoded readings of medieval churches, the completed church schemes apparently served their purpose well. But it is also important to recognize that they also had certain weaknesses in this capacity. Two manifested themselves in RIBA and Lambeth collections. Human error—perhaps impossible to control—found its way into the schemes, and was somewhat masked by their format, which gives the impression of order and authority. In addition, there are examples of the format of the scheme being inadequate in breaking down the spaces of a complex church, and of the idiosyncratic use of encoded ecclesiological terminology, which so encrypted the reading of a church that it becomes challenging to decode the material without consulting other sources.

If completed schemes were to provide the empirical data for the Cambridge Camden Society's teachings on Gothic architecture, it was imperative that the information contained in them be correct. However, omissions, not to mention errors, found their way into the schemes. In 1841, Neale and Webb missed noting a west window in the north aisle of Chidham Church, Sussex, that is subsequently identified as a lychnoscope.⁸³ They also neglected to recognize the presence of two altar stones, in Cottingham and Coates Churches. Altar

⁸³Scheme for Chidham Church, Sussex, RIBA vol. V. Hand-book 207 calls attention to the orifice.

stones—flat slabs of stone, often incised with crosses and placed on top of a medieval altar—were removed from their locations at the east end of chancels during the time of the Reformation, and were often installed in the floors of churches where they were sure to be desecrated by people walking over them. At Coates, the altar stone had been rescued, presumably by parishioners, and placed under the altar table.⁸⁴ It should be noted, however, that these altar stones were notoriously easy to overlook. Other mistakes may be attributed to inexperience, especially during the first year of the Society's existence. For example, at Preston Church, Sussex, on the Feast of St. Fabian, 1840, Neale identifies the chancel arch as "P. Or perhaps late D." whereas the Brandon brothers illustrate it in their Analysis of Gothic Architecture as an example from the Early English period.⁸⁵ It would be naive not to expect that some incongruities would arise from all these visits, some of which, as we will see, must have been rather hasty. This is all the more true since the schemes represent first-hand accounts of the church-visiting experience: such errors or omissions may well have been corrected, perhaps when compared to schemes of the same church made by others or at another time. As we have seen, there seems to have been quite a bit of cross-referencing, before

⁸⁴Schemes for Coates Church, Sussex, RIBA vol. V; Cottingham, Yorkshire, RIBA vol. I. This omission comes to light on the basis of the third and fourth editions of A Few Hints, 18 and 22 respectively.

⁸⁵Scheme for Preston Church, Sussex, RIBA vol. I. Brandon and Brandon, Analysis of Gothic Architecture, vol. II p. 78; Section I on Early English, Plate 5.

and after a particular excursion, between the schemes and other documents on medieval architecture.

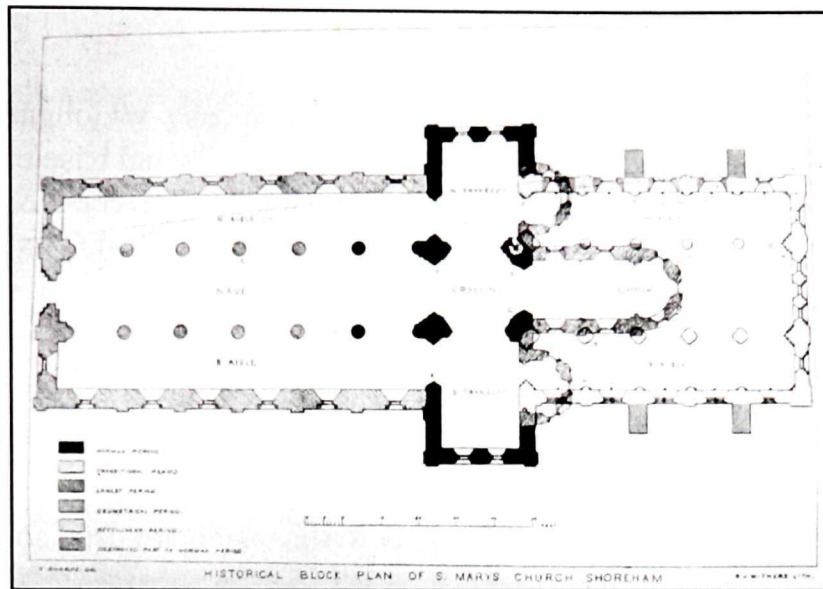
The extent that the format of the church scheme could successfully contain and transmit all the details of a very complex church is also called into question. One limitation was the size of the entry fields, sometimes too small to fit all the data that a heading might require. Another was the need to encode very intricate design characteristics without sacrificing their nuance and subtlety. Perhaps the clearest indication of this difficulty may be observed in the two schemes by Neale for St. Mary, New Shoreham, Sussex.⁸⁶ This church captured the attention of a number of architectural historians of the age, most notably, Edmund Sharpe, author of Architectural Parallels.⁸⁷ He made it the subject of a paper read before the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1853, subsequently published, with numerous illustrations, in 1861. It is true that this was a particularly challenging church to depict, having evidence of a range of styles—noted by Sharpe as Norman; Transitional; Lancet [Early English] and

⁸⁶Scheme for St. Mary, New Shoreham, Sussex, visited by Neale on 27 Jan 1840, Lambeth MS 1977. Scheme for same church, visited by John and E. Neale, 18 June 1840, Lambeth MS 1979.

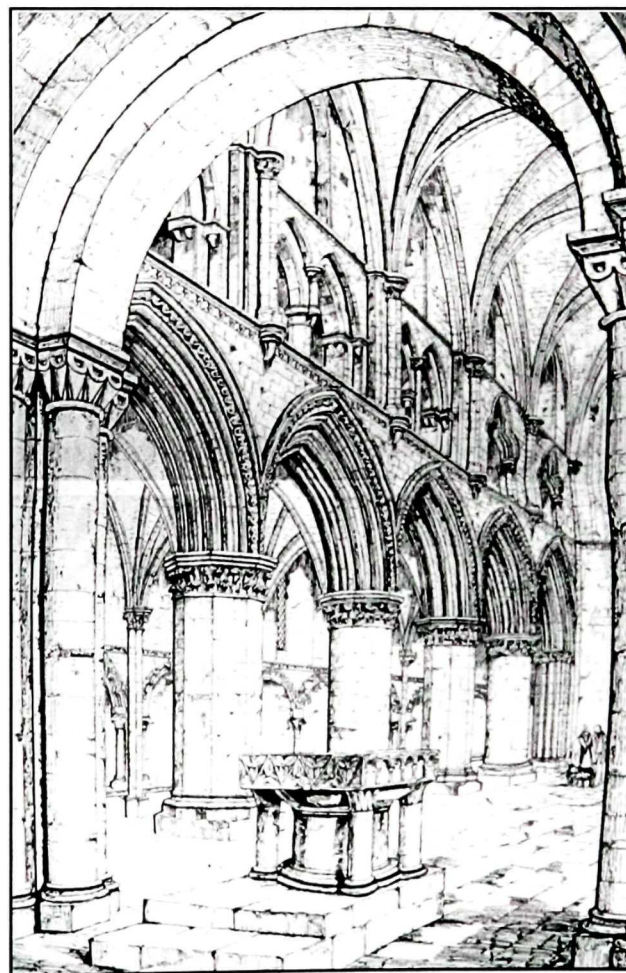
⁸⁷Edmund Sharpe, The Architectural History of St. Mary's Church, New Shoreham, read before the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, at their Annual Meeting at Chichester, July 16, 1853 (Chichester: William Hayley Mason, 1861). See also An Attempt, 5th ed. (1848) 68, 71 and 126. The illustrations on the first two pages cited here, and the text on p. 126, appear in this edition for the first time. See also James K. Colling, Details of Gothic Architecture (London: D. Bogue, 1852), vol. II, section on Early English, figures 31-33.

Perpendicular (see Figure 4.12). There was no space on a scheme to recount the intricacies of the choir as Sharpe did, especially this choir, which showed evidence of an earlier Norman apse-like termination, whose existing shape included both a north and south aisle (there were also north and south transepts) with a variety of differently-shaped piers and capitals. Even the triforia and clerestories of the choir aisles displayed evidence of having been constructed at different times, and also differed substantially, on the north versus the south sides of the choir. The inadequacy of the church scheme as recording medium resulted from its inability to accommodate these anomalies in sufficient detail, and also because personalized, secondary mechanisms for recording had to be created by Neale in order to “take” the church as best he could.

For example, Sharpe provides an illustration of this sequence of piers, both in plan (see Figure 4.12) and as part of the elevation (see Figure 4.13). They comprise four independent piers, plus the respond (the top right corner of the plan), plus the vertical termination of this arcade at its west end, which forms part of the structure that includes the staircase. The earlier scheme considers the piers as five units, comprising the respond plus the four independent piers. They are described as “1 EE with six shafts: round N, flowered; 1 8< N: 1 round: 1 8< N.” One has to understand that Neale’s counting system begins with the eastern end and progresses westward; that he counts a respond as a pier; that a six-shafted EE means an engaged cluster. Nor does the word “flowered” gives a sense of the variety of flower shapes of the capitals in this arcade. The second version is more



4.12 Plan of St. Mary's Church, New Shoreham, Edmund Sharpe, *The Architectural History of St. Mary's Church, New Shoreham*, 1853.



4.13 North side of choir, St. Mary's Church, New Shoreham, Edmund Sharpe, *The Architectural History of St. Mary's Church, New Shoreham*, 1853.

detailed:

6. 1 EE. 3 orders: each ⊙ shaft and base, on sq base. w- tongue: flowered caps to two outer: 7 balls of fruit to [illegible] 2 Round base on [illegible] with tongue: cap. cable and then series of twisted flowers. 3 & 5. 8< w- sq. base and flowered caps of 2 series. 3 richer than 5. 4.6. as 2 but not so rich: more especially 6.-

Here all six vertical elements are described. The sequence is again from east to west. The ornamentation of the capitals is described variously as balls of fruit, cables, and twisted flowers, but these are not terms which are used consistently by the Society (as ball-flower moulding was, for example), and are thus only partially enlightening. Interestingly, notwithstanding all the descriptors Neale provides for the shapes of mouldings, including “tooth,” “chevron,” “dovetail chevron,” and even “shamrock,” he misses the point, according to the Cambridge Camden Society Hand-book. Its explanation for the variety of ornamentation is as follows:

The capitals [in Norman and Transitional churches] are commonly enriched with stiff conventional foliage, infinite in variety, and purposely varied in the same church. But sometimes...the foliage is selected for some peculiar reason, which requires an antiquary to decipher it. Thus in the Transitional church of S. Mary, New Shoreham, there is an interior moulding of *mulberry* leaves, the convent to which it belonged having been erected by Sir John Moubray.⁸⁸

As a strict record of factual evidence, then, church schemes could have their limitations. However, especially in the later New Shoreham scheme, it is not hard to imagine Neale and his sister as being completely immersed in the richness of the architecture, and in the transition of bricks and mortar, via the scheme, to

⁸⁸Hand-book 19.

multifaceted bursts of rich and varied details that reflect the delight which they evidently felt while exploring this church.

It appears, then, that there was a general affinity between the records made by the ecclesiologists whose church schemes have been the subject of this chapter, and the explorations of other Gothic Revivalists who were evaluating medieval architecture during that time. Both groups seem, overall, to have shared a parallel way of thinking about Gothic design as applied to churches, as a construct of individual components whose style and configuration changed over time in a relatively discernable fashion. The most important difference between the vision of Rickman or Parker and that of the ecclesiologists is, of course, that the latter group understood the architectural elements themselves as a means to deeper spirituality. Buried beneath the material manifestation were the symbolic connections which Cambridge Camden Society members were able to make so easily, but which, as was argued in Chapter 3, less spiritually-minded church visitors could overlook.

Completed Church Schemes as Emotional Engagement

Church schemes simply were not structured to amplify the symbolic or emotional or associational aspects of the church visit—especially for people who did not already possess the sensitivity to these subliminal messages, but even for those who did. What the schemes were structured to do, finally, was to receive

the encoded reading of the potentially symbolic or associationist architectural elements of the church, but couched in a way such that this potential was subliminal rather than overt. Evidently, the act of making a concise translation into terms such as *quatrefoils* and *piscinae* was meant, at least theoretically, to capture the kernel of the church, such that a splash of religious fervour would be all it took to make that church's associational aspects spring into life. Neale and Webb's schemes show this strategy in operation. Yet, whereas these two church visitors stayed true to the encoding system, understood it implicitly, they departed from it too in revealing ways. In the end, science alone was not sufficient in serving the cause.

Being good ecclesiologists in the complete sense of the word, Neale and Webb, in their completed schemes, exhibit the same ability to invest the architecture with symbolic valorisation that they had found in the work of Durandus, a text with which they were so familiar. In particular, their perception of two church furnishings, fonts and altar tables—ones with particularly rich symbolic value—concurrently focuses on each ornament's architectural and associational merits. That is, Neale and Webb apparently worked from the premise that the captions on the scheme did have associationist connotations, and could, by virtue of terminology alone, accommodate the automatic connection which they understood, between the physical and symbolic aspects of the elements identified in the captions.

For example, the caption asking about the position of the font incited

Neale and Webb on a few occasions, to rail about its mislocation or absence in a church. Ecclesiological requirements were for it to be near the entrance, to symbolize baptism as initiation into the rites of the church. At St. Andrew, Broughton, however, “Font middle of c[hancel]!!” At Kingstown, Surrey, “font in S.[outh] C.[hancel] A.[isle]!” And at Austin Friars, “none visible!”, a reaction not at all tempered by the fact that this had been converted to a Dutch Protestant church, where rituals might have been different.⁸⁹ The altar table, too, was a sensitive area, when existing conditions showed evidence of compromising the respectful treatment of it which ecclesiology demanded. The altar at Jumièges, in France, for example they found “very tawdry; profane representations of H[oly] T[rinity].” And Webb was livid about the altar table at Addington, Surrey, “a sort of dresser! the top forming a sort of locker: in which are kept cushions, books, carpets &c.” That, plus the font, consisting of a “wooden sundial stem: upon which a loose tin barbers bason [sic]” and other ecclesiological transgressions caused him to repeat his frustration, in the General Remarks category of the scheme, concerning: “the profanity of the ... monument: the dresser table for the Holy Altar; the wooden font” and everything else that was wrong about this church.⁹⁰ The church scheme had worked performatively to bring about these

⁸⁹Schemes for St. Andrew, Broughton, Lambeth MS 1978; church at Kingstown, Surrey, RIBA vol. I; and Dutch Protestant Church, Austin Friars, Middlesex, RIBA vol. I.

⁹⁰Schemes for Church of Sts. Peter and [Valenteria?], Jumièges, Normandy, Lambeth MS 1985; and St. Mary’s Church, Addington, Surrey, RIBA

outbursts, because Neale, Webb and the other travellers in the extant schemes could read beyond the mere words “font: position” and “altar: table” and apply ecclesiological doctrine. For others, however, less committed to the ritualism to which ecclesiology subscribed, the captions might have represented nothing more than neutral categories.

But even dyed-in-the-wool ecclesiologists like Neale and Webb had to find ways to insert other ecclesiological information into the schemes, information for which no specific captions existed. One important subject of such information addresses the physical condition of churches they came across. Churches in poor repair needed, of course, to be noted for pragmatic reasons, such as the subsequent promotion of them as restoration projects. But comments by Neale and Webb also reflected the inattention given to the churches symbolically, as houses of worship, by the members of the communities in whose midst they were sited. In this sense, neglected churches were an affront to Christianity, and it was from this premise—one cognisant of spiritual betrayal—that the completed schemes’ references to such conditions are usually characterised by the attendant anger and frustration of these offended church-visitors. For example, the church in Burrough Green, Cambridgeshire, was found to be in “deplorable” condition; Holy Trinity in Balsham had a “very unhealthy smell”; Llanfair Church also had a “very offensive smell.” St. Mary’s Church, Quy, is described in “very bad repair... shutters kept closed.” St. Mary Stourbridge was “Ruined, once used as

barn. Full of water.” And the scheme for Balsham noted that the churchyard was used as a playground to the adjacent school, endangering the tombstones located there.⁹¹ One church in Sussex was in such a deplorable state, having been “much neglected, and shamefully damp” that Neale wrote to the archdeacon on the same day of the tour, to lodge a complaint. In a similar vein, a Reverend Llewellyn received praise for refurbishing the piscina and aymbrye at Clymping church, as did Reverend Nowland of Westbourne church, in whose charge recent alterations had been made “w- a Catholic [ecclesiological] spirit. Int[erior] all Catholic.”⁹²

Indeed, there seems to have been a pronounced deficiency, both in the very structure and format of the schemes, and in the very definition of ecclesiology as a model that captured the experience of church architecture primarily through defined encrypted terminology. Even for Neale and Webb, who, after all, had been so central in the development of ecclesiological ideology, an analysis of extant completed schemes reveals that not all the facets of their response to the churches could be effectively configured, as had been the case regarding the font position and condition of the altar table, simply in terms of the

⁹¹St. Augerstone [?] Church, Burrough Green, Cambridgeshire, Lambeth MS 1982; Holy Trinity Church, Balsham, Cambridgeshire, RIBA vol. III; St. Mary, Llanfair, Merionethshire, RIBA vol. II; and St. Mary, Quy, Cambridgeshire, RIBA vol. III.

⁹²Schemes for Clymping Church, Sussex, Lambeth MS 1982; Westbourne Church, Sussex, Lambeth MS 1989; and West Tarring [?] Church, Sussex, Lambeth MS 1982.

available systems of taxonomy and nomenclature. To overcome this inadequacy, they superimposed another means of communicating emotional engagement on the scientific system of encoding that they had husbanded. More subjective, more personal, it was a way to move closer to creating a multi-faceted, one-on-one bond with the churches, a bond which surpassed a more superficial acknowledgement of the minutiae of the architecture itself. The most orthodox demands of ecclesiology required nothing less.

This superimposed, second means of communicating reverts to the most basic way of responding to newly-visited destinations. It is based on a simple range of likes and dislikes, and is rooted as much in the spontaneous expression of personal opinion, as in the experience required to read architectural spaces according to a specific methodology. The schemes make it very clear that these ecclesiologists, at least, were unwilling or unable to temper their primal reaction to the sights they explored. As a result, schemes are full of qualitative, evaluative words such as good and poor and bad, and contravene what was implied by the notion of objective examination which prefigured the scheme itself.

Entries often convey even stronger opinions. The words excellent and magnificent and elegant can also be frequently found, as at St. Mary, Whaddon, where the corbels were “some of the best in county: excellently carved, and in a capital state of preservation”; St. Nicholas, Portslade, whose east window is “simple but very elegant”; and the cathedral at Lund whose reredos is “a

magnificent triptych...of the most exquisite work...w- ... first rate carving.”⁹³

Both ends of the critical spectrum are represented. A door at St. Denis Church in York was “splendid”; East Bourne Church was a “most glorious model”; and a dripstone in a church in Sussex “terminated prettily with laurel leaf.”⁹⁴ On the other hand, Hangleton or Haughton Church in Sussex was a “sad specimen of a desolate church.... Every thing about it is in a terrible state of neglect....”; St. Botolph, Sussex was found to be “miserably Protestantized” and its tower “wretched”; and the church at Burrough Green incorporated an Egyptian urn into its interior, producing a “singularly barbarous effect.”⁹⁵ St. Godard Church in Rouen had a chancel that was “horribly Grecianized”; the porch of St. Martin le Grand was “extremely ugly”; and altar at Austin Friars Church was described as “frightful.” St. Peter’s Church in Chester seems to have been the least redeemable of all: some of its ornaments were “exceptively [sic] poor P[erpendicular]”; its corbels “very vile and inferior” and its font “disgusting.

⁹³Schemes for St. Mary, Whaddon, Cambridgeshire, Lambeth MS 1977; St. Nicholas, Portslade, Sussex, Lambeth MS 1979; and Lund Cathedral, Scania, Sweden, Lambeth MS 1991.

⁹⁴Schemes for St. Denis, York, Lambeth MS 1980; church at East Bourne, Sussex, Lambeth MS 1987; and St. Andrew, West Tarring [?], Sussex, Lambeth MS 1979.

⁹⁵Schemes for Hangleton or Haughton [?] Church, Sussex, Lambeth MS 1977; St. Botolph, Cambridge, Lambeth MS 1982; and Burrough Green Church, Cambridgeshire, Lambeth MS 1982.

potlike.”⁹⁶ If the decorum imposed by the encoded ecclesiological language had proved stifling to the true rendering of the church visiting experience, Neale and Webb’s overlaying of that language, with some choice terms of their own, served as the antidote.

One more discovery may be noted in these exuberant outbursts. As already noted in Chapter 3, ecclesiology followed other architectural ideologies which arose in the nineteenth century, in attributing an organic growth cycle to medieval design—Early English as the strapping adolescent exhibiting the promise of great things; Decorated as the mature manifestation of excellence; Perpendicular as the over-blown flower whose perfume had grown stale. Debased was the word to define any subsequently designed architecture, emphasizing that it was to be perceived as corrupt and beyond the pale. Notwithstanding this value system, Neale and Webb’s schemes show an appreciation for all the periods of medieval design, even Debased. The porch at Oakham Church was “very handsome EE,” All Saints, Hereford had “excellent P[erpendicular] misereres, ” and Abington Church’s pulpit was “very rich 17th century”; moreover, at St. Pierre Church, Caen, the “Db” or debased groining was “perfectly wonderful.”⁹⁷ In other words, all the periods of Gothic architecture

⁹⁶Schemes for St. Godard, Rouen, Normandy, Lambeth MS 1983; St. Martin le Grand, York, RIBA vol. I; Dutch Protestant Church, Austin Friars, Middlesex, RIBA vol. I; and St. Peter, Chester, Cheshire, RIBA vol. I.

⁹⁷Scheme for St. Mary, Oakham, Rutlandshire, Lambeth MS 1978; All Saints, Hereford, Herefordshire, Lambeth MS 1981; Sts. Peter and Paul,

were appreciated.

It remains to consider these completed church schemes from one final perspective, that is, in conjunction with the act of travel itself. So far, this chapter has not taken into account the physical requirement to overcome the distance between Cambridge, the home base of Neale and Webb during most of this period, and the churches being visited. To do so is to shed further light on the repercussions of their behaviour, not so much as ecclesiologists, but as tourists dedicated to studying the architecture of their country. These excursionists were capable of visiting a surprising number of churches in one day. Neale and Boyce visited seven churches in different towns in Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire on 14 January, 1840. Neale managed six Sussex churches on 18 September of that year; again, no two were in the same town. St. Giles Day—1 September—1841 was especially productive: Neale and Webb completed schemes for no less than fourteen churches in fourteen villages, examined on that day. During the following two days, Neale chalked up thirteen more, and Webb, fifteen more. By 1861, Neale proudly informed his daughter that his lifetime record was 2,745 churches in all, including a three-week tour to Spain during which he logged over ninety visits to individual churches.⁹⁸

Abington, Northamptonshire, Lambeth MS 1984; and St. Pierre, Caen, Normandy, Lambeth MS 1985.

⁹⁸Letters of John Mason Neale, 4 August 1861, pp. 333-4. Also cited in Miele, "The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture: The Restoration of Medieval Churches in Victorian Britain" diss. New York U, 1992, 77.

At that pace, it must have been quite a challenge for them to absorb the minutiae. No wonder, then, that some schemes confess themselves to be “a very hurried account of a magnificent church” (Maldon Hall, Suffolk), or “a poor account of a very magnificent Church” (St. Laurence, Ludlow, Herefordshire).⁹⁹ As church travellers, Neale and Webb must have had, on occasion, to take a much more circumscribed view of ecclesiology, one which sacrificed detail and thoroughness for speed and geographic extensiveness. In quite a number of cases, some corresponding to these very busy days, completed schemes seem filled in with less than exhaustive attention to detail, giving further credence to the idea that some churches received more attention than others.¹⁰⁰ From this perspective,

⁹⁹Schemes for Maldon Hall, Suffolk, Lambeth MS 1980; St. Laurence, Ludlow, Herefordshire, Lambeth MS 1981. Indeed, time and space restrictions would have limited the most laudable attempt to fill in a scheme comprehensively. There was only so much that could be written on-site. This is evident by comparing the scheme for St. Andrew Church, Cherry Hinton, Cambridgeshire, with a printed version of a completed scheme for this church that appeared in the fourth edition of *A Few Hints*. The latter was offered as an example of an exemplary attempt at documentation, and its level of detail is much higher, possibly at least in part because there were no restrictions in the size of the field next to each caption. The side windows of the chancel, for example, are described in Webb’s scheme as “Arcade of 13, EE 0s. single shafts detached, banded. Pierced alternately 2 wds, 1 blank. All blocked on N.” The *A Few Hints* entry reads “Fine lofty EE. arcade of 13, 5f. deeply moulded and labelled heads and banded shafts, pierced with lancets in couplets, with blank arch between each couplet, behind wh. a buttress. A cornice string above, and one below windows both ext. and int. The couplet above Priest’s door shorter than the rest.” Church scheme for Cherry Hinton Church, Cambridgeshire, RIBA vol. III; *A Few Hints*, 4th ed. (1843) 58.

¹⁰⁰Some small parish churches, of course, were modest structures and did not need the copious attention of other, more elaborate, buildings.

Neale and Webb, with their built-in associational appreciation of the architecture under scrutiny, seem willing at times, in the interest of comprehensiveness, to move expeditiously without always lingering to feel the resonant pull of the symbolic. At those moments, their behaviour appears to coincide with that of other early Victorian church-tourists, who, motivated by the numerous messages of scripted tourism, took to the roads in search of exciting new destinations.

When compared to the printed rhetoric of the Cambridge Camden Society, then, the completed church schemes show the extent to which prescriptive and descriptive overlapped. As pedagogical tools, as instruments which prompted the church visitor to negotiate the church in a particular way, they served surprising well. They may not have stood the test of documenting especially intricate churches, but they could hold a remarkable amount of information, to serve as pivotal repositories of empirical data.

On the other hand, as incentives which could tease out and prompt the recording of how it *felt* to be in the church, their usefulness was circumscribed and required additional input. As a result, another voice came into play in the schemes, one which had a tone not unlike that of the *Ecclesiologist*, warm and melodic in praise, and shrill and brutish when describing a given church's failings. Ironically, in a less predictable application of ecclesiology, the same subjective tone also sounds out a vision with distinctly picturesque connotations, reinforcing the merging of these two ideologies as discussed in Chapter 2. Benjamin Webb's schemes, especially, seem to have a flavour of this. He notes

that at Erith Church, “The tower and all the north of the church particularly the c[hancel] covered in ivy. Pretty from river.” At All Hallows, Tottenham, the tower was also “covered with ivy.” In a rare response to the caption related to the “General Character of Tower as peculiar to the district, or adapted to scenery and situation” he writes “in woody district in a slight elevation” to describe the church at Beckenham, Kent. Neale, too, could appreciate the fact that Abington Church in Northamptonshire, was “beautifully situated.”¹⁰¹ In the final analysis, as this chapter has demonstrated, the efficacy of church schemes to mediate a scripted tourist experience cannot be approached only as a function of their potential utility and potential prescriptive abilities—demonstrated through their sequence, captions, spaces, terms used and so forth. They must also be analysed with the awareness that, notwithstanding the prescriptive instigations of their creators, each individual who used one brought his or her own knowledge and experience to bear in filling it out. When Neale and Webb were satisfied with the capabilities of the scheme, they employed it as is. When the schemes could not entirely perform as these travellers wished, adaptations were made to reflect the personalized vision. Schemes thus could be made to carry quite copious factual detail, or could receive a condensed gaze necessitated by time limitations, or mirror the emotional outbursts of joy or frustration by two dedicated fans of the Gothic. Other church visitors who had a less intense spiritual agenda were free to

¹⁰¹Schemes for Erith Church, Kent; All Hallows, Tottenham, Middlesex; Beckenham Church, Kent; all RIBA vol. I; Sts. Peter and Paul, Abington, Northamptonshire, Lambeth MS 1984.

follow them more dispassionately, guided by a desire to be methodical as a prerequisite to a successful outcome. It is for all these reasons that schemes could open the door to church tourism for anyone who was remotely interested in learning about Gothic architecture, and looking for the assistance that (what was ultimately) a travel guide can bring.

Chapter 5
“My Pegasus, or Hobby-Horse”:
Scripted Medieval Tourism in the Popular Press

...whether high or low, rich or meagre, pinnacled or embattled, musty or fusty, old or new, provided in the latter case there be a family likeness, I love the whole genus of Churches. All have to me a charm indescribable, an inviting look, a winning way, and an instructive word into the bargain. You have heard of “sermons in stones;” truly I assure you, that every lichen-mottled stone in the wall of an old church has somewhat to say to me; either a moral precept, a tittle of doctrine, or a lesson in history. I will explain to you in what way; for I would that you should understand the language of these buildings, that you should conceive an affection for them, and that in the end you should entertain a passion strong as mine. ... Lend me your hand, and your heart with it, and we will proceed quietly....

If... you are not unwilling to mount behind me on my Pegasus, or hobby-horse, and take your flight with me to the north, south, and east, I will point out to you much that I hope will interest, amuse, and perhaps instruct you....¹

The church schemes of the Cambridge Camden Society were just one of many markers related to nineteenth-century medieval church tourism. Seen in isolation, many of their characteristics might tend to be understood as peculiar or idiosyncratic, driven by their unique agenda. The schemes’ reduction of newly-

¹“Chapters on Churches, No. I,” *Sharpe’s London Magazine* 7 (1848): 46-7.

perceived image to encoded, text-based record; their format which facilitated multiple daily destinations to serve zealots such as John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb; their prioritization of church ornaments such as fonts, piscinas and sedilias, all seem to target the most dedicated ecclesiologist, or, at the very least, non-sectarian architectural historians with an abiding interest in medieval design. Merely advocating a quest to seek out the most obscure details of the most obscure little parish churches throughout the country, seems rather obsessive. From this limited context, it would be easy to conclude that the effect of the strategy to validate the experience of medieval-architecture tourism through this special paradigm, could only be relevant to a specific constituency--devotees of High Anglicanism, or antiquarian enthusiasts, probably reflecting, to a large extent, the membership of the Cambridge Camden Society and its sister associations.

What is surprising is just how much the promotion of church visiting as an activity can be observed outside those restrictive confines, in the realm of popular culture. This was orchestrated by a consort of interested parties, with different motives and interests, who latched onto medieval-architecture sightseeing as a means to further their own interests. The guide-works, themselves--guidebooks, one-offs or produced as a series such as those by Black or Murray, written expressly for use during railway travel or having a broader spectrum of usefulness; articles in periodicals--show a remarkable consistency of vision, in line with the approach to Gothic architecture followed by ecclesiologists and the

architectural historians as presented in Chapters 3 and 4. That is, they tend to appropriate the text-based chrono-stylistic encoding which we have already explored; they tend to have similar foci and prioritize similar aspects of the architecture; and they often blend this scientific approach with one which relates more to the senses and to a personalized appreciation of the architecture. In short, through the medium of these guide-texts, a much broader group of prospective enthusiasts of medieval design received access to similar forms and modes of mediated engagement with the architecture. This can be, primarily, either a religious or a secular engagement, the latter equivalent to using a church scheme and overriding any conscious awareness of the symbolic components of the nomenclature embedded in it. The cumulative effect of these guide-works is an extension of what has already been demonstrated, namely the conversion of the material object—the medieval church—to a construct based on a defined nomenclature. This conversion had been a strategy of the Cambridge Camden Society to increase the efficacy and user-friendliness of their system of church data retrieval, had been the organizational methodology of Rickman, Bloxam and the other historians. In a multitude of guide-texts, it can also be perceived as a major underlying principle in the presentation of information and the attempted stimulation of positive attitudes toward Gothic architecture. Taken as a group, the contents of the guides show a dissemination of the formulated language of Gothic design, as well as its adaptation to a more general audience, without losing salient features of the taxonomic model that had evolved in the hands of

professional church historians. The guide-works, that is, took up the task of sensitising the public perception of Gothic architecture in terms of the established criteria of a predefined tourist gaze, and enabled a more diversified dissemination of the positive connotations of medieval design, personalized for individual consumption.

This chapter charts the interrelationship between the mandate of ecclesiology--and the mediated perception of medieval architecture which it reflects--as a vehicle creating scripted church tourism. It also addresses the proliferation of guide-works--guide books, articles on travel, and so forth--which apparently worked toward the same end. The ability of guide-works to function as markers has already been discussed in Chapter 2. Hence, the focus here will be on their appropriation and the formulation of mediative strategies, which both reflect and build on the church tourism undertaken by those excursionists familiar with the Cambridge Camden and related specialised societies. The first section outlines the overlapping inclusion of terminology used by ecclesiologists, and that which appears in these popular works as well. The second section considers the constituency to which these texts were directed, a constituency considered in three subsections: the church visitor already familiar with ecclesiology as defined by the Cambridge Camden Society and similar groups; the novice who needs an elementary introduction to the subject; and the traveller familiar with the characteristics of picturesque gazing. The third section of the chapter isolates several key incentives for this apparent prioritization of scripted tourism to

English churches, from religious/moral as well as nationalist perspectives.

Ecclesiological Nomenclature

It should be stated, at the onset of the actual scrutiny of the medieval content of these texts, that whereas the majority of guides examined for this dissertation include information about medieval architecture, not each and every guide-work of the age does so. Part of the series issued by Edward Mogg, for example, covering sights to be explored along the Great Western and Grand Junction Railways, have little information on Gothic churches, and what description does appear is devoid of the language developed by ecclesiologists and architectural historians.²

On the other hand, as will be shown below, other works in the Mogg series, not to mention the majority of consulted texts, do contain substantial references to medieval design of churches as well as other structures, and do utilize the terminology which is encompassed by ecclesiology. Of these, some exclusively feature medieval architecture, and others also include positive references to buildings derived from Greco/Roman models. The Christian Visitor's Handbook of 1851, for example, gives its primary allegiance to St.

²Edward Mogg, Mogg's Great Western Railway and Windsor, Bath and Bristol Guide (London, E. Mogg, 1841); Mogg's Grand Junction Railway and Birmingham Liverpool and Manchester Railway Guide (London: E. Mogg, 1842).

Paul's, London, but also presents Westminster Abbey as "an exquisite specimen of art."³ Samuel Tymm's Family Topographer pronounces St. James, Picadilly a superlative work by Sir Christopher Wren and brings attention to two "good" Doric porticoes belonging to St. John the Evangelist Church in Milbank, a church he claims undeserving of the criticism that it resembles "an elephant on its back." At the same time, he calls "most interesting" the stone pulpits and fonts of "ecclesiastical edifices," and gives long lists of medieval churches such as New Shoreham, a "large and interesting specimen of the union of the circular and pointed styles."⁴ Edward Churton and Henry Cole (who used the professional pseudonym Felix Summerly), among others, also present nonpartisan views, the latter providing an extensive list of "remarkable specimens of architecture" in London, for example, the first half enumerated in the categories of Gothic architecture, and the second as Tuscan; Doric; Ionic; Corinthian; Composite; Classic Generally; Italian and so on.⁵

The nomenclature of ecclesiology is utilized repeatedly in the guide-texts

³The Christian Visitor's Handbook to London (London: Partridge and Oakey, [1851]) 64.

⁴The Family Topographer (London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1832-43), vol. VII, Middlesex, London, and Westminster, 1843, 65; vol. I, Home Circuit, 1832, 182-4.

⁵Edward Churton, The Rail Road Book of England 1851; (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1973); Felix Summerly, [Henry Cole], A Hand-Book for Holidays Spent in or Near London (London: George Bell, 1842) 34-5.

of the eighteen-thirties and can be observed through to the -fifties. Sometimes it is inserted only as a passing reference, and at other times it is engaged to a substantial depth, for example in Cole's works and in the Murray guides. On a number of occasions, direct references are made to "ecclesiologists" or to the Cambridge Camden Society itself. Several guides directly target portions of the churches with which ecclesiology especially concerns itself. Key aspects of the ideology sometimes appear in diluted form in a number of texts, where it is simplified for introduction to novices. All in all, the majority of consulted guide-texts resonate directly with the teachings and practices that have been the focus of this dissertation.

Many guidebooks simply incorporate the familiar nomenclature into the descriptions of Gothic design, in the assumption that their audience would be familiar with the terms. In *Railroadiana*, a guide issued by the London and Birmingham Railway in 1838, Hemel Hempstead church is deemed "well worthy of a visit":

It consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a transept, on the top of which is built a handsome tower, with Norman-Saxon lights, the whole surmounted with a beautiful spire of ornamented lead. At the west end is a fine door of Saxon architecture, curiously and richly ornamented; highly adorned with fleurs-de-lis and vine leaves alternately, fretwork, &c. The capitals are enriched with grotesque figures. The nave is separated from the aisles by a range of five massive columns on each side, and two half columns with sculptured square capitals, which support arches with zig-zag mouldings. The tower rests on semi-circular clustered columns....⁶

⁶London and Birmingham Railway, *Railroadiana* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1838) 45-6.

St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury has "much in it that demands admiration," according to The Railway Companion from Chester to Shrewsbury: "The architecture consists of three distinct styles, viz. the Anglo-Norman of the 12th century, the lancet style of the 13th century, and the more obtuse arch of the 15th century."⁷

Sometimes the application is more fleeting. In one guide, Attleborough parish church is "in the decorated style of English architecture," Norwich cathedral is "an interesting specimen of the Anglo-Norman style of ecclesiastical architecture," while Saffron Walden church, of "late perpendicular style" "is one of the finest country churches in the kingdom, possessing moreover an altar-piece most deservedly admired."⁸ Churton's Rail Road Book of England brings attention to Old Shoreham church's arches "in the Saxon style, and adorned with zig-zag ornaments," and to Hythe church "in the early English style of architecture."⁹ And Black's guide to Devonshire and Cornwall describes Axminster church as in the "early English style, and has a Saxon porch."¹⁰

⁷Edward Parry, The Railway Companion from Chester to Shrewsbury (Chester: Thomas Catherall, 1849) 122-3.

⁸Eastern Counties Railway Guide (London: James Truscott, 1851) 31, 34, 19.

⁹Churton 169, 182.

¹⁰Black's Tourist Guide to Devonshire and Cornwall (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1855) 7.

A number of guidebooks seem to place higher expectations on their readers, to understand the complexities of the architectural language they use. One of the Mogg's guides praises Winchester Cathedral as "an excellent school for the study of our ancient architecture, in its progress through the styles respectively denominated Saxon, Norman and English."¹¹ Wetton's Visitor's Guide-book to Northampton is highly detailed, down to the "indented chevron mouldings on the face and soffits" of the eight semicircular arches on each side of the nave of St. Peter's church. Moreover, the chancel and north aisle of St. Sepulchre's church in that city "shew evident traces of Early English character," whereas "Decorated work was introduced at the time the north aisle was altered originally; and on the east of the chancel, and the southern portion of the church, the Perpendicular style was introduced."¹² To Francis Coghlan, the abbey church at St. Albans deserves the interest of an observer whose "attention is immediately arrested by the singular effect resulting from the diversities of the style of architecture. The appearance of the columns and arches of the nave, notwithstanding the dissimilarity so strikingly evident between many of them, is very grand."¹³ And Howitt's Visits to Remarkable Places sees fit to assert its

¹¹Mogg's Southampton Railway and Isle of Wight Guide (London: E. Mogg, [1845]) 23.

¹²Wetton's Visitor's Guide-book to Northampton (Northampton: G.N. Wetton, 1847) 33, 45.

¹³Francis Coghlan, The Iron Road Book and Railway Companion From

reliability and attractiveness to the expert by citing the sources of the material it appropriates, including the writing of John Milner, in reference to its entries for Winchester Cathedral and the chapel of St. Cross Hospital. Hence, the cathedral is described as possessing “every variety of lancet and pointed arches, and of perpendicular and florid tracery, which mark the progress of English architecture to the time of Henry VIII, when it and the Catholic religion ceased their career together.”¹⁴

One consistent source containing the prescribed language of medieval architecture is the Murray guidebooks for regions of Britain. John Murray had established himself with guides to European destinations; his earliest texts for British regions dated from the 1850s. One researcher argues that Murray’s guides were distinctive in being designed for the more affluent traveller who could afford to hire his/her own coach and servant.¹⁵ Tellingly, John Mason Neale himself apparently contributed to the Murray’s guide for Portugal, having spent

London to Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool (London: A.H. Baily and Co., 1838) 37.

¹⁴William Howitt, Visits to Remarkable Places (London: Longman 1840) 413-443, 482-4.

¹⁵Alan Sillitoe, Leading the Blind: A Century of Guidebook Travel 1815-1914 (London: Macmillan 1995) 4. See also Rudy Koshar, “‘What ought to be seen’: Tourists’ Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe,” Journal of Contemporary History 33:3 (1998): 323-339.

time there as a convalescent.¹⁶ The guide devoted to Kent and Sussex has a particularly high concentration of detail. The church at New Shoreham is detailed as intricately as the texts devoted primarily to aficionados of the Gothic:

[It] contains portions of Norman, Transitional, and Early English. It was originally a large cross church, but nearly the whole of the nave has disappeared. The series of piers and arches, including the triforium, in the limb of the cross which forms the present nave, is very interesting and varied, being somewhat later than Steyning [church], with which it may be compared. Those of the south side are distinct Early English, the others perhaps Transitional. Remark especially the unusual pendant corbels, on which the triforium arches on the north side rest. The leafage of the capitals throughout the church deserves special attention. It is still stiff, but the naturalism of the Dec. is beginning to display itself.... A circular-headed arcading runs down the Norman walls of each aisle. The vaulting is Early English. The extreme east end has a triple lancet above circular-headed late Norman windows. All this portion is later than the originally central tower, the transepts, and the two remaining bays of the nave, which are all Norman. From a weather moulding on the east side of the tower, it would seem that the original chancel was very low.... Observe also the exterior of the east end, which shows some curious patchwork, Norman and Early English.¹⁷

A second series of guides with a consistently high quality of encoded medieval content was that by Henry Cole. Cole's diaries reveal that his was quite an informed understanding of architecture. He had read the work of James Dallaway, which explored architectural history from Norman to Elizabethan times; met the architect L.N. Cottingham and reported favourably about the

¹⁶W.B.C. Lister, A Bibliography of Murray's Handbook Travellers and Biographies of Authors, Editors, Revisors and Principal Contributors (Dereham, Norfolk: Dereham Books, 1993) 153-4.

¹⁷A Handbook for Travellers in Kent and Sussex (London: John Murray, 1858) 293.

manner in which the architect “spoke rigorously and manfully” concerning Gothic design; and was impressed by lectures, including one on domestic architecture, which he attended, given by “Cockerell,” presumably the distinguished architect C.R. Cockerell, at the Royal Academy.¹⁸ Moreover, he was familiar with the work of the Cambridge Camden Society and apparently wrote an article referring to one of their publications on architectural brasses.¹⁹ He also wrote a notice on “[Robert] Willis’s gloss[ary] of Mediaeval Arch” and prepared his own “Chart of English Architecture.”²⁰

The diaries also confirm that Cole created his guides from first-hand information. Numerous entries describe his journeys through the country, for example to St. Albans, Oxford and Rochester, and to Cobham church where he was shown around by the son of the clergyman.²¹ He was also given a tour of

¹⁸Sir Henry Cole, Diary, volume covering 1 Jan. 1841-31 Dec., 1843, entries for 19 Nov. 1841; 10 Nov. 1842; 19 and 26 Jan. 1843. National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum.

¹⁹Cole Diary, volume covering 1 Jan. 1841-31 Dec., 1843, entry for 3 Dec. 1842. The Cambridge Camden Society published the Illustrations of Monumental Brasses in 1846 based on material that had originally been published serially; perhaps Cole was responding to early material from this group.

²⁰Cole, Diary, volume covering 1844, entry for 28 May; Diary, volume covering 1 Jan. 1841-31 Dec., 1843, entry for 7 April 1842.

²¹Cole, Diary, volume covering 1 Jan. 1841-31 Dec. 1843, entries for 15 and 24 Sept., 6 Oct. and 28 June, respectively, 1842.

Temple Church in London, the subject of a guide in its own right.²² He travelled by rail (on one occasion, to Winchester, by third class), by omnibus and coach, and walked a good deal as well.²³ Holidays were opportunities for Cole to undertake excursions: on Monday, 26 May, 1845, for example, he and a companion went to “Brighton & Shoreham: saw Lancing Bombes, St. Botolphs, Edburton and Poynings Churches – slept at Hurst: good and clean accomodation [sic].”²⁴ Cole had taken the time and trouble to see and study his material, and would use the fruits of his labours to encourage others to do the same.

As a result, the two main series of Cole travel publications, the Excursions and the Travelling Charts, clearly reflect the medieval architectural paradigm. Felix Summerly’s Day’s Excursions out of London, for example, describes Erith Church as featuring “several styles of Gothic architecture: the ‘lancet’ ... is represented by the window in the east end of the chancel: – the east window of the south aisle is an element specimen of the flowing tracery of the ‘decorated’; whilst the square headed window of the north side of the nave belongs to the

²²Cole, Diary, volume covering 1 Jan. 1841-31 Dec. 1843, entry for 2 Sept. 1842.

²³Cole, Diary, volume covering 1 Jan. 1841-31 Dec. 1843, entries for 18 Sept. 1843, 28 and 29 March 1842, respectively.

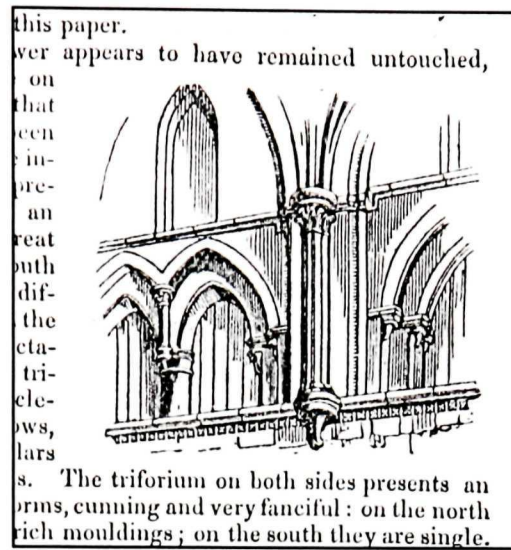
²⁴Cole, Diary, volume covering 1845, entry for 26 May.

‘perpendicular’ era.”²⁵ An 1847 collection of sights to explore while on train excursions has an extended description of New Shoreham Church, bringing attention, as Edmund Sharpe and other observers had done, to the triforium on the north side, which is “most interesting, especially on account of the pendants or corbels on which the arches rest ” (see Figure 5.1). Citing only one other instance where this anomalous detail might be found, and offering more examples of distinctive characteristics of this church, Cole tantalizingly presents New Shoreham as “a metamorphosis which is extremely puzzling to antiquarian controversialists, or as a specimen of very rich and curious details.”²⁶ Once more, the expectation is that the potential excursionist be familiar enough with the terminology and with the characteristics of medieval design during the different periods, to be implicated in this problem-solving attempt.

Cole’s Railway Travelling Charts follow in a similar vein, even if the descriptions they include are condensed to comply with their distinctive format.

²⁵[Henry Cole], Felix Summerly’s Day’s Excursions out of London (London: George Bell, 1843) 12.

²⁶[Henry Cole], Felix Summerly’s Pleasure Excursions. Shoreham, on the Brighton and Chichester Railways, (London: Railway Chronicle Office, 1847) 3-4. Cole offers a similar challenge to visitors to Reigate Church, where “Part of the capital is cut with sculptures of leaves in deep relief—another part sculptured with fleurs de lis of a later style, and a third portion left in a rude uncut state.” Cole leaves this curiosity open to the reader: “What is the solution? Had the fashion changed whilst the mason was at work? – or is it an unfinished substitution of one style of work for another?” Felix Summerly’s Pleasure Excursions: as Guides for Making Day’s Excursions on the Eastern Counties [and other] Railways (London: Railway Chronicle Office, 1847) 6.



5.1 Triforium on the north side of New Shoreham Church, Felix Summerly [Henry Cole], *Felix Summerly's Pleasure Excursions. Shoreham, on the Brighton and Chichester Railways*

The church at Sutton Courtenay “exhibits in many parts its Norman origin, particularly in the tower and nave. The font is an old Norman one. The early English altar tomb at the north of the chancel, some mouldings, some remnants of good stained glass, and a perpendicular screen at the chancel arch, [and] a round stoup or benise in the porch, are noticeable.”²⁷ Chipstead Church’s architecture “is of many periods. At the west is a romanesque arch. Lancet windows are in the chancel: other parts are perpendicular. The font is octagonal....”²⁸ And the porch of Bletchley Church “offers some good Norman mouldings to the

²⁷[Henry Cole], *Railway Travelling Chart. Great Western: London to Reading, Didcot and Oxford*, (London: Railway Chronicle Office, 1847) n.p.

²⁸[Henry Cole], *Railway Travelling Chart. London and Brighton*, second edition (London: Railway Chronicle Office, [1846?]) n.p.

sketcher.”²⁹

Significantly, such promotion of mediated travel is not exclusively the domain of the guidebooks themselves, and may also be found in publications which had a more diverse range of subject matter. One such periodical, the Illustrated Family Journal, cost only twopence an issue, and had a chatty, even self-deprecating tone evidently meant to be unthreatening, referring to its own material as “gossip,” for example. Yet it characterises the Priory Church of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, as having “flat massive piers, and deep-set circular windows, ornaments of fret, lozenge, and zigzag, and the ancient timbered roof, here we behold the veritable Norman edifice.” Similarly, the visitor to Stepney church is encouraged to “discover in the western angle of the south aisle a piece of sculpture of the early English character.”³⁰

Another popular journal, Sharpe’s London Magazine, also aimed, as Chapter 1 established, at the general reader, devoted a variety of articles to medieval buildings. For example, in an article entitled “The Priory of Lanercost,” details of the nave are given as follows:

In place of a triforium, are four lancet windows, placed at unequal distances from each other. Above these is an arcade, or range of small

²⁹[Henry Cole], Railway Travelling Chart. London to Rugby and Birmingham on the London and North-western (London: Railway Chronicle Office, [1846?]) n.p.

³⁰“Recreations of Mr. Zigzag the Elder,” Illustrated Family Journal 12 April 1845: 82; 7 June 1845: 210.

pointed arches, springing from clustered shafts, which extends round nearly the whole of the nave. The tooth ornament occurs in the moulding of those arches.... The mouldings of the arches [of the north aisle] are flat; one of them springs from a beautiful corbel or bracket.... The western front is evidently the latest portion of the church, though from its style (early-English) it does not appear to have been built long after the more easternly parts.³¹

In the same periodical, an article on Canterbury Cathedral extensively quotes Willis's architectural history of the edifice.³² And a series of articles entitled "Scenery of the Great Western Railway" incorporates the nomenclature as well: the chapel at Windsor Castle is deemed, with cited reference to Rickman, as "one of the finest perpendicular buildings in the kingdom." The "middle district" of this railway system contains "numerous churches, though mostly small, [that] are good specimens of Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular...[including] Uffington Church...though very little known,...an exquisite and perfect specimen of the Early English style [and] Shillingford [which] has an Early English tower and spire, and some lancet-windows of great length." Moreover, the church at Chippenham "has a noble Norman arch, with a Decorated hagioscope" and Bath Hampton church has "a very good Perpendicular tower." Even secular neo-Gothic architecture is described in these terms, Bath Station having "debased Gothic windows and Romanesque ornaments" and the bridges between Bath and Tiverton designed "in the Perpendicular style of Gothic

³¹"The Priory of Lanercost," *Sharpe's London Magazine* 1 (1846): 167.

³²"Canterbury Cathedral," *Sharpe's London Magazine* 2 (1846):188-8.

architecture.”³³

Targetted Candidates for Scripted Church Tourism

Looking in greater detail at the collection of travel and popular works consulted for this dissertation, it is possible to note three distinct constituencies of potential church visitors being addressed. Significantly, all three constituencies were already being isolated and recognized as specific foci of attention in the Cambridge Camden Society literature as well. The first group consists of individuals who would already have called themselves ecclesiologists, already committed to the pursuit of architectural knowledge compiled and interpreted in the particular way we have come to understand. The second group is comprised of potential devotees, who needed to be introduced to the merits of appreciating and valorizing churches according to the ideology of ecclesiology. Third, the description of medieval churches is often couched within the reference points of the picturesque, reflecting the hybridization between ecclesiology and the appreciation of the picturesque which has already been considered. In short, it is possible to chart a consistency between the intentions of the Society, and documentation which appears in non-professional, popular-culture sources of information.

³³“Scenery of the Great Western Railway,” Sharpe’s London Magazine 3 (1846): 36, 57, 75.

Confirmed Devotees of Ecclesiology

Individuals who were already dedicated advocates of ecclesiological church tourism would have recognized a surprising number of direct references to the Cambridge Camden Society or to ecclesiology in these popular sources. One, the Eastern Counties Railway Guide of 1851, the idea for which was “suggested by the [Great] Exhibition” which took place in that year, was intended as

an auxiliary to that great gathering, by familiarising some few thousands then visiting London for the first time with the leading features of a most interesting and important district of England, particularly those from abroad, and, still more especially, foreigners approaching our Metropolis by the new route between the Suffolk Coast and the North of Europe.

Notwithstanding this anticipated audience consisting partially of foreigners, the Guide stipulates that the Round Church in Cambridge, a destination located not far from London, was “completely restored lately by the [Cambridge] Camden Society at their own expense.”³⁴ A second reference to this same church in Sharpe’s London Magazine shows a strong sympathy with the objectives of the Society, relating both to its pedagogical and its church restoration activities. This article contains the following passage:

This is a cursory description of the church as it now appears, after having been restored with great taste, and at a vast expense, by the Cambridge Camden Society. It is greatly to be regretted that a question very indirectly touching architectural proprieties should have occurred to take the work out of the Society’s hands; and no one can approve of the taste and judgment displayed in the few alterations which have been made since

³⁴The Eastern Counties Railway Illustrated Guide, introduction, n.p.; 21.

they resigned their task of restoration. Into the polemical question of course we do not enter.³⁵

This is an approval of substantial changes made to the church under the Society's guidance, including the destruction of authentic Perpendicular elements, to emulate the desired chrono-stylistic homogeneity which ecclesiology promoted.

Henry Cole's publications also have direct references to the Society and to ecclesiology. In the Railway Travelling Charts, Winchfield Church, for example, was pointed out as a sight not to be missed: "the outsides of the church certainly afford no temptation to enter, notwithstanding there is a fine recessed ornate romanesque door at the west; but the ecclesiologist should enter, and he will find a romanesque arch over the chancel, with a sort of crumpled soffit—a very rare example."³⁶ At Aldbury church can be found a "'parvise,' or little room, the use of which puzzles ecclesiologists."³⁷ And Merstham church "has many remnants

³⁵"Round Churches in England," Sharpe's London Magazine 2 (1846): 327. The Society relinquished control over the renovation of this church when there was a public outcry against their inclusion, in its interior, of artifacts associated with High Anglicanism. See James F. White, The Cambridge Movement (Cambridge: University Press, 1962) 161-5.

³⁶[Henry Cole], Railway Travelling Chart, London to Basingstoke, Winchester and Southampton, on the Southwestern Railway (London: Railway Chronicle Office, n.d) n. p. It should be noted that the use of the term "ecclesiology," here, is wider than that which has been assumed in this dissertation, and would include any dedicated church visitor with a serious interest in its architecture, despite his or her religious affiliations.

³⁷[Henry Cole], Railway Travelling Chart, London to Rugby and Birmingham on the London and North-western Railway (London: Railway Chronicle Office, n.d.) n.p.

of antiquity which will interest the ecclesiologist.” Indeed, images of some of the artifacts of the church—its font, double piscina, west door, chancel arch, and alms purse, not to mention a view of its facade—make this an especially tantalizing choice for the aficionado (see Figure 5.2).³⁸ Similarly illustrated is the piscina of Woking Church and another from Odiham Church; the font of Leighton Church; and the sedilia and piscina of Preston Church, worth visiting as a “good termination to the ‘lover’s walk’ which here leads to it” (see Figure 5.3).³⁹ Moreover, Felix Summerly’s Day’s Excursions out of London gives instructions on how to do brass rubbings, and adds that “both the Cambridge Camden Society and the Architectural Society at Oxford are forming collections of all specimens of church decorations, and will receive with thanks the impressions of any brasses.”⁴⁰

Cole’s guides also articulate attitudes towards medieval design that are more indirectly compatible with ecclesiology. His Pleasure Excursion to

³⁸[Henry Cole], Railway Travelling Chart, London and Brighton, 2nd ed. (London: Railway Chronicle Office n.d.) n.p.

³⁹[Henry Cole], Railway Travelling Chart (London: Railway Chronicle Office, 1845-7), Woking Church, chart for London to Basingstoke, Winchester and Gosport, on the South-western line; Leighton Church, chart for London to Birmingham on the London and North-western line; Odiham Church, chart for London to Basingstoke, Winchester and Southampton on the Southwestern railway; Preston Church, chart for London and Brighton.

⁴⁰[Henry Cole] Felix Summerly’s Day’s Excursions out of London to Erith: Rochester: and Cobham in Kent, With Illustrations and Suitable Maps (London: George Bell, 1843) 61.

the chancel].”⁴¹ The Railway Travelling Chart which covers Upton, near Slough, laments a “Norman church, which was abandoned to ruinous neglect for the sake of the hideous brick abortion [a new church] lately built further west,” echoing the more caustic Cambridge Camden Society pronouncements along those lines.⁴²

It comes as no surprise, then, that the writings of Cole came to the attention of the Society. They are even favourably alluded to in The Ecclesiologist. Despite the fact that his guides sometimes suggest and valorize non-medieval excursions, such as walks to geological curiosities like the Sand Pits at Charlton, or give equal value to medieval and Greco-Roman derived architecture in a section on London architecture entitled “Remarkable Specimens of Architecture in the Metropolis,” Cole’s texts are generally praised. His Handbook for Westminster Abbey, despite what is chastised as a slightly flippant tone, is not

...disfigured by the usual “guidebook” sentimentality, rambling on without method, and mixing inaccurate, if not false, information with indiscriminate and nauseating praise, but it gives a well-arranged and correct description, neither too popular nor too pedantic, of the sacred edifice, pointing out very judiciously the more remarkable portions, and leading the reader to appreciate for himself the extreme beauty and harmony of the whole. The style also breathes a degree of good-humour

⁴¹[Henry Cole], Felix Summerly’s Pleasure Excursions: as Guides for making Day’s Excursions on the Eastern Counties; South Eastern; Brighton and South Coast; South-western and London and Western Railways (London: Railway Chronicle Office, 1847) 4-5.

⁴²[Henry Cole], Railway Travelling Chart, London to Reading, Didcot and Oxford (London: Railway Chronicle Office, 1847) n.p.

attempered by a feeling of reverence, which seems much what we should desire....⁴³

Another review in *The Ecclesiologist* pays admiration to the *Railway Travelling Chart* for London and Brighton, remarking, too, that “out of eighty-one wood-cut illustrations fifty are devoted to ecclesiology; and some of these would hardly have been thought to possess general interest.” Finding this “a most striking example of the marvellous improvement of popular taste with respect to ecclesiology,” they praise the “sixpenny chart of a railway, designed, by its price, for all classes of readers, written in a very excellent spirit.” Specifically,

when we consider the enormous multitudes of artisans and their families who, on their hard-earned holidays, pour out on the Brighton railway, the importance of a popular chart like this, so very full, and so very cheap,—a chart designed to tempt people into the country,—into the country church,—telling them what to see, and in what spirit to see it,—is incalculable.⁴⁴

Uninitiated or Novice Church Tourists

These remarks in *The Ecclesiologist* lead directly to the second constituency of target audience, for whom medieval architecture is described and interpreted in the guide-texts explored in this dissertation. This audience consists

⁴³Review of *A Handbook for Westminster Abbey*, *The Ecclesiologist* I (1842): 157.

⁴⁴Review of *Travelling Chart of the London and Brighton Railway*, *The Ecclesiologist* V (1846): 147-8.

of those still not entirely initiated into the merits of studying Gothic churches. It is possible to isolate a variety of methods utilized in these texts to ease potential church visitors into this activity, varying from the directly instructional, to the subversive.

In some cases, a church is merely mentioned in an inviting manner as an encouragement to make contact with it, presumably to overcome any sense of the visitor feeling uncomfortable about venturing into an old ecclesiastical building. For example, Henry Cole invites travellers to visit Reigate and its architecture for a short interval before dinner is served, that is, “while the stuffed chicken is roasting.”⁴⁵ A similarly casual tone is taken up in Homely Herbert’s Eastbourne Guide, where the casting of the bells in the Parish Church of St. Mary are described, including the fact that £7 was paid for the job. The next line is as follows: “That is an interesting piece of information, Mr. Herbert; pray proceed,” this inherent dialogue serving as a means to ease the reader gently into the subject matter.

Other examples make churches attractive destinations because their architectural merits can be easily discerned, or because something in addition to their architecture may also be appreciated. One railway guide describes St. Mary’s church, Nottingham as containing “much that will interest the antiquary and lovers of architecture, some parts of it being equal to any within many miles;

⁴⁵[Henry Cole], Felix Summerly’s Pleasure Excursions...Eastern Counties 5.

one archway in particular is very highly spoken of.” The following sentence, however, would seem to appeal to someone who simply wishes to take in an exciting experience: “The tower of St. Mary’s Church is the highest point in the town of Nottingham, and a most splendid view for miles may be enjoyed from its summit; it is built exceedingly strong and is very roomy.”⁴⁶ Another Mogg’s railway guide also cajoles the reader, this time into an appreciation of the church at Leighton Buzzard, described as:

a large antique structure, and by the various grotesque carvings which are scattered about it, is supposed to have been built at the same time as the cross, it being constructed with the same sort of stone. At the intersection rises a square tower, surmounted with a spire; the whole being 193 feet in height, it forms a striking object when approached from London at a distance of about five miles, where the Railway running upon an embankment of considerable height, the descent from Tring summit, in a tolerably direct line, a good view of it is thereby obtained.⁴⁷

In the same guide, St. Alban’s Church “arrests the travellers’ attention, and forms a fine feature in the very beautiful country by which it is surrounded.... The tower and central parts are in the Norman style of architecture, the whole fabric having been rebuilt soon after the conquest....”⁴⁸ Similarly, St. Michael’s church in Coventry may be easily appreciated: “The beauties of [its] steeple are so evident

⁴⁶The Nottingham and Derby Railway Companion (London: Hamilton Adams and Co. and Hayward and Moore, etc., 1839) 10.

⁴⁷Mogg, Mogg’s Handbook for Railway Travellers; or Real Iron-road Book, 2nd ed. (London: Edward Mogg, 1840) 26-7.

⁴⁸Mogg, Mogg’s Handbook for Railway Travellers; or Real Iron-road Book 11.

to the common eye, that they need no aphorism of the scientific to impress them on the attention; but it may be observed that, according to local tradition, Sir Christopher Wren pronounced this structure a masterpiece of the architectural art.”⁴⁹

Other guide-works introduce ecclesiological scripted tourism in very elementary terms, and undertake the mandate to instruct an amateur audience. Cole’s Pleasure Excursion for Winchester has an extended section of that city’s cathedral--six dense pages of text and images, including a plan of the interior--and he makes it very clear that he intends this section for the non-professional:

The visitors of a single day are not among [those expert church visitors who are given a special opportunity to study the building at length], and must therefore be patient under the guidance of a verger. For this class--rather than the architectural student--we shall point out a few of those features for which Winchester stands remarkable among English cathedrals, such as may be examined in the hasty glance which the presence of a verger obviously imposes.⁵⁰

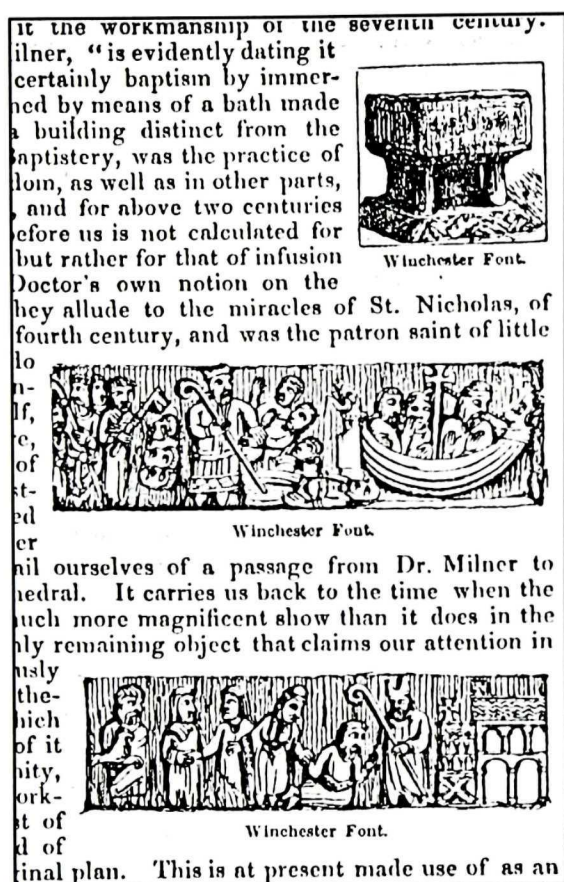
A number of images facilitate this “hasty glance,” including three of the font alone (see Figure 5.4).⁵¹

Sharpe’s London Magazine takes repeated opportunities to teach about

⁴⁹Mogg, Mogg’s Handbook for Railway Travellers; or Real Iron-road Book 98.

⁵⁰[Henry Cole], Felix Summerly’s Pleasure Excursions. Winchester, on the South-Western Railway (London: Railway Chronicle Office, n.d.), n.p.

⁵¹[Henry Cole], Felix Summerly’s Pleasure Excursions. Winchester, on the South-Western Railway 6.



5.4 Font at Winchester Cathedral, *Felix Summerly's Pleasure Excursions*,
Winchester, on the South-Western Railway

medieval architecture in ways that coincide with ecclesiological strategies. "Rural Sketches; with Hints for Pedestrians" is clearly intended to stimulate travel through the countryside, and detailed information about churches is made available. Here the focus is on a hypothetical church, one which could be come upon in any village in the country. The text invites investigation of this building in a very ritualized way, strongly reminiscent of the engagement encouraged by the Cambridge Camden Society church scheme, even if the sequence is a bit different:

As he wanders along the road which winds gracefully, with its beautiful green edging and its rich hedge-rows, [the tourist's] eye will be attracted

by the heaven-directed spire of a village church.... Having glanced over the exterior of the building...he will be prepared to enter the building to notice more carefully what it contains. The first object which claims his attention is the font;...The windows probably contain stained glass in greater or less profusion.... In some churches he will find the stoup for holy water yet remaining at the entrance; on the south side of the chancel, the sedilia, formerly used by the priest...; eastward of this the piscina; and opposite to the sedilia, in the north wall, the arch for the holy sepulchre.⁵²

Further in the article, characteristics compatible with ecclesiology are specifically designated:

These remarks of course apply chiefly to those churches which were built before the reformation. Some, of great antiquity, will be easily recognized as Anglo-Norman by the massy piers, the semi-circular arches, the round-headed doorways, with their rich mouldings, of which the chevron is the most common, and the broad buttresses, scarcely projecting from the wall. To the Norman style succeeded the Early-English, and subsequently the Decorated, and the Florid or Perpendicular, all of which are of a lighter and more elegant character, distinguished by pointed arches. These three latter style were successively used from the reign of Stephen to the commencement of that of Henry VIII.⁵³

Moreover, building on this lesson, a series of three articles appears in the journal, beginning approximately two months later, entitled "Remarks on the Church Architecture of England." Copiously illustrated, these articles, roughly thirteen dense pages in all, navigate through the medieval periods from Anglo-Saxon to the "decline of architecture" by 1530; and one clear goal is to ascribe the suitable stylistic language to these periods: "We all know how very much

⁵²"Rural Sketches; with Hints for Pedestrians," Sharpe's London Magazine 1 (1845): 22-3.

⁵³"Rural Sketches; with Hints for Pedestrians" 23.

difference is to be seen between churches of a different date, and so it seems desirable that, as the difference exists, we should have proper words to express it in, and thus be able to say in one word what the particular date or *style* of this or that building may be.”⁵⁴ The analysis would be familiar to anyone aware of ecclesiology. For example, Norman windows “are generally not very large, round-headed, and surrounded by zigzag or other mouldings.... Early in this style the piers from which the arches spring are very massive and plain.”⁵⁵ The second installment begins with the “first style of Christian architecture, properly so called, which was used in England,” namely Early English; nevertheless, starting here at the beginning, as it were, more than half of the first page of the article is devoted to a series of twelve types of arches which appeared in English churches through the medieval era, along with captions identifying them (see Figure 5.5).⁵⁶ These images, then, give the reader a simple opportunity to understand the difference between a lancet and a Tudor arch, facilitating a comprehension of the textual material. Early English piers and capitals are illustrated on the next page (see Figure 5.6) and the churches from which the image was made, identified. The Decorated style is introduced as well, as “the most beautiful style of

⁵⁴“Remarks on the Church Architecture of England,” Sharpe’s London Magazine 1 (1846): 186.

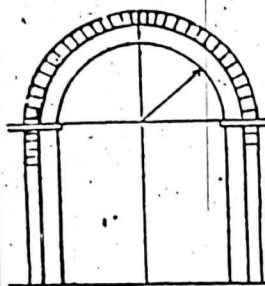
⁵⁵“Remarks on the Church Architecture of England” 187.

⁵⁶“Remarks on the Church Architecture of England” 276.

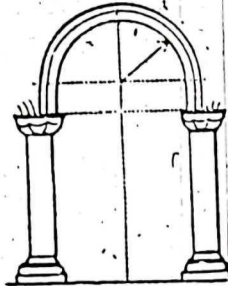
REMARKS ON THE CHURCH ARCHITECTURE
OF ENGLAND.

No. II.

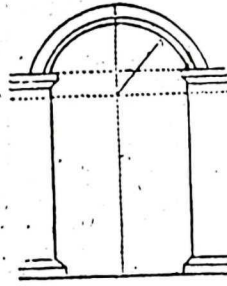
WE now come to speak of the first style of Christian architecture, properly so called, which was used in England. This style has been appropriately called the *Early English*: it prevailed generally throughout the 13th century, that is to say, from the death of King Richard Cœur de Lion, through the reigns of King John, of Henry III., and Edward I. It is distinguished most prominently from the preceding styles, by the round-headed arch and its peculiar mouldings being entirely disused. Henceforward we have, there-



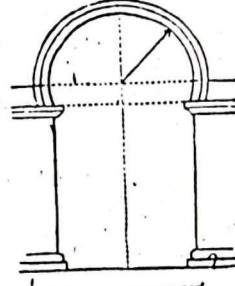
SEMICIRCULAR ARCH.



STILTED ARCH.



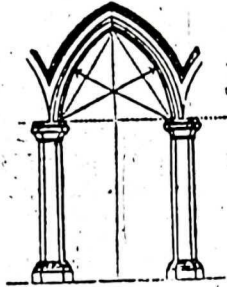
SEGMENTAL ARCH.



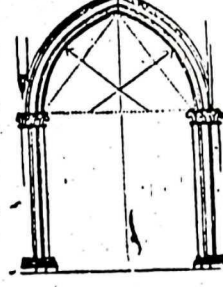
HORSE-SHOE ARCH.



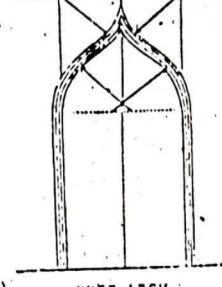
LANCET ARCH.



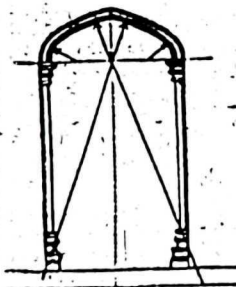
EQUILATERAL ARCH.



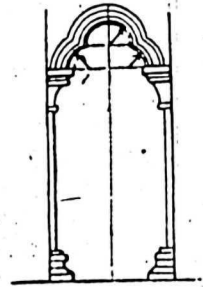
OBTUSE-ANGLED ARCH.



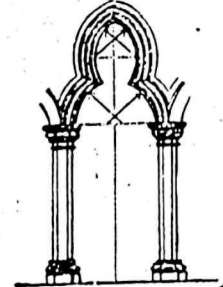
CUSP ARCH.



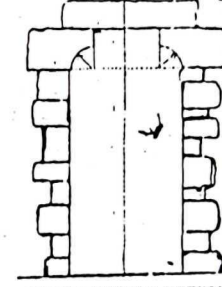
TUDOR ARCH.



ROUND-HEADED ARCH.



POINTED TREFOIL ARCH.



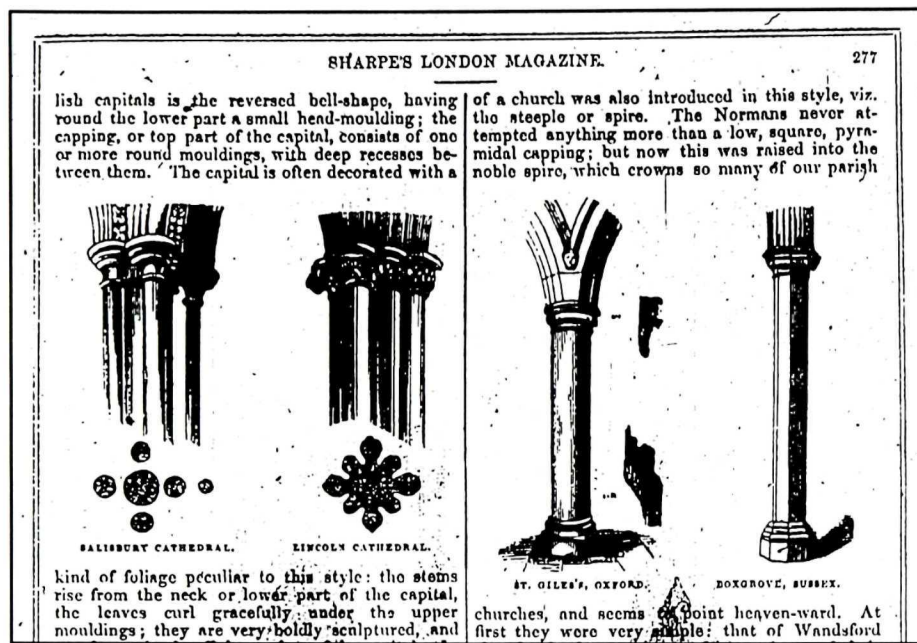
SQUARE-HEADED TREFOIL ARCH.

fore, to do with pointed arches; for the exceptions to this rule are few. There were three kinds of pointed arch used in this style: first, the lancet; secondly, the equilateral; and thirdly, the obtuse. Of these, the lancet and the equilateral were most used for large buildings, (as at Westminster Abbey the lancet prevails, at Salisbury the equilateral;) but in small country churches the obtuse-angle arch is most frequently found. The mouldings assume a

(1) "Gothic," a name given in error; it had nothing to do with the Goths.

bold and prominent appearance, having deep hollows, in which an ornament, called the *tooth ornament*, is frequently inserted. The doorways of this style are very elegant: they usually consist of a single slender shaft on each side, with capitals in the shape of bells reversed; from these spring a few bold mouldings, or a simple line of tooth ornament, having a hood-moulding over it. In large churches, we meet with doorways divided into two by a single or clustered shaft in the middle, and the two arches thus formed are inclosed within a larger arch, the space between being filled up with sculptured work. Porches become more usual in this style: they are large, and have high-pitched and vaulted roofs. We have now quite left the heavy, massive piers of the Norman style, and, instead of

them, we have the piers in large buildings composed of one column, surrounded by slender shafts detached, but uniting in one capital above, as at Salisbury; or again, clustered close together, as in the chapel called the Dean's Chapel, in Oxford cathedral, and at Lincoln. In the smaller churches, a plain octagonal or circular pier was used, as at Boxgrove; but, as these piers were used also in later styles, they are only to be distinguished by the mouldings and ornaments of the capitals and bases. As we hinted above, the usual form of early Eng-



5.6 Early English piers and capitals in Salisbury and Lincoln Cathedrals, St. Giles Church, Oxford, and Boxgrove Church, Sussex, *Sharpe's London Magazine*, 28 February 1846

architecture that England ever saw,” and carefully differentiated from Early English.⁵⁷ It is further described in the last installment, following which the Perpendicular is presented. Only one image appears here, of the exterior of New College, Oxford (see Figure 5.7), whereas many other examples are given in the text.⁵⁸ Finally, space in the article is devoted to a short criticism of post-“Christian” design:

We will not multiply instances of the misapplication of detail and neglect of harmony and proportion which characterize the churches of the early part of the eighteenth century; they were often constructed of red brick, with urns, torches reversed, garlands, heads of oxen, and such like heathen emblems, carved in stone, and stuck here and there, by way of ornament to buildings, whose proportions seem to indicate a town-hall or an assembly-

⁵⁷“Remarks on the Church Architecture of England” 278.

⁵⁸“Remarks on the Church Architecture of England” 309.

room, rather than a Christian Church.”⁵⁹

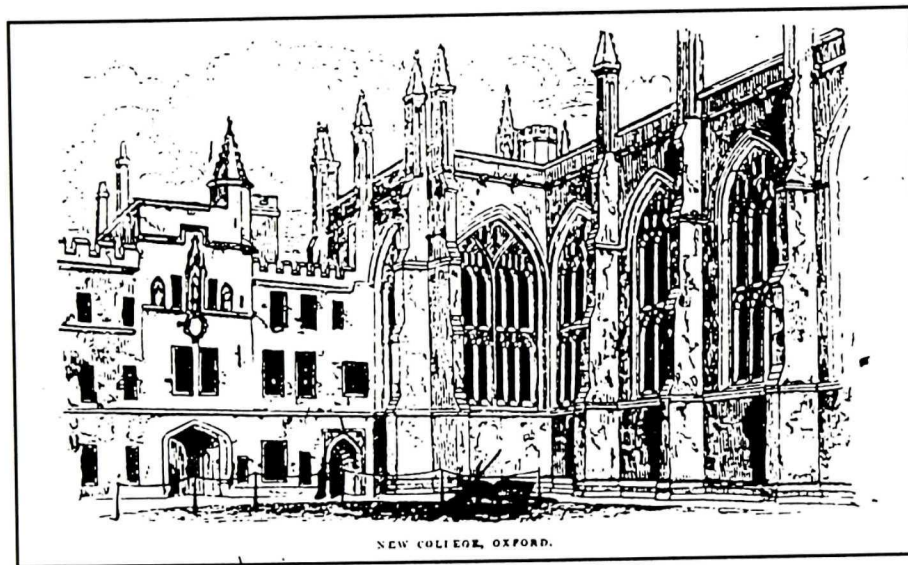
If this condemnation can be anticipated from ecclesiologists, it should also be kept in mind that, unlike the “Rural Sketch” described above, the “Church Architecture” series makes no mention of such artifacts as fonts, sedilias, etc. The religious connotation here resides primarily in the appellation “Christian.”

One more strategy can be discerned as able to promote church visiting, one which relies on the concurrent appreciation of Gothic literature. As noted in Chapter 1, “shilling shockers” were a sub-genre of novels which was popular in early Victorian Britain and intended specifically for the consumption of a mass audience.⁶⁰ This appetite for horror was tapped as well in travel writing, to promote interest in churches. For example, William Howitt’s Visits to Remarkable Places series describes the visit he made to the church at Haughton-Le-Spring. The result is a narrative that weaves its own spell, and deserves to be quoted at length:

On inquiring for the sexton to shew [sic] me the church I was told that an old woman was living in the church, over the vestry room, who would admit me. An old woman living in a church! It struck me as an odd circumstance; but in my progress further northward, I soon began to find that old women were now-a-days the creatures who haunted churches and old castles as commonly as ghosts once “wonned” there. If you went to see an old church or chapel or ruin, it was almost sure to be an old woman who appeared to shew it to you. If there was a particularly dismal, lonely, and deserted old house, there yet remained some ancient housekeeper, or a

⁵⁹“Remarks on the Church Architecture of England” 310.

⁶⁰Brooks, The Gothic Revival (London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1999) 121.



5.7 New College, Oxford, Sharpe's London Magazine, 14 March 1846

women of some kind or other, ensconced in some little corner of it. Where no man would readily be found to live, there, without fear or complaining, lived—an old woman.

I went to the east end of the church, and finding a small door, knocked. A little girl, with very wild hair, opened it, and shewed a narrow steep flight of steps, towards which she turned and shouting to somebody above, said there was a gentleman. A voice, trumulous with age, said, “Let the gentleman come up.” I ascended, and there I found a very old woman, brown and wrinkled as age could make her. I apologized, saying that I was told that she could shew me the church, and was not aware that she was confined to her bed. “Nor I neither,” said the old woman, throwing off the bedclothes, and getting up full dressed.⁶¹

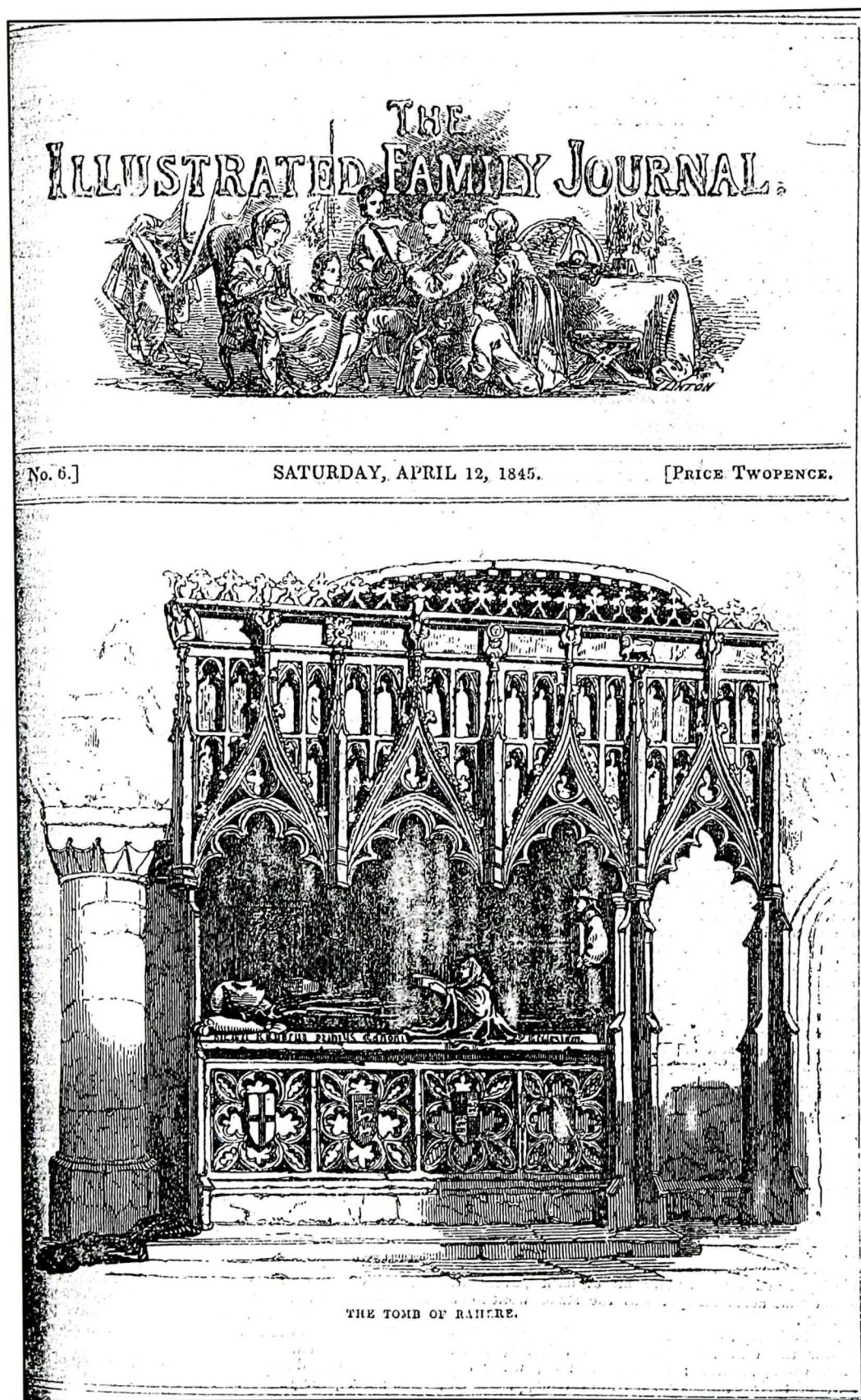
Such exciting prospects of becoming immersed in a Gothic world would make churches in general seem like more exciting destinations to visit.

The two articles from the *Illustrated Family Journal* use a similar dramatic incentive. In the first, “Mr. Zigzag the Elder,” whose “recreations” have brought

⁶¹William Howitt, *Visits to Remarkable Places...Chifely in the Counties of Durham and Northumberland*. 2nd series (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842) 98-9.

him in contact with many sights, visits the Priory Church of St. Bartholemew, Smithfield, and its architecture is delineated in detail. But this is no dry description: it begins with a full-page image of the Tomb of Rahere located in the church (see Figure 5.8) and flashes back to medieval times, when “thither would come, as to the boundary of his sacred establishment, when it was the King’s pleasure to joust in the lists at Smithfield, with his nobles, even the stately prior himself,” appropriately with “all the pomp of the Romish ceremonial, to proffer the hospitality of his poore [sic] house.”⁶² Crowds gather, and the narrative isolates “an old woman, crazed and imbecile...led forth, bewildered, and scarce conscious of the fate awaiting her”-- burning at the stake, because she has been declared a witch. The story behind the tomb of Rahere is then taken up, that of a man of “low kynage [sic]” who pledged himself to build a priory/hospital on the site after recovering from illness while on a pilgrimage to Rome. It is made clear at the beginning of the article that the nave of the original priory church had been demolished at some stage in its history; the end of the story reverts to the calamity to allow a final reverberation of tragedy: “And, could [Prior Bolton, the last to hold the position before the destruction of the architecture] have foreseen the ruin which was soon to come upon those walls, ...he must have mourned prophetically the downfall of the holy and beautiful house, and sighed to think ‘so passeth away

⁶²“Recreations of Mr. Zigzag the Elder,” *Illustrated Family Journal* 12 April 1845: 81-2.



5.8 The Tomb of Rahere, "Recreations of Mr. Zigzag the Elder,"
Illustrated Family Journal, 12 April 1845

the glory of the world.”⁶³

In another instalment, Mr. Zigzag’s visit to Stepney Church is similarly presented in melodramatic terms, and also begins with a shadowy image of its sedilia, where the images of three individuals can just be made out (see Figure 5.9).⁶⁴ Here a monument to Dame Rebecca Berry brings to Mr. Zigzag’s mind a ballad once written about her, recounting a knight who, riding past a humble cottage in which a woman is in labour, immediately knows, “being a student of the occult science,” that he was destined to marry the infant being born.

Determined to overcome fate, he tries to murder the child,

But, however, in spite of his persecution, the child lived.... He then takes her to the seaside, in order to drown her, but relents, and, drawing a ring from his finger, he casts it into the waves, and commands her never to see his face again until she can bring him that ring. The persecuted maiden then becomes a cook, and, having a cod-fish to dress, finds therein the identical ring of the cruel knight. There were of course married, and doubtless lived happy.⁶⁵

This dramatic narrative is embedded within the predictable ecclesiological-type description of the text, each complementing the other as incentives to visit Stepney church, to see it, and the monument, first hand.

⁶³“Recreations of Mr. Zigzag the Elder,” *Illustrated Family Journal* 12 April 1845: 81-4.

⁶⁴“Recreations of Mr. Zigzag the Elder,” *Illustrated Family Journal* 7 June 1845: 209.

⁶⁵“Recreations of Mr. Zigzag the Elder,” *Illustrated Family Journal* 7 June 1845: 210.

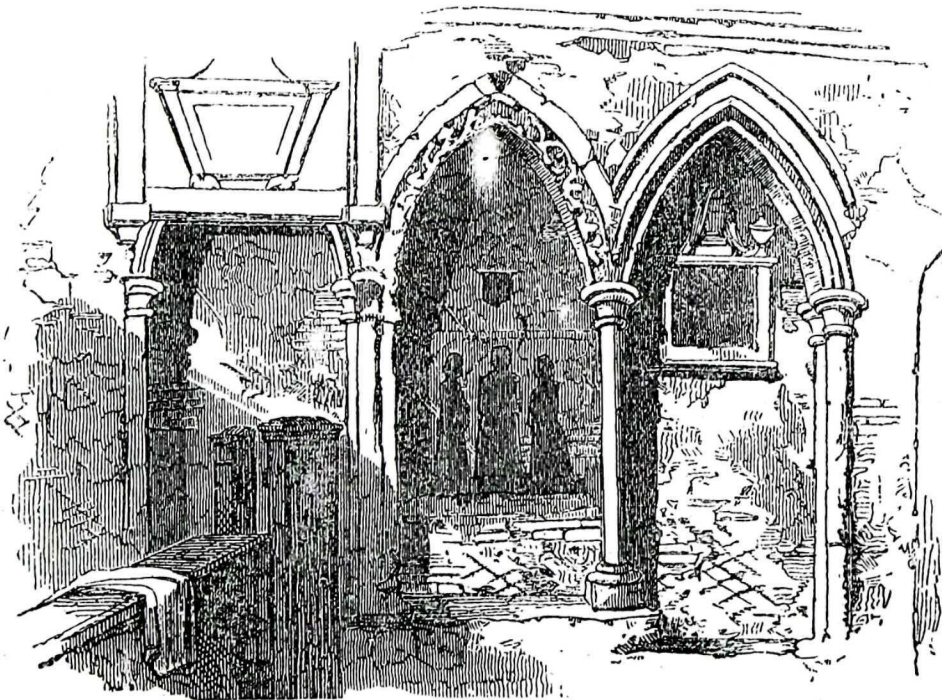
THE ILLUSTRATED FAMILY JOURNAL:



No. 14.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1845.

[PRICE TWOPENCE.]

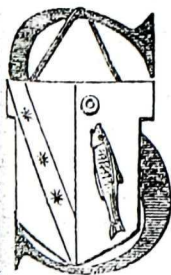


SEDILIA, STEPNEY CHURCH.

THE RECREATIONS OF MR. ZIGZAG THE ELDER.

No. 14.

STEPNEY CHURCH.



We have partaken of our meal, but no servitor has

O, friend! how likest thou our fare? The ham, from its fibre, may have been a gammon of the felon sow, or the boar of Brawnspeith; and for the ale, "Speak not ill of the dead," sayest thou? even so, let it pass. The days are gone when a wandering chronicler or travelling artist might be sure of honourable entertainment, whithersoever he wended, whether in city or village.

sought us at our hostel with kindly greeting from his lord, and bidding us to a grace cup in the hall,—no lay brother has invited us to break a manchet in the refectory, in the name of the reverend father there presiding; nor have the trades sent a deputation of their body, with an address, a loving cup of wine, and a purse of coins to cheer and help us on our way. None of these things have befallen us. Wherefore, O son of Zigzag! we will even call a reckoning and jog on as we may.

Touching the etymology of this Stibenhide, or Step-hethe, thou dost suggest that as the sound of the Saxon *th* was as the Shibboleth to the Norman tongue, so dost thou account for the transformation of heth into hide, in the Doomsday survey, the word being there written according to the Norman pronunciation.

Thou hast spoken well, albeit the idea is not altogether thine own. The Normans used as little

Picturesque Incentives for Church Visitors

A third constituency of potential church visitors can be discerned as specifically addressed in the guide-texts. This is the group who subscribed to the ideology of the picturesque, and in picturesque travel. Both the word “picturesque” itself, and descriptions sympathetic to its concepts, are often juxtaposed with the architectural material on medieval churches in the travel guides and journal articles.

Indeed, examples can be found, in the popular guides and journals, of a fusion between aspects of the ecclesiological model and of picturesque gazing, even before the Society’s inception in 1839. In the anonymous Account of the Principal Pleasure Tours in England and Wales from 1822, for example, Rochester Cathedral “exhibits some rich and elegant Saxon architecture,” whereas the “style” of Llandegai church in Wales “denotes it to have been built in the reign of Edward II.” But a more abiding preoccupation is to be noted in the fact that the ruins “of Gothic architecture are considered more picturesque than the Grecian.” Specifically, “the ruins of our abbeys and cathedrals have a mixture of religious awe in contemplating them which fixes the mind in a deep and thoughtful attitude, creating those feelings of reverence that cause sublime ideas, and nourish the disposition of enjoying the picturesque.”⁶⁶

⁶⁶ An Account of the Principal Pleasure Tours in England and Wales (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1822) 37; 259; 32-3.

Contemporaneous with the years during which the Society had its greatest impact, the first of the “Rural Sketches; with Hints for Pedestrians” in Sharpe’s London Magazine describes the appeal of the “ivy-clad ruin, the castellated building of the feudal times, whose walls have been rent and shattered in the fierce battle-strife of civil war; and those peaceful and holier piles whose aisles, day by day, were wont to resound with the matin and the vesper, but, alas! have been madly defaced and destroyed by sacrilegious hands.”⁶⁷

Cole, too, overlapped the two concepts repeatedly. The interior of Iffley church “is as picturesque as the exterior. The chancel is early English; the font is Norman.”⁶⁸ Silchester, “a Norman church, with later details, ancient tomb, font and some paintings...has picturesque rudeness and dilapidation, and should be entered.”⁶⁹ Nutfield church “is in rude but picturesque neglect. A screen parts the nave from the chancel, perhaps a remnant of the rood-screen: the piscina remains in the chancel....”⁷⁰ And at Old Shoreham church, Cole praises the “superior

⁶⁷“Rural Sketches; with Hints for Pedestrians” 5.

⁶⁸[Henry Cole], Railway Travelling Chart, London to Reading, Didcot and Oxford (London: Railway Chronicle Office, 1847) n.p.

⁶⁹[Henry Cole], Railway Travelling Chart, London to Basingstoke, Winchester and Southampton, on the Southwestern Railway (London: Railway Chronicle Office, n.d.) n.p.

⁷⁰[Henry Cole], Railway Travelling Chart, London to Tunbridge Wells on the South-Eastern Railway (London: Railway Chronicle Office, n.d.) n.p.

picturesqueness, not to say modest christian [sic] humility, of open benches over pews,” echoing ecclesiological pronouncements about this issue.⁷¹

Neale, Webb, and the other ecclesiologists of the Cambridge Camden Society were not marginal, then, in their quest to appeal to a disseminated, popular audience of potential church visitors. Indeed, they were supported by a broader call—one which superceded their own—to create a comprehensive framework of scripted church travel. It is perhaps surprising to see the large number of detailed references, not only to churches, in these popular works, but to church artefacts which might have previously been understood as more specifically the focus of religious church visitors. Apparently, the public was thought to be interested, in a general way, in piscinas, sedilias, fonts and other symbolic, as well as architectural, manifestations of the spiritual functions of the church. When the editors of the *Illustrated Family Journal* put Stepney Church’s sedilia on its cover, there must have been an expectation that a good proportion of the readers would know what a sedilia was, or would be interested in wanting to know what it was. Consequently, one might conclude that church architecture in general, and church tourism, was believed to be of interest, or at least not incongruous, in the wider public domain addressed in these popular works. With this in mind, ecclesiology as evoked in church schemes and their attended documents, would not have seemed to be excessively obsessive and irrelevant

⁷¹[Henry Cole], *Felix Summerly’s Pleasure Excursions, Shoreham, on the Brighton and Chichester Railways* (London: Railway Chronicle Office, 1847) n.p.

aids to a more detailed understanding of medieval church architecture.

Motivations for the Popularisation of Church Tourism

It remains to consider possible reasons for this agenda to promote church tourism, which can be clustered in terms of incentives related to design; religious and moral; and nationalistic issues.

We have seen that Henry Cole was strongly committed to promoting scripted church visiting. The reason, in part, lies in the fact that Cole was a designer himself, and in the contemporary belief by economists that British trade was being hampered by products of inferior design relative, especially, to those of France and Germany. Cole was instrumental in seeking ways to recover lost ground; his active participation in the Great Exhibition of 1851, and in the establishment of what would ultimately become the Victoria and Albert Museum (beginning with the Museum of Manufactures in 1852), are only two examples. As a result of an 1835-36 Select Committee Arts and Manufactures, Government Schools of Design were established in London as well as other parts of the country, at which students were to be taught drawing and principles of design. The first committee appointed included Charles Eastlake, subsequent author of *A History of the Gothic Revival*, and the architect Charles Robert Cockerell, an aficionado of ancient Greek architecture whom Pugin detested but also the author of a text on the iconography of the west front of Wells Cathedral and

designer of two Gothic-Revival chapels.⁷² By the 1840s, Cole was very influential in determining the syllabus of the Schools of Design, having created the Journal of Design and Manufactures in 1849 and used it as a vehicle to lobby the government to improve the School's curriculum. Cole's co-editor on the journal was Richard Redgrave, whose own principles of ornament were influenced by Pugin's True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture and Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament.⁷³ Thus it can be seen that Cole's–Summerly's–guides were one further means of encouraging designers'

⁷²See A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England (London: John Weale, 1843) 3, note 3: Pugin alludes to Cockerell's library at Cambridge and Ashmolean Building at Oxford Universities, in which he "carries out his contempt of pointed design." Howard Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press 1995) 258.

⁷³Edward Bird, "The Development of Art and Design Education in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century," diss., Loughborough U, 1992, 99, 123, 149, 248, 270, 299, 371. The type of manufacture considered to be most important to the economy of Britain at this time included textiles, ornamental metal work and fancy domestic products (Bird 100), clearly outside the realm of the Royal Academy of Arts which until then had been the main institution with responsibility for Art education (Bird 36). Another resource deemed to be of insufficient standards was the Mechanics' Institutes which attempted to accommodate the artisan. The first appeared in London in 1823, and provincial Institutes were subsequently established in the major industrial centres of the country. They were meant to teach "'architectural, mechanical, perspective and ornamental drawing, figure modelling and landscape.'" 1835-36 Select Committee on Arts, Manufactures and the Principles of Design, I, Appendix 3, cited in Bird 37. Pugin was definitely unimpressed by them, as he comments in Contrasts "'Mechanics' Institute: a lecture on the antediluvian, Babylonian, Greek, Roman and Gothic architecture by Mr. Wash, Plasterer, who goes out day work on moderate terms.'" Cited in Bird 38. See also John Heskett, Industrial Design (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980) 20-26.

contact with the authentic design specimens of medieval church architecture, and of encouraging the development of “taste,” in the appropriation and interpretation of these specimens in the designers’ own work.

Another reason to promote scripted medieval church tourism would have been in response to a perceived belief that there was a substantial diminishment of church attendance during the period under review, with an attendant reduction in the collective public morality—regardless of denomination. Eastlake, for example, in considering the agenda of ecclesiology, concurred that “of one fact we may be quite sure, that at this period the Church of England had lost its hold on popular favour, and ecclesiastical sentiment was almost unknown.... Such was the Church, and such the form of worship which prevailed in England while this century was still in its teens.”⁷⁴ Charles Dickens wrote, in an essay entitled “City of London Churches”:

As I stand at the street corner, I don’t see as many as four people at once going to the church, though I see as many as four churches with their steeples clamouring for people. I choose my church and go up the flight of steps to the great entrance in the tower.... Through a screen of wood and glass, I peep into the dim church. About twenty people are discernible, waiting to begin. Christening would seem to have faded out of this church long ago, for the font has the dust of desuetude thick upon it, and its wooden cover... looks as if it wouldn’t come off, upon requirement. I perceive the altar to be rickety and the Commandments damp.⁷⁵

⁷⁴Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, ed. and with an introduction by J. Mordaunt Crook (1872; New York: Humanities Press, 1978) 117.

⁷⁵Charles Dickens, “City of London Churches,” *The Uncommercial*

Whether or not a reduction of church worship did take place, the pervasive sentiment of the place and time was to strive hegemonically to recover lost moral ground.

Significantly, evidence of this strategy appears in the very first editorial in Sharpe's London Journal. The objective of the periodical was:

...to instruct as well as amuse; to instruct while we amuse; so to amuse that our readers shall be the wiser and happier for the enjoyment we may afford them. Disclaiming all intention of usurping the chair of the appointed religious teacher, we trust so to regulate our undertaking, that the reader of this Magazine will find it to deepen in his mind the impression, that religion and pure morality are the sources of our truest happiness—the foundations of our highest hopes.⁷⁶

Since churches served iconographically as the tangible houses of God, perhaps they could inspire behaviour and forethought commensurate with religious devotion, thereby contributing to that “truest happiness.”

Third, feelings of nationalism and a desire to promote nationalist sentiment seem also to characterise this momentum to encourage visits to Gothic churches as English heritage sites. A consideration of the relationship between architecture—specifically medieval church architecture—and nationalism appears in Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation, with regard to the selection of nationalist-derived terminology in the formulation of the language taken up by ecclesiology.

Traveller and Reprinted Pieces (London: Oxford University Press, 1958) 85-86. Cited in Mark Stephen Looker, “The Idea of the Church in the Victorian Novel,” diss., U of Michigan, 1984, 213.

⁷⁶“A Few Words at Starting,” Sharpe's London Magazine 1(1845): 8-9.

Advocates of medieval church travel in more popular texts usually also promote a positive view of *all* aspects of British architectural heritage, including those of the middle ages. For example, Edward Mogg justifies the publication of his Handbook for Railway Travellers as a means to assist “that class of tourists who would enjoy, while exploring, the beauties of England.”⁷⁷ He also calls the church at New Shoreham, with its “excellent proportions and correct disposition of its mouldings and beauty of its arches and pillars, inferior to few on the Continent.”⁷⁸ In the wider context of British architecture, the Murray’s guide for London, for example, deems the new Palace of Westminster

...one of the most magnificent buildings ever erected continuously in Europe--probably the largest [neo-]Gothic edifice in the world....In its style and character the building reminds us of those magnificent civic palaces, the town halls of the Low Countries,--at Ypres, Ghent, Louvain, and Brussels--and a similarity in its destination renders the adoption of that style more appropriate than any form of classic architecture.⁷⁹

Churton’s Rail Road Book of England, which sends tourists to small Gothic churches such as Hitchin, Old Shoreham, Erith and Hythe, exclaims, of Westminster Abbey, that it “would be accounted almost heresy for a stranger to quit the metropolis [of London] without visiting this beautiful monument of

⁷⁷Mogg, Mogg’s Handbook for Railway Travellers; or Real Iron-road Book v.

⁷⁸Mogg, Mogg’s Brighton Railway and Brighton, Lewes, Shoreham, and Worthing Guide (London: E. Mogg, 1841) 21.

⁷⁹Murray’s Handbook for Modern London; or, London as it is (London: John Murray, 1851) 37.

antiquity.” But St. Paul’s gets highest billing in the category of ecclesiastical architecture, “one of the grandest pieces of architecture in the world...alone and unmasked, as a whole and uniform structure...[a] splendid temple of religion....”⁸⁰

As we have already seen, the pervasiveness of nationalist feelings about British architecture is taken up from another perspective by Peter Mandler, who looked at tourism linked to visiting country homes of the British aristocracy and understands this architecture to be “popularized as symbols of the common national history shared by all classes.” Mandler was able to use quantitative data collected from these aristocratic houses to draw his conclusions; unfortunately, statistics of actual church visiting do not exist.

Instead, the numbers of church visitors have to be estimated on the basis of such evidence as the quantity and consistency of guide-works available during the period, or their availability in such mundane locations as railroad stations and newsstands. It is, finally, impossible to know whether church tourism could be seen as a trend, a fashion of the time, a routine practice, or, at the very least, a pleasant way to spend the afternoon. Nor can the constituency of individuals who did undertake this activity be concretely analysed in terms of socio/economic status.

But it does seem possible to hypothesise that the attraction of medieval church architecture, like the country houses, appealed to those who felt that desire

⁸⁰Churton 8-9.

for “historical consciousness,” which Mandler observes. This is especially because, as he says, church properties, unlike the estates of the nobility which had to be incorporated into a nationalist vision, “already had a national air to them.”⁸¹ Moreover, mediated church tourist guides were busy at work to dispel any hesitation about churches being irrelevant, outmoded, or boring destinations. On the contrary, they were laboratories where investigator/scientists could test their analytical skills, moody settings where romantic tales awaited a passionate heart, museums where marvellous workmanship and exquisite design could inspire, and, of course, sanctuaries where the love of God could be embraced with intensity as well as humility. The tenacity of all these guide-writers of the early Victorian age, in presenting medieval churches for public engagement, and the quantities of pages devoted to the subject, lead one to imagine, at least, an appreciative, receptive audience.

After all, the act of gazing, in a scripted way, at Gothic churches was an interactive rather than a passive undertaking, implicating the viewer in the construction of a particular way of seeing the architecture. That is, such mediated tourism created opportunities for appropriating that architecture into the construct of one’s own present-tense, an appropriation achieved by the processing of the building through the taxonomy and nomenclature espoused by ecclesiology, by

⁸¹Peter Mandler, *Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997) 39. Mandler is speaking specifically about medieval ruins, but this would have been true about churches as well, even if actual access to them may not always have been unrestricted.

means, for example, of encoding vision through text. It is important to reiterate as well, that such gazing, by definition, links a medieval church design element with its presumed date of execution, meaning that this chrono-stylistic synthesis automatically translates bricks-and-mortar into heritage. Hence, ballflower moulding means Decorated, means fourteenth century, means the reign of the Edwards, means the evocation of a rich period of British cultural legacy. The ability, in the popular press, as well as by the Cambridge Camden Society, to unite the tenets of ecclesiology with other predominant cultural themes in early Victorian Britain—picturesque gazing; the popularity of Gothic literature; the excitement aroused by new travel opportunities—thus made church visiting a decidedly contemporary activity, vital and immediate, not the quaint result of acting in an antiquated or old fashioned way. Just as one might have wished to purchase neo-Gothic furniture as a manifestation of being au courant with the fashion of the time, and to read Walter Scott or one of his many gory emulators, an excursion to some parish church could serve as an expression of belonging to the culture of the moment, and of espousing and embracing its sanctioned themes and objectives.

**Conclusion:
The Practice of Looking**

Gothic architecture, as we must still call it, for want of a better name—the architecture of Christian Europe—is in fact, the poetry of architecture. Every great and perfect cathedral is a great and perfect religious Epic. Its storied windows, each of which “Shoots down a stained and shadowy stream of light,” are so many cantos of the loftiest poetry of the Christian faith, the gracious triumphs of the Saviour, or of quaint traditionary narrative: every statue in its niche is an historic episode: every exquisitely wrought canopy, every heaven-seeking turret, every fair pendant, or crocketed finial, is a beautiful simile, presenting to the admiring eye the loveliest revelations of nature, “In strange materials and an unknown mode.” And the more we comprehend their real designs; the more we discover of the imaged personages in the splendid cathedrals which are scattered over Europe...the more we find that they are, in fact, actual monuments of the progress of those nations; histories in stone, and of which every individual part is but the eloquent component of a glorious and consistent whole.¹

So writes William Howitt in 1840, in a book whose very title, Visits to Remarkable Places, establishes parameters for the designation and validation of prime tourist destinations. We have, here, an interpretation of medieval church architecture which is in keeping with ecclesiology as espoused by the Cambridge

¹William Howitt, Visits to Remarkable Places: Old Halls, Battle Fields, and Scenes Illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1840) 449.

Camden Society, whereby “Every great and perfect cathedral is a great and perfect religious Epic.” These churches are presented by Howitt, and also by ecclesiology, as national icons, “actual monuments of the progress of those nations [where they are found]; histories in stone.” He, too, uses the prescribed method of breaking the churches down into discrete units consistent with the ecclesiologists, and thus concludes that “every individual part is but the eloquent component of a glorious and consistent whole.”

However, having elevated Gothic cathedrals to the highest ranks as the “poetry of architecture,” Howitt goes on to clarify his position, and in doing so, reveals his premise as markedly different from that of the Cambridge Camden Society. He writes:

If even I, born and educated in that religious body which has, more than all others, stripped from worship every external sign—who feel that true worship is a thing entirely spiritual, an elevation of the soul alone towards its Creator...[were] to ask “Oh! like these moments what in human time? / What grander scene? What dreams more sublime?” we must confess that if there be not much abiding religion in all this, there is, at least, great poetry.²

What this quotation reveals is that Howitt’s assessment is ultimately derived from a religious perspective which is entirely antithetical to the Cambridge Camden Society’s High Anglicanism, one based instead on his own Quaker roots.³ To

²Howitt, *Visits to Remarkable Places* (1840) 462-3.

³See the discussion of the role that William and his wife Mary Howitt played in advocating mass tourism from a nationalist perspective in Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven and London: Yale

him, these churches' "great poetry" exists despite there being "not much abiding religion in all this": not necessarily is there a direct connection between the awe evoked by the church as building, and an enhancement of religious fervour on the part of the viewer. It is the medieval church as architecture which takes precedence over its function as a place of actual worship. That is, Howitt advocates a respect both for the aesthetic of Gothic design which had come to be defined and understood in a certain way, and for the associationist, emotive qualities encompassed in the architecture, qualities meritorious in and of themselves and not specifically as a means to orthodox spirituality.

This basic agreement, despite sectarian differences, in approach and validation of medieval church design sheds new light on the Cambridge Camden Society, especially on its potential in attracting advocates of Gothic architecture who did not share its sectarian views. Indeed, this new understanding supplements, in significant ways, previous interpretations of ecclesiology. Most critics have looked at the architecture sanctioned by the Society, for example the highly ritualistic All Saints Margaret Street in London, or The Ecclesiologist, as the primary evidence of ecclesiological ideology, and have thus conveyed a perception of the Society as outlandishly biased and almost freakishly marginalised. For example, a recent text on the Gothic Revival devotes a long paragraph to describing how

...none of the professional courtesy that usually restrains architectural

criticism was at play here, for the critics were not architects but clerics, with no tolerance for architectural sins. A church was instantly condemned ‘as bad as anything can be’ or mocked as ‘an odious structure rendered at once offensive by pretence, and ridiculous by failure.’ Minor features such as window shape, moulding profiles and the arrangement of steps in the chancel were put to the question, and were pronounced as orthodox or heretical. Even architects themselves were divided into goats and lambs....⁴

Michael Lewis is not exaggerating when he says that The Ecclesiologist is the “most sustained corpus of intelligent and *savage* [my emphasis] architectural criticism in English literature.”⁵ On the other hand, an evaluation of the Society documents which were meant to work in conjunction with church schemes, the filled-in schemes themselves, and a comparison with other non-sectarian travel literature show areas of compatibility with other works investigating medieval architecture—both specialized ones such as the documents issued by Oxford Architectural Society, and popular ones like the guidebooks of Henry Cole. In the context of this material, one can surmise that there would have been much more opportunity available to the Cambridge Camden Society to be influential in communicating a love and respect for these buildings.

From this perspective, too, Kenneth Clark’s comment in The Gothic Revival about the “common man” being substantially influenced by such a

⁴Michael J. Lewis, The Gothic Revival (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002) 92.

⁵Lewis, The Gothic Revival 92.

marginal group makes much more sense.⁶ Such findings may not bring us much closer to determining quantitatively how many Britons actively embraced the form and content of Gothic design. But they go a long way in demonstrating how the taste for Gothic could permeate English culture through a variety of vehicles which modified and recast the formal, scholarly engagement of professionals writing to an audience of like-minded experts, to reflect the interests and pastimes of a much broader constituency newly stimulated by exciting travel possibilities.

How, finally, can we evaluate the legacy of the Cambridge Camden Society, in fulfilling its ecclesiological intentions and principles? Not all would agree that the Society had an entirely positive effect, either on the preservation of existing medieval churches, or on the stated need to reacquaint the masses with their God. On the one hand, ecclesiology did bring attention to what must have been a large number of churches throughout the country which were in disrepair, and contributed to the momentum of church building already in effect: sources suggest that repaired and new churches over the first half of the century collectively numbered in the thousands.⁷ Yet critics from John Ruskin to William

⁶The relevant quote appears at the end of the Introduction to this dissertation: "The [Cambridge] Camdenians, for complicated reasons, insisted on certain forms; and the average man, who asks nothing more than to have his forms supplied ready-made, accepted them...." Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* (London: John Murray, 1962) 174.

⁷Chris Miele, "The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture: The Restoration of Medieval Churches in Victorian Britain," diss. New York U, 1992, 1; Chris Brooks, *The Gothic Revival* (London: Phaidon Press, 1999) 251. See

Morris rightly pointed out that Victorian architects consistently supported the destruction of original elements of the churches they redesigned, in order to give those structures desired stylistic homogeneity. Ruskin, for example, is adamant:

Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter, it is *impossible*, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture. That which I have ... insisted upon as the life of the whole, that spirit which is given only by the hand and eye of the workman, can never be recalled. Another spirit may be given by another time, and it is then a new building....⁸

Chris Miele commits himself to defending ecclesiology from this criticism by arguing that “early Victorians saw no essential difference between an ancient church and a copy of that church. In fact, the copy was far superior to the

also Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, “Survey of Church Building and Church Restoration, 1840-75,” LVIII (1876), which contain statistics compiled in 1872-3 indicating that the majority of the approximately ten thousand medieval churches in England and Wales had undergone some degree of remodelling after 1840, such that by 1865 an untouched church was a rarity. Ecclesiology contributed to a stream of church building which was already underway: in 1818 the Church Building Commission was set up by the British Government for that purpose, with an endowment of 1.5 million pounds by 1824. Some 214 churches were constructed. Also in 1824, another organization, the Church Building Society, was established to generate voluntary efforts on the part of the public. Commissioners’ churches did not have stylistic demands imposed on them as advocated by ecclesiologists in their projects, but many had Gothic characteristics for nationalistic reasons and because this was deemed less expensive than other historicist alternatives. Brooks 227-9.

⁸John Ruskin, “The Lamp of Memory,” The Seven Lamps of Architecture, collected in The Works of John Ruskin, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (1849; London: George Allen, 1903) 242, Chapter VI, paragraph 18, Aphorism 31. In 1877 William Morris founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, a lobby group whose mandate was to put an end to architectural restoration as was commonly practiced in Britain.

original. The authenticity of an ancient artifact was a function of the design carved into the stone, not of the substance of the stone itself. A new carving which reproduced the ancient carving itself became the literally ancient thing.”⁹ Despite this clarification of motive, though justifiably argued, we are left with the fact that medieval churches were irrevocably altered under the imprimatur of the Society.

Nor is it simple to assess the degree to which, if at all, ecclesiology was successful in attracting people back to worship. The Cambridge Camden Society in particular espoused an Anglicanism so High that its members were chastised for flirting with Roman Catholicism (some did convert), and with instilling so much ritualism into worship that they scared off the very people they tried to attract. Certainly Low church administrators were concerned about the not-so-insidious aspects of ecclesiological churches designed for rituals which had been largely abandoned by the eighteenth century. The Christian Observer warned: “accustom people to *see* all these things weekly as the proper fittings of a church, and in the next generation the *use* of them will be a step in advance of the most easy and almost necessary ascent” to the path of the Tractarians.¹⁰ Other sources

⁹Miele, “The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture” 25.

¹⁰The Christian Observer V (1847), Preface. Cited in Mark Stephen Looker, “The Idea of the Church in the Victorian Novel” Diss. U Michigan, 1984, 44. The term Tractarian refers to those who supported the writings in a collection of pamphlets entitled Tracts for the Times, written by a group of theologians affiliated with Oxford University who initiated what was known as

suggest less cause for alarm. Owen Chadwick's The Victorian Church describes "surplice riots," protests against High ritualism which were not uncommon, as a popular response to such formality.¹¹

Moreover, some revisionist historians have also begun to reconsider the conventional premise that there was a substantial decline in the practice of religion amongst Victorians. For example, in his review of Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint's The Victorian Church R. Arthur Burns writes,

It ought no longer to be possible to see religious practice as itself a feature of pre-modern society threatened by industrialization and urbanization. Nor can the assumptions about working-class alienation from organized religion...be sustained in the face of findings of a series of outstanding local studies, which have revealed the complexity of the relationship of religious practice and the variety of community structures and power relations to be found in both the urban and rural environments.¹²

On another tack, Robin Gill, in The Myth of the Empty Church, takes the

the Oxford Movement. These reformists reacted against government interference in church administration—including the elimination of ten bishoprics from the Anglican church in Ireland—and sought to revitalize worship and reconsider doctrine, calling, for example, for a deeper reverence for the Sacrament. The leaders of this movement were John Keble, Professor of Poetry; Edward Bouverie Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon at Christ Church; and John Henry Newman, vicar of St. Mary's. For additional information on opposition to Tractarian practices see Andrea S. Albright, "The Religious and Political Reasons for the Changes in Anglican Vestments Between the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Centuries," diss. U of North Texas, 1989.

¹¹Chadwick, The Victorian Church, 2 vols. (London: A. and C. Black, 1966) 497-99. Cited in Looker 44.

¹²R. Arthur Burns, review of Brooks and Saint, eds., The Victorian Church, Journal of Victorian Culture 1:1 (1996): 155. See also J.N. Morris, Religion and Urban Change: Croydon 1840-1914 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Royal Historical Society: The Boydell Press, 1992).

opposite point of view and asserts that church extension itself—a central *raison d'être* of ecclesiology--was detrimental to church attendance.¹³

Of course, one area of effectiveness routinely attributed to the Cambridge Camden Society was as a training ground for most of the architects who would design neo-Gothic buildings, ecclesiastical and otherwise: George Edmund Street, William Butterfield, George Gilbert Scott, William Burges, and George Frederick Bodley were all members.¹⁴ Interestingly, a perusal of the documents related to church schemes can also profitably supplement an analysis of the actual buildings created by these men, in bringing to light the extent to which ecclesiology did saturate their architectural repertoire. For example, a sketchbook by George Edmund Street contains nine pages of drawings of Hythe Church in Kent, executed during a church visit he made in 1844. Whereas Street did not employ a church scheme for this depiction—he was currently apprenticing in the office of George Gilbert Scott and hence trained in architectural drawing—the sequence of his sketches, the terminology he uses, and his selection of subject matter coincide

¹³Robin Gill, *The Myth of the Empty Church* (London: SPCK, 1993).

¹⁴In addition, *The Ecclesiologist* was instrumental in disseminating ecclesiological ideology throughout Britain and beyond. The journal also assisted in fundraising for various renovation projects, and was a primary vehicle to offer advice to clergy and architects abroad who sought assistance in the design of new Anglican churches. Christ Church Cathedral in Fredericton is one church whose design emerged in part in consultation between its Bishop, John Medley, formerly an active member of the Exeter Architectural Society, and the editors of the *Ecclesiologist*.

to a remarkable extent with those in church schemes. Given the fact that Scott had, by this time, already been exposed to ecclesiology, it appears likely that Street's contact with Scott, as well as Street's imminent membership in the Society (he was admitted in 1845) are evidence of his own familiarity with ecclesiological methodology.¹⁵

The greatest ongoing victory of the Cambridge Camden Society, then, may well have been its role in making the study of Gothic architecture seem a palatable and interesting field of exploration, one which could be effectively marketed, not only to architects and other professionals in the field, but also to the amateur, early Victorian traveller. The development and dissemination of its encoded, text-based system of grasping and recording medieval architectural data simplified the appropriation and absorption by the general public of a system for understanding and interpreting medieval design, and helped to make church visiting a pastime that might readily be undertaken as a leisure activity. The overwriting of ecclesiological methodology as scientific also affected the perspective from which the medieval church was to be understood, by focussing attention on the systemized, methodical rendering of each aspect of the church that was designated important. All this, to a significant extent, decentralized the reading of a church as being exclusively the site of Christian worship. This can

¹⁵See Rhona Richman Kenneally, "Empirical Underpinnings: Ecclesiology, The Excursion and Church Schemes, 1830s-1850s," *Ecclesiology Today*, 15 (1998): 16-18.

be inferred even in the church schemes of John Mason Neale, for whom the recognition of the liturgical role of the building would theoretically have been at its most intense: his periodic marathon excursions to numerous churches over short intervals of time, the nature of his comments and observations in the schemes, even the incompleteness of many of his schemes, attest to the multiple incentives for church visits, even for him.

Scripted tourism, then, was a powerful means of inciting interest in Gothic design. In recent years, such orchestrated readings of the landscape have been seen to operate across a wide spectrum, from the ephemera promoting Niagara Falls as a honeymoon spot, to guidebooks depicting late nineteenth-century Montreal as an industrial mecca, to posters encouraging early twentieth-century emigration to Canada as an adventurous extended voyage.¹⁶ In our own world, a proliferation of markers exist to authorize tourist sights in preconceived ways, made all the more effective by exploiting diverse technological media both verbal and visual, including television and the internet. The latter is a particularly useful tool, especially given both the commercial encouragements to obtain cheap flights

¹⁶For an excellent study of Niagara Falls, see Karen Dubinsky, *The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1999). The perception of Montreal through nineteenth-century guidebooks is taken up in Rhona Richman Kenneally, "Depictions of Progress: Montreal in Contemporary Guidebooks, 1839-1900," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 23:1 (1998): 9-15. Early twentieth-century posters encouraging emigration to Canada are discussed in Rhona Richman Kenneally, "Gory or Glam: Perceptions of Immigration in the Re-Visited Material Culture of Grosse Île," to appear in the Fall 2003 issue of *Eire/Ireland*.

or accommodation packages from specialized web sites, and increasingly interactive digital components that give the desktop traveller the impression of partaking more wholly in the pre-visit exploration of a previously unfamiliar scene.

In a thought-provoking case of life imitating research, my several trips to London, to explore its libraries and archives, made me, too, an excursionist. Admittedly, a few of my most pleasant experiences resulted from unplanned occurrences during casual perambulations. One was a modest café up Richmond Hill, near George Gilbert Scott's St. Matthias Church, which I discovered and later visited on many Sunday afternoons. There, armed with a coffee and baguette of melted good English cheddar, I read for hours at an outside table and contemplated my good fortune at being so privileged. But it is impossible, as a curious traveller, not to be swayed by the multiple identities of Britain's capital as brought to light by admiring commentators, a city personified so well, for example, in Peter Ackroyd's aptly-named London: The Biography, and played out in the many specialized, theme tours that are abundantly advertised in local magazines, guides and newspapers.¹⁷ One of my own equivalents to the Handbook of English Ecclesiology was a handy collection of tours, the Time Out Book of London Walks, now a dog-eared souvenir itself. Its diversity of approaches intrigued me. Graham Norton's "Stepping Out" maps out "A stroll around gay

¹⁷Peter Ackroyd, London: The Biography (London: Vintage, 2000).

Soho and Bloomsbury, taking in bars, clubs, shops, a live sex show and a couple of churches, before climaxing in the spawning grounds of Russell Square.”¹⁸

William Forrester, in his “Freewheeling” tour, lays out “a relatively smooth ride” for wheelchair users, stretching along the South Bank from the London Aquarium near Westminster Bridge, to the Bramah Tea and Coffee Museum past Tower Bridge. For this tour, it is the cobblestones, which “occasionally replace flat paving to give an area ‘heritage appeal,’” that are the unexpected culprits.¹⁹

Entering into the spirit of these tours is to partake in a performance, part choreographed, part improvised, which, to my mind, profoundly enriches a multi-layered reception of this sensational environment.

Of course, the visited landscape or architecture itself also offers up its own directives to the viewer. For example, Daniel Libeskind’s Jewish Museum in Berlin, with its entrance situated within a second museum to heighten the relationship between the two, with its narrow corridors and the door to the Holocaust Tower that slams shut behind the visitor, and with its deliberately complex and ambiguous circulation, plays out its message of the tragedy of Jews especially in the hands of the Nazis. But architecture itself encompasses only one of many available narratives that communicate sentiment, fact and symbolism

¹⁸Andrew White, ed., Time Out Book of London Walks: 30 walks by 30 London writers (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1998) 11.

¹⁹Andrew White 170-3. To my mind, the Tea and Coffee Museum could not boast a great exhibition, but they do have a respectable blended Darjeeling.

associated with the built environment. Ultimately, it may be impossible to establish a hierarchy in the multitude of sources which play on the reading of the landscape; what is important is to explore all possible sources of interpretation.²⁰

²⁰It is most interesting to visit web sites devoted to the Jewish Museum, to chart the multiple approaches to this profound architecture. For example, the museum's official site contains a variety of illustrations which isolate and emphasise the experiential qualities of the building, with cropped, tightly-focussed images of its narrow and claustrophobic spaces. We learn that the Holocaust Tower "is neither heated nor insulated, and remains cool and damp even in summer.... The noise from the street is clearly audible, but the outside world is out of reach. It is a memory area in which nakedness and emptiness represent the many victims of German's mass genocide." In addition, quite a long section on the architect devotes considerable attention to Daniel Libeskind's background, as a Jew who also studied music in Israel and had relatives who were murdered during the Holocaust, and as a distinguished professor and lecturer who moved to Berlin, the better to understand its cultural context, after he won the competition for the museum in 1989. See Jewish Museum, Berlin, 21 August 2002, Architecture, 21 August 2002

<http://www.jmberlin.de/home_english.htm>. An article on the museum by Steven Komarow, in the travel and leisure section of the USA Today web site, mentions German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder as one of the four hundred dignitaries scheduled to attend the opening ceremonies in 2001, and stresses that "the spaces were designed to make the visitor feel uneasy and disoriented." See Steven Komarow, "Jewish Museum, Berlin," USA Today, 7 September 2001, USA Today, 21 August 2002

<<http://www.usatoday.com/life/travel/leisure/2001/2001-09-07-jewish-museum.htm>>. Just after the museum's opening, an article in the news section of the BBC web site notes that the museum had "become one of Berlin's main tourist magnets" despite its being "emotionally overwhelming" to the point that "Some people found the museum so disturbing they had to leave." This account strives to be more balanced, however, and explains that "the museum's designers are anxious that the massive cultural contribution of the Jewish community is not entirely overshadowed by the unspeakable horror of the Nazi regime"; for this reason the opening ceremonies began with a symphony by the Jewish composer, Gustav Mahler. See "Berlin's Jewish Museum," BBC News, 9 September 2001, British Broadcasting Company, 21 August 2002

<<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/1533541.stm>>. Yet another site designates the museum as a travel bargain: see "Museums for the Money: Berlin Offers one of the World's Best Selections," Budget Travel, 9 September 2000,

In the final analysis, it is up to the observer to accept, adapt or reject the scripting of travel markers. As intended, the church schemes were instrumental in assessing the coincidences and departures made in these descriptive documents, as compared with the prescriptive handbooks, periodicals and pamphlets of the Cambridge Camden Society. Generally speaking, Neale and Webb practised what they preached. They dutifully pursued the goal of travelling about to absorb the most obscure churches into the ecclesiological database. They parsed and recorded, used the sanctioned terminology, formatting and method, and continuously strove to discover, study and chart, ever more extensively, the church architecture which was their preoccupation. And yet, this scientific mandate could not subsume their passionate, sensual appreciation for Gothic church design. As a result, the schemes' contents represent emotional impulses juxtaposed with strictly ecclesiological church viewing, demonstrated by the inclusion of such imprecise, unscientific, and subjective terms as "beautiful," "good," and "picturesque."

What, then, are the repercussions for architecture, if it is consistently subjected to such mediation by individual viewers as scripted tourism affords? The recognition that cultural markers have a major role to play, as architecture itself, in mediating the reception of architecture by the viewer, must necessarily bring attention to those icons and artifacts which valorize and package it for

consumption. That recognition, too, is a firm reminder of the fact that architecture is, after all, only part–granted a significant part–of the array of elements that comprise the wider realm of visual material culture. Consequently, there would be great potential in exploring how the disciplines of visual culture and communication studies, which have developed since the 1970s, could be adapted and applied as components of architectural theoretical analysis. The importance of understanding cultural appropriations in this way rests with the attendant conclusion that, as Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright point out in their study of visual culture, Practices of Looking:

viewers are not simply passive recipients of the intended message of public images and cultural products.... They have a variety of means to engage with images and make meaning from them. This negotiation with popular culture is referred to as “the art of making do,” a phrase that implies that while viewers may not be able to change the cultural products they observe, they can “make do” by interpreting, rejecting, or reconfiguring the cultural texts they see.²¹

Such an argument highlights the empowerment of the viewer to partake in the construction of architecture’s meaning arising from cultural artifacts. An application of this theory to ecclesiology reminds us that the buildings which caused all the excitement had existed since medieval times, and were encoded with new meanings–these meanings, too, evolving over time–especially since the mid eighteenth century. The *recoding* of that meaning by the Cambridge Camden Society, by William Howitt and others in the guides, and the *decoding* by Neale

²¹Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 59.

and Webb in the schemes, are a reflection of the significance of architecture in the lives of early Victorians, as were the neo-Gothic buildings currently being designed.

In addition, we are encouraged to reflect on the interplay of hegemonic forces shaping the taste and culture of the time. The scripted tourism of medieval church visiting was a way to empower the church tourist, by constructing a path towards understanding and enjoying architecture in a holistic way. It was, at least in theory, an attempt to manipulate the viewer in order to inspire feelings of religious and/or nationalistic sentiment. It was an exercise in asserting a dominant aesthetic, which gave precedence to one visual ideology, one coincidentally sanctioned by the British government in its approval of the design for the new Palace of Westminster. It was, one could perhaps now also argue, a means of circumventing, advertently or inadvertently depending on the source, the strict social hierarchy of the time, by supporting and facilitating the integration of architectural pedagogy into the realm of popular culture.

Moreover, if it seems anachronistic to apply visual culture and communication theory discourse to an age before many of the media they address (television; film) even existed--though the shoe seems to fit rather comfortably--its merits in our world seem indisputable. Most of us learn about new architecture located outside our daily geographical realm through combinations of words, drawings, photographs, films, videos, 3-D digital modellings, on television, or on the Internet. We see a constructed visual and textual image, and,

until we make the voyage ourselves, we compose our judgments on the basis of that constructed image. Then, if our curiosity is sufficiently aroused, we set off, travelling once more, armed with what we already know, and ready to temper and qualify what we have learned, with our own empirically-derived interpretations.

Appendix

**Headings to be found on early, undated blank church scheme,
used as early as January, 1840.**

Source: Scheme for Austin Friars Church, 2 Jan. 1840, Lambeth MS 1977.

Note: last sections of scheme, devoted to ornaments such as stained glass or brasses,
not included here.

No.
Name of visitor

Date

Patron Saint
Parish
County
Diocese
Archdeaconry

I. Ground Plan

- | | | |
|-------------------------|------|--------|
| 1. Length of Chancel | Nave | Aisles |
| 2. Breadth of Chancel | Nave | Aisles |
| 3. Length of Transepts | | |
| 4. Breadth of Transepts | | |

II. Interior

- | | |
|---------------------|----------|
| I. Chancel | |
| 1. East window | |
| 2. Altar Screen | |
| 3. Piscinae | |
| 4. Sedilia | |
| 5. Easter Sepulchre | |
| 6. Windows | N.
S. |

7. Chancel Arch

II. N. Transept

1. Windows N.
E.
W.
2. Transept Arch

III. S. Transept

1. Windows S.
E.
W.
2. Transept Arch

[NEW PAGE]

IV. Nave

1. Nave Arch
2. Rood Screen
3. Rood Loft and Staircase
4. Piers N.
S.
5. Clerestory
6. Triforia
7. Belfry Arch
8. Windows N.
S.

V. N. Aisle

1. Windows N.
E.
W.

VI. S. Aisle

1. Windows S.
E.
W.
2. Sedilia
3. Piscinae

VII "Ornaments"

1. Niches
2. Aumbreyes
3. Corbels

4. Brackets
5. Mouldings
6. Arcades
7. Benatura
8. Eagle desk or Lettern
9. Misereres
10. Poppy Heads
11. Pulpit
12. Roofs and Groinings

VIII Font (Position and Description)

[NEW PAGE]

III Tower

1. Form
2. Height
3. Stages
4. Sides N.
 W.
 S.
 E.
5. Bells

IV Exterior

1. West Window
2. Porches N.
 S.
3. Parvise
4. Doors
5. Buttresses
6. Pinnacles
7. Parapets
8. Mouldings
9. Pinnacle-Crosses
10. Gurgoyles
11. Crosses in Village, or Church-yard
12. Sancte Bell
13. Lych-Gate
14. Coped Coffins
15. Rood Turret

Headings to be found on seventh-edition church scheme [date of publication not given]

Source: Bound with A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, 4th ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1843).

Note: Format has been modified for insertion in this document.

No.

Cambridge Camden Society.

The Society trusts that its Members, while pursuing their Antiquarian researches, will never forget the respect due to the character of the edifices which they visit.

Date.

Name of Visitor.

Dedication.
Parish.
County.

Diocese.
Archdeaconry.
Deanery.

I. Ground Plan.

1. Length	{	of Chancel	{		{	Nave	{		{	Aisles	{		{
2. Breadth	}		}		}		}		}		}		}
		Transepts	{		}	Tower	{		}	Chapel	{		}

3. Orientation.

II. Interior.

I. Chancel.

1. East Window.
2. Window Arch.
3. Altar.
 - a. Altar Stone, fixed or removed.
 - β. Reredos.
 - γ. Piscina.
 - (1) Orifice.
 - (2) Shelf.
 - δ. Sedilia.
 - ε. Ambrye.
 - ζ. Niches.
 - η. Brackets.
 - θ. Easter Sepulchre.
 - ι. Altar Candlesticks.
 - κ. Altar Rails.
 - λ. Table.
 - μ. Steps—number and arrangement.
4. Apse.
5. Windows, N.
S.
6. Window Arches, N.
S.
7. Piers, N.
S.
8. Pier Arches, N.
S.
9. Chancel Arch.
10. Stalls and Misereres.
11. Chancel Seats, exterior or interior.
12. Elevation of Chancel.
13. Corbels.
14. Roof and Groining.

II. North Chancel Aisle.

1. Windows, E.
N.
W.
2. Roof and Groining.

III. South Chancel Aisle.

1. Windows, E.
S.
W.
2. Roof and Groining.

IV. North Transept.

1. Windows, E.
N.
W.
2. Transept Arch.
3. Roof and Groining.

V. South Transept.

1. Windows, E.
S.
W.
2. Transept Arch.
3. Roof and Groining.

VI. Lantern.

1. Windows.
2. Groining.

VII. Nave.

1. Nave Arch.
2. Panelling above Nave Arch.
3. Rood Screen.
4. Rood Staircase.
5. Rood Doors.
6. Rood Loft.
7. Piers, N.
S.

8. Pier Arches, N.

- S.
9. Triforia, N. 1st. Tier.
2nd. Tier.
S. 1st. Tier.
2nd. Tier.

10. Clerestory, N.

- S.
11. Windows, N.
S.

12. Pulpit, (position and description).

13. Hour-Glass Stand.

14. Reading Pew.

15. Eagle Desk.

16. Lettern.

17. Pews.

18. Poppy heads.

19. Western Arch.

20. Parvise Turret.

21. Roof and Groining.

VIII. North Aisle.

1. Windows, E.
N.
W.

2. Chantry Altar, α . Piscina.
 β . Aumbrye.
 γ . Niche.
 δ . Bracket.
3. Roof and Groining.

IX. South Aisle.

1. Windows, E.
S.
W.
2. Chantry Altar, α . Piscina.
 β . Sedilia.
 γ . Aumbrye.
 δ . Niche.
 ϵ . Bracket.
3. Roof and Groining.

X. "Ornaments."

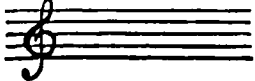
1. Parclose.
2. Shrine, fixed or moveable.
3. Niches.
4. Brackets.
5. Mouldings.
6. Arcades.
7. Benatura.
8. Corbels (date of head-dress, &c.)
9. Arches of Construction.
10. Interior Surface of Arch toward Aisles.
11. Spandril Spaces.
12. Vaulting Shafts.
13. Woodwork
14. Pavement.

XI. Belfry, E.
S.
W.
N.

XII. Font.

1. Position.
2. Description.
3. Cover.

III. Tower.

1. Form.
2. Stages.
3. Spire lights.
4. Lantern.
5. Parapet and Pinnacles.
6. String-Course.
7. Belfry Windows.
8. Windows of Tower, N.
W.
S.
E.
9. Buttresses.
10. Construction and age of Woodwork and Floors of the Tower and Spire.
11. Bells. α Number.
 β Tone.
 γ Inscription and Legendal History.
 δ Chime. 
 ϵ Remarkable Peals rung.
 ζ Saint's Bell.
12. Beacon or Belfry Turret.
 α . Situation.
 β . Form.
 γ . State of Defence.
 δ . Line of Beacons.
13. Staircase. α . Construction.
 β . Doorways.
 γ . Spiral Bead.
14. Defensive arrangements of Tower, (Machicolations, &c.)
15. Thickness of Walls.
16. General Character of Tower as peculiar to the district, or adapted to scenery and situation.

IV. Exterior.

1. West Window.
2. Window Arch.
3. West Door. (Extramural Decoration)
4. Porches, N.
 - α Outer Doorway.
 - β Inner Doorway.
 - γ Windows, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{E.} \\ \text{W.} \end{array} \right.$
 - δ Benatura.
 - ϵ Groining.
- S.
 - α Outer Doorway.
 - β Inner Doorway.
 - γ Windows, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{E.} \\ \text{W.} \end{array} \right.$
 - δ Benatura.
 - ϵ Groining.
5. Parvise. Windows, E.
W.
N. or S.
6. Doors in α . Chancel or Chancel Aisles, N.
S.
 β . Nave or Aisles, N.
S.
 γ . Transepts, &c.
7. Niches.
8. Buttresses.
9. Pinnacles.
10. Arcades.
11. Parapet.
12. Mouldings.
13. Pinnacle Crosses.
14. Gurgoyles.
15. Eave Troughs, and general arrangement of Drains.
16. Crosses in Village or Church-yard.
17. Sancte Bell Cot.
18. Lych-Gate.
19. Coped Coffins.
20. Rood Turret.
21. Masonry.
22. Nature of Stone.
23. Composition and age of Mortar.
24. Joints in arches.
25. Door and Stanchions.
26. Roof α Present pitch.
 β Nature.

V. Crypt.

1. Form.
2. Arrangement.
3. Vaulting.
4. Piers.
5. Dimensions.
6. Windows.
7. Door.
8. Stairs.
9. Altar Appurtenances.
10. Lavatory.

VI.

1. Evangelistic Symbols.
2. Confessional.
3. Hagioscope.
4. Painted Tiles.
5. Texts, (Canon 82).
6. Church Terriers, (Canon 87).
7. Homilies, &c. (Canon 80).
8. Chest for Alms, (Canon 84).
9. Commandments, (Canon 82).
10. Church Plate.
11. Church Chest.
12. Fold Stool.
13. Reliquary.
14. Oratory.
15. Sun Dials.
16. Royal Arms—Date and Position.
17. Paintings on Wall or Roof.
18. Tradition of Founder.
19. Connexion of Church with Manor.
20. Time of Wake or Feast.
21. Conventual Remains.
 - (α) Situation of Church with respect to other
 - (β) Situation and Description of Cloisters.
 - (γ) Situation and Description of Chapter-House.
 - (δ) Abbat's or Prior's Lodgings.
 - (ϵ) Gate-House.
 - (ζ) Other Buildings.
22. Antiquity of Registers.

23. Funeral Achievements, viz. Banners, Bannerets, Pennons.
Tabard, Helm, Crest, Sword, Gauntlets, Spurs, Targe.
24. Remains of Embroidered Work.
25. Images of Saints.
26. Stone Sculptures.
27. Merchants' Marks.
28. Library attached to Church.
29. Well connected with Church.
30. Heraldry.
31. Brasses.
32. Monuments.
33. Epitaphs.
34. Lombardica.
35. Stained Glass.
36. Chapel, N. a. Dedication.
 β. Sides, N.
 E.
 W.
 S.
 γ. Roof and Groining.
S. a. Dedication.
 β. Sides, N.
 E.
 W.
 S.
 γ. Roof and Groining.

GENERAL REMARKS.

General state of repair.

Late alterations—when—by whom—and in what taste.

Notice to be taken of any recess E. or W. of the Sedilia; of any peculiarity in the S.W. or N.W.
Windows of the Chancel, especially in Early English Churches; and of the cupping of
Norman and Early English Towers.

*Published for the CAMBRIDGE CAMDEN SOCIETY, by T. Stevenson, Cambridge; J. H. Parker, Oxford; and
W. H. Dalton, Cockspur-Street, Charing-Cross, London. Price per score—to Members of the Cambridge Camden
and Oxford Architectural Societies—1s.; to Non-Members, 2s. 6d.*

[Seventh Edition.]

Works Cited: Primary Sources

Publications of the Cambridge Camden/Ecclesiological Society

Cambridge Camden Society. An Argument for the Greek Origin of the Monogram IHS: a Paper Read Before the Cambridge Camden Society on Tuesday May 25, 1841: With Illustrative Notes. Cambridge: Stevenson, 1841.

_____. A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities: for the Use of the Cambridge Camden Society. 2nd and 3rd eds. Cambridge: University Press, 1840, 1842. 4th ed. Cambridge: Stevenson, 1843.

_____. A Few Words to Church Builders. Published by the Cambridge Camden Society. Cambridge: University Press, 1841. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Stevenson, 1844.

_____. A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments. Part 1 Suited to Country Parishes. 13th ed. Cambridge: University Press, 1843. Part 2 Suited to Town and Manufacturing Parishes. 6th ed. Cambridge: University Press, 1843.

_____. A Few Words to the Parish Clerks and Sextons of Country Parishes.

- Published by the Cambridge Camden Society. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Stevenson, 1843.
- _____. A Hand-book of English Ecclesiology. London: Published by the Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society. London: Joseph Masters, 1847.
- _____. Church Enlargement [and Church Arrangement]. Cambridge: University Press, 1843.
- _____. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge. Cambridge, 1844.
- _____. Church schemes. Unpublished completed forms. 1840-1. Bound in five volumes. Royal Institute of British Architects.
- _____. Church schemes. Unpublished completed forms. 1839-53. MSS 1977-93 and 2677, Lambeth Palace Library.
- _____. The Ecclesiologist, 1841-1857.
- _____. History of Pews; with an Appendix Containing a Report on the Statistics of Pews. Cambridge, 1841. Supplement. Cambridge: University Press, 1842.
- _____. Illustrations of Monumental Brasses. Numbers i and iv. Cambridge, 1840-41.
- _____. Instrumenta Ecclesiastica. Edited by the Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society. London: J. Van Voorst, 1847. Second series. London: J. van Voorst, 1856.
- “List of the Reports of Churches sent in From May 1839, to May 1841.”
- Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society, Part I. A Selection from

- the Papers Read at the Ordinary Meetings in 1839-45. Cambridge: University Press, 1845.
- _____. Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for [1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844]. Cambridge: Printed for the Society, 1840-.
- _____. Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society: A Selection from the Papers read at the Ordinary Meetings in 1839-45. Cambridge: T. Stevenson, 1845.
- _____. Twenty-Three Reasons for Getting Rid of Church Pews (or Pues). Cambridge: Stevenson, 1846.
- _____. Twenty-Four Reasons for Getting Rid of Church Pews (or Pues). Cambridge: Stevenson, 1846.

Other Publications

- An Account of the Principal Pleasure Tours in England and Wales, Illustrated with Maps and Views. London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1822.
- Alison, Archibald. Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste. 1790. Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1812.
- Baxter's Stranger in Brighton Guide, comprising a brief, yet comprehensive historical and topographical account of the town, and Most-esteemed Rides in the adjacent Neighbourhood. 10th ed. Lewes: J. Baxter, 1826.
- Beresford Hope, A.J.B. The English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century. London: John Murray, 1861.

Black's Tourist Guide to Devonshire and Cornwall, including the Scilly Islands.

Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1855.

Black's Tourist Guide to Derbyshire. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1855.

Black's Travelling Map of England and Wales. Glasgow: Maclure and

Macdonald, [1842].

Bloxam, Matthew Holbeche. "On Chantry Altars." Transactions of the

Cambridge Camden Society: A Selection from the Papers read at the

Ordinary Meetings in 1839-45. Cambridge: T. Stevenson, 1845.

_____. "On the Tower of St. Benedict's Church." Transactions of the Cambridge

Camden Society: A Selection from the Papers read at the Ordinary

Meetings in 1839-45. Cambridge: T. Stevenson, 1845.

_____. The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture Elucidated by

Question and Answer. 3rd ed. London: C. Tilt, 1838; 4th ed. Oxford: John

Henry Parker, 1841.

Bowman, H. Specimens of Ecclesiastical Architecture. London: John W. Parker,
1846.

Boyce, Edward J. A Memorial of the Cambridge Camden Society, Instituted

May, 1839...and the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society,

May, 1846. London: G. Palmer, 1888.

Brandon, Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon. An Analysis of Gothick Architecture:

Illustrated by a Series of Upwards of Seven Hundred Examples of

Doorways, Windows, etc....and Accompanied with Remarks on the

Several Details of an Ecclesiastical Edifice. New edition. London: W.

Kent, 1860.

_____. Parish Churches: being Perspective Views of English Ecclesiastical Structures. London: George Bell, 1848.

“Brasses and Brass Rubbers.” The Ecclesiologist VI (1846): 176.

Britton, John. The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain represented and illustrated in a Series of Views, Elevations, Plans, Sections and Details of Various Ancient English Edifices: with Historical and Descriptive Accounts of Each. 5 vols. London: Longman...and the author, 1807-14.

_____. Chronological History and Graphic Illustrations of Christian Architecture in England: Embracing a Critical Inquiry into the Rise, Progress, and perfection of this species of Architecture.... London: Longman, Rees, etc., 1826.

_____. Dictionary of the Architecture and Archaeology of the Middle Ages: including words used by the Ancient and Modern Authors.... London: Longman, 1838.

_____. Drawings of the London and Birmingham Railway by John C. Bourne with an Historical and Descriptive Account by John Britton F.S.A. London: J.C. Bourne and C. Tilt, 1839.

_____. The History and Antiquities of [selected English Cathedrals].... 6 vols. London 1814-1835.

Britton, John and E.W. Brayley. The Beauties of England and Wales; or Delineations, Topographical, Historical and Descriptive of Each County. Embellished with Engravings. 19 vols in 26. London: Vernor and Hood,

1801-18.

Butterfield, William. Elevations, Sections and Details of Saint John Baptist Church at Shottesbrooke, Berkshire. Oxford: published for the Oxford Architectural Society by J.H. Parker, 1844.

“A Camdenian Field Day.” The Ecclesiologist I (1842): 61-3.

“Canterbury Cathedral.” Sharpe’s London Magazine 2 (1846): 188-9.

Carlyon, P. “First Thoughts Among Foreign Churches.” Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society I (1843). 137-153.

Carter, John. The Ancient Architecture of England: Including the Orders During the British, Roman, Saxon and Norman Eras.... 1795-1814. New edition. Revised by John Britton. London: H.G. Bohn, 1937.

_____. Specimens of Gothic Architecture and Ancient Buildings in England, Comprised in 120 Views, Drawn and Engraved by John Carter. 4 vols. London: Edward Jeffrey and Son, 1824.

_____. Specimens of the Ancient Sculpture and Painting now remaining in this Kingdom, from the earliest period to the reign of Henry VIII. London: John Carter, 1780.

“Chapters on Churches, No. I.” Sharpe’s London Magazine 7 (1848): 46-7.

The Christian Visitor’s Handbook to London. London: Partridge and Oakey, [1851].

“Church Restoration.” The Ecclesiologist I (1842): 65.

“Church Restoration.” The Ecclesiologist VII (1847): 161-8.

Churton, Edward. The Rail Road Book of England. 1851. London: Sidgwick &

Jackson, 1973.

“Circular Letter to the Archdeaconry of Chichester.” The Ecclesiologist V

(1842): 74.

Clark, Samuel. [pseudonym Reuben Ramble]. Reuben Ramble's Travels Through the Counties of England. London, Darton and Clark, 1845.

Coghlan, Francis. The Iron Road Book and Railway Companion from London to Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool. London: A.H. Baily and Co., 1838.

Cole, Henry, Sir. [pseudonym Felix Summerly]. Diaries, 1841-5. National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

_____. Felix Summerly's Day's Excursions out of London to Erith; Rochester; and Cobham in Kent. With Illustrations and Suitable Maps. London: George Bell, 1843.

_____. A Handbook for the Architecture, Sculpture, Tombs, and Decorations of Westminster Abbey. 1842? London: G. Bell, 1878.

_____. Felix Summerly's Handbook for the City of Canterbury. Canterbury: Henry Ward; London: George Bell, 1843.

_____. A Hand-Book for Holidays Spent in or Near London. London: George Bell, 1842.

_____. Felix Summerly's Pleasure Excursions: As Guides for Making Day's Excursions on the Eastern Counties; South Eastern; Brighton and South Coast; South-western and London and Western Railways. London: Railway Chronicle Office, 1847.

- _____. Felix Summerly's Pleasure Excursions. Shoreham, on the Brighton and Chichester Railways. London: Railway Chronicle Office, 1847.
- _____. Felix Summerly's Pleasure Excursions. Winchester, on the South-Western Railway. London: Railway Chronicle Office, n.d.
- _____. Railway Travelling Charts; or, Iron Road Books, for Perusal on the Journey: in Which are noted the Towns, Villages, Churches,.... Ten parts in one vol. London: Railway Chronicle Office, [1845-47].
- Colling, James Kellaway. Details of Gothic Architecture. Measured and Drawn by James K. Colling. 2 vols. London: D. Bogue, 1852.
- Colson, Charles. "An Account of a Visit to Little Gidding, on the Feast of St. Andrew, 1840." Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society: A Selection from the Papers read at the Ordinary Meetings in 1839-45. Cambridge: T. Stevenson, 1845. 40-7.
- Coney, J. Ecclesiastical Edifices of the Olden Time etc. 2 vols. London, 1842.
- Dallaway, James. Observations on English Architecture, Military, Ecclesiastical and Civil, Compared with Similar Buildings on the Continent. London: J. Taylor, 1806.
- Drake, James. Drake's Road Book of the London and Birmingham Railway, Illustrated by an Accurate Map of the Line, and by Numerous Engravings. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., [1840].
- _____. Drake's Road Book of the London and Birmingham and Grand Junction Railways...to which is appended the Visiter's [sic] Guide to Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester. London: Hayward and Moore, 1839.

- Durandus, William. The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments: A Translation of the First Book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum Written by William Durandus. Eds. and with an introductory essay and notes by John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb. 3rd ed. London: Gibbings, 1906.
- Eastern Counties Railway Illustrated Guide. London: James Truscott, 1851.
- Eastlake, Charles Locke. A History of the Gothic Revival. Ed. and with an introduction by J. Mordaunt Crook. 1872. New York: Humanities Press, 1978.
- The Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England. Published under the sanction of the central committee of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. London: John Henry Parker, 1848.
- “Eighth Anniversary Meeting of the Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society.” The Ecclesiologist VII (1847): 233.
- Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society. Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society. Exeter, 1847.
- The Family Topographer. 7 vols. (London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1832-43).
- Ferrey, Benjamin. Recollections of A.W.N. Pugin and his Father Augustus Pugin, with an Appendix by E. Sheridan Purcell and an Introduction and Index by Clive and Jane Wainwright. 1861. London: the Scholar Press, 1978.
- “A Few Words at Starting.” Sharpe’s London Magazine 1 (1845): 8-9.
- “A Few Words to Sketchers.” The Ecclesiologist I (1842): 105-6.

Freeling, Arthur. Freeling's Grand Junction Railway Companion to Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham.... London: Whittaker and Co., Henry Lacey, 1838.

_____. Lacey's Railway Companion, and Liverpool and Manchester Guide: Describing all the Scenery on, and Contiguous to, the Railway; Pointing out to the Visitor at both places all that is interesting and necessary for Business and Pleasure. Liverpool: Henry Lacey, [1835].

_____. The London and Birmingham Railway Companion, containing a complete description of everything worthy of attention on the line; of the gentlemen's seats, villas, towns, villages, rivers, markets and fairs.... London: Whittaker and Co., [1838].

_____. The Railway Companion, from London to Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester, with Guides to the Objects worthy of notice in Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham.... London: Whittaker and Co., [1837].

_____. The Southwestern Railway Companion, containing a complete description of everything worthy of attention on the line.... London: J.T. Norris, 1840.

_____. Windsor Railway Companion; and guide to the castle and town; to Eton and its College; and to Virginia Water. London: George Bell, 1840.

Freeman, Philip. Thoughts on the Proposed Dissolution of the Cambridge Camden Society, suggested for the Consideration of its Members. London: Francis and John Rivington, 1845.

“The French Académie and Gothic Architecture.” The Ecclesiologist VI (1846): 83.

Gilpin, William. Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain; particularly the High-Lands of Scotland. Vol. II. 2nd ed. London: R. Blamire, 1792.

_____. Observations on the River Wye, and several Parts of South Wales &c., relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; made in the Summer of the Year 1770. London: R. Blamire, 1782.

Gomme, George Laurence, ed. The Gentleman’s Magazine Library: Being a Classified Collection of the Chief Contents of the *Gentleman’s Magazine* from 1731 to 1868. 2 vols. London: Elliot Stock, 1890.

Hamilton, W.R. Letter from W.R. Hamilton to the Earl of Elgin, on the New Houses of Parliament. London: W. Nicol, 1836.

A Handbook for Travellers in Devon and Cornwall. London: John Murray, 1851.

A Handbook for Travellers in Kent and Sussex. London: John Murray, 1858.

“A Handbook for Westminster Abbey.” The Ecclesiologist I (1842): 157.

Handbook of Dates for Students of English History. London, 1840.

Homely Herbert’s Eastbourne Guide and Visitor’s Directory. Eastbourne: Samuel Hall, 1858.

Hopkins, Gerard Manley. The Journals and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins. Ed. Humphry House and Graham Storey. London: Oxford University Press, 1959.

“How to Attain Some Knowledge of Church Architecture.” The Ecclesiologist I

(1842): 88.

“How to Choose a Traveling Companion,” Sharpe’s London Magazine 1 (1845): 81-84.

Howitt, William. Visits to Remarkable Places: Old Halls, Battle Fields, and Scenes Illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry. 2 vols. London: Longman, 1840.

_____. Visits to Remarkable Places...Chiefly in the Counties of Durham and Northumberland. Second series. London: Longman, 1842.

Howson J.S. “Scotland and Scotch Architecture.--A Letter.” The Ecclesiologist 1 (1842): 60-1.

Hussey, Arthur. Notes on the Churches in the Counties of Kent, Sussex and Surrey, Mentioned in the Domesday Book.... London: Russell Smith, 1852.

Kemp, Mrs. Conversations on England As it Was and Is. London, 1858.

Langley, Batty. Ancient Architecture: Restored, and Improved, by a Great Variety of Grand and Usefull [sic] Designs, Entirely new in the Gothick Mode for the Ornamenting of Buildings and Gardens Exceeding every thing thats [sic] Extant, Exquisitely Engraved...by Batty and Thomas Langley.... London: 1742.

_____. Gothic Architecture, Improved by Rules and Proportions: in many Grand Designs of Columns, Doors, Windows...with Plans, Elevations and Profiles; Geometrically Explained by B. & T. Langley. London: Printed for John Millan, 1747.

- London and Birmingham Railway. Railroadiana: A New History of England, or Picturesque, Biographical, Historical, Legendary and Antiquarian Sketches, Descriptive of the Vicinity of Railroads. First series. London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1838.
- Loudon, John Claudius. An Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture..., London: Longman, 1833.
- Medley, J. "Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture." Ecclesiologist I (1841): 15.
- Milner, John. "On the Rise and Progress of the Pointed Arch." Essays on Gothic Architecture. Ed. J. Taylor. London: J. Taylor, 1800.
- _____. A Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England During the Middle Ages. 3rd ed. London: J. Weale, 1835.
- Mogg, Edward. Mogg's Brighton Railway and Brighton, Lewes, Shoreham and Worthing Guide. London: E. Mogg, 1841.
- _____. Mogg's Grand Junction Railway and Windsor, Bath and Bristol Guide. London: E. Mogg, 1841.
- _____. Mogg's Grand Junction Railway and Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester Railway Guide. London: E. Mogg, 1842.
- _____. Mogg's Great Western Railway and Windsor, Bath and Bristol Guide (London, E. Mogg, 1841)
- _____. Mogg's Handbook for Railway Travellers; or, Real Iron-road Book. 2nd ed. London: Edward Mogg, 1840.
- _____. Mogg's Handbook for Railway Travellers. London and Birmingham,

- Southampton, Great Western, Grand Junction, Midland Counties, North Midland, and other Railways. 2nd edition. London: A. Spottiswoode, [1840].
- _____. Mogg's New Picture of London; or a Stranger's Guide to the British Metropolis. London: E. Mogg, 1838.
- _____. Mogg's Pocket Itinerary of the Direct and Cross Roads of England and Wales with part of the Roads of Scotland. London: Edward Mogg, 1826.
- _____. Mogg's Southampton Railway and Isle of Wight Guide. London: E. Mogg, [1845].
- _____. Mogg's Southeastern or London and Dover Railway and Tunbridge Wells, Hythe, Folkstone and Dover Guide: Accompanied by a large official map of the line and an accurate list of the Hackney Coach and Cab Fares to all parts of London. London: E. Mogg, [1842].
- "Mr. Hope's Essay on the Present State of Ecclesiological Science in England."
The Ecclesiologist VII (1847): 85-91.
- Murray's Handbook for Modern London; or, London as it is. London: John Murray, 1851.
- Neale, John Mason. "An Account of the Late Restoration in the Church of Old Shoreham, Sussex." Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society: A Selection from the Papers read at the Ordinary Meetings in 1839-45. Cambridge: T. Stevenson, 1845. 28-34.
- _____. Hierologus; or, the Church Tourists. London: James Burns, 1843.
- _____. The History of Pews: a Paper Read Before the Cambridge Camden

Society on November 22, 1841; with an Appendix Containing a Report Presented to the Society on the Statistics of Pews, on Monday December 7, 1841. Cambridge: University Press, 1841. Bound with A Supplement to the History of Pews. Cambridge: Camden Society 1842.

_____. Notes, Ecclesiological and Picturesque, on Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Styria, with a Visit to Montenegro. London: J.T. Hayes, 1861.

_____. A Re-Introduction of the System of Private Devotion in Churches. London: J. Burns, 1844.

Neale, John Mason and Benjamin Webb. "Sacramentality: A Principle of Ecclesiastical Design." Introduction. The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments: A Translation of the First Book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum Written by William Durandus. Trans. John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb. Leeds: T.W. Green, 1843.

Norris, Thomas George. "Observations on Church Delapidations." Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society II (1847). 15-33.

"Notices." The Ecclesiologist I (1842): 210.

"Notices and Answers to Correspondence." The Ecclesiologist VIII (1848): 326-8.

"Notices and Answers to Correspondence." The Ecclesiologist XVIII (1857): 70.

The Nottingham and Derby Railway Companion. London: Hamilton Adams and Co., 1839.

"On the Nomenclature of Christian Architecture." The Ecclesiologist IV (1845): 51-2.

“On the Study and Preservation of National Antiquities.” Archaeologia

Cambrensis: A Record of the Antiquities of Wales...and the Journal of the

Cambrian Archaeological Association I (1846): 15.

“Our Centenary Number.” The Ecclesiologist XV (1854): 1-7.

Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, formerly Oxford Society for

Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture. Calendar of the

Correspondence of the OAHS, 1835-1900. Oxford University Libraries.

_____. Committee meetings, May 1847-Oct. 52. Oxford University Libraries.

_____. Excursion Ac/s and Miscellaneous Notes... 1854-71. Oxford University Libraries.

_____. Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford. 4 parts. Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1842-46.

_____. Manuscripts of papers read at meetings, 1839-46. Oxford University Libraries.

_____. Memoirs of Gothic Churches. i: Great Haseley Church, Oxfordshire. Oxford: T.W. Weare, 1840. ii: Fotheringhay Church, Northamptonshire. Oxford, 1841.

_____. Memorandum Book [suggestions and queries 1845-8]. Oxford University Libraries.

_____. Reports of General Meetings, 1848. Oxford University Libraries.

_____. Reports of General and Committee Meetings 1 Feb. 1839 - 4 Dec. 1844. Oxford University Libraries.

_____. Rules and Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of

Gothic Architecture. Oxford: 1839-47.

_____. The Rules of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, with a List of the Members, Catalogue of the Books, Engravings, and Impressions of Monumental Brasses. 1842.

Paley, Frederick Apthorp. A Manual of Gothic Moldings: a Practical Treatise on their Formations, Gradual Development, Combinations and Varieties; with Full Directions for Copying them, and for Determining their Dates; Illustrated by Nearly Six Hundred Examples. 2nd ed. London: Jon Van Voorst, 1847.

Parker, John Henry. Companion to the Third Edition of a Glossary of Terms Used in Gothic Architecture. London: John Henry Parker, 1841.

_____. The Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England. Archaeological Institute. Oxford, 1848-55.

_____. A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, and Gothic Architecture. 3rd ed., enlarged. London: John Henry Parker, 1840-1.

_____. An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture. Oxford and London: John Henry Parker, 1849.

Parry, Edward. The Railway Companion from Chester to Shrewsbury. Chester: Thomas Catherall, 1849.

Payne Knight, Richard. An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste. 2nd ed. London: T. Payne and J. White, 1805.

Petit, J.L. Remarks on Church Architecture. 2 vols. London, 1841.

_____. Remarks on the Principles of Gothic Architecture, as Applied to Ordinary

Parish Churches. Oxford, 1846.

Poole, George Ayliffe. Churches: Their Structure, Arrangement and Decoration.

New ed. London: Joseph Masters, 1850.

_____. A History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England. London: J. Masters, 1848.

_____. Remarks on the Principles of Gothic Architecture as applied to the Ordinary Parish Churches. Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1846.

Poole, G.A., E.A. Freeman, et al. Architectural Notes on the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton. London: John Henry Parker, 1849.

"The Practical Study of Ancient Models." The Ecclesiologist I (1842): 150-1.

"Preface." The Ecclesiologist IV (1845): 1.

"The Priory of Lanercost." Sharpe's London Magazine 1 (1846): 165-8.

"Pues." The Ecclesiologist II (1842): 61.

Pugin, Augustus Charles. Specimens of Gothic Architecture: Selected from Various Antient [sic] Edifices in England..., Augustus Charles Pugin; Accompanied by Historical and Descriptive Accounts by E.J. Willson. 2 vols. London: J. Taylor, 1821.

Pugin, Augustus Welby Northmore. An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England, by A. Welby Pugin. London: J. Weale, 1843.

_____. Contrasts; or a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste: Accompanied by Appropriate Text. London: Printed for the Author and Published by him, at St. Marie's Grange, near

Salisbury, Wiltshire, 1836.

_____. The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England, by A. Welby Pugin. 1842. Frome, Somerset: Reprinted by Butler and Tanner for the St. Barnabas Press, Oxford, 1969.

_____. The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture. Set Forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott. London: John Weale, 1841.

“Recreations of Mr. Zig-Zag the Elder.” Illustrated Family Journal 12 April 1845: 82-84; 7 June 1845: 209-212.

“Remarks on Church Architecture.” The Ecclesiologist I (1842): 91-3.

“Remarks on the Church Architecture of England.” Sharpe's London Magazine 1 (1846): 186-8, 276-9, 308-10.

“Report of the Twenty-First Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society.” The Ecclesiologist I (1841): 9.

“Report of the Twenty-Eighth Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society, Thursday November 10, 1842.” The Ecclesiologist II (1842): 43.

Rickman, Thomas. An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the Reformation. 1st ed. London: Longman, 1817. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1819. 3rd ed. Liverpool: G. Smith, 1825. 4th ed. London: Longman, 1835. 5th ed. London: John Henry Parker, 1848.

_____. Diaries. 1810-12. Royal Institute of British Architects.

_____. Four Letters on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of France, Addressed to

- John Gage...Director, by Thomas Rickman. London: Royal Society of Antiquaries, 1833.
- “Round Churches in England.” Sharpe’s London Magazine 2 (1846): 326-9.
- The Route Book of Devon: Guide for the Stranger and Ltourist to the Towns, Watering Places, and other interesting localities of the country. 2nd ed. Exeter: Henry Besley, [1846].
- “Rural Sketches; with Hints for Pedestrians.” Sharpe’s London Magazine 1 (1845): 5-6, 22-3, 38-9; (1846): 215-17.
- Ruskin, John. Lectures on Architecture and Painting: Delivered at Edinburgh, in November, 1853 by John Ruskin, with Illustrations drawn by the Author. New York: Wiley and Halsted, 1856.
- _____. The Seven Lamps of Architecture. Ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn. 1849. London: George Allen, 1903.
- “Scenery of the Great Western Railway.” Sharpe’s London Magazine 3 (1846): 36-40, 57-9, 75.
- Scott, George Gilbert. Gleanings from Westminster Abbey. Oxford and London: J.H. and James Parker, 1861.
- _____. Personal and Professional Recollections. London: S. Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1879.
- _____. A Plea for the Faithful Restoration of our Ancient Churches: A Paper Read before the Architectural and Archaeological Society for the County of Bucks, at their first annual meeting in 1848...To which are added some Miscellaneous Remarks on Other Subjects Connected with the Restoration

of Churches, and the Revival of Pointed Architecture. London: Parker, 1850.

Sharpe, Edmund. Architectural History of St. Mary's Church, New Shoreham. Chichester: William Hayley Mason, 1861.

_____. Architectural Parallels, or, The Progress of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England Through the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Exhibited in a Series of Parallel Examples, Selected from the Following Abbey Churches... by Edmund Sharpe. London: John van Vorst, 1848.

Sharpe's London Magazine, 1845-9.

Simms, F.W., ed. Public Works in Great Britain. London: J. Weale, 1838.

Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. "Queries Relating to the Archaeology of Somersetshire." 1849.

Sperling, John Hanson. Church Walks in Middlesex: being an Ecclesiologist's Guide to the Ancient and Modern Churches in that County. London: Joseph Masters, 1853.

Storer, James. History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Churches of Great Britain. London: Rivington, 1817.

Street, Arthur Edmund. Memoir of George Edmund Street, R.A.: 1824-1881. 1888. New York: B. Blom, 1972.

Street, George Edmund. Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes of a Tour in the North of Italy by George Edmund Street. London: J. Murray, 1855.

_____. George Edmund Street: Unpublished Notes and Reprinted Papers, With an Essay by Georgiana Goddard King. New York: The Hispanic Society

of America, 1916.

_____. Notes of a tour in Northern Italy, George E. Street. London: Waterstone, c. 1986.

_____. "Proper Characteristics of a Town Church." The Ecclesiologist XI (1850): 227-33.

_____. Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain by George Edmund Street. 2nd ed. London: J. Murray, 1869.

"Suggestions for Co-Operation with the Objects of the [Cambridge Camden] Society." The Ecclesiologist I (1842): 39.

"Survey of Church Building and Church Restoration." Parliamentary Accounts and Papers LVIII (1876): 227-9.

Taylor, J., ed. Essays on Gothic Architecture.... London: J. Taylor, 1800.

Thorp, Thomas. "Address Delivered at the First Evening Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society, March 28, 1840, by the President." Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXL. Cambridge: Printed for the Society, 1840.

_____. "Report of the 39th Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society." The Ecclesiologist IV (1845): 22-26.

A Tourist. A Railway Companion, Describing an Excursion Along the Liverpool Line, Accompanied with a Succinct and Popular History of the Rise and Progress of Rail-Roads. London: Effingham Wilson, 1833.

Turner, Dawson. Account of a Tour in Normandy, Undertaken Chiefly for the Purposes of Investigating the architectural antiquities of the Duchy, with

observations on its history, on the country, and on its inhabitants.

London: Tate and Arthur Arc, 1820.

Tymm, Samuel. The Family Topographer. London: J.B. Nichols and son, 1832-43.

Walpole, Horace. Anecdotes of Painting in England. London: Major, 1827.

"The Warming of Churches." The Ecclesiologist III (1844): 136.

Warton, Thomas. "Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser." Essays on Gothic Architecture.... Ed. J. Taylor. London: J. Taylor, 1800.

Webb, Benjamin. Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology, or, Church Notes in Belgium, Germany, and Italy. London: J. Masters, 1848.

Wetton's Visitor's Guide-book to Northampton. Northampton: G.N. Wetton, 1847.

Whewell, William. Architectural Notes on German Churches, with Notes Written During an Architectural Tour in Picardy and Normandy. 3rd ed. Cambridge: J. and J.J. Deighton, 1842.

White, Andrew. Time Out Book of London Walks: 30 Walks by 30 London Writers. London: Time Out Guides Ltd., 1998.

Wightwick, G. On the Present Condition and Prospects of Architecture in England. Plymouth, 1845.

_____. "Modern English Gothic Architecture (continued)." n.p.: n.p., 1845.

Willis, Robert. The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral. London: Longman, 1845.

_____. Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages. Cambridge: J. and J.J.

Deighton, 1844.

Wordsworth, William. "The Excursion." The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth. Ed. Andrew J. George. Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1932. 477-8.

Works Cited: Secondary Sources

- Ackroyd, Peter. London: The Biography. London: Vintage, 2000.
- Addison, Agnes. Romanticism and the Gothic Revival. New York: Gordian Press, 1967.
- Addleshaw, G.W.O., and Frederic Echells. The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship. London: Faber and Faber, n.d.
- Adler, Judith. "Origins of Sightseeing." Annals of Tourism Research 16 (1989): 7-29.
- Albright, Andrea S. "The Religious and Political Reasons for the Changes in Anglican Vestments Between the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Centuries." Diss. U of North Texas, 1989.
- Aldrich, Megan. "Gothic Architecture Illustrated: The Drawings of Thomas Rickman in New York." The Antiquaries Journal. LXV Part II (1985): 427-33.
- _____. Gothic Revival. London: Phaidon Press, 1994.
- _____. "Thomas Rickman and the Architectural Illustration of the Gothic Revival." Diss. U of Toronto, 1983.
- Allen, Esther. "'Money and little red books': Romanticism, Tourism and the Rise of the Guidebook." LIT 7 (1996): 213-26.
- Anderson, William John. "Religion and Society: The Oxford Movement in its

- Social Context." Diss. McGill U, 1975.
- Anderson, William. The Rise of the Gothic. London: Hutchinson, 1985.
- Andrews, Malcolm. The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain 1760-1800. Aldershot, England: Scholar, 1989.
- Aston, Margaret. "English Ruins and English History: the Dissolution and the Sense of the Past." Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institute XXXVI (1973): 231-55.
- Atterbury, Paul, and Clive Wainwright, eds. Pugin: A Gothic Passion. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1994.
- Baily, John. "Thomas Rickman, Architect and Quaker, the Early Years to 1818." Diss. U of Leeds, 1977.
- Bahlman, Dudley. "Politics and Church Patronage in the Victorian Age." Victorian Studies 22 (1979): 253-296.
- Baty, Edward. "Victorian Church Building and Restoration in the Diocese of Norwich." Diss. U of East Anglia, 1987.
- Belcher, Margaret. A.W.N. Pugin: An Annotated Critical Bibliography. London: Mansell, 1987.
- Bell, Quentin. The Schools of Design. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.
- "Berlin's Jewish Museum." BBC News. 9 September 2001. British Broadcasting Company. 21 August 2002.
<<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/1533541.stm>>

- Bird, Edward. "The Development of Art and Design Education in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century." Diss. Loughborough U, 1992.
- Black, Barbara Joanne. "Fragments Shored Against their Ruin: Victorian Museum Culture." Diss. U of Virginia, 1991.
- Blau, Eve, and Edward Kaufman, eds. Architecture and its Image. Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1989.
- _____. Ruskinian Gothic: The Architecture of Deane and Woodward 1845-1861. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Bohls, Elizabeth. Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics 1716-1818. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Bony, Jean. The English Decorated Style: Gothic Architecture Transformed, 1250-1350. Oxford: Phaidon, 1979.
- Bowen, Desmond. The Idea of the Victorian Church; A Study of the Church of England 1833-1889. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1968.
- Bradley, Simon. "The Gothic Revival and the Church of England 1790-1840." Diss. U of London, 1996.
- Brandwood, Geoffrey K. "A Camdenian Roll-Call." 'A Church as it Should Be': The Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence. Eds. Christopher Webster and John Elliott. Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2000. 359-452.
- Breisch, Kenneth A. "John Henry Parker: Architectural Historian and Antiquarian." A Victorian View of Ancient Rome: The Parker Collection

- of Historical Photographs in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Ed. Judith Keller and Kenneth A. Breisch. Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, c. 1980. 13-20.
- Brendon, Piers. Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism. London: Secker and Warburg, 1991.
- Briggs, Asa. The Age of Improvement, 1783-1867. 2nd ed. Harlow, England: Longman, 2000.
- Briggs, Martin Shaw. Goths and Vandals: A Study of the Destruction, Neglect and Preservation of Historical Buildings in England. London: Constable, 1952.
- Bright, Michael. Cities Built to Music: Aesthetic Theories of the Victorian Gothic Revival. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1984.
- _____. "A Reconsideration of A.W.N. Pugin's Architectural Theories." Victorian Studies 22 (1978-9): 151-72.
- Brooks, Chris. The Gothic Revival. London: Phaidon Press, 1999.
- Brooks, Chris, and Andrew Saint, eds. The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Brousseau, Mathilde. Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1980.
- Brown, Donna. Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995.
- Brownlee, David. "The First High Victorians: British Architectural Theory in the

1840s." Architectura 15 (1985): 39-46.

_____. The Law Courts: the Architecture of George Edmund Street. New York: Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1984.

Buchanan, Alexandrina. "Robert Willis and the Rise of Architectural History." Diss., U College, London, 1994.

Burns, R. Arthur. Rev. of The Victorian Church, eds. Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint. Journal of Victorian Culture 1:1 (Spring 1996): 154-9.

Buzard, James. The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture 1800-1918. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Carr, Gerald Lawrence. "The Commissioners Churches of London 1818-1837: A Study of the Religious Art, Architecture and Patronage in Britain from the Formation of the Commission to the Accession of Victoria." Diss. U of Michigan, 1976.

Chadwick, Owen, ed. The Mind of the Oxford Movement. London: A. and C. Black, 1960.

_____. The Victorian Church. 2 vols. London, Adam and Charles Black, 1966.

_____. The Secularisation of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Chandler, Michael. The Life and Work of John Mason Neale. Leominster, Hertfordshire: Gracewing Books, 1995.

Chard, Chloe. Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600-1830. Manchester and New York:

Manchester University Press, 1999.

Cherry, Martin. "Patronage, the Anglican Church and the Local Architect in Victorian England." The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society. Eds. Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint. Manchester: Manchester University Press 1995. 173-91.

Child, Mark. Discovering Church Architecture: A Glossary of Terms. Princes Risborough, Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, 1996.

Church, R.W. The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years, 1833-1845. Ed. and with an introduction by Geoffrey Best. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Clark, Alexandra Gordon. "A.W.N. Pugin." Victorian Architecture. Ed. Peter Ferriday. London: Jonathan Cape, 1964. 137-252.

Clark, Kenneth. The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste. London: Constable, 1928.

_____. Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Gothic Revival in England. London: SPCK, 1938.

_____. "Church Restoration in the Nineteenth Century." Country Life 152 (1972):1148, 1151-2, 1236, 1239-40.

_____. Parish Churches of London. London: Batsford, 1966.

Clarke, Basil F.L. Anglican Cathedrals Outside the British Isles. London: SPCK, 1958.

_____. Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Gothic

Revival in England. London: SPAK, 1938.

Clarke, F.L. "Street's Yorkshire Churches and Contemporary Criticism."

Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner. Ed. John Summerson. London: Allen Land The Penguin Press, 1968.

Cobb, Gerald. English Cathedrals: the Forgotten Centuries. Restoration and Change from 1530 to the Present Day. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980.

_____. London City Churches: a Brief Guide. New and revised edition. London: Corporation of London, 1977.

Cohen, Emily Jane. "Museums of the Mind: The Gothic and the Art of Memory." English Literary History 62:4 (1995): 883-905.

Coldstream, Nicola. The Decorated Style: Architecture and Ornament 1240-1360. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

Cole, David. The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott. London: Architectural Press; Westfield, N.J.: Eastview Editions, 1980.

Coleman, B.I. The Church of England in the Mid Nineteenth Century. London: The Historical Association, 1980.

Collins, Peter. Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture 1750-1950. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1965.

Colvin, Howard. A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840. 3rd ed. New York: Yale University Press, 1995.

_____. "Gothic Survival and Gothic Revival." Architectural Review 103 (1948): 91-98.

Ann Cooper, "For the Public Good: Henry Cole, his Circle and the Development of the South Kensington Estate." Diss. The Open U, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes, 1992.

Corwin, Joan. "Identity in the Victorian Travel Narrative." Diss. Indiana U, 1987.

Crary, Jonathan. Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1990.

Crawshaw, Carol and John Urry. "Tourism and the Photographic Eye." Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory. Ed. Chris Rojek and John Urry. London and New York: Routledge, 1997. 176-95.

Crook, J. Mordaunt. The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Postmodern. London: John Murray, 1987.

_____. "John Britton and the Genesis of the Gothic Revival." Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner. Ed. John Summerson. London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1968. 98-119.

_____. John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival. Vol. 17 of Occasional Papers from the Society of Antiquaries in London. London: W.S. Maney and Son Ltd., 1995.

_____. Victorian Architecture: A Visual Anthology. New York: Johnson Reprint

Co., 1971.

_____. William Burges and the High Victorian Dream. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Crook, J. Mordaunt and C.A. Lennox-Boyd. Axel Haig and the Victorian Vision of the Middle Ages. London; Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1984.

Culler, A. Dwight. The Victorian Mirror of History. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Culler, Jonathan. Framing the Sign: Criticism and its Institutions. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.

Curl, James Stevens. "All Saints' Margaret Street." Architect's Journal 191:25 (1990): 36-45, 48-54.

_____. Victorian Architecture. Its Practical Aspects. Cranbury, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1974.

_____. Victorian Architecture. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1990.

_____. Victorian Churches. London: B. T. Batsford, 1995.

Currie, R., et al. Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles Since 1700. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.

Davis, Terence. The Gothick Taste. Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1975.

Dellheim, Charles. The Face of the Past: The Presentation of the Medieval Inheritance in Victorian England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

- Dixon, Roger Edmund. "The Life and Works of James Brooks 1825-1901." Diss. Courtauld Institute, U of London, 1976.
- _____. Sir Gilbert Scott and the Scott Dynasty. London: Polytechnic of the South Bank, Department of Architecture, 1980.
- Dixon, Roger and Stefan Muthesius. Victorian Architecture. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978.
- Dubinsky, Karen. The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls. Toronto: Between the Lines, 1999.
- Dyos, H.J., and M. Wolff, eds. The Victorian City. 2 vols. London, 1973.
- Fawcett, Jane. "A Restoration Tragedy: Cathedrals in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." The Future of the Past: Attitudes to Conservation 1174-1974. Ed. Jane Fawcett. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976.
- Fawcett, Jane, ed. Seven Victorian Architects. London: Thames and Hudson, 1977.
- Ferrey, Benjamin. Recollections of A.W.N. Pugin, and his Father, Augustus Pugin; with Notices of their Works. 1861. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972.
- Ferriday, Peter. "The Church Restorers." Architectural Review 136 (1964): 87-95.
- _____, ed. Victorian Architecture. London: Jonathan Cape, 1964.
- Fiddes, Victor. The Architectural Requirements of Protestant Worship. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1961.

- Finley, Gregg. "The Gothic Revival and the Victorian Church in New Brunswick: Toward a Strategy for Material Culture Research." Material History Review 32 (Fall 1990): 1-16.
- Frankl, Paul. Gothic Architecture. Trans. Dieter Pevsner. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962.
- _____. The Gothic. Literary Sources and Interpretations Through Eight Centuries. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960.
- Franklin, R.W. Nineteenth-Century Churches: The History of a New Catholicism in Wurtemberg, England, and France. New York: Garland Pub., 1987.
- Frew, John M. "An Aspect of the Gothic Revival: The Transformation of Mediaevalist Research, 1770-1800." Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 43 (1980): 174-185.
- _____. "James Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral: A Forgotten Classic of the Early Gothic Revival." Art Bulletin 62 (1980): 290-92.
- Germann, Georg. Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain: Sources, Influences and Ideas. Trans. Gerald Onn. London: Lund Humphries, 1972.
- Gill, Robin. The Myth of the Empty Church. London: SPCK, 1993.
- Glassie, Henry. "Studying Material Culture Today." Living in a Material World. Ed. Gerald Pocius. St. John's: ISER, 1991. 253-66.
- Girouard, Mark. The English Town: A History of Urban Life. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- _____. The Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman. New

Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981.

Gloag, John. Victorian Taste: Some Social Aspects of Architecture and Industrial Design, from 1820-1900. 1962. Trowbridge, Wiltshire: Redwood Press, Ltd., 1972.

Goodhart-Rendel, H.S. 1953. English Architecture Since the Regency: An Interpretation. London: Century, 1989.

_____. George Edmund Street. London: Ecclesiological Society, 1983.

Hagstrum, Jean. The Sister Arts. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.

Hall, Michael. "Currants and Cornelians." Country Life 183:13 (1990): 72-75.

_____. "What do Victorian Churches Mean? Symbolism and Sacramentalism in Anglican Church Architecture, 1850-1870." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 59:1 (March 2000): 78-95.

Hall, Stuart. "Encoding, Decoding." The Cultural Studies Reader. Ed. Simon Durang. New York: Routledge, 1993. 90-103.

Handley-Read, Charles. "Aspects of Victorian Architecture." From Dickens to Hardy. Ed. Boris Ford. New and revised edition. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963.

Harries, John Glen. Pugin. An Illustrated Life of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin 1812-1852. Aylesbury, Bucks.: Shire Publications, 1973.

Harris, John. "English Country House Guides, 1740-1840." Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner. Ed. John Summerson. London: 1968. 58-74.

- Harrison, Frederick. Notes on Sussex Churches. 4th ed., revised and enlarged.
Hove: Combridges, 1920.
- Hersey, George L. High Victorian Gothic: A Study in Associationism. Baltimore
and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.
- Heskett, John. Industrial Design. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980.
- Hill, Rosemary. "Reformation to Millennium: Pugin's Contrasts in the History of
English Thought." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 58:1
(March, 1999): 26-41.
- Hitchcock, Henry-Russell. Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.
Pelican History of Art. 4th ed. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin
Books, 1977.
- _____. Early Victorian Architecture in Britain. 2 vols. 1954. New York: Da
Capo Press, 1972.
- _____. "George Edmund Street in the 1850s." Journal of the Society of
Architectural Historians XIX, 4, (1960): 145-171.
- Howell, Peter, and Ian Sutton in conjunction with The Victorian Society. The
Faber Guide to Victorian Churches. London: Faber and Faber, 1989.
- Hunt, John Dixon. "Picturesque Mirrors and the Ruins of the Past." Art History
IV (1981): 254-70.
- Jackman, W.T. The Development of Transportation in Modern England. 2nd ed.
London: Fred Case and Co. Ltd., 1962.
- Jasen, Patricia. Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914.

Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

Jenkins, Frank. Architect and Patron: A Survey of Professional Relations and Practice in England from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day.

London: Oxford University Press, 1961.

Jervis, Simon. High Victorian Design. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1974.

Jewish Museum, Berlin. 21 August 2002. Architecture. 21 August 2002
<http://www.jmberlin.de/home_english.htm>.

Jordan, Arthur and Elisabeth. Away for the Day: The Railway Excursion in Britain, 1830 to the Present Day. Kettering, Northamptonshire: Silver Link Publishing Ltd., 1991.

Jordan, Robert Furneaux. Victorian Architecture. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books (Pelican), 1966.

Jordan, William J. "Sir George Gilbert Scott, R.A., Surveyor to Westminster Abbey, 1849-1878." Architectural History 23 (1980): 60-85.

Levine, Philippa. The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Kenneally, Rhona Richman. "Depictions of Progress: Montreal in Contemporary Guidebooks, 1839-1900." Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada 23:1 (Spring 1998): 9-15.

_____. "Empirical Underpinnings: Ecclesiology, The Excursion, and Church

- Schemes, 1830s-1850s." Ecclesiology Today 15 (1998): 14-19.
- _____. "Gory or Glam? Perceptions of Immigration in the Re-Visited Material Culture of Grosse Île." Eire/Ireland, to appear in Fall 2003.
- Kent, J.H.S. Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism. London: Epworth Press, 1978.
- Komarow, Steven. "Jewish Museum, Berlin." USA Today. 7 September 2001. USA Today. 21 August 2002.
- <<http://www.usatoday.com/life/travel/leisure/2001/2001-09-07-jewish-museum.htm>>.
- Koshar, Rudy. "'What ought to be seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe." Journal of Contemporary History 33:3 (1998): 323-40.
- Kruft, Hanno-Walter. A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present. Trans. Ronald Taylor, Elsie Callender and Antony Wood. London: Zwemmer; New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994.
- Lang, S. "The Principles of the Gothic Revival in England." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 25 (1966): 240-267.
- Laugero, Gregory V. "Infrastructures of Enlightenment: Road-Making, the Circulation of Print, and the Emergence of Literature in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries." Diss. SUNY Stony Brook, 1994.
- LeGoff, Jacques. Medieval Civilization, 400-1500. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.

- _____. Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Lewis, Michael J. The Gothic Revival. London: Thames and Hudson, 2002.
- _____. The Politics of the German Gothic Revival: August Reichensperger. New York: Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1993.
- Lister, W.B.C. A Bibliography of Murray's Handbook Travellers and Biographies of Authors, Editors, Revisors and Principle Contributors. Dereham, Norfolk: Dereham Books, 1993.
- Long, E.T. "Churches of a Victorian Square." Country Life 143 (26 Sept. 1968): 770-2.
- Looker, Mark Stephen. "The Idea of the Church in the Victorian Novel." Diss. U Michigan, 1984.
- Louth, A.G. The Influence of John Mason Neale. London: SPCK, 1962.
- Lovejoy, A.O. "The First Gothic Revival and the Return to Nature." Modern Language Notes XLVII (1932): 419-46.
- Lowenthal, David. The Past is a Foreign Country. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Lury, Celia. "The Objects of Travel." Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory. Eds. Chris Rojek and John Urry. London and New York: Routledge, 1997. 75-95.
- Macaulay, James. The Gothic Revival 1745-1845. Glasgow: Blackie, 1975.

MacCannell, Dean. The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: Schocken Books, 1976.

Macleod, Robert. Religion and the Working Class in Nineteenth-Century Britain. London, Macmillan 1984.

Mahoney, Kathleen. Gothic Style: Architecture and Interiors from the Eighteenth Century to the Present. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995.

Mandler, Peter. The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997.

Marshall, Howard W. Folk Architecture in Little Dixie: A Regional Culture in Missouri. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981.

McAleer, J. Philip. "St Mary's (1820-1830) Halifax: An Early Example of the Use of Gothic Revival in Canada." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 45:2 (1986): 134-147.

McCarthy, Michael. Origins of the Gothic Revival. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987.

McNairn, Alan. The English Decorated Style: The Early Years. Diss. U. of Missouri-Columbia, 1981. Ann Arbor Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1986.

Meacham, Standish. "The Church in the Victorian City." Victorian Studies 11 (March 1968): 358-378.

Metcalf, Priscilla. Victorian London. New York: Praeger, 1971.

Middleton, R. "Viollet-le-Duc's Influence in Nineteenth-Century England." Art

History 4 (1981): 203-19.

Middleton, Robin and David Watkin. Neoclassical and Nineteenth-Century Architecture. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1980.

Miele, Christopher. "The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture: The Restoration of Medieval Churches in Victorian Britain." Diss. New York U., 1992.

_____. "Their Interest and Habit: Professionalism and the Restoration of Churches, 1837-77." The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society. Ed. Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995: 151-172.

_____. "Real Antiquity and the Ancient Object. The Science of Gothic Architecture and the Restoration of Medieval Buildings." Unpublished essay. n.d.

_____. "Re-Presenting the Church Militant: the Camden Society, Church Restoration, and the Gothic Sign." "A Church as it Should Be": The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence. Eds. Christopher Webster and John Elliott. Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2000. 257-94.

_____. "The West Front of Rochester Cathedral in 1825: Antiquarianism, Historicism and the Restoration of Medieval Buildings." Archaeological Journal 151 (1994): 400-19.

Millard, Walter. "George Edmund Street's Sketches at Home and Abroad." Royal Institute of British Architects Journal 25 (1917-18): 97-103.

_____. "Some Records of the Work of George Edmund Street." Royal Institute of British Architects Journal 24 (1916-17): 17-24.

Miller, J. Hillis. Topographies. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.

Moir, E. The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists, 1540-1840. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964.

Moorman, John R.H. A History of the Church in England. 3rd ed. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1976.

Morris, J.N. Religion and Urban Change: Croydon 1840-1914. Woodbridge, Suffolk, Royal Historic Society: The Boydell Press, 1992.

Morris, R.J., and Richard Rodger, eds. The Victorian City: A Reader in British Urban History. London: Longman, 1993.

Mulvey, Christopher. Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

"Museums for the Money: Berlin Offers one of the World's Best Selections."
Budget Travel. 9 September 2001. About Network. 21 August 2002.
<<http://budgettravel.about.com/library/weekly/aa090901a.htm>>

Muthesius, Stefan. The High Victorian Movement in Architecture 1850-1870. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

Myles, Janet. L.N. Cottingham 1787-1847, Architect of the Gothic Revival. London: Lund Humphries, 1996.

Nye, Thelma M. An Introduction to Parish Church Architecture, AD 600-1965.

London: Batsford, 1965.

Oerlemans, Onno. Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Ousby, Ian. The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Overton, James. Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture and Development in Newfoundland. St. John's: ISER, 1996.

Pantin, W.A. "The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society and the Oxford Movement." Oxoniensia IV (1939): 146-60.

Patrick, J. "Newman, Pugin and Gothic." Victorian Studies XXIV (1981): 185-207.

Perkin, Harold. The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880. London, 1969.

Pevsner, Nikolaus. The Cathedrals of England: Midland, Eastern and Northern England. London: Viking, 1985.

_____. The Cathedrals of England: Southern England. London: Viking, 1985.

_____. Pioneers of the Modern Movement. London: Faber and Faber, 1936.

_____. Robert Willis. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1970.

_____. Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc: Englishness and Frenchness in the Appreciation of Gothic Architecture. London: Thames and Hudson, 1969.

_____. "Scrape and Anti-Scrape." The Future of the Past: Attitudes to Conservation 1174-1974. Ed. Jane Fawcett. London: Thames and

- Hudson, 1976. 35-54.
- _____. Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1972.
- _____. Studies in Art, Architecture and Design. 2 vols. London: Thames and Hudson, 1982.
- Pierson, William H., Jr. American Buildings and Their Architects: Technology and the Picturesque, The Corporate and the Early Gothic Styles. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1978.
- Pocius, Gerald, ed. Living in a Material World. St. John's: ISER, 1991.
- Pope-Hennessy, James, and Hans Wild. The Houses of Parliament. London: Batsford, 1945.
- Port, Michael H. The Houses of Parliament. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- _____. Six Hundred New Churches. A Study of the Church Building Commission 1818-1856, and its Church Building Activities. London: SPCK, 1961.
- Porter, Dennis. Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Powell, James M., ed. Medieval Studies: an Introduction. 2nd ed. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1992.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation. New York: Routledge, 1992.

- Prout, David. "'The Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture' and 'The Oxford Architectural Society.'" Oxoniensia LIV (1989): 379-91.
- Prown, Jules. "Mind in Matter." Winterthur Portfolio 17:1 (Spring 1982): 1-2.
- Rae, W. Fraser. The Business of Travel: A Fifty Year's Record of Progress. London: Thos. Cook and Son, 1981.
- Rees, Gareth. Early Railway Prints: A Social History of the Railway from 1825-1850. Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1980.
- Rhodes, John Grant. "Ornament and Ideology: A Study in Mid-Nineteenth-Century British Design Theory." Diss. Harvard U, 1983.
- Rodwell, Warwick with Kirsty Rodwell. Historic Churches: A Wasting Asset. London: Council for British Archaeology, 1977.
- Rogers, John C. The Parish Church of St. Michael, St. Albans: A Short Illustrated History of The Building's Growth and Change from Saxon Times to the Present Day. Revised ed. St. Albans: H.A. Richardson, 1952.
- Rojek, Chris. "Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sites." Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory. Ed. Chris Rojek and John Urry. London and New York: Routledge, 1997. 42-74.
- Rojek, Chris and John Urry. Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.
- _____. "Transformations of Travel and Theory." Touring Cultures:

- Transformations of Travel and Theory. Ed. Chris Rojek and John Urry. London and New York: Routledge, 1997. 1-19.
- Rose, Elliot. "The Stone Table in the Round Church and the Crisis of the Cambridge Camden Society." Victorian Studies 10 (1966-67): 119-44.
- Royal Institute of British Architects [Jill Lever and Margaret Richardson]. The Architect as Artist. New York: Rizzoli, 1984.
- Russell, James D. "Passenger Accommodations on Early British Railways: The Plight of the Poorer Classes, 1825-1844." Diss. U of New Mexico, 1984.
- Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century. Leamington Spa: BERG, 1977.
- Schlereth, Thomas. "Material Culture or Material Life: Discipline or Field? Theory or Method?" Living in a Material World. Ed. Gerald Pocius. St. John's: ISER, 1991. 231-40.
- Shaw, Christopher and Malcolm Chase, eds. The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989.
- Sillitoe, Alan. Leading the Blind: A Century of Guidebook Travel 1815-1914. London: Macmillan, 1995.
- Simmons, Jack. The Railway in England and Wales 1830-1914. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1978.
- _____. The Victorian Railway. Thames and Hudson, 1991.
- Simons, John, ed. From Medieval to Medievalism. Basingstoke: Macmillan 1992.

- Smart, C.M., Jr. Muscular Churches: Ecclesiastical Architecture of the High Victorian Period. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1989.
- Smith, R.J. The Gothic Bequest: Medieval Institutions in British Thought 1688-1863. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Smith, Roger. "Medieval Institutions in Modern British Thought: 1688-1845." Diss. U of Nottingham, 1980.
- Stafford, W. Socialism, Radicalism and Nostalgia. Social Criticism in Britain 1775-1830. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Stamp, Gavin. The Great Perspectivists. New York: Rizzoli in Association with the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1982.
- _____. "Sir George Gilbert Scott and the 'Restoration' of Mediaeval Buldings." AA Files 1:1 (1981-82): 89-97.
- _____. Victorian Buildings of London 1837-1887: An Illustrated Guide. London: The Architectural Press, 1980.
- Stanton, Phoebe. "Architecture, History, and the Spirit of the Age." The Mind and Art of Victorian England. Ed. Josef L. Altholz. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976. 146-58.
- _____. The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968.
- _____. Pugin. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971.
- _____. "Pugin: Principles of Design vs. Revivalism." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 13 (1954): 20-25.

- _____. "The Sources of Pugin's Contrasts." Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner. Ed. John Summerson. London: Allen Lane, 1968. 120-139.
- Steegman, John. Cambridge as it Was and as it is Today. 4th ed. London: Batsford, 1949.
- _____. Consort of Taste: 1830-1850. London: Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd., 1950.
- _____. Victorian Taste: A Study of the Arts and Architecture From 1830-1870. London: Nelson's University Paperbacks, 1970.
- Stiebeling, Detlef. "Traditional Iconographic Themes in a Victorian Context." Diss. McGill U, 1986.
- Street, Arthur Edmund. Memoir of George Edmund Street, R.A., 1824-1881. London: John Murray, 1888.
- Sturken, Marita and Lisa Cartwright. Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Summerson, John. Architecture in Britain 1530-1830. 4th ed. Pelican History of Art. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963.
- _____. The Architecture of Victorian London. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976.
- _____, ed. Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner. London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1968.
- _____. Heavenly Mansions and Other Essays on Architecture. New York: W.W.

Norton and Co., 1963.

_____. Victorian Architecture: Four Studies in Evaluation. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.

Swinglehurst, Edmund. The Romantic Journey: The Story of Thomas Cook and Victorian Travel. London: Pica, 1974.

Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism. London: Secker & Warburg, 1991.

Thompson, Paul. "All Saints Church, Margaret Street, Reconsidered." Architectural History 8 (1965): 73-94.

_____. "Exporting Gothic Revival: Butterfield's Australian Cathedrals" and "The Building of Melbourne Cathedral." Country Life 150 (1971): 622-24; 686-90.

_____. "The Survival and Revival of Gothic Architecture." Apollo LXXVI (1962): 284-7.

_____. William Butterfield. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.

Towle, Eleanor A. John Mason Neale, D.D.: A Memoir. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907.

Towner, John. An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World 1540-1940. Chichester, N.Y.: John Wiley and Sons, 1996.

Trappes-Lomax, Michael. Pugin, a Medieval Victorian. London: Sheed and Ward, 1932.

Upton, Dell. Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial

- Virginia. Architectural History Foundation Series. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986.
- Urry, John. The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies. London: Sage Publications, 1990.
- Vaughn, John. The English Guide Book c. 1780-1870: An Illustrated History. London: David and Charles, 1974.
- Watkin, David. The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape and Garden Design. London: John Murray, 1982.
- _____. The Life and Work of C.R. Cockerell. London: Zwemmer, 1974.
- _____. Morality and Architecture. The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.
- _____. The Rise of Architectural History. London: The Architectural Press, 1980.
- Webster, Christopher and John Elliott, eds. "A Church as it Should Be: The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence". Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2000.
- Wedgwood, Alexandra. A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1985.
- Whiffen, M. "Rickman and Cambridge." Architectural Review, 98 (1945):160-66.
- White, Hayden. Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century

- Europe. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- White, J.F. The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962.
- _____. Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical Considerations. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Wilson, Christopher. The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church 1130-1530. London: Thames and Hudson, c1990.
- _____. Westminster Abbey. London: Bell and Hyman, 1986.
- Withey, Lynne. Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750-1915. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1997.
- Wittkower, Rudolf. Palladio and English Palladianism. London: Thames and Hudson, 1974.
- Workman, Leslie, ed. Medievalism in England. Cambridge; Rochester, New York: D.S. Brewer, 1992.
- _____, ed. Medievalism in Europe. Cambridge; Rochester, New York: D.S. Brewer, 1994.
- Yates, Nigel. Buildings, Faith and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches, 1600-1900. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Young, G.M. Victorian England: The Portrait of an Age. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936.

