

A Place for Worship?
Heritage and Religiosity in England

Robert Piggott

Abstract

This thesis concerns the relationship between the heritage protection regime and listed places of worship. It looks specifically at the ways in which the Church of England manages its historic churches, as well as the arrangements which have been found for the management of places of worship the Church no longer has a use for. In so doing, it presents a national overview of the history of the organisations which have a role in the maintenance of these buildings. It also presents three area-based case studies which explore the local factors that have contributed to the present management of historic places of worship in these places. The thesis as a whole concentrates on the role of voluntary action in the management of heritage assets and the final chapter explores the experiences of those managing grant-aided repairs to historic churches in rural areas, as well as negotiating with heritage agencies to introduce new facilities into them. The central argument presented here is that voluntary action has been key to the development of the ways in which historic places of worship are managed. This has wider import for the history of the Anglicanism, and it is argued here that over the past two hundred years, the Church of England has been forced to accommodate itself to a more voluntaristic model of church membership. The legacy of paternalism evident in nineteenth century Anglicanism is seen to present problems for the popularisation of the history of the Church in the present. However, the role of voluntary action in the production of historical knowledge about these building is also seen to be key to the present arrangements for their management. In tandem, the development of civic pride and rural preservation are shown to have had a significant influence on the ways in which heritage protection is achieved today. In addition, the public policy aim of promoting community cohesion through heritage forms a part of this study. Within this history the decline of public worship continues to gain increased significance. This decline necessitated the closure of a large number of places of worship from the mid-twentieth century onwards. It is argued here that the secularisation of these buildings, and their subsequent patrimonialisation are interlinked phenomena. As the generational decline in attendance at Church of England services continues, heritage agencies will be increasingly required to find new arrangements for the management of historic places of worship.

Acknowledgements

In coming to write this thesis I have been able to benefit from the assistance of a fair number of people who deserve some recognition. These include all those at English Heritage (now Historic England), who were generous enough to assimilate me into their cultural practices and helped develop my interest in the historic buildings and archaeology. In particular, I bear a debt of gratitude to Clare Campbell, Gary Griffin, Will Fletcher, David Eve, David Grech, and Trudi Hughes, who were all a pleasure to work with and did much to help me along the way. In addition, although it's a distant memory now, I'm grateful to the Sociology Department at the University of York, and especially Amanda Rees who generously agreed to provide a reference for me at the start of this project.

I am also in debt to everyone at the History Department at the University of Huddersfield, which has provided a convivial atmosphere in which to undertake my research. In particular, I would like to thank my supervisor Barry Doyle, but also amongst the lecturing staff I am very grateful for the advice and support of Lindsey Dodd, Katherine Lewis, Rebecca Gill, Rob Ellis and Pat Cullum. In addition, I'd like to thank Eve Hartley, Shabina Aslam, Martyn Richardson, Nicole Harding, Joe Hopkinson, Brad Parker, Todd Dow, Dave Green, Nicky Gardiner, Richard Piatak, Charlotte Mallinson and a range of others for their fellowship throughout this time. It's probably also contractual to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council from whom I benefited from funding to indulge my interests for three years. I am also grateful to the Heritage Consortium, and in particular Rosie Cresswell, as well as the memory of Neil Armstrong, who helped to point me in the right direction.

This work would not have been possible without the various libraries and archives which I visited in researching this thesis. In particular, I would like to thank Frank Grombir at the Huddersfield Local Studies Library for being so kind, and for showing me how to use the microfilm reader, as well as assisting me with past enquiries files. In addition, the Inter-Library Loans team at Huddersfield University Library have been an immense help, as were the staff at the West Yorkshire Archives Service, and the Norfolk Records Office. I also thoroughly and unexpectedly enjoyed visiting the archive of the Museum of English Rural Life which had just had a refit when I arrived and is well worth a visit.

I am also extremely grateful to all those I met at Church House during the time of my placement, and in particular Julie Patenaude and Joe Elders who were both incredibly kind and supportive.

I also need to thank all my friends and family, but in particular my dad, Jon Piggott for his considerable support, as well as my grandmum, Dorothy Piggott who has helped me fund my second-hand book habit. Also deserving of thanks are Lynn Errey and her daughters, who are an inspiration, as well as a source of lively debate. I am also very appreciative of the company of Emma Willcock and Falkor, who have helped to keep me sane over the past year. And to Sophie Cattier for putting up with me as long as you could.

All the errors are of course my own.

This work is dedicated to my mum, Linda Piggott, without whom it would not have been possible.

**Robert Piggott
Huddersfield**

Contents

1 Introduction	<u>1</u>
2 Context	<u>65</u>
3 The Church of England: A Heritage Agency?	<u>111</u>
4 Huddersfield	<u>154</u>
5 Norwich	<u>198</u>
6 Norfolk	<u>242</u>
7 Experiences	<u>280</u>
8 Conclusion	<u>322</u>
References and Sources	<u>337</u>

List of Tables, Charts and Maps

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations	i
Map1: Huddersfield and District	91
Table 1: Churches in the historic parish of Huddersfield built prior to 1968	95
Map 2: Norwich and District	96
Map 3: Norwich City Centre	99
Table 2: Churches in Norwich City Centre	101
Table 3: Churches in the suburbs of Norwich constructed before 1968	102
Chart 1: Outcomes for redundant churches in Norwich (Urban and Suburban)	103
Table 4: Redundant churches in rural Norfolk	109-110
Figure 1. Timeline of Events Referred to in Chapters Two, Three and Seven	151
Table 5: Attendance as a percentage of sittings at places of worship in the township of Huddersfield at the religious census in 1851	165
Table 6: Churches built in Huddersfield in the nineteenth century	195
Figure 21. Redundancies in Rural Norfolk since 1971	244

List of Acronyms and Alphabetisms

ACORA	Archbishops' Commission on Rural Areas
AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
BLF	Big Lottery Fund
CCBD	Cathedrals and Church Buildings Division
CPRE	Council for the Preservation of Rural England (from 1926), then Council for the Protection of Rural England (after 1969), then Campaign for the Protection of Rural England (2003 onwards)
DAC	Diocesan Advisory Council
DoE	Department of the Environment (in existence until 1997)
CBC	Church Buildings Council
CCT	Churches Conservation Trust
CFCE	Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport (now Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport)
EE	Ecclesiastical Exemption
FFC	Friends of Friendless Churches
GPOW	Grants for Places of Worship
HCPT	Historic Churches Preservation Trust
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund (now National Lottery Heritage Fund)
(I)CBS	(Incorporated) Church Building Society
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
LPA	Local Planning Authority
NCT	National Churches Trust (also Norfolk Churches Trust) (formerly Historic Churches Preservation Trust)
NDPB	Non-Departmental Public Body

NHCT	Norwich Historic Churches Trust
NHMF	National Heritage Memorial Fund
NNAS	Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society
PCC	Parochial Church Council
RCF	Redundant Churches Fund
RGPOW	Repair Grants for Places of Worship
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
VAT	Value Added Tax
WI	Women's Institute

Chapter 1

Introduction

In a considered piece on the various meanings and understandings applied to landscapes in the name of heritage Peter Howard argued that the past century has seen a distinct change in what counts as heritage:

How has heritage changed? One clear referent for this is the change in the built heritage of England between Arthur Mee and Nikolaus Pevsner. Arthur Mee's *Devon*, for example was published in 1938, and the built heritage of each parish is represented largely by the parish church – about 79 per cent of the text concerns churches and cathedrals. Pevsner in the 1950s reduces this considerably, and increasing interest in vernacular buildings would reduce still further the dominance of the parish church in modern heritage writings.¹

The primary concern of this study is the parish church and the heritage protection system. It does not, however, begin with the aim of turning the clock back. Rather, the aim of this study is to examine the conservation and management of a particular type of building, the 'historic place of worship', and thereby develop academic understandings of heritage more generally. This study looks at various arrangements for the management of Anglican historic places of worship in a number of localities and examines the factors in the development of these local arrangements, considering both national and local issues. It also looks broadly at the way in which the heritage protection system has been applied to historic places of worship, and how the system is now managed. Although, as we will see in chapter three, there have been numerous reports and reviews written on this subject, it has received relatively little attention

¹ P. Howard (2009), 'Historic Landscapes and the Recent Past: Whose History?', L. Gibson, and J. Pendlebury (eds.), (2009), *Valuing Historic Environments*. Abingdon: Ashgate, p52

in academic literature. Churches have been seen as key to the heritage of England. As Laurajane Smith noted that conserving churches, alongside the stately homes of the ruling classes, was a priority for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings at its inception.² When she questioned visitors to the English country house, a number of respondents mentioned churches in their definitions of heritage.³ Yet there has been little investigation in heritage studies of the social arrangements for the conservation of historic places of worship in England. On the subject of church heritage, Steve Watson's unpublished PhD thesis, which examined churches as sites of tourism, appears to be the most extensive.⁴ Without seeking to criticise Watson's account, his focus on tourism meant that he did not discuss other aspects of church heritage. The present thesis takes a different angle and concentrates on the ways in which Anglican and former Anglican church buildings have been managed - the way in which repairs are paid for and the ways in which internal and external changes are arranged, as well as the movement to conserve historic places of worship more generally. There are two strands encompassed by this: the legal protection for these buildings; and their social construction as heritage. Whilst these subjects have been of interest to a number of authors, in the case of the first, the literature is fairly slim and increasingly dated. John Delafons' chapter in his monograph *Politics and Preservation* currently represents the most extensive account of the development of the national system of protection for historic places of worship.⁵ This thesis develops Delafons' account and brings it up-to-date. In terms of the social construction of churches as heritage, this latter strand is slightly more extensive and this thesis has drawn particularly on the work of Chris Brooks and of Chris Miele. In this area again, the thesis develops and extends these accounts.⁶ In particular, this is done in reference to the development of medieval churches as heritage in the county of Norfolk.

² L. Smith (2006), *The Uses of Heritage*, London: Routledge, p21

³ Ibid. p134

⁴ S. Watson (2007), *Church Tourism: Representation and Cultural Practice*, (Unpublished doctoral thesis), University of York, uk.bl.ethos.490313

⁵ J. Delafons (1997), *Politics and Preservation*, London: Spon Press, pp117-130

⁶ Esp. C. Miele (2011), 'Heritage and its Communities: Reflections on the English Experience in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' Melanie Hall (ed) (2011), *Heritage, Culture and Identity: Towards World Heritage*, Farnham: Ashgate; and C. Brooks (1995), 'Building the rural church: money, power

The aim of this thesis has then been to extend the existing literature, and to offer a different focus than has been done before in order to extend this literature and to argue that although the heritage protection system has produced a national framework in which the conservation of these buildings can take place, more important in this practice have been local factors, and primarily the strength of voluntary action. As we will see in chapter two, the extent to which voluntary action has been accepted by the Church of England is important in understanding the history of the Church itself. Over a two-hundred-year period the Church of England has been forced to accommodate itself to a more voluntaristic arrangement for the funding and managing places of worship, and this has led to a liberalisation of the ways in which these buildings are managed. In the course of this history, the Church has adopted an ambiguous relationship with its buildings, and during the twentieth century, as a corporate body, for the most part it has sought ways in which to reduce its commitment to its building stock.

The scope of this study has been limited to the management of places of worship belonging to the Anglican tradition. However, the prevalence of listed buildings within the Church of England's building stock means that the subject is a rich seam. In 2011 English Heritage (now Historic England) estimated that the Church of England had around 13,000 listed buildings within its building stock.⁸ If we can compare this figure with those given for the Catholics who had 750 listed buildings, Methodists 869, Baptists 236, 54 listed synagogues, and a number of listed mosques, we find that the Church of England stock of listed buildings greatly outstrips those of all other denominations and other faiths put together.⁹ In some senses then, the extent of the stock of historic buildings held by the Anglicans presents issues for the denomination not shared by others organisations to the same extent.

and the country parish', C. Brooks and A. Saint (eds) (1995), *The Victorian Church*, Manchester: Manchester University Press

⁸ English Heritage (2011), *Listing Selection Guide: Places of Worship*, London: English Heritage, p2

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp11, 18, 19, 25 & 28-29

This prevalence of buildings belonging to the Church of England in the list is a consequence of an interpretation of the terms of reference used in the 1944 Town and Country Planning Act. Section 42 (1) of this act gave power to the Minister of Planning to compile a list of buildings of “special architectural or historic interest”.¹⁰ Although this was a feature of antecedent legislation, from 1944 on the list was now national and transferred permissive powers from the County Councils to central government.¹¹ The listing process has continued under subsequent planning acts with the same terms of reference.¹² The antiquity of the bulk of the stock of buildings belonging to the Church of England has meant that medieval churches are almost all highly graded listed buildings (grade I or grade II*).¹³ According to recent figures, 45% of all grade I listed buildings are churches.¹⁴ Although a definitive number of church buildings in the Anglican building stock does not appear to exist, 16,000 is a figure often given.¹⁵ This means that something like 80% of the buildings in the Church of England’s stock are ‘historic places of worship’ as understood by Historic England and other heritage agencies.¹⁶ This designation is not simply a badge of honour but has very real consequences for those who use these buildings for worship.

Whilst this thesis began with an interest in the heritage protection system and its relationship with historic places of worship, its theme has broadened to an examination of the history of the social arrangements for securing the repair of such buildings. Like any building, places of worship require ongoing maintenance, but even so, processes of decay through the action of weather on materials used in construction may precipitate extensive structural repair at points in the life-span of the building. This is perhaps particularly evident with churches in England,

¹⁰ S. Fry (2014), *A History of the National Collection: Volume 5: 1931-1945*, London: English Heritage pp52

¹¹ See Ibid., p12

¹² See Department for Culture Media and Sport (2010), *Principles of Selection*, London: DCMS, p4

¹³ English Heritage (2011), *Listing Selection Guide: Places of Worship*, p2

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ See for instance ERS (April 2017), *National Heritage Memorial Fund: Listed Places of Worship Roof Repair Fund Evaluation*, Bristol: ERS, p13

¹⁶ Ibid.

and especially those built in the medieval period. Mortars will deteriorate and eventually fail.¹⁷ The stone from which the building is constructed may crack or split due to diverse factors such as structural movement, the action of the weather and the action of humans.¹⁸ Lead sheet roofing, which is highly durable and often used as a covering for church roofs, needs to be repaired or replaced at some point in the life of the building even if the structure is well maintained.¹⁹ In addition, increased commodity prices have made lead sheet roofing an attractive target for thieves over recent years.²⁰ Whilst building materials can be vulnerable, changing times have also meant that churchgoers have different expectations of their buildings than their forebears. As well as different needs, and the introduction of new facilities such as a kitchenette or a WC has become seen as key to continued use of a building.²¹ As we will see in chapter five, for much of their history repair was paid for from a local tax, the church rate, as well as repair liability restricted to the chancel, which generally fell on the rectors, as well as voluntary giving.²² The development of the heritage protection system represents only the most recent change to the social arrangements for the repair of these buildings and control of works affecting them.

The heritage protection regime has two aspects. In one sense it is supervisory, even prohibitive. As Charles Mynors put it “listing is a form of compulsory acquisition of owners’ rights”, a status which complicates the process of managing property and increases repair costs.²³ In this way, heritage agencies seek to control works affecting historic places of worship. Works within the setting of listed buildings require Planning Permission under the

¹⁷ See English Heritage (2011), *Practical Building Conservation: Mortars, Renders and Plasters*, Farnham: Ashgate, pp122-163

¹⁸ See English Heritage (1988), *Stone Masonry*, *English Heritage research transactions: research and case studies in architectural conservation*, Aldershot: Gower Technical Press, p2-3

¹⁹ See English Heritage (1993), *Metals*, *English Heritage research transactions: research and case studies in architectural conservation*, Aldershot: Gower Technical Press, p93-109

²⁰ C. Tighe (31 May 2008). ‘Ecclesiastical heritage at risk from rising commodity prices’, *Financial Times*, p. 6.

²¹ See for instance Commission on Country Churches (1991), *Rural Church Buildings*, Norwich: Rigby Print, p23

²² This will be developed in the chapters that follow

²³ C. Mynors (2006), *Listed Buildings, Conservation Areas and Monuments*, London: Sweet & Maxwell, s9.1

Planning Act (Listed Buildings Conservation Areas) (1990) and alterations to listed buildings require Listed Building Consent under the same act.²⁴ However, when listed building control was enacted in 1968, listed places of worship within certain denominations were allowed to continue their 'Ecclesiastical Exemption' which had been established in earlier legislation.²⁵ Under these arrangements for interior changes to a listed place of worship the denominations themselves act as planning authority, whilst exterior changes and permission for development within the setting are for the local planning authority to determine in the first instance.²⁶ The Church of England runs its own consent system known as the faculty system to which Historic England and the Amenity Societies are consultees.²⁷ Chapter seven looks in detail at the experiences of those managing listed places of worship in their negotiations with heritage agencies and their delivery of repair projects.

In its second aspect, through designation the heritage protection regime gains an entry point into the management of listed places of worship through which repair can be facilitated and monitored by heritage agencies. In terms of monitoring, Historic England publishes an annual *Heritage at Risk Register* which is comprised of information on the condition of a range of heritage assets, including churches.²⁸ This *Risk Register* also provides information on what grant aid has been given to which places of worship.²⁹ State aid for listed places of worship has existed since 1977 and was initially administered by the Department of Environment.³⁰ English Heritage ran a repair grant for places of worship scheme (RGPOW) in collaboration with the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) from 1996 to 2012, when the HLF took sole responsibility for the scheme, retaining English Heritage's expertise in an advisory capacity.³¹ Between 2002

²⁴ Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990, S.66 & Chapter II

²⁵ See Delafons (1997), *Politics*, chap. 16

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ The most recent piece of legislation governing this system are the Faculty Jurisdiction Rules (2015)

²⁸ See for example Historic England (2017), *Heritage at Risk: Yorkshire Register*, London: Historic England

²⁹ Ibid., *passim*

³⁰ R. Wilding (1990), *The Care of Redundant Churches*, London: Department of the Environment, p14

³¹ G. Braithwaite (2009), 'Maintaining the legacy', English Heritage (2009), *Conservation Bulletin*, 61, London: English Heritage, p23; English Heritage (2013), *Annual Report and Accounts*, London: English Heritage, p7

and 2009 English Heritage contributed something in the region of £156 million spread over 1,697 projects.³² However, this latest scheme has now come to an end, with the HLF folding its grant aid for places of worship into other schemes.³³ Nevertheless, grant aid for historic places of worship continues to be substantial. In addition to this funding, the Listed Places of Worship Scheme refunds VAT incurred on certain elements of the building project.³⁴ This was bolstered in the Chancellor's 2014 Autumn Statement which pledged a further £15m for church roof repairs, with a repeated promise of funding the following year.³⁵ The HLF promised £20 million will be spent to projects centred on places of worship each year.³⁶ In tandem, a range of philanthropic organisations support church repairs, such as the Wolfson Foundation and the Pilgrim Trust.³⁷ An array of other trusts willing to fund repair work to churches also exists. This will be dealt with in more detail in chapter three.

Whilst heritage agencies advise on alterations, monitor the condition of historic fabric and grant-aid repairs, the day-to-day management of places of worship falls to their congregations. Within the Anglican Church, this management falls to Parochial Church Councils (PCC). The activities of these groups will be examined in more detail in chapters three and chapter seven. However, the PCC is essentially a governing body of voluntary elected members with responsibility for each church.³⁸ Thus, the management of individual places of worship falls to small groups of active adherents of the Church of England. These arrangements are beginning

³² Ibid.; About £1.3million of this went to synagogues, English Heritage (2010), *Synagogues at Risk*, London: English Heritage, p21

³³ S. Crofts (5 April 2017), 'A new approach to supporting places of worship', retrieved from: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/news-features/new-approach-supporting-places-worship>

³⁴ F. Cranmer (2016), 'Paying the Piper? Public Funding and Supervision of Religion in a Secularized Society (United Kingdom)', F. Messner (ed) (2016), *Public Funding of Religions in Europe*, London: Routledge, p182-186

³⁵ HM Treasury (26 March 2015), 'Support for churches and cathedrals across the UK announced by Chancellor', retrieved from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/support-for-churches-and-cathedrals-across-the-uk-announced-by-chancellor>

³⁶ Crofts (5 April 2017), 'A new approach', *HLF*

³⁷ B. Clark (2016), 'Introduction', *Cathedral & Church Buildings Division Grants Report*, London: Archbishops' Council, p2

³⁸ Although in certain cases where team or group ministries exist, there may be Joint or District Church Councils in operation. See K. M. Macmorran and T. Briden (2006), *A Handbook for Churchwardens and Parochial Church Councillors*, London: Continuum, pp119-124

to be called into question as public worship continues to decline. At the last census 59% of people in Britain professed to being Christian, and the number of people attending worship continues to fall.³⁹ In numerical terms, those professing the Christian faith for the purposes of the census declined by 4.1m between 2001 and 2011, and there was a 100% increase in those who chose 'no religion'.⁴⁰ If this trend continues, heritage protection agencies may need to develop new arrangements for protecting listed churches. Most recently these issues have come under scrutiny from the Church of England's Synod which published the *Church Buildings Review* in 2015, and the government which commissioned the *Taylor Review* (published in December 2017) which will be discussed further in chapter three.⁴¹

The state has taken an interest in facilitating the ongoing repair of these buildings, and a very great number of them have been declared to be nationally important through the planning system. As a consequence, a bureaucracy has developed which is in part dedicated to supporting the management of these buildings. However, this management is generally devolved to a small group of people, as well as a number of charitable bodies, both set up by statute or by voluntary action. These arrangements are increasingly threatened by the ongoing decline in public worship. As we will see in the chapters that follow, although this system is national, the outcomes are local, and decisions have been made at both local and diocesan levels as how best to manage these buildings. This thesis therefore sets out to examine what led to these outcomes, and what this history tells us about heritage and voluntary action more generally. The central research questions of this thesis have thus been: how are historic places of worship managed? What sorts of organisations manage historic places of worship? How did these presents arrangements come to exist? Do local factors affect the management

³⁹ Office of National Statistics (2013), 'What does the Census tell us about religion in 2011?'. Retrieved from:

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/religion/articles/fullstorywhatdoesthecensustellusaboutreligionin2011/2013-05-16>

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Church Buildings Review Group (2015), *Church Buildings Review*, London: Archbishops' Council; B. Taylor (2017), *The Taylor Review: Sustainability of English Churches and Cathedrals*, London: DCMS

of historic places of worship? The focus of this study has necessitated a literature review encompassing three main areas. More, and more specific research questions will be raised in the conclusion section at the end of this chapter in light of the literature review.

Primarily this thesis seeks to key into some of the debates in the heritage studies literature and is partly intended to provide some counterweight to overly 'top-down' studies which see heritage as being determined by experts with little say from the public. The first part of the literature review then, examines the development of heritage studies as an academic field. However, because the interest here has been driven by the desire to establish the ways in which the heritage protection system can be seen as 'bottom-up', both the history and the sociology of voluntary action have also been relevant to this study. These subjects form the second part of the literature review. As has been outlined above, the arrangements for the management of historic places of worship are presently contingent on the ability of their congregations to care for these buildings. As this capability is increasingly being affected by the decline of public worship, an engagement with the literature on secularization has also been important to the framing of this study. This forms the third section of the literature review. These strands will be taken stock of in each of the sections that follow.

Literature Review

Heritage Studies

The literature of heritage studies is well-thumbed and accounts dealing with this subject tend to follow the same lines.⁴² Broadly, heritage studies as an academic discipline is seen to have developed as a reaction against a slew of literature, which, along with a range of campaigning organisations, became increasingly prominent in the 1970s. The combination of this literature and the creation of new organisations interested in conserving historic buildings has been

⁴² See for instance E. Waterton and S. Watson (2015), 'Introduction', E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds.), *Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, London: Palgrave Macmillan; and L. Smith (2006), *The Uses of Heritage*, London Routledge, chap. 1

seen to be part of what has been called 'heritage crisis'.⁴³ This 'crisis' was reflected in the work of a range of writers, including John Betjeman (who took a particular interest in churches) and was often to the right of the political spectrum.⁴⁴ This literature included for instance *Heritage in Danger* (1976) by the Conservative MP, Patrick Cormack, written as an explicit critique of the Labour government's Green Paper on the need for a tax on wealth.⁴⁵ Cormack's book formed part of a wider campaign which included an exhibition at the Victoria & Albert museum with the title *The Destruction of the Country House 1875-1975*. The exhibition itself led to the founding of the pressure group SAVE Britain's Heritage and can be considered a landmark in the history of historic building conservation.⁴⁶ It was accompanied by a study commissioned by the British Tourist Authority entitled, *Country Houses in Britain, Can They Survive?: an independent report* (1974) with a similar publication, *Chapels and Churches: Who Cares?* concerning places of worship appearing in 1977.⁴⁷

The origins of the discipline can therefore be located as arising as a form of cultural criticism which developed as a reaction against conservative politics of the nineteen seventies. As Waterton and Watson put it in their introduction to the *Palgrave Handbook on Heritage Research*, "we can look to the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s as timeframes that seemed to trigger a proliferating interest in the past - academically, politically, and publicly".⁴⁸ In the 1980s and 1990s, historians such as Patrick Wright, Robert Hewison and David Lowenthal sought to critique this cultural trend. Under the Thatcher government heritage became increasingly associated with the right and these authors subjected heritage to sustained criticism. The most

⁴³ See A. Law (2004), *The Built Heritage Conservation Movement: Landscapes of Englishness and Social Class*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), Newcastle University, uk.bl.ethos.405313, chap. 3

⁴⁴ A. Harris (2010), *Romantic Moderns*, London: Thames and Hudson, pp193 & 199

⁴⁵ P. Cormack (1976), *Heritage in Danger*, London: New English Library, esp. pp11 & 25-28

⁴⁶ See H. Glennerster (2012), 'Why Was a Wealth Tax for the UK Abandoned? Lessons for the Policy Process and Tackling Wealth Inequality', *Journal of Social Policy*, Volume 41, Issue 2, pp233-249; P. Mandler (1997), *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, New York: Yale University Press; and the book of the exhibition, R. Strong, et al (1974), *The Destruction of the Country House, 1875-1975*, London: Thames and Hudson

⁴⁷ M. Binney and P. Burman (1977), *Chapels & Churches: Who Cares*, London: British Tourist Authority

⁴⁸ E. Waterton and S. Watson (2015), 'Introduction', Waterton and Watson (eds), *Palgrave Handbook*, pp3-4

notable publications amongst these are Patrick Wright's *On Living in an Old Country* (1985) and Robert Hewison's, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (1987). These books took aim at what they saw as the regressive and stultifying influence of heritage and nostalgia. As can be seen in his title, which draws on Adorno and Horkheimer's concept of the 'culture industry', Hewison's book strongly criticised the commodification of the past which he saw as being perpetrated by organisations such as the National Trust.⁴⁹ Both *Living in an Old Country* and *The Heritage Industry* were expressions of the 'culture of decline' thesis which developed in the post-war period as commentary on Britain's slow economic growth in comparison with the rest of the world.⁵⁰ Hewison's book followed a trilogy of earlier works which looked at art and culture from 1939 to 1975.⁵¹ As he later suggested himself, his *Heritage Industry* was largely polemical in comparison to these earlier works.⁵² Drawing extensively on anecdote, it was chiefly concerned with the way in which tourism was being used to provide employment in post-industrial areas, although he was also critical of the National Trust for having abandoned its founding principles, bemoaned the demise of the planned wealth tax, and mocked what he saw as the pretensions the Georgian Group (one of the amenity societies).⁵³

In turn, these declinist works would find a further counterpose in the following decade, in the shape of the work of Raphael Samuel, who was associated with a broadly similar academic milieu as Wright and Hewison. As Wright recounts, his own work was the product of a "somewhat troublesome relationship" to the people's history movement and the History Workshop.⁵⁴ Samuel, who was strongly associated with this group, published the first volume

⁴⁹ T. Adorno and M. Horkheimer (1997), 'The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception' *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, London: Verso; R. Hewison (1987), *The Heritage Industry*, London: Methuen, *passim*

⁵⁰ See R. Tombs (2015), *The English and Their History*, London: Penguin, pp759-761 & 791-800 for an overview and critique of this idea; see also P. Wright (2009), *On Living in an Old Country*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pxiv

⁵¹ R. Hewison (1995), *Culture and Consensus*, London: Methuen, pxv

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pxv; R. Hewison (1987), *The Heritage Industry*, London: Methuen, *passim*

⁵⁴ R. Hewison (1995), *Culture and Consensus*, pxv

of a two part work, *Theatres of Memory* in 1994, with the second volume appearing posthumously four years later.⁵⁵ Drawing on Pierre Nora's *Sites of Memory*,⁵⁶ Samuel criticised a hierarchical or elitist conception of history and examined the subject as a social practice, one that depends on childhood games, film and television, and other elements of culture, just as much as research in the archives.⁵⁷

Samuel offered an examination of the term 'heritage' and looked at the variety of uses of the word by various groups to various ends. Rather than being the preserve of the right, Samuel argued that the word had taken on the colour of contemporary concerns throughout the twentieth century.⁵⁸ In doing so he argued that the 1960s had seen a democratisation of heritage, "a cultural capital on which all were invited to draw".⁵⁹ The third chapter ("Sociology") critiqued Wright and Hewison's view that the heritage industry represents a 'hegemonic project', again by providing some historical context for the various practices associated with conservation, and calling for more detailed investigation of the economics and sociology of heritage.⁶⁰ Samuel argued strongly that a less polemical approach to the subject which "might serve as a useful corrective to those top down accounts of the heritage industry which see it as a kind of ruling class conspiracy or plot, or imply there is some directive intelligence at work".⁶¹ Samuel's work was largely coincident with a maturation of the discipline. In the same year as his book was published, the first volume of the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* was also published. Since its inception the journal has devoted itself to publishing the work of academics and heritage practitioners from a variety of disciplines. In this way, heritage studies as a discipline is now often less polemical, although it is often critical of the object under study.

⁵⁵ R. Samuel (1994), *Theatres of Memory*, London: Verso

⁵⁶ P. Nora (1997), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, New York: (Columbia University Press, 3 Vols.

⁵⁷ R. Samuel, (1992), 'Unofficial Knowledge', *Theatres of Memory*, London: Verso

⁵⁸ Ibid., 'Semantics'

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp237-238

⁶⁰ Ibid., p244

⁶¹ Ibid.

Waterton and Watson have argued that “research in heritage has tended to develop under the shadow of related subjects such as museum studies, archaeology and tourism”.⁶² Watson himself explored the practice of the representation of places of worship as sites of heritage and tourism by various parties in his PhD thesis, *Church Tourism: Representation and Cultural Practice*.⁶³ This examined the processes through which churches had been culturally constructed as sites for tourism.⁶⁴ In doing so Watson drew on the interviews with clergy, local authority officers and tour operators, and highlighted some of the ambivalences present in the cultural practice of church tourism.⁶⁵ Aside from museum studies and tourism, heritage issues have been important in urban history and planning. Notable authors working within this field include Peter Larkham, whose *Conservation and the City* took an international perspective on urban planning and heritage protection and compared different systems.⁶⁶ In addition, John Pendlebury’s monograph *Conservation in the Age of Consensus* looked at the intertwined history of conservation of historic buildings and planning in Britain in the second half of the twentieth century.⁶⁷ Rebecca Madgin’s *Heritage, Culture and Conservation* examined the impact of the decline of industry in Leicester, Manchester and Roubaix, and the role of heritage in the regeneration of these places.⁶⁸ In doing so, particularly in reference to Manchester’s Castlefield, she emphasised the role of voluntary organisations in the management of heritage in England, which she saw as forming part of a many tiered governmental structure linked horizontally and vertically.⁶⁹ Thus, whilst church tourism has received some attention within heritage studies, the impact of planning legislation on churches remains an open question. This thesis therefore draws on the work of authors like Larkham, Pendlebury and Madgin to

⁶² Waterton and Watson (2015), ‘Introduction’, Waterton and Watson (Eds.), *Palgrave Handbook*, p4

⁶³ S. Watson (2007), *Church Tourism: Representation and Cultural Practice*, (Unpublished doctoral thesis), University of York, uk.bl.ethos.490313

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p3

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, *passim*, esp. pp11, 19, 152 & 210

⁶⁶ P. Larkham (1996), *Conservation and the City*, London: Routledge

⁶⁷ J. Pendlebury (2008), *Conservation in the Age of Consensus*, London: Routledge

⁶⁸ R. Madgin (2009), *Heritage, Culture and Conservation*, Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag,

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp79-85

explore the ways in which historic places of worship, and their congregations have been affected by the listed status of the building they worship in, as well as the role of volunteers in the planning system more generally.

As we have seen, heritage studies has taken on a wide range of aspects and can be somewhat disparate in its outputs. Although the subject area has developed considerably since its early disputes, some battle lines remain. As Iain Robertson has argued this body of work can be loosely grouped into two sides forming both “optimistic and pessimistic camps”.⁷⁰ This can be seen particularly in the ways in which heritage studies has dealt with the subject of community. This subject is especially relevant to the ways in which government policy has been framed towards church buildings as we will see in chapters three and seven. Academic work on community heritage has often focused on the role of authority in the operation of the heritage sector and its relationship with communities. The ‘optimistic’ camp are generally positive about the role of agencies, experts and government-led initiatives, and the ‘pessimistic’ place emphasis on the inequalities of power at work between the agencies and the communities with whom they engage. Of the first camp, Newman and McLean’s article ‘Heritage Builds Communities’ argued that both through its economic impact and its impact on communities, particularly in its role in regeneration, heritage could be part of a suite of policies to tackle social exclusion.⁷¹ This drew heavily on the political philosophy of the Labour government, and where it was critical of government policy sought to extend the logic of this philosophy, rather than overturn it.

The optimistic camp is well represented within heritage-planning literature. For instance, seeing their article as a ‘companion piece’, to that of Newman and McLean, Pendlebury, et al looked at the role of urban regeneration projects and their role in fostering ‘community pride’,

⁷⁰ I. Robertson (2012), *Heritage from Below*, Farnham: Ashgate, p4

⁷¹ A. Newman and F. McLean (1998), ‘Heritage Builds Communities’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 4, iss. 3-4, pp143-153

seeing heritage as “a space in which regeneration can take place”.⁷² Again, although the authors were uncomfortable with the concept of ‘social inclusion’, this article was in-step with the direction the government was then taking in these areas. Pendlebury et al also looked at the more technical aspects of cooperation between Conservation Area Partnerships and heritage agencies, a theme which Strange and Whitney had also included in their article on regeneration policy in Leeds two years before.⁷³ In the same period, Maitland Gard’ner looked at the role of the existing heritage protection machinery in fostering recognition and inclusion amongst migrant communities through local lists and conservation areas.⁷⁴

The role of volunteers, through Conservation Area Partnerships or otherwise, has also been an important issue in the literature. Hodges and Watson’s article ‘Community Based Heritage Management’ focused on a project the authors had contributed to which had received a HLF grant, and offered observations of the factors which had led to the success of the project.⁷⁵ More recently, Hewitt and Pendlebury have offered a review of the structures through which individuals have been able to engage in “participative placemaking”.⁷⁶ Focusing on the activities of the civic societies, they discuss the role of the “expert citizen” in the maintenance of civil society over a long time span. Although this article problematized “the conflation of civic groups” with the more general public, and the domination of such groups by the “middle-class and local elite”, it appears to have been offered more in the spirit of historical enquiry than as a critique of the system as a whole.⁷⁷ The role of the expert citizen in the social construction of heritage has been of particular interest to this study, and the extent to which voluntary

⁷² J. Pendlebury, T. Townshend and R. Gilroy (2004), ‘The Conservation of English Cultural Built Heritage: A Force for Social Inclusion?’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 10:1, p12

⁷³ I. Strange & D. Whitney (2003), ‘The changing roles and purposes of heritage conservation in the UK’, *Planning Practice & Research*, 18:2-3, pp219-229

⁷⁴ J. M. Gard’ner (2004), ‘Heritage Protection and Social Inclusion: A Case Study from the Bangladeshi Community in East London’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 10:1, pp75-92

⁷⁵ A. Hodges & S. Watson (2000), ‘Community-based Heritage Management: a case study and agenda for research’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 6:3, pp231-243

⁷⁶ L. E. Hewitt & J. Pendlebury (2014), ‘Local associations and participation in place: change and continuity in the relationship between state and civil society in twentieth-century Britain’, *Planning Perspectives*, 29:1, pp25-44

⁷⁷ See *ibid.*

associations have played a part in both investing parish churches with historic significance and supported their ongoing maintenance have formed key areas of enquiry in this research.

Of the pessimistic camp within heritage studies, the work of archaeologist Laurajane Smith has set a research agenda for many subsequent works. As John Pendlebury sums up her stance, “there is no such thing as material heritage: heritage is essentially a cultural practice and a social process”.⁷⁸ In her influential *Uses of Heritage*, Smith developed a Critical Heritage Studies that applies theories taken from cultural studies to study heritage as a social practice. Her work can be seen as an extension of the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), with its neo-Gramscian interest in hegemony, and the work of Tony Bennett, who applied a Foucauldian concern for power/knowledge to the development of the museum.⁷⁹ Smith applied methods developed in Critical Discourse Analysis to heritage, arguing that an Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) had arisen which privileges the expert in the construction of the past, thereby “disempowering the present from actively rewriting the meaning of the past” meaning that “the use of the past to actively rewrite cultural and social meaning in the present becomes more difficult”.⁸⁰ Central to this is the idea that the present generation are merely stewards of the past in order to safeguard its remains for the next generation.⁸¹

For her case studies, Smith examined several aspects of the heritage sector in the UK and in Australia, including country house visiting, a comparison of museums related to industrial heritage, and the variety of meanings associated with competing interest groups in an Australian landscape.⁸² Smith related the development of heritage to the emergence of

⁷⁸ J. Pendlebury (2008), *Conservation in the Age of Consensus*, Abingdon: Routledge, p7

⁷⁹ Her title appears to be a play on the title of the founder of the CCCS, R. Hoggart's (2009), *Uses of Literacy*, London: Penguin; compare also her use of the concept of 'hegemony' with S. Hall et al (1978), *Policing the Crisis*, London: MacMillan; T. Bennett (1995), *The Birth of the Museum*, Abingdon: Routledge

⁸⁰ Smith (2006), *Uses*, p29

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Smith (2006), *Uses*, chapters 4, 5 & 7

nationalism and modernity, industrialisation and the French Revolution arguing that a “sense of trusteeship’ over the past was taken up by the SPAB” and embedded in legislation.⁸³ This focused on churches and the homes of the rural elite and wedded protection and conservation of heritage to professional expertise.⁸⁴ This conception of heritage spread through the ICOMOS Charters to become international practice, ignoring local contexts and traditions, forming part of the ideological domination by the upper classes.⁸⁵ When transposed to international contexts and forced on indigenous peoples, in Smith’s view heritage becomes something akin to imperialism.⁸⁶

It is clear that the notion of custodianship runs through much of the literature on heritage and is indeed a motivating force for many working within the heritage sector. Nevertheless, Smith’s presentation of this motivation as all conquering can be opened up to enquiry. Iain Robertson has coined the concept of ‘Heritage from Below’ to identify instances of resistance to the ‘ideological hegemony’ of heritage, for instance where community groups invest landscape with meaning which departs from that which those in power are seeking to impose upon them.⁸⁷ Yet the extent to which elites hold in common the primacy of heritage is open to question, especially where the preservation of historic buildings is inconvenient or represents a financial burden. One of the questions investigated by this thesis is, then, how have members of the Church of England, and especially the clergy hierarchy responded to the seeming ever tightening of heritage legislation in regard to historic buildings?

Whilst criticising those in the role of expert, whom she saw as jealously guarding their privileges, Smith’s *Uses of Heritage* also portrayed an antagonistic relationship between

⁸³ Ibid., p20

⁸⁴ Ibid., p21

⁸⁵ See Ibid., p22

⁸⁶ See Ibid., pp35-42

⁸⁷ Robertson (2008), ‘*Heritage from Below: Class, Social Protest and Resistance*’, B. J Graham & P. Howard (eds) (2008), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, Aldershot: Ashgate., esp. pp146 & 150-155

communities and the operation of the dominant discourse of heritage whereby the “agitation” of community groups had forced heritage practitioners to adopt policies of “greater inclusion”.⁸⁸ As part of this picture Smith presented the relationship between experts and communities as a delicate balance of power in which heritage practitioners were reluctant to cede their authority to community groups.⁸⁹ Originating from this position of power, programmes of social inclusion were critiqued by Smith as “too often” being assimilationist, with excluded groups “recruited into existing practices” accompanied by empty gestures of consultation rather than able to participate on their own terms.⁹⁰ These themes were rearticulated in both Waterton and Smith’s (2010) article ‘The recognition and misrecognition of Community Heritage’, and in Emma Waterton’s monograph, *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain*.⁹¹ Yet again, it is not always clear the extent to which communities and heritage professionals are always in active opposition towards one another. Whilst their objectives may periodically clash, the extent to which this can be overcome through negotiation has been of interest to this research.

To some extent it may be the case that academic literature has overestimated the power of heritage professionals to conserve heritage without the aid of the public. A recent work, *Heritage and Community Engagement*, edited by Waterton and Watson seems to tread between both optimistic and pessimistic camps. This collection included Waterton and Smith’s ‘recognition’ article, yet the other chapters generally seem to want to contribute to the way in which heritage professionals engage with communities, rather than to critique it. In the foreword, Waterton and Watson suggested that there was “no distinct role for the ‘public’ within

⁸⁸ Smith (2006), *Uses*, pp28, 35-38 & 51

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p38

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p37

⁹¹ E. Waterton and L. Smith (2010), ‘The recognition and misrecognition of Community Heritage’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16:1-2, 4-15; E. Waterton (2010), *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, p12-14 and chap. 4

the management process” of public heritage.⁹² The authors identify “exceptional circumstances” where this public management does exist which, they suggest, consists mostly of middle-class communities who share the same “professional and social status as the experts they bring in”.⁹³ Whilst aspects of this are undoubtedly true, the authors arguably underestimate the role of the public in managing heritage.

In some ways heritage literature has fetishised the role of the expert to the detriment of academic understandings of others involved in the heritage sector. Nevertheless, there appears to have been a recent shift in attention by some authors. In the recent edited collection, *Who Needs Experts?* John Schofield and others have drawn attention to the increasing emphasis placed on localism and the right of everyone to participate in heritage in light of the Faro Convention of 2005. The work of Schofield and others in the collection seeks to erode the division between professional experts and heritage expertise in other forms, which returns us to ideas of the citizen expert. Drawing on the ideas enshrined in the Convention, Schofield has argued that “[h]eritage is one of those things on which everyone has a view, and everyone has expertise”.⁹⁴ Rather than be seen as the preserve of the heritage professional, the authors make the case that the Faro Convention has meant the increasing relevance of the role of heritage communities in managing heritage.⁹⁵ Whilst this recognition is welcome, many of the authors present an image which is relatively a-historical. Burstrom for instance sets up a picture of the past in which the professional drew their expertise from their qualifications, and the public was “generally reduced to reporting new findings and damage to heritage

⁹² E. Waterton and S. Watson (2010), ‘Heritage and community engagement: finding a new agenda’, E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) (2010), *Heritage and Community Engagement: Collaboration or Contestation?*, Abingdon: Routledge, p4

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ J. Schofield (2016) ‘Heritage expertise and the Everyday’, J. Schofield, (ed.) (2016), *Who Needs Experts? Counter-mapping Cultural Heritage*, London: Routledge, p8

⁹⁵ See particularly S. Wolferstan (2016), ‘Ethnography of a ‘Humble Expert’: Experiencing Faro’, Schofield, (ed.) (2016), *Who Needs Experts?*; M. Burstrom (2016), ‘More than a Sensitive Ear: What to Expect from a professional Expert’, Schofield, (ed.) (2016), *Who Needs Experts?*; and S. Jackson (2016), ‘Contesting the expert at the former Bradford Odeon’, Schofield, (ed.) (2016), *Who Needs Experts?*

authorities”.⁹⁶ However, as we have seen, Hewitt and Pendlebury have noted the long-term continuities within heritage protection.⁹⁷ As will be seen in this thesis, the professional expert post-dates the local ‘amateur’ conservationist, and the latter have had significant influence on the former.⁹⁸ Within the volume Fairclough provided the most historicised account, noting the specificity of the professional expert as a product of the radio age.⁹⁹ Fairclough notes the less than accurate characterisation of experts “tied to a fixed and conventional heritage discourse” with a passive public

waiting for expert instruction or tuition, whereas there have been many cases where the recognition of new areas of heritage came from the grass roots, what since c.1950 and certainly since the late 1960s were frequently termed ‘amenity societies’, or as Faro now expresses it, heritage communities.¹⁰⁰

Thus, rather than see Faro as a departure, it makes more sense to see it as an official recognition of the role that the public, and citizen experts already play within the heritage sector, through voluntary action. In the case of Anglican churches, it is the PCC which is key here. The members of these groups are ultimately responsible for the upkeep of their place of worship, they must manage the consent process and grant aid. It is arguable that heritage professionals are reliant on the activities of community groups to achieve their desired outcomes, rather than the converse. As will be seen in chapter seven, the members of these groups are experts themselves. In the course of their voluntary work they have accrued extensive knowledge in a range of areas, including grant aid funding, historical research and

⁹⁶ M. Burstrom (2016), ‘More than a Sensitive Ear’, Schofield (ed.) (2016), *Who Needs Experts?* p101

⁹⁷ Hewitt & Pendlebury (2014), ‘Local associations and participation in place’, *Planning Perspectives*, 29:1

⁹⁸ See B. Harrison (2009) *Seeking a Role: The United Kingdom 1951-1970*, Oxford: O.U.P, pp21-22 for a brief discussion of the development of professional organisations in the twentieth century; See H. Perkin (1990), *The Rise of Professional Society: England Since 1880*, London: Routledge, for a longer one.

⁹⁹ G. Fairclough (2016), ‘What was wrong with dufton? Reflections on Counter-Mapping: Self, Alterity and Community’, Schofield (ed.) (2016), *Who Needs Experts?* p244

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p245

community outreach. In the course of the thesis they will be seen as yet another group of citizen experts, alongside nineteenth-century archaeologists, countryside campaigners, local historians and civic minded members of conservation trusts. Ultimately responsible for the upkeep of their place of worship, PCC members must manage the consent process and grant aid. It is arguable that heritage professionals are reliant on the activities of community groups to achieve their desired outcomes. Another key question here has therefore been to what extent is the conservation of historic places of worship reliant on the labour of volunteers?

The subject of voluntary action in heritage has been explored in a number of PhDs previously. For instance, Naomi Harflett has studied the contribution of volunteers with the National Trust through the use of a large scale survey.¹⁰¹ Her thesis drew on the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu and explored a variety of motivations for volunteering for the Trust.¹⁰² Alongside this work has been that of Kirsten Holmes, whose research has looked at similar issues to Harflett, but encompassed volunteer engagement with a range of other heritage organisations.¹⁰³ Bridget Yates has also looked at the role of volunteers in heritage.¹⁰⁴ Her work has taken a longer term view, looking at the history of voluntary provision in the museums sector, with chapters taking in the history of such provision from the late nineteenth century onward.¹⁰⁵ Whilst these works focus on volunteer interaction with heritage organisations and the museums sector, there remains scope to investigate volunteer activity elsewhere, particularly in the management of heritage assets. In order to investigate this in relation to historic places of worship, it has been necessary to investigate the relationship religious groups in England

¹⁰¹ N. Harflett (2014), *For ever, for everyone? : patterns of volunteering : the case of the National Trust*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Southampton, retrieved from: <https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/id/eprint/374696>

¹⁰² Ibid., pi

¹⁰³ K. Holmes (2002), *Volunteer and visitor interaction in the UK heritage sector: motives and benefits*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Leeds, uk.bl.ethos.250870

¹⁰⁴ B. Yates (2010), *Volunteer-run museums in English market towns and villages*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Gloucestershire, uk.bl.ethos.540075

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

had with voluntary action. The next section will provide an overview of academic engagements with this subject in order to present research questions for this thesis as a whole.

Voluntary Action

The sociology of volunteering is a well-studied academic area and covers a range of different subject areas in itself. Colin Rochester has identified three separate approaches to this field.¹⁰⁶ The first, the 'non-profit paradigm', which looks at the role of volunteering as part of charity work, and views volunteering as a form of philanthropy; the second, the 'civil society paradigm', which focuses on volunteering within associations as a form of activism; the third which concentrates on volunteering as leisure.¹⁰⁷ However, within this literature it has been argued that religious groups have tended to "fall through the cracks", with researchers in the sociology of volunteering focusing on other areas.¹⁰⁸ This may be somewhat surprising to historians, as the relationship between religious organisations and philanthropy is significant, and the subject has been well covered. A key text here is David Owen's *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* published in 1965. Owen's book drew connections between religious motivations from before the twentieth century, and linked philanthropy to the 'Puritan ideal' in an ethical rather than doctrinal sense common to "High Churchman, Low Churchman, and Dissenter".¹⁰⁹ In doing so, Owen outlined a range of philanthropic endeavours, including charity schools, and hospitals, whilst also looking at the changing legislative framework for these practices.¹¹⁰

As part of his introduction, Owen was able to state that philanthropy had "held relatively little appeal for historians".¹¹¹ Interest in the subject has since grown, with a number of authors expanding or modifying Owen's thesis. Frank Prochaska's *Women and Philanthropy in*

¹⁰⁶ C. Rochester (2006), *Making Sense of Volunteering: A Literature Review*, London: Volunteering England, p3

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p204; M. Harris, (1998), *Organizing God's Work*, New York: St. Martin's Press, p18.

¹⁰⁹ D. Owen (1965), *English Philanthropy 1660-1960*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, p13

¹¹⁰ Ibid., *passim*

¹¹¹ Ibid., p1

Nineteenth Century England engaged with an aspect of philanthropy untouched by Owen and showed the prevalence of women in the organisation of fundraising and charitable work, focusing particularly on their roles in committees and running bazaars.¹¹² The strength of these practices was such that he was able to suggest that '[v]irtually all women... felt the pressure to contribute'.¹¹³ Prochaska has also contributed a short overview of volunteering in the shape of *The Voluntary Impulse*.¹¹⁴ Within Prochaska's work, the role of Christianity in promoting voluntary action has been paramount.¹¹⁵

The relationships between religion, voluntary action and moral reform have also drawn a significant amount of attention from historians. In this vein, Donna Andrew has engaged with the history of charitable work, covering a similar time frame to Owen. Her *Philanthropy and Police* argued that nineteenth-century voluntary action combined Malthusian fears that those in receipt of welfare risked their independence, and Evangelical concerns for the inner-life of the person.¹¹⁶ The organisations and individuals she studied therefore focused their efforts and charitable works on the promotion of moral reform.¹¹⁷ As Andrew shows, increasingly, relief began to be raised from the poor themselves through voluntary societies. Thus, "the role of philanthropist was transformed from being a donor of funds to becoming a donor of time and personal attention."¹¹⁸ More recently, M. J. D. Roberts has produced a detailed account of the activities of moral reforming organisations from the final quarter of the eighteenth century, to the final quarter of the nineteenth, focusing on the role of voluntary organisations in shaping the standards of conduct expected of the working and middle classes.¹¹⁹

¹¹² F. K. Prochaska (1980), *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p39

¹¹⁴ F. K. Prochaska (1988), *The Voluntary Impulse*, London: Faber and Faber

¹¹⁵ See esp. F. K. Prochaska (2006), *Christianity and Social Service: The Disinherited Spirit*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

¹¹⁶ D. Andrew (1989), *Philanthropy and Police*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, *passim*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p201

¹¹⁹ M. J. D. Roberts (2009), *Making English Morals*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

The late nineteenth century has been seen as a golden age of voluntary associations. Jose Harris has provided perhaps the most accessible account of this history, noting a cross-class involvement in voluntary associations.¹²⁰ Writing on this subject sometime prior to Harris, Steven Yeo explored the activities of a multitude of associations in Reading from the end of the nineteenth century up to the beginning of the First World War.¹²¹ Yeo's work drew attention to a diverse ecology of groups, anchored in both religious organisations and places of work. These, he showed, provided opportunities for association and leisure, and worked towards a range of goals including supporting hospital provision and the campaign for temperance.¹²² However, Yeo argued that by the end of the Edwardian period the disengagement of the "local middle-class" was one of several factors that led to the decline of local social service and the rise of nationally organised welfare.¹²³ This mooted decline in religious organisations involved in locally-based social service raises a number of issues for the history of this period. Not least for those concerned with understanding the declining influence of religion in voluntary action. Nevertheless, the issue appears to be less broadly applicable than Yeo presented it.

Sarah Flew's recent *Philanthropy and the Funding of the Church of England, 1856-1914* has drawn on the work of Yeo, and explored the development of voluntarist funding arrangements in the Church of England from 1800.¹²⁴ Her monograph concentrated on the Diocese of London from the start of episcopate of Archibald Tait up until the start of the First World War.¹²⁵ Noting that charitable income to religious organisations has not been well covered by historians, Flew outlined the development of the funding of Anglican home missionary organisations focusing on the themes of "philanthropy and secularization".¹²⁶ On this latter point, she argued that decline in the adherence of male members of congregations led to a

¹²⁰ J. Harris (1994), *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914*, London: Penguin, p193 & p220

¹²¹ S. Yeo (1976), *Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis*, London: Croom Helm

¹²² *Ibid.*, *passim*

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp296-331

¹²⁴ S. Flew (2015), *Philanthropy and the Funding of the Church of England, 1856-1914*, Abingdon: Routledge, chapter one and pp133

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, *passim*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp1-2

concomitant decline in major donor funding for the Church of England societies.¹²⁷ However, this decline in support was masked by other sources of income, as in some cases the proportion of donations from women increased.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, by the First World War contributions from the laity in the organisations Flew studied had significantly declined.¹²⁹ This, she argues, is proof of the secularisation of English society. Flew's work is detailed and presents cogent evidence to support her arguments in the context of the societies she studied. Nevertheless, it raises further questions as to how applicable her findings are in other dioceses, and to what extent this disengagement persisted over the longer term. At the same time, it is possible to question the extent to which a decline in support for specific diocesan initiatives can be fully understood as secularisation.

Besides the relationship between voluntary action and religion, a continuing theme of the work of historians on volunteering has been the relationship between voluntary action and the state. Writing in the context of the post-war consensus, Owen argued that charity had had a "role as a pioneering force, pointing the way to action by the State".¹³⁰ He thus posited a three stage process whereby a service is first established by voluntary action, as a response to "social evil or social need".¹³¹ In consequence, the state may begin to assist in grant aid "on a temporary and experimental basis" to support the activity before "finally ... the state may take over the service and operate it as a public enterprise, with or without voluntary assistance".¹³² This unilinear process has subsequently been called into question as a consequence of changes to welfare provision in the period which followed Owen's work.

Geoffrey Finlayson's *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain 1830 - 1990*, was critical of studies which overemphasised the state's role in welfare delivery in the kind of single-direction

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp134-137

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p79

¹³⁰ D. Owen (1965), *English Philanthropy*, p6

¹³¹ Ibid., p7

¹³² Ibid.

history written by Owen.¹³³ Finlayson argued to the contrary, that rather than simply being a process of increasing state provision replacing voluntarism, there had been “recurrent experimentation” and “‘shifting boundaries’ between voluntarism and the state.”¹³⁴ Finlayson used the phrase “the mixed economy of welfare” in order to identify welfare provided by a range of sources not limited to the state, but also including the family, as well as voluntary associations.¹³⁵ Both Owen and Finlayson’s work raise questions for the social construction of heritage. Did the state agencies which seek to conserve heritage, such as English Heritage have voluntary forebears? In addition, have these been formally incorporated into the ways in which heritage has been managed, or do they now exist alongside non-departmental public bodies as part of a mixed economy?

The state’s changing relationship with voluntary action, and indeed the creation of the voluntary sector itself as an arena for government action, have been of increased academic interest recently. Considering this latter issue, Perri 6 and Diana Leat have argued that between the *Wolfenden Report* of 1978 and the Deakin Commission on the Future of the Voluntary Sector in 1996, the voluntary ‘sector’ itself was called into being as a “field of public policy”.¹³⁶ As they outlined, government and public policy experts began to consider ways in which voluntary organisations could deliver welfare provision, with Margaret Thatcher remarking that the “volunteer movement is at the heart of our social welfare provision”.¹³⁷ Colin Rochester has drawn on the work of 6 and Leat and extended their schema past the date of their original article, pointing to the Blair government’s *Compact on Relations between Government and the Voluntary and Community Sector in England* (1998).¹³⁸ This was based

¹³³ G. Finlayson (1990), *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

¹³⁴ Ibid., p18

¹³⁵ Ibid., pp6-7 & chap. 1

¹³⁶ P. 6 and D. Leat (1997), ‘Inventing the British Voluntary Sector by committee: from Wolfenden to Deakin’, *Non Profit Studies*, 1, 2, pp33-34

¹³⁷ Ibid., p34

¹³⁸ C. Rochester (2013), *Rediscovering Voluntary Action*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp48-49

on the Deakin Commission's report and aimed to managerialize voluntary organisations.¹³⁹ Rochester also cited a further policy initiative of 2001 that required local authorities to set up Local Strategic Partnerships bringing together the public, for profit, and voluntary sectors.¹⁴⁰ The application of this literature to heritage studies has been of importance to this study. It is clear that successive governments have taken a role in supporting and directing the voluntary sector. How applicable, then, are these observations to the heritage sector in general, and more specifically the management of historic places of worship?

Locating the origin of government intervention in voluntary action appears to be subject to a variety of claims. At the 2010 election, David Cameron traded on a rhetoric of a 'broken Britain', which was to be fixed by extended civic engagement under the flag of the 'Big Society'.¹⁴¹ Thus, the immediate period was followed by a smattering of publications from historians and others dedicated to examining the paternity of this concept. Three edited collections, Hilton and MacKay's, *The Ages of Voluntarism: How we got to the Big Society*, Rochester et al's *Understanding the Roots of Voluntary Action* and Ishkanian and Szreter's *The Big Society Debate* all appeared as a result of this interest.¹⁴² Of these, Hilton and MacKay's collection located the origins of the relationship between government and voluntary organisations the furthest back, with Peter Grant's chapter allowing us to locate this in the establishment of the office of Director General of Voluntary Organisations (DGVO) in 1915, held by Sir Edward Ward and set up to coordinate voluntary response to the war through the War Charities Committee.¹⁴³ Aspects of this literature will be drawn on in the work that follows.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ D. Sage (2012), 'A challenge to liberalism? The communitarianism of the Big Society and Blue Labour', *Critical Social Policy*, 32, 3, p366

¹⁴² M. Hilton and J. MacKay (2011), *The Ages of Voluntarism: How we got to the Big Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; C. Rochester, G. C. Gosling, A. Penn, M. Zimmeck (2011), *Understanding the Roots of Voluntary Action*, Brighton: Sussex Academic Press; A. Ishkanian and S. Szreter (2012), *The Big Society Debate: A New Agenda for Social Policy?*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Press

¹⁴³ P. Grant (2011), 'Voluntarism and the impact of the First World War', M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds) (2011), *The Ages of Voluntarism: How we got to the Big Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p30

As noted at the start of this section, outside of the relationship between the state and voluntary action, and indeed social welfare, volunteering is tied up with various different forms of association. Of particular interest to this study has been the role of antiquarians and archaeologists within voluntary societies in the nineteenth century in the production of historical knowledge. This subject will be explored further in reference to the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (NNAS) in chapter six. Nevertheless, this group fed on the development of the Society of Antiquaries which was subject to Rosemary Sweet's attention in her monograph *Antiquaries*.¹⁴⁴ Sweet's book examined the activities of the Society in the eighteenth century taking in both its membership and its research, as well as the popularisation of its research through a range of printed works.¹⁴⁵ Sweet's work can be taken alongside, Philippa Levine's earlier work, *The Amateur and the Professional*, which looked at publishing societies and local archaeological and architectural societies, outlining their growth in number from the 1830s onward.¹⁴⁶ Together these works demonstrate the ongoing practice of researching the past between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by voluntary associations.

Of significant importance to this study has been Susanna Wade Martins history of Norfolk conservation organisations. This work was not limited to research of antiquity but included sustained interest in the activities of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.¹⁴⁷ Chapter six has thus drawn significantly on the basis provided by Wade Martins, narrowing the focus to building conservation in respect to the NNAS and subsequent organisations. The activities of organisations such as the NNAS have particular relevance to places of worship. Chris Miele has compared the activities of such organisations in relation to parish churches to

¹⁴⁴ R. Sweet (2004), *Antiquaries*, London: Hambledon and London

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., *passim*

¹⁴⁶ P. Levine (1986), *The Amateur and the Professional*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

¹⁴⁷ S. Wade-Martins (2015), *The Conservation Movement in Norfolk: A History*, Woodbridge: Boydell

that outlined by Peter Mandler in regards to stately homes.¹⁴⁸ In doing so Miele argued that churchmen had worked to make their historic churches relevant to nineteenth-century society through historical research.¹⁴⁹ Accordingly, in the early nineteenth century a body of architectural and archaeological research developed which entered the public domain, meaning that people were able to place their local parish church within a generalized history of the country.¹⁵⁰ There is thus a substantial body of work concerning the production of historical knowledge by voluntary organisations, which will be built upon in the chapters on Norwich and Norfolk that follow. Within this the aim has been to explore the extent to which the NNAS provided the groundwork for later church conservation initiatives. As we saw, Hewitt and Pendlebury have argued for a continuity between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries forms of urban governance.¹⁵¹ To what extent did a continuity exist between the conservation organisations that have taken an interest in parish churches, such as the NNAS and the Norfolk Churches Trust? Did the extensive research of the former organisation develop a local foundation on which later conservation organisations were based?

The question of continuity returns us to the work of Yeo, who noted “the withdrawal of the local middle-class Vice Presidential stratum from its active local commitment”, as one of the “major contextual forces” affecting the associations he studied.¹⁵² In the following years, a narrative of disengagement by urban elites in the early twentieth century became well established in the literature of urban history.¹⁵³ In response to this Barry Doyle, using the example of Norwich, has shown a continued civic engagement of elites well into this period despite their suburbanisation.¹⁵⁴ Developing this line of argument in connection with the evidence of the

¹⁴⁸ C. Miele (2011), ‘Heritage and its Communities: Reflections on the English Experience in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries’, M. Hall (ed), (2011), *Heritage, Culture and Identity: Towards World Heritage* Farnham: Ashgate, p159; Mandler (1997), *Fall and Rise*

¹⁴⁹ Miele (2011), ‘Heritage and its Communities’, p159

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Hewitt & Pendlebury (2014), ‘Local associations’, p27

¹⁵² Yeo (1976), *Religion*, p296

¹⁵³ See B. M. Doyle (1997), ‘The structure of elite power in the early twentieth-century city: Norwich, 1900–35’, *Urban History*, 24 (2), pp180-181

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., *passim*

voluntary societies of Leicester, Laura Balderstone has suggested that suburbanisation of the middle classes was no impediment to the creation of 'social networks at the city centre', with members often travelling some distance into Leicester to attend meetings.¹⁵⁵ Hewitt and Pendlebury's work on civic societies should be taken together with this literature as they demonstrate the ongoing engagement by the middle classes in "urban governance" in the twentieth century in a similar fashion to arrangements within the Victorian era.¹⁵⁶ This theme has undoubted significance for the issues surrounding the decline of public worship, as we saw in the work of Flew, as well as the funding of repair. The question of whether and in which places the middle classes retained a role in urban governance and social service in the interwar period has thus been of interest to this thesis. These subjects are taken up in the local case studies examined here. Was there a disengagement of the middle class with church building and repair in Huddersfield? What role did the continuing engagement by the middle classes in Norwich have on church building conservation? Did this continuing engagement have import for other areas, such as the conservation of churches in rural settings?

The final chapter of this work looks to understand the experiences of PCC members in managing repairs and alterations to their church building in conjunction with Historic England and the HLF. As was noted at the start of this section, until fairly recently congregations were overlooked by those studying voluntary organisations.¹⁵⁷ Studies such as Margaret Harris's *Organizing God's Work*; Malcolm Torry's, *Managing God's Business*; and Cameron et al's, *Studying Local Churches: A Handbook*, represent a growing body of research in this area.¹⁵⁸ Although in part these texts have looked at the management of building projects, they do not seem to have included an investigation of heritage protection regime and the role of congregations working within this system.

¹⁵⁵ L. Balderstone (2014), 'Semi-detached Britain? Reviewing suburban engagement in twentieth-century society', *Urban History*, 41(1), p149

¹⁵⁶ L. E. Hewitt & J. Pendlebury (2014), 'Local associations', p27

¹⁵⁷ Harris (1998), *Organizing God's Work*, pp3-4

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.; H. Cameron, P. Richter, D. Davies, and F. Ward (2011), *Studying Local Churches: A Handbook*, London: SCM Press

Colin Rochester has called Margaret Harris's *Organizing God's Work: Challenges for Churches and Synagogues* "pioneering", and suggested that much of the findings of later research "echo" those found in Harris' study.¹⁵⁹ Harris found that congregations, like voluntary associations, share "difficulties in recruitment, retention, motivation, management", with the added difficulty that crucial activity may be dependent on just one or two committed people.¹⁶⁰ Harris theorized that members of a church – clergy, laity, and paid staff – may all operate with different conceptions of how a congregation should function. Those volunteering to help with the day-to-day running of the church may approach the group with ideas in line with the organization of other voluntary societies they belong to and participate on their own terms.¹⁶¹ However, ministers are trained to "make universal claims to authority", whilst staff members operate with models drawn from professional or bureaucratic modes of employment.¹⁶² As a consequence of Harris' work it is clear that researchers should be cognisant of the varying interests and objectives present within congregations. How this has affected the management of historic places of worship has been of interest to this study and is explored in chapter seven.

Harris was therefore able to encapsulate some of the features present in the organisation of congregations. While not explicitly drawing on the work of Harris, the anthropologist Abby Day has presented an in-depth investigation into the labour which has been necessary to achieve this organisation. Day's monograph *The Religious Lives of Older Laywomen: The Last Active Anglican Generation* took in evidence from a range of Anglican congregations in different parts of the world derived from participant observation. In doing she drew attention to the role of older women in the performance of voluntary work within congregations and attendant effect of the decline in public worship in the provision of this.¹⁶³ In producing a comprehensive

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., pp178-180

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p126

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid., p180

¹⁶³ Ibid., p6

ethnography, Day has woven in the decline of public worship into this picture. She therefore has suggested on the basis of her research that we are now seeing “the last active generation of lay people in the Church of England”.¹⁶⁴ It is not clear the extent to which this is true, and it has remained beyond the scope of this study to investigate this thoroughly. Nevertheless, it is arguable that the decline of public worship presents significant issues for the management of historic places of worship. Seeking to understand these has played a significant part in undertaking of this research. In order to do so, it has been necessary to engage with the literature on secularisation, which the next part of this chapter outlines.

Secularization

The study of the decline in active adherents of the Church of England and other denominations has sustained the interests of scholars over a long period. For instance, a series of studies conducted by Peter Brierley since 1979 have provided a welter of statistics which generally show downward trend of church attendance and membership in the UK (with a few upward swings, mostly due to immigration).¹⁶⁵ However, the meaning and significance of this decline in public worship has long been disputed. Dominic Erdozain has separated the debate into two strands, secularization and the “secularization thesis”.¹⁶⁶ As concept, secularization is linked to the development of Enlightenment thought.¹⁶⁷ One of its most enduring statements, however, lay in the sociology of Max Weber. This has subsequently come under sustained scrutiny, particularly within sociology, with debate centring on the teleological nature of his argument.

¹⁶⁴ A. Day, ‘Farewell to Generation A: The Final ‘Active Generation’ in the Anglican Communion’, A. Day (ed) (2016), *Contemporary Issues in the Worldwide Anglican Communion: Powers and Pieties*, Farnham: Ashgate, p16

¹⁶⁵ For example, P. W. Brierley, and Bible Society (1980), *Prospects for the eighties: from a census of the churches in 1979*, London: Bible Society; P. Brierley (1989), *A Century of British Christianity: historical statistics 1900-1985, with projections to 2000*, London: MARC; and P. W. Brierley (2013), *London’s churches are growing!: What the London Church Census reveals*, (Tonbridge: ADBC Publishers

¹⁶⁶ D. Erdozain (2010), *The Problem of Pleasure*, Woodbridge: Boydell, p199

¹⁶⁷ P. Berger (1999), ‘The Desecularization of the World: A Global Overview’, P. Berger (ed) (1999), *The Desecularization of the World*, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, p2

Weber's 1922 lecture "Science as a Vocation" examined the role of scientific inquiry in society. Looking at scientific specialisation and progress, Weber argued that these were part of a broader trend of 'intellectualization' of the world.¹⁶⁸ This process of intellectualization implies that there is always the possibility that we can discover something which was previously unknown about the world and therefore the role of "mysterious incalculable forces" in our lives declines.¹⁶⁹ Weber's thesis is thus linked to notions of scientific progress and tends only in one direction. However, Erdozain has argued that this can be dissociated from "the gradual attenuation of supernatural reference and recourse" which he insists "is an eminently historical process".¹⁷⁰ It is not strictly obvious how Erdozain's theory of secularisation differs from that of Weber. Nevertheless, his standpoint makes clear that whilst sociologists have tended to draw back from using the term, historians have often employed it without compunction. In this section we will first look at the way the term has developed within sociology, before moving on to historiographical approaches to the concept.

According to Weber, intellectualization means that for those labouring under a scientific worldview, the world becomes "disenchanted".¹⁷¹ Weber's essay is at times oblique, and mention of these ideas are really only in passing.¹⁷² However, his thesis has formed the basis of the way in which sociologists have framed discussions of the changing relationship between society and religion over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In the 1960s, the notion of modernity having led to a rational and calculating worldview freed from religious mystery formed the consensus view of sociologists and was expressed in the works of Thomas Luckmann, Peter Berger and Bryan Wilson.¹⁷³ Towards the end of the decade David Martin

¹⁶⁸ See M. Weber (1958), 'Science as a Vocation', *Daedalus*, Vol. 87, No. 1, pp112-116

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p117

¹⁷⁰ D. Erdozain (2010), *Problem*, Woodbridge: Boydell, p199

¹⁷¹ Weber (1958), 'Science as a Vocation', pp117

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p127

¹⁷³ T. Luckmann (1967), *The Invisible Religion: the Problem of Religion in Modern Society*, New York: Collier-Macmillan; P. L. Berger (1967), *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*, New York: Anchor Books; B. R. Wilson (1966), *Religion in Secular Society: a sociological comment*, London: C.A Watts

argued for a greater complexity to the theory, and examined the diverse ways in which secularization would affect different societies.¹⁷⁴ However, by 1977 Peter Glasner was arguing that secularization had “attained a mythological status”.¹⁷⁵ Glasner suggested that secularization formed part of a political strategy and was not a value-free concept. On the right, it was used to criticise the 'massification' of culture and on the left it formed part of an anti-religious ideology. He noted that church attendance was a poor measure of religiosity and that studies of secularization have privileged an institutional definition of religion.¹⁷⁶ Glasner criticised theories which saw secularization as a unidirectional effect of 'progress'.¹⁷⁷ These theories, he argued, made religion a dependant variable on three master trends – urbanisation, industrialisation and modernisation – without an explanation of the links between these processes.¹⁷⁸ This was dubiously backed up, he argued, by citing disparate historical situations, which were then compared to contemporary society with the conclusion that today's society is the most secular.¹⁷⁹

Glasner was not alone in criticising the use of the concept, with the theory of secularization coming under attack on a number of fronts in the following years. In America, one of the most industrially and technologically developed societies in the world, social surveys were used to suggest that the population was becoming more, not less, religious. Theodore Caplow revisited the site of the classic American Sociological study “Middletown” and used the evidence to make this point, comparing the 1920s to the 1970s.¹⁸⁰ Andrew Greeley's 1989 study *Religion in America* used survey data from the 1940s onwards and drew the same conclusions.¹⁸¹ American sociologists also developed a school of religious economy, centred

¹⁷⁴ D. Martin (1969), *The Religious and the Secular: Studies in Secularization*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

¹⁷⁵ P. Glasner (1977), *The Sociology of Secularization: a critique of a concept*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p9

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp20 & 34

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., pp43-63

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p61

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p34

¹⁸⁰ T. Caplow (1983), *All Faithful People: Change and Continuity in Middletown's Religion*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

¹⁸¹ A. M. Greeley (1989), *Religious Change in America*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press

around Rodney Stark, which was an application of rational choice theory to religious studies and could be characterised as a neo-liberal (free market) approach to the sociology of religion.¹⁸² Part of their argument was that only religious pluralism could be successful and that state interference in religion was likely to lead to a decline in religion, because, they argue, having a monopoly leads to institutional decline.¹⁸³ Jose Casanova's *Public Religions in the Modern World* (1994), not part of the religious economy school, also pointed to religion's continued place in the modern world, taking an international view.¹⁸⁴

British writers have been more likely to approach secularisation by disputing the efficacy of using church membership and attendance as indices of religiosity. Grace Davie's, *Religion in Britain Since 1945: Believing Without Belonging* used attitudinal surveys to show that although membership and attendance of Britain's churches were declining, religious belief persisted.¹⁸⁵ This was part of a trend in British sociology of religion to widen out the meaning of the term 'religion' beyond an institutional definition. This strategy also forms part of the work of Linda Woodhead and Paul Heelas.¹⁸⁶ Together, as a result of the Kendal Project, which studied religious practices in the Lake District town, they hailed a 'spiritual revolution' in Britain in which people are now able to pick and choose their religious beliefs.¹⁸⁷

Yet considering the trend of decline in public worship in Britain and other European countries, some writers have held firm to the secularization thesis. The most prominent of these has been Steve Bruce, setting himself against both the religious economists and the likes of Davie, Woodhead and Heelas. Two of Bruce's books, *God is Dead* and *Secularization: In Defense of*

¹⁸² R. Finke and R. Stark (1992), *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: winners and losers in our religious economy*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press

¹⁸³ See *Ibid.*, p19

¹⁸⁴ J. Casanova (1994), *Public Religions in the Modern World*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

¹⁸⁵ G. Davie (1994), *Religion in Britain Since 1945: Believing Without Belonging*, London: Wiley-Blackwell, *passim*

¹⁸⁶ See L. Woodhead and P. Heelas (2005), *The Spiritual Revolution: why religion is giving way to spirituality*, Oxford: Blackwell; Grace Davie, Linda Woodhead, Paul Heelas (2003), *Predicting Religion: Christian, Secular and Alternative Futures*, Aldershot: Ashgate; The Kendal Project, retrieved from: <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fss/projects/ieppp/kendal/history.htm>

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

an Unfashionable Theory, tackle the issue head on. In the former, he disputes the idea that the 'secularisationists' were propounding a universal law, but argues that they were providing historically and geographically contingent observations, with the book largely aimed at contradicting his opponents.¹⁸⁸ Addressing Davie, Bruce argued that communal worship is central to Christianity and his chapter on statistics focuses on an institutional definition of religion.¹⁸⁹ In answer to the religious economists, Bruce argued that American churches routinely exaggerate church attendance, and therefore their findings are unreliable.¹⁹⁰ The second of these books, *Secularization*, recycles some of the material in the first, but was updated and provided new evidence to support Bruce's arguments.¹⁹¹ Here he argued that the root of decline is generational, and is partly the result of the "dislocating effect of the Second World War."¹⁹² Again, he argued that America is no different from Europe, and that religion plays little part in the core operation of the social system there.¹⁹³

Debates over secularization are still current in British sociology. Voas and Crockett have examined Davie's believing without belonging thesis to see if it still holds true in the twenty-first century.¹⁹⁴ Again using attitudinal surveys, they found that believing too was in decline. Like Bruce, Voas and Crockett concluded that the decline was generational.¹⁹⁵ Davie revisited her thesis in her *Sociology of Religion* responding by acknowledging that believing without belonging was only a temporary phase, with the emergent situation being characterised by Rob Warner as "believing differently, and belonging less".¹⁹⁶ Davie has again approached the subject in her most recent book, *Religion in Britain: A Persistent Paradox* which was published

¹⁸⁸ S. Bruce (2002), *God is Dead: Secularization in the West*, Oxford: Blackwell, p37. Bruce even goes so far as to claim "[t]here is no secularization theory. There is a cluster of testable explanations that cohere as well as anything in the Social Sciences", p39

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p71

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., pp206-207

¹⁹¹ S. Bruce (2011), *Secularization: in defence of an unfashionable theory*, Oxford: OUP p19

¹⁹² Ibid., p71

¹⁹³ Ibid., p176

¹⁹⁴ D. Voas and A. Crockett (2005), 'Religion in Britain: Neither Believing nor Belonging', *Sociology*, February vol. 39 no.1 pp11-28

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p11

¹⁹⁶ R. Warner (2010), *Secularization and its Discontents*, London: Continuum, p53

in 2015, in which she argued that, amongst other things, the continuing prevalence of nominal Christians were content to express their religiosity through “vicarious religion” with religious practice taking place on their behalf.¹⁹⁷ This work also represented an attempt to come to terms with the “rise of the nones”, by examining the motivations of those who tick “no religion” on the census.¹⁹⁸

A recent work by Brown and Woodhead is also of note here. This was an exposé of sorts, covering episodes within the recent history Church of England. However, besides a series of interesting vignettes, the work also includes some cogent insights into changing religious practices. In discussing religious decline they suggest that the decline of the Church is linked to “the decline of paternalism”, which they see as opposed to liberalism.¹⁹⁹ They have also argued that the Church of England is by definition a societal church, but having come out of step with the liberal values of the majority, the church has ceased to be in a position to “reinforce society”.²⁰⁰ Although they do not explicitly locate this change, they repeatedly draw links between Thatcherism and these social changes.²⁰¹ Elements of their argument will be taken up in the work that follows.

The sociology of secularization has been studied internationally and as we have seen, in part objections to the use of the term have stemmed from an inability to apply its use globally. However, historians of religious change in Britain have not been confronted with this issue. Nevertheless, scholars approaching this problem have been less keen to apply Weber’s intellectualisation thesis, and more interested in looking at proximate causes for religious decline. Historians investigating secularization have been more inclined to use statistical evidence from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to support their case. This has centred

¹⁹⁷ G. Davie (2015), *Religion in Britain: A Persistent Paradox*, Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, esp. pp81-88

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., pp188-193

¹⁹⁹ A. Brown and L. Woodhead (2016), *That Was the Church That Was*, London: Bloomsbury, p64

²⁰⁰ Ibid., pp65-66

²⁰¹ Ibid., pp5 & 69

around the use of the official census of church attendance conducted by Horace Mann in 1851. E. R. Wickham's 1957 *Church and People in an Industrial City*, published in 1957 and K. S. Inglis' *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* of 1964 relied on contemporary accounts and used class and urban expansion to explain what they saw as unexpectedly low attendance in the urban parishes.²⁰² There developed a consensus view that the nineteenth-century working classes were largely without religion.

The use of statistical analysis to inform themes of class, urbanisation and religious decline continued to feature in the subsequent decades. Alan Gilbert's *Religion and Society in Industrial England: church, chapel, and social change: 1740 – 1914*, argued that over the time period studied, the Church of England had gone from state monopoly of religion, to being one denomination amongst many, ushering in an age of religious voluntarism.²⁰³ Gilbert's main aim was to show that nonconformity offered an alternative rallying point for working class politics, outside of the Anglican mainstream.²⁰⁴ Methodism particularly was able to 'exploit' the weaknesses of the Anglican parish system, which had provided an insufficient response to urbanisation.²⁰⁵ This had created what Gilbert calls an "ideological cleavage between town and country".²⁰⁶ After a detailed history of the Establishment, Gilbert argued that there has been a crisis of plausibility for Christianity, with an alienation caused by theology, rather than by science alone.²⁰⁷ However, he also pointed to two forces of secularization – the scientific spirit and an emerging popular materialism.²⁰⁸ Whilst scientificism and materialism do not feature in the text that follows, Gilbert's insight into the voluntarisation of religion has been key in framing this study. Key questions for this thesis have therefore been, how did the Church of

²⁰² E. R. Wickham (1957), *Church and People in an Industrial City*, London: Lutterworth Press; K. S. Inglis (1964), *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

²⁰³ A. D. Gilbert (1976), *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, London: Longman, p11

²⁰⁴ Ibid., pp76-85

²⁰⁵ Ibid., pp90-107

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p109

²⁰⁷ Ibid., p184

²⁰⁸ Ibid., pp185-86

England come to terms with the increasingly voluntaristic basis of religion in the nineteenth century, and what effect did this pressure to voluntarise have on the organisation of repair and maintenance of Anglican places of worship?

Notwithstanding his remarks on secularization, which were heavily influenced by the sociology of the time, Gilbert had argued that religion had retained a prominence in British society up until the First World War, even amongst the urban working classes.²⁰⁹ The 1980s would see historians providing revisionist accounts which further challenged the idea both that the working class were without religion and that urbanization had caused secularization. Jeffrey Cox's study of churches in Lambeth between 1870 and 1930 questioned this link between modernisation and secularization, finding the churches active in philanthropic work in this period.²¹⁰ Hugh McLeod used oral evidence to show that religion remained part of working class culture into the early twentieth century.²¹¹ Callum Brown's article 'Did urbanization secularize Britain?', argued that non-attendance of church in northern areas pre-dated urbanization, and that this was intensified by changes in society, which made churchgoing optional.²¹² In doing so, Brown re-examined the 1851 census to establish definitively that there was no relationship between "church-going rate or population size or growth for towns and cities".²¹³

Although abandoning the connection between urbanization and secularization, historians have continued to be concerned with dating the beginning of the decline of religion in Britain, turning away from reliance on statistical measures. Callum Brown's (2001) *The Death of Christian Britain*, dated the religious decline to the 1960s, whilst recasting the period between 1800 and

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p viii

²¹⁰ J. Cox (1982), *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870-1930*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

²¹¹ H. McLeod (1986), 'New perspectives on Victorian working-class religion: the oral evidence', *Oral History*, 14, pp31-49

²¹² C. G. Brown (1988), 'Did urbanization secularize Britain?', *Urban History*, 15, p2

²¹³ Ibid., p7

1963 as "the nation's last puritan age".²¹⁴ Brown argued that the secularization argument and its attendant measurement of religiosity are ultimately related to discourses of "faith in danger" and the "myth of the unholy city" which served as strategies in the nineteenth century for the advancement of the Christian cause.²¹⁵ It was Brown's contention that in this period, religion became "feminised", with magazines and novels encouraging piety and respectability in young women as a fundamental element of what it meant to be a female.²¹⁶ At the same time men began to be cast as fundamentally sinful and in need of reform, with "problematical" male leisure activities targeted by pamphlets and in fiction.²¹⁷ Brown used oral testimony to show how this world view informed the responses of interviewees in the 1970s when talking about their early lives, albeit with a cynical critical distance appropriate to the later twentieth century.²¹⁸ He argued that although the 1950s witnessed a religious revival, and that the 1960s saw a "discourse revolution" take place, with "a recrafting of feminism" which would bring an end to popular writing about "female virtue", with female roles becoming a matter for negotiation.²¹⁹ These new discourses were then visible in oral history testimony, with interviewees less and less fluent when speaking about religion.²²⁰ Brown argued this "moral metamorphosis" transformed relations with the sloughing off of nineteenth-century notions of respectability linked to a Christian ideal.²²¹ He also listed the decline of church marriage, the rise in divorce and remarriage, the rise of cohabitation, the decreasing stigma of illegitimacy, the increased acceptance of homosexuality, the increased use of birth control, and the liberalisation of restrictions on drinking and Sunday closing as resulting from this shift.²²² In a

²¹⁴ C. G. Brown (2009), *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularization 1800-2000*, London: Routledge, 2nd edition, p9

²¹⁵ See Ibid., particularly pp30-34 and chap. 3

²¹⁶ Ibid., p68

²¹⁷ Ibid., chap. 5

²¹⁸ Ibid., pp118-144

²¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 175 – 177

²²⁰ Ibid., pp. 181 - 186

²²¹ Ibid., p190

²²² Ibid.

recent work Brown has returned to these themes focusing on demographic changes in Canada, Ireland, the UK and the USA from the 1960s onwards.²²³

Hugh McLeod has written a much more conventional social history of the decline in importance of religion in the 1960s than Brown. McLeod criticised Brown and Gilbert, as well as Arthur Marwick for looking for “master factors” to explain the decline of religion (gender, class and youth culture respectively).²²⁴ Instead, McLeod has emphasised a combination of factors, including the decline of ideologically based subcultures; theological radicalisation; the sexual revolution; political radicalisation; and greater freedom for women.²²⁵ In doing so, he looked both at the changes in intellectual culture that have taken place in the last two hundred years, and produced a comparison of the place of religion at different times in the twentieth century.²²⁶ This included an exposition of social changes in the 1950s and 1960s which saw the rise of middle income groups and the rise in earning of the working classes.²²⁷ This was accompanied with an attendant increase in the availability of consumer durables and the increased ability to meet in a public space that was not a church, which McLeod argued led to the decline of the church as a meeting place for the sexes.²²⁸ This was combined, he argued, with a rise in importance of the home, as opposed to the neighbourhood, or the extended family, and an increased geographical mobility with daughters increasingly living away from home.²²⁹ There was also a demand for institutions to be religiously neutral. All of this, he argued, caused a crisis of recruitment for the churches.²³⁰

²²³ C.G. Brown (2012), *Religion and the Demographic Revolution: women and secularization in Canada, Ireland, UK and USA since the 1960s*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, *passim*

²²⁴ H. McLeod (2007), *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p15

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Including the development of alternatives to the Christian worldview (Ibid., p26) and Christianity and moral attitudes between 1940 and 1970 (Ibid., pp41 – 50), as well as the new theologies of the 1960s (chap. 5).

²²⁷ Ibid., p102

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid., pp102 - 109

²³⁰ Ibid., p198

Simon Green's *The Passing of Protestant England: secularization and social change, c.1920-1960*, is also a conventional social history, although more focused on elite history than McLeod. Green's stated aim was to put religion back into the social history of the twentieth century.²³¹ However, he was also concerned with the "elimination of religious questions from politics over time".²³² Although he argued that societies will always be religious, he suggested that "the political importance of religion declined markedly between 1920 and 1960".²³³ The denominational differences we saw in the work of Gilbert disappeared with the rise of the Labour movement, which was religiously eclectic in membership.²³⁴ Green dates the beginning of religious institutional decline to 1880.²³⁵ By the 1960s this decline had led to a 'remnant spirituality' with the welfare state taking on many of the roles the churches had previously performed.²³⁶ Green, then, promotes a much more gradualist approach than either Brown or McLeod.

Subsequent work has been forced to navigate between the positions of the poles set up by Brown and Green. Thus, Sarah Flew, mentioned in the previous section has provided evidence to support Green's thesis, although she incorporated elements of Callum Brown's ideas about the feminisation of religion in the period and examining women's contributions to the diocesan funds she studied.²³⁷ Dominic Erdozain, whose work was referred to at the start of this section has taken a novel position which argued that the incorporation of evangelical beliefs into mainstream British culture by the late nineteenth century represents the success of these beliefs and at the same time their secularisation.²³⁸ There therefore remain a range of perspectives concerned with the decline of public worship in Britain over the course of the

²³¹ S. J. D. Green (2011), *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularization and social change, c.1920-1960*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

²³² Ibid., p10

²³³ Ibid., pp. 18-19 & 35

²³⁴ Ibid., p51

²³⁵ Ibid., pp86 & 288

²³⁶ Ibid. for all denominations except Roman Catholicism, which began to decline later

²³⁷ S. Flew (2015), *Philanthropy*, pp62-63

²³⁸ D. Erdozain (2010), *Problem*, pp6-7

twentieth century. What is generally missing from these studies, however, is an investigation into the ways in which the designation of a large number of places of worship has interacted with this history. One key aspect of this, as we have seen, has been the grant aid funding of repairs to historic buildings. However, the necessity of the management of buildings has generally not been a feature of previous research. How then has the designation of churches as listed buildings interacted with the decline of public worship? Has the availability of grant aid had a retardant effect on redundancy? What kinds of heritage organisations have been set up in response to the changing needs of the Church of England in terms of its building stock? These questions have been of particular interest to this study.

The literature relating to redundant places of worship has been slim. In his monograph on the development of heritage legislation, John Delafons used his chapter on church buildings to briefly outline the passing of the Pastoral Measure (1968) and the establishment of the Redundant Churches Fund (RCF), as well as the *Wilding Report*, which was commissioned by the Thatcher government to review the working of the RCF.²³⁹ Delafons' short account was thus purely national in scope, and did not attend to the ways redundancy had taken place locally. The primacy of examining redundancy in a local context has been emphasised by William Whyte, in a chapter which concerned church building in the twentieth century in general.²⁴⁰ Whyte argued that the mass redundancy of places of worship in Britain in the twentieth century might look like a clear indication of the ongoing secularization of society, but nevertheless, amongst this, denominations continued to build new churches in response to changing centres of population.²⁴¹ He therefore argued that redundancy did not simply represent the failure of a religious community, but that it reflected "a series of choices" made

²³⁹ Delafons (1996), *Preservation*, pp121-124 & 127-128

²⁴⁰ W. Whyte (2006), 'The Architecture of Belief', J. Garnett, M. Grimley, A. Harris, W. Whyte and S. Williams (eds.), *Redefining Christian Britain: Post-1945 Perspectives*, London: SCM Press

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp191-192

in context.²⁴² This observation has provided the inspiration for much of what follows, as will be seen in more detail in chapter two.

One study which has attended to the issues presented by the management of places of worship within the decline of public worship has been Robin Gill's *The Empty Church Revisited*. Gill assessed the impact of the nineteenth-century church building, focussing on the provision of seating and its relationship to church attendance.²⁴³ Gill showed that, whilst in the short term the fashion for building new churches associated with the Commissioner's Churches in the first half of nineteenth century in general helped the Church of England maintain the rate of churchgoing as the population expanded, it actually lead to a spiral of decline as it increased the running costs of each diocese, parishioners' donations became spread more thinly, and visibly empty churches lead to a loss of confidence and 'proof' of the process of secularisation.²⁴⁴ I would suggest that Gill's linkage of the practical problems of running a church building with the increasing difficulties congregations were experiencing in the second half of the twentieth century as striking to the heart of the issue. In tandem, as we will see from later chapters, this was intrinsically linked to the ways in which the heritage protection system has come to apply to historic places of worship. The next section outlines the sources and methods that have been used to explore the foregoing issues.

Sources and Methods

This thesis seeks to understand the development of the heritage protection system as it has applied to historic places of worship and to look at the ways this has been informed in practice by voluntary action. This work has then been conceived primarily to fit within heritage studies subject area. As seen above, a range of different methods have been adopted by researchers in this field, and this research has included approaches based both in history, sociology, or

²⁴² Ibid., p192

²⁴³ R. Gill (2003), *The Empty Church Revisited*, Abingdon: Ashgate

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p137 & Table 2, p222

anthropology. For instance, whilst John Delafons authored a straightforward history of the heritage protection legislation, Laurajane Smith used both social survey and ethnography in the compilation of her *Uses of Heritage*.²⁴⁵ In addition, writers such as Miele have looked to historical precedent to understand the ways in which heritage has been formed as a social construct.²⁴⁶ To some extent Smith's work was informed by similar studies, albeit concentrating on the development of international heritage standards.²⁴⁷ This thesis attempts to straddle both the historical and the sociological approaches to heritage studies. The aim has been to understand the development of the present arrangements for the management of historic places of worship in a number of localities, and also to understand the workings of these arrangements in the present. For this reason, this thesis has been conceived in part both as a work of history, but it has also drawn methods from sociology in order to produce a text within the field of heritage studies.

For the most part, this thesis uses historical methods to investigate the subject at hand. The chapter that follows begins by outlining a history of the development of voluntaristic approaches to the management of historic places of worship, in order to provide an overview to the thesis as a whole. The first section of the next chapter is largely based on secondary sources and is intended to provide a narrative which informs the subsequent chapters of this thesis. The second part of chapter two provides an overview of the history of Anglican church closure in the second half of the twentieth century before examining rates of redundancy in three localities. Statistical analysis of church buildings and redundancy has featured in the work of Robin Gill who used this method extensively to inform his thesis in the work discussed above.²⁴⁸ In addition a statistical approach has informed the work of Linda Monckton who has provided a set of national statistics on rates of redundancy since the passing of the Pastoral

²⁴⁵ Delafons (1997), *Politics and Preservation*; Smith (2006), *Uses*

²⁴⁶ Miele (2011), 'Heritage and its Communities'

²⁴⁷ Smith (2006), *Uses*, pp17-22

²⁴⁸ Gill (2003), *The Empty Church Revisited*

Measure (1968).²⁴⁹ Monckton's work has thus been used in this thesis in order to provide a background against which local rates of redundancy can be judged. These local rates have been derived through the compilation of a list of churches within a given area by using the Church Heritage Record and combining them with lists of closed churches produced by the Church of England.²⁵⁰ This has been supported by the National Heritage List for England, as well as primary and secondary sources to understand the history of particular buildings in the study areas.

Whilst it might have been hoped to find a complete record of all the places of worship the Church of England has disposed of in each area, this was not possible. Firstly, these returns do not record the disposal of lower-tier buildings, such as mission churches.²⁵¹ Secondly there does not appear to have always been a consistent approach to the way in which disposals were recorded. For instance in the returns for the former Diocese of Wakefield the redundancy of Honley Cemetery Chapel was recorded, but that for Edgerton cemetery chapel, which is currently a ruin, is not.²⁵² In the case of St Matthew's, Primrose Hill, newspaper articles covering its construction can be found, but the site, visible on the 1905 Ordnance Survey Map is now occupied by late twentieth-century social housing and the redundancy of the church is not recorded on the redundancy list.²⁵³ In addition, the returns used here are growing increasingly out of date, and whilst these were formerly available on the Church of England's website, following a site-wide redesign, this information no longer appears to be published. Nevertheless, the chapters seek to examine rates of redundancy in different localities up to

²⁴⁹ Linda Monckton (2010), *Churches and Closure in the Church of England*, London: English Heritage

²⁵⁰ Church of England (2011), *Diocese of Ripon and Leeds*, London: Church of England; Church of England (2012), *Diocese of Norwich*, London: Church of England; Church of England (2012), *Diocese of St Edmundsbury and Ipswich*, London: Church of England

²⁵¹ E.g Swallow Street Mission Church see Huddersfield Exposed (2018), 'Swallow Street Mission Church, Huddersfield', retrieved from: https://huddersfield.exposed/wiki/Swallow_Street_Mission_Church,_Huddersfield

²⁵² Diocese of Wakefield, Church of England (2012), *Diocese of Wakefield*, London: Church of England

²⁵³ Huddersfield Exposed (2018), 'St Matthew's Church, Orchard Street, Primrose Hill', retrieved from: https://huddersfield.exposed/wiki/St._Matthew%27s_Church,_Orchard_Street,_Primrose_Hill

2012. Piecing together information on what churches had previously stood in an area, and what building had been used by Anglicans for religious worship was not always straightforward and required investigation using nineteenth century newspapers and parish magazines. In the case of Huddersfield, the website Huddersfield Exposed was invaluable, as was Simon Knott's website Norfolk Churches for the Norwich and Norfolk chapters.²⁵⁴ It is hoped that the chapters give a broadly accurate comparison between the areas in question. On the face of it, it is possible that redundancy rates (in urban areas, at least) may have been higher than estimated here.

Chapter three offers an account of the development of the present arrangements for the ways in which the Church of England as a whole manages its building stock. This draws on ideas developed within the literature on governmentality to provide a framework and treats a series of reports and reviews as 'problematizations' of the management of historic places of worship. These reports and reviews are seen to have created various elements in a 'church-heritage assemblage'. Organisations within this assemblage have each taken a role in the management of historic places of worship. Within this chapter, a history of various institutions in this network is offered. Chapter three thus develops Delafons' chapter in his *Politics and Preservation* on the history of the national debate over the protection of historic places of worship.²⁵⁵ In researching his chapter, Delafons used a mixture of parliamentary committee reports, national newspapers and secondary sources.²⁵⁶ Chapter three of this work has largely followed the methods adopted by Delafons specifically with the intention to develop his account. These sources were chosen with the aim of understanding the development of conservation work and particularly fundraising by voluntary organisations, the Church of England and heritage agencies, as well as an investigation into the ways in which Church of

²⁵⁴ Huddersfield Exposed (2019), 'Welcome to Huddersfield Exposed!', retrieved from: <https://huddersfield.exposed>; Norfolk Churches (2019), 'Norfolk Churches' retrieved from: <http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk>

²⁵⁵ Delafons (1997), *Politics and Preservation*, chap. 16

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

England responded to the development of heritage protection in the twentieth century. In addition, evidence has been collected to understand the extent to which the government supports or directs the voluntary sector.

A variety of themes related to the care of church buildings were reported in the national newspapers in the course of the twentieth century. These included the development of the Historic Churches Preservation Trust and the country trusts, as well as calls for state aid for church repair, and the debates over what the fate of redundant churches should be. Newspapers were thus vital sources through which to trace the development of the complex of organisations which seek to manage England's churches. The articles were found using the Gale Primary Sources database, using a variety of search terms related to church funding, repair and management in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Primarily this material was drawn from *The Times*, but relevant articles were also found in the *Daily Mail*, the *Financial Times* and the *Illustrated London News*. The articles found in these searches dated from 1922 to 2012, with the earliest concerning the establishment of Diocesan Advisory Councils and the latest concerning the history of the King of Prussia Gold Medal for conservation repair work on an ecclesiastical building.²⁵⁷ Although 338 articles were compiled for the purposes of this chapter, it was impossible to include all the material gathered in the course of the chapter. In order to make the data more manageable, the results were tabulated in a spreadsheet, assigned a short description, and allocated a "tag" so that the articles in the spreadsheet could be sorted by theme. Articles from these lists were then chosen to illustrate various issues relevant to the chapter. Whilst in these cases, newspapers provided something of a surface-level history of the development of the organisations in play, capturing only the motivations and interests that the participants in these debates presented to the public, there remained some vociferous campaigning, both on the part of the "preservationists" and the "rationalisers"

²⁵⁷ Anon. (4 Feb. 1922), "Ecclesiastical News.", *Times*, p6; A. Riley (24 Nov. 2012), "Ecclesiological honour lost and found.", *Times*, p112

(an ongoing theme which will be discussed in the following chapter).²⁵⁸ In addition, newspaper reporting captured aspects of this history which appear to be absent from the archive. For example, the 1964 report *Who Should Pay?* which was produced by the Council for the Care of Churches and called for state aid for church repairs, was reported on by the *Daily Mail*, but does not appear in a search of the National Archives records online, nor on the British Library catalogue and thus seems no longer to be publicly available.²⁵⁹ Thus, using national newspapers gave an indication of the development of various debates concerning the repair of churches in the twentieth century which was comprehensive and readily available.

Besides newspapers, and to develop the account, chapter three draws on a range of published sources produced by a range of agencies with an interest in the conservation and management of current and former places of worship. Of most importance to this thesis have been a series of reports and reviews which examined the then present arrangements for the repair and alteration of current and former places of worship. These were by a number of organisations including the Church, preservation bodies and the government, and include the Church Repair Commission's (1952) *The Preservation of Our Churches*, and 2004's *Building Faith in our Future*, both organised by the Church of England; the work of members of the conservation body SAVE Britain's Heritage (*Chapels and Churches: Who Cares* and *Churches: A Question of Conversion*) ; and most recently the *Taylor Review: Sustainability of English Churches and Cathedrals*, produced by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (as it was then). These have been read to understand the concerns of those with an interest in the conservation of churches and the development of heritage legislation for listed places of worship, which took a separate track from other types of listed building following the granting of Ecclesiastical Exemption in 1913 in the Ancient Monuments and Consolidation Act. These reports have been bolstered by other kinds of documents, including advice notes produced by

²⁵⁸ Compare M. Wheeler (19 July 1956), "Preservation Of Churches", *Times*, p1; P. Atkins (25 July 1956), "Preserving Churches", *Times*, p11; and D. Jeans (25 July 1956), "Preserving Churches", *Times*, p11; as well as Anon. (9 June 1965), "Redundant Churches", *Times*, p13

²⁵⁹ Daily Mail Reporter (4 Nov. 1964), "Churches want State aid for repairs", *Daily Mail*, p11

the Department of the Environment and by English Heritage/Historic England, with the same goal in mind. This has been combined with a look at the annual reports the range of conservation organisations - including the Heritage Lottery Fund (now the National Lottery Heritage Fund) to develop and understanding of the economy of building repairs for listed places of worship. Whilst again these documents are part of the public record, and record only the organisation's public face, so to speak, these forms of documents provide an understanding of the aims and objectives of the organisations in question. The discussion of these matters is returned to in chapter seven where official reports are again examined. However here the account is extended by the use of interviews with a small number of Parochial Church Council members. This has been done to allow a discussion of how the rules put in place in the course of the second half of the twentieth century currently operate, as is discussed further below.

In order to understand the history of voluntary action in relation to the management of historic places of worship at a local level, a number of case study chapters have been included in this thesis. These case studies are area-based, and the areas chosen were: the town of Huddersfield in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Norwich in Norfolk, and rural parts of Norfolk itself. These case studies each respond to questions concerning the ongoing role of the middle classes in urban (and rural governance), and the choice of primary source material, as discussed below, responds to these questions. In addition, this material has been looked to in order to understand the continuities between management of historic places of worship over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Because of the history of church building in England, as urban areas in the north and south respectively, Huddersfield and Norwich have comparatively different Anglican church building stock, with those in Norwich generally medieval in date, and those in Huddersfield generally built after 1800. The value attached to the church building stock in both of these places has meant that the solutions found in the Church of England's need to make a portion of its buildings redundant have been significantly different. In addition, in Norfolk, the strength of voluntary activity in the county, focused on the

churches in its villages has led to the creation of a support network for churches in use for worship. Within these chapters, the attention has been placed on the history of securing funds for church building and church repair.

In terms of fundraising, as we have seen, Sarah Flew has provided a detailed investigation of the finances of a number of diocesan associations. She examined both the ways in which these funds were collected and biographies of those who contributed to the funds.²⁶⁰ Flew's work thus represents an intensive study of the ways in which a variety of causes within the Diocese of London were funded and how this changed over a forty-four-year period. The account of fundraising presented within this thesis has been more expansive, both temporally and geographically, and thus less intensive than the work that Flew has produced. For this reason, the accounts of church extension associations have not been interrogated. Instead, newspaper accounts of the laying of foundations stones, or opening of churches have been used to understand the ways in which church building and repair has been financed. The intention here has been to provide a broad account of funding sources and fundraising methods.

It is a contention of this thesis that church closure and the patrimonialisation of churches are interrelated phenomena. 'Patrimonialisation' describes the process by which historic buildings and artefacts attain a social meaning other than that originally intended by their creators.²⁶¹ This process adds to the importance of an object by emphasising the desirability of it being retained as something which can be passed on to future generations.²⁶² Thus through designation, a building becomes recognised for its historic significance, which it then becomes the legal duty of heritage agencies to protect. The designation of the majority of the Church of England's building stock has added "the value of pastness" to these places through a

²⁶⁰ Flew (2015), *Philanthropy*, *passim*

²⁶¹ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has expressed heritage as "adding the value of pastness" to places and practices, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995), 'Theorizing Heritage', *Ethnomusicology*, 39(3), p370

²⁶² This is the crux of the AHD identified by Smith

procedure which has status in planning law.²⁶³ The listed status of a church has a bearing on its eligibility for grant aided repair, and its value as structure with historic significance may influence the decisions taken when it falls out of use. Whether or not the availability of grant aid has meant that historic churches are closed less frequently is thus an important question. Indeed, understanding the sequence of events that have led to church closure within the localities under scrutiny has been one aspect of the research presented here.

Church closure is therefore seen in part as related to the history of secularisation. As we have seen above a range of methods have been used by scholars in researching these processes. For instance, Hugh McLeod and Callum Brown have both used a multiplicity of sources including oral history to understand secularisation. Brown also used methods drawn from discourse analysis in his *Death of Christian Britain*.²⁶⁴ Simon Green's work was more traditionally focused and therefore used a range of archival sources related to institutions.²⁶⁵ However, the aim of this thesis has not strictly been to investigate the causes of secularisation, but rather to understand secularisation as one of the factors involved in the ways in which the heritage protection system has applied to churches. Thus, the goal has been to understand the history of individual congregations, as in Huddersfield, or to understand the ways in which the mass closure of churches (and thus their 'secularisation') took place in Norwich. In researching these subjects, a range of sources have been used, including newspapers, parish magazines, and the minute books of the Norwich Historic Churches Trust and the Huddersfield Civic Society, as well as official reports related to these subjects.

As part of an effort to understand the ways in which the Church of England responded to the pressure to voluntarise, as well as to examine the effect of the decline in public worship on its congregations, the chapter on Huddersfield takes some of its material from parish magazines.

²⁶³ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995), 'Theorizing Heritage', p.370

²⁶⁴ C. G. Brown (2009), *Death*, chap. 4

²⁶⁵ S. J. D. Green (2011), *Passing, passim*

Jane Platt has produced a monograph examining the history of this source. In doing so she suggested that parish magazines were an under researched resource calling them “the Cinderellas of the study of both religion and mass-market publishing”.²⁶⁶ Platt’s study encompassed both the national history of parish magazine inserts and looked at local trends in parish magazine writing.²⁶⁷ As a source, parish magazines generally contain a letter from the incumbent, which often commented on contemporary issues, as well as articles by members of the congregation. In this respect, these magazines offer a window into the contemporary concerns of the parish. These are not limited to parochial affairs, but regularly include commentary on current affairs and ongoing issues affecting congregations. The parish magazines used for this study have been based on those available in the West Yorkshire Archives at Kirklees. The vast majority of these are from the twentieth century, and this material has thus been used to illustrate the activities of congregations in the early twentieth century, as well as factors in church closure at between 1950 and 1980. This material has been largely based on what material is available, and as a resource the coverage of parish magazines can be somewhat patchy. Their availability is based both on whether the congregation produced a magazine, and whether these have survived. Nevertheless, where they do exist parish magazines are an invaluable resource in understanding congregations’ responses to social changes and in particular the steps which led to the closure of their church. This coverage has also been supplemented with newspaper articles, drawn from both the digitised record, and in part from articles in the Huddersfield’s Local Studies Library.

A range of newspaper articles were also used to extend the account derived from parish magazines. These were drawn from both the digitised record, and from articles on the microfilm in Huddersfield’s Local Studies Library for those twentieth-century newspapers not yet digitised. These sources supported the aims already outlined for the chapter, namely an

²⁶⁶ J. Platt (2015) *Subscribing to Faith: The Anglican Parish Magazine 1850-1929*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, p4

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, *passim*

examination of the role of the churches in the life of the town, and their closure. Earlier sources taken from the British Library newspapers included as contemporary reports of Anglican church founding in the town, with the Patriotic magazine *John Bull* providing one such account, as well as the *York Herald* as well as the non-conformist owned *Leeds Mercury*. These articles were found by searching the database for the place in question and “church” or “new church”, as the accounts of the plans for building took place prior to the dedication ceremonies. Particular attention was paid to the ways in which these new buildings had been funded. In addition to this, local newspapers were read to produce a social history of the churches. The founding of two newspapers in Huddersfield in the 1850s supported this. For the most part reports from the nineteenth century in the chapter are drawn from the conservative supporting *Huddersfield Chronicle*, the editor of which between 1855 and 1871 was the Tory Radical Joshua Hobson.²⁶⁸ As this newspaper appears to have run into financial difficulty in 1916, reports from the later period are taken largely from the *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, which had begun in the mid-nineteenth century as the *Huddersfield Examiner* and was published by the Liberal Woodhead family.²⁶⁹ In addition, reports from other provincial papers such as the *Yorkshire Post* and *Leeds Intelligencer* helped to develop this account. Newspapers also supported an understanding of the reason for church closure in Huddersfield. In addition, newspaper articles from the twentieth century held on microfilm in Huddersfield Local Studies Library were consulted, and this was supported by the past enquiries file kept by the library. Again, this material was tabulated into a spreadsheet and sorted according to theme.

Other sources assisted in the writing of this chapter. These included the minute book of Huddersfield Civic Society which is held by West Yorkshire Archives Service. This was read to understand the interests of buildings conservationists in Huddersfield and to respond to questions over the role of the middle classes in urban governance. This book covered the

²⁶⁸ S Chadwick (1976), ‘A Bold and Faithful Journalist’ Joshua Hobson (1810-1876), Huddersfield: Kirklees Libraries and Museums Service, esp. pp13 & 78

²⁶⁹ See P. Cooksey (1999), *Public Lives The Family Of Joseph Woodhead A Notable Family Of Huddersfield*, Huddersfield: Huddersfield Local History Society

meetings of the society from its inception in 1964 up to 1986. In addition, it included a small number of articles taken from local newspapers related to the society's activities. Minute books provide an institutional record of what took place at meetings and thus provide only a top level of understanding of the aims and activities of the members of the organisation. However, the Civic Society, appears to have had limited interest in Huddersfield's historic churches over much of its life and thus a discussion of the organisation formed only a small part of the chapter. The chapter also included the *Parish Spotlights* for certain parishes. These are reports produced by the Church of England's Research and Statistics team, which are a collation of information about a parish, including the average numbers of worshippers on a Sunday and on high holidays, and the parish's contribution to the parish share, as well as demographic information such employment profiles and indicators of deprivation. They have thus been read to derive demographic information about the parishes under discussion and to make comparisons between them in order to understand the reasons for the closure of certain church buildings.

In researching the history of the management of the building stock in Norwich a number of sources have been consulted. The first section of the chapter deals with the local political conflict over the church rates. Studies of the church rate conflict, such as J. P. Ellens' *Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism* have concentrated on the national debate over the church rates. Although histories of nineteenth-century religion, such as Frances Knight's *The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society* and Owen Chadwick's *The Victorian Church* have in part dealt with local examples of the church rate conflict, there appears to be scope to connect the church rate conflict to wider political concerns within the localities. In researching the conflict over the church rate Knight used a range of archival material. However, the very public nature of the conflict means that contemporary newspaper reports also furnish a great deal of evidence related to this subject. For this reason, Norwich's nineteenth-century newspapers make up the vast majority of the evidence presented. As with previous chapters, these sources were drawn from the British Library newspapers archive. Over a thousand articles were found

in related to the church rates, contained largely within the pages of Norwich's three main newspapers. The earliest of these dated to 1819 and the latest was from 1904.²⁷⁰ In this latest example, the Church Rate refusal was remembered in relation to the then-current resistance to the Education Act.²⁷¹ These were divided into news reports, editorials, as well as national news and that concerning Norfolk more widely. Just as with previous chapters, the search results were tabulated in a spreadsheet, assigned a short description and assigned a meta-tag so that the spreadsheet could be sorted into theme. Norwich supported three major newspapers for much of the nineteenth century and their political positions equated to Tory/Conservative in the case of the *Norfolk Chronicle*, Whig/Liberal in the case of the *Norwich Mercury*, and Radical Liberal in the case of the *Eastern Daily Press*. This will be discussed further in the chapter, but the value of these three different newspapers and their contrasting stances meant that by examining the editorials and articles, as well as letters to the newspapers, it was possible to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the activities and justifications of those on all sides of the debate around the church rates in Norwich.

The middle section of the case study on Norwich concerns Anglican fundraising for the repair of churches, and the diocese's plans for expansion into Norwich's suburban areas, and its concomitant attitude to its existing building stock as well as the development of local associations with an interest in maintaining Norwich's urban environment. This material was again drawn from Norwich's newspapers and extended into the early part of the twentieth century, and around two hundred articles were read for this purpose. These themes emerged in consequence of reading Norwich's newspapers and developed from an interest in understanding the fundraising activities of the diocese after the church rates had been made voluntary. In the course of this research the diocese's plans for its building stock as well as the civic authority's measures to maintain the urban environment in response to the difficulties

²⁷⁰ Anon. (20 November 1819) 'Church Rates', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p2

²⁷¹ Anon. (9 April 1904), 'Passive Resisters at Norwich', *Norfolk News*, p13

voluntarism presented for some parishes became evident. These themes foreshadowed those of the post-war period, which were dealt with in the final section of chapter three.

The final section concerns the development of the present arrangements for the management of Norwich's medieval churches, which were precipitated by the *Brooke Report*. I am grateful to Rev. Steven Saxby for furnishing me with a pdf of the *Report* which presented a guide to both the diocese's attitude to its city churches, as well as an indication of what measures Norwich's building conservationists were seeking to put in place following the closure of these churches. The vast majority of this final section of the chapter was, however, produced by reading the minute books of the Norwich Historic Churches Trust (NHCT), which covered the period from the Trust's formation in 1971 to November 1990. These books included the minutes from the Trust's meetings, reports from the secretary, financial returns, and other sundry reports on issues related to the Trust's work. As with the other minute books used in this thesis, the source presents an institutional account of the activities of the organisation. However, the NHCT minute books give an in depth insight into the running of the organisation and the issues that it faced as well as the attitudes and activities of other organisations and people in relation to the churches at the time. This account was developed with information gleaned from newspaper articles. As the events covered in the chapter took place in the late-twentieth century, this material was not digitised. Instead, it was taken from two sources. The first were those pasted into the minute books and the second was Lady Harrod's personal and family papers, deposited in the Norfolk Records Office. The latter collection will be discussed below in further detail. However, it is arguable that this method of collection of sources was not comprehensive and there remains some work to be done to fully understand the treatment the Norwich Historic Churches Trust received in the press. This was unfortunately not possible within the timeframe of this research and the scale of the chapter. Nevertheless, it is assumed that this account has done the Trust justice, and the minutes were honest about the negative publicity which some of the organisation's decisions garnered.

The final area-based case study in this these concerns the county of Norfolk. This chapter differs from the previous two in focus. As redundancy rates in rural Norfolk are lower than those in the urban areas of the county, the focus of this chapter has instead been to trace the history of a number of conservation organisations in the county. This chapter builds on the work of Susanna Wade Martins who, as we have seen in this chapter, has contributed a monograph on the subject of conservation organisations in Norfolk. Wade Martins used a range of biographies and archival material to write her history. In building on her work and focusing specifically on two of the organisations she covered, the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (NNAS) and the Norfolk Churches Trust. This chapter more than others has been interested in the role of voluntary organisations in the investment of places of worship with historic significance and the sources have been chosen accordingly. In doing so, this thesis takes in information gathered from contemporary newspapers related to these organisations, and the others which played a part in the development of the present arrangements which support the care of places of worship in Norfolk in order to understand the ongoing role of civil society in this activity over two centuries. Here again, the question of continuity has been paramount. As before the British Library newspaper archive was used to collate reports concerning these organisations. In this way, it was possible to trace the formation of the NNAS in the pages of Norwich's newspapers, all three of which printed extensive accounts of their meetings and excursions, often reporting what was said verbatim. Over three hundred articles on the Society were collected from the provincial papers over a period beginning in 1847.²⁷² A range of articles were found concerning the activities of the society from *Thetford & Watton Times* from the first half of the twentieth century, although unfortunately these were removed from the British Library's database during the writing-up period. Nevertheless, it was possible to gather material on the activities of the society up until the early part of the twentieth century. This illustrated the Society's research interests, the associational activities it adopted, and its conservation work.

²⁷² Anon. (9 January 1847), 'Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p2

In addition, archival materials have been used to explore the activities of the Norfolk Churches Trust. Two archives related to this have been consulted. The first, the Norfolk Record Office, holds the records of the Norfolk Churches Trust; materials deposited there by Lady Harrod, as well as the papers of J. E. H. Neville, both of whom were founders of the Trust.²⁷³ In addition those at the Museum of English Rural Life (MERL) in Reading, have been used to explore the activities of the Norfolk branch of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England.²⁷⁴ The holdings were examined in order to produce a picture of reasons behind the formation of the Trust and its subsequent operation. The MERL holdings provided evidence of the Norfolk Branch's interactions with the central body of the CPRE, including Lady Harrod's letters concerning the possible effects of the Pastoral Measure (1968), as well as the organisation's approach to historic churches more generally.²⁷⁵ In addition, the holdings also included copies of the newsletter produced by the junior branch of the Norfolk Society, which has been used as a guide to the concerns of the group as a whole. Also of use in tracing the founding of the Norfolk Churches Trust were the papers of J. E. H. Neville in the Norfolk Records Office which included early correspondence about the group. However, within this archive, the most extensive collection was Lady Harrod's personal papers. At the time of my viewing them, they were uncatalogued and examining them involved a search through a number of boxes. This yielded a variety of items, such as personal letters, newspaper cuttings and cuttings from *Country Life*, as well as sundry items which gave a sense of her interests. However, besides a letter from Penelope Betjeman, which concerned clergy attitudes to church buildings, much of the personal aspect of this archive has been left untouched in this thesis. Of interest also

²⁷³ NRO ACC 2011/176, Records of Norfolk Churches Trust; NRO, MC 2166/1/3, Correspondence with Lady 'Billa' Harrod of the Old Rectory, Holt, Vice-President of The Norfolk Society (CPRE) and Chairman of its Committee for Country Churches, and with others re: the formation of the Norfolk Churches Trust Ltd; NRO, WMH 2005/362 WH/RFH, Personal and Family Papers of Wilhelmine, Lady Harrod

²⁷⁴ MERL, SR DX1032, Norfolk Branch of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England; MERL, SR CPRE B/1/25 to 37, Annual reports 1967-1979

²⁷⁵ MERL, SR CPRE C/1/128/1, Council for the Protection of Rural England: Graveyard Monuments and the Care of Churches

was the manuscript of an unfinished autobiography by Roy Harrod, which established his familial connection with a prominent member of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society. Key to the chapter too, were the records of the Norfolk Churches Trust. Besides correspondence to the Trust, as well as information produced by the members, this also included a variety of other items related to other organisations. These included reports issued by the Diocese of Norwich and English Heritage as well as copies of *Historic Churches Review*, produced by the Historic Churches Preservation Trust. Taken together, alongside printed materials produced by both the diocese and by the Norfolk Churches Trust, it is hoped that these sources have produced an account of the concerns of the Norfolk Churches Trust and the ways in which these interacted with other organisations involved in the conservation of places of worship in Norfolk.

The final chapter takes a more sociological approach than the preceding ones. The aim has been to examine the experiences of PCC members and to set these into a wider policy context relating to the care of historic places of worship. By doing so it has been possible to gain a greater insight into the role of the PCC within the heritage protection system and to emphasise their status as citizen experts. A small amount of work has been done in this field, most notably by Living Stones who collated information gathered from 67 respondents over a series of workshops. The approach adopted here has been to conduct a small number of semi-structured interviews in order to examine PCC members' experiences dealing with heritage agencies. The aim of this was to produce an account of the operation of the heritage protection system from those who had dealt with it first-hand. Although this information could have been gathered from other research methods, such as a questionnaire, conducting interviews allowed an in depth exploration of the issues PCCs face. Thus, four interviews with six respondents were conducted. Respondents were identified through contacts known to the present author and interviewed at their parish church, or at their home with an accompanying visit to the church. These respondents each held a post on a PCC as either churchwardens or officers, in these cases either secretary or fabric officer. Each of the respondents had

contributed to the task of maintaining a highly graded listed place of worship in a rural area - two in Norfolk, two in Suffolk. Each church was a medieval building and each had required, in the time of the respondents' association with it, a phase of major repair, or the respondent had sought to alter the church in a major way. The churches with which the respondents were associated are situated in villages with populations of between 300 and 700 people. The electoral roll of the churches ranged from 38 to 18.²⁷⁶ As a consequence of needing to fund repairs to their place of worship all but one of the respondents had experience of applying to the HLF under the GPOW scheme. However, respondents two, three and four were successful in their applications, whereas respondents five and six were not. The interviews collected were transcribed, and NVivo was used to draw out relevant themes. The sample size used in the chapter is of course very small, and this work should not be taken to be definitive. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this research contributes to our understanding of issues related to heritage funding and of the experience of volunteers managing heritage assets.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined some of the literature which has been used to frame this thesis. As has been seen, heritage studies as an academic field has used a range of different methods drawn from multiple subject areas. As this study concerns parish churches, the focus for this thesis has been drawn from the planning, urban history and historic building conservation parts of heritage studies, as opposed to museum studies or the study of tourism. This is partly because literature on the relationships between heritage legislation and places of worship is presently somewhat limited in extent. Little attention has been paid by academics to the ways in which historic places of worship and their congregations have been affected by the listing process, or indeed the ways in which these buildings have been managed when they have

²⁷⁶ The electoral roll is essentially the number of committed Anglicans in the parish, see K. M. Macmorran, and T. Briden (2006), *A Handbook for Churchwardens and Parochial Church Councillors*, London: Continuum, p138

fallen out of use. This thesis uses local case studies, as well as investigation at a micro-level to examine these subjects.

More generally, an investigation of the literature of heritage studies has raised questions about the social construction of heritage. Is this a top-down or bottom-up process? It is clear that the designation of listed buildings is bureaucratic process, as is the process of granting permission for changes to places of worship through the faculty system. But the extent to which heritage agencies are able to control the social meaning of places of worship should be called into question. After all, the primary purpose of these buildings is not reliant on their architectural or historic value. Moreover, the imposition of a legislation to control alterations to such buildings is inconvenient for those who use them for worship. In addition, the process of investing such buildings with historic significance has not been limited to state agencies, but may have grown more organically than this, through a range of voluntary associations. The long-lasting effect of the mass of historical research produced concerning medieval places of worship is something which this thesis is attentive to. A concern for the management of historic places and rural areas may in fact have grown out of the social practice of archaeology and architectural history, rather than strictly being an imposition of the state. In tandem, it may be the case that, following Owen's schema, the state has stepped in to support practices established first by voluntary action. At the same time, this thesis has been attentive to the ways in which the state has sought to direct voluntary action in relation to historic places of worship.

It has also been seen that heritage studies has been concerned with the power relationships that exist between communities and experts. Within this however, an examination of the voluntary action has been limited, especially amongst those who are pessimistic about heritage in general. Waterton and Watson have suggested that volunteers have a circumscribed role in the management of heritage, but this assertion seems to have been

based on evidence drawn largely from museum studies.²⁷⁷ Harflett, Yates and Holmes have contributed studies of the role of volunteers in a number of areas of heritage practice.²⁷⁸ However, the extent to which heritage agencies rely on the contributions of volunteers in the conservation of historic buildings remains little studied. On the one hand, heritage agencies wish to conserve historic fabric and maintain the historic environment as a finite resource.²⁷⁹ At the same time, PCCs are responsible for maintaining their building in good repair. These goals overlap, and the provision of grant aid by heritage agencies can be seen to benefit those who make use of historic places of worship. There are tensions here of course, but heritage may be beneficial for those who participate in it. Difficulties may arise however from the burdens or constraints listed building designation places those maintaining such structures. For these reasons, it is logical that an ambivalence might have arisen within the attitudes expressed towards patrimonialisation by Anglicans.

In terms of the literature on secularisation, the decline of public worship has meant that many of the Church of England's places of worship have been declared surplus to requirements. Beyond Gill and Whyte, academics have largely declined to factor these closures into their histories of twentieth century religion. Gill's thesis that the church building stock itself has been key to the process of secularisation is arguably not entirely sufficient. This is because it is inattentive to social processes taking place outside of the churches. Nevertheless, the practical aspects of maintaining a church building and providing for public worship are material factors in the history of religion. How then have congregations and dioceses managed fundraising for repair in the modern period? How have political and economic factors affected the contribution of the laity to the maintenance of Anglicanism? These remain important questions in understanding the history of religious congregations and religion in general. At

²⁷⁷ Waterton and Watson, (2013), 'Heritage and community engagement', p4

²⁷⁸ Harflett (2014), *For ever, for everyone*; Yates (2010), *Volunteer-run museums*; Holmes (2002), *Volunteer and visitor interaction in the UK heritage sector*

²⁷⁹ See for example English Heritage (2008), *Heritage Counts*, London: English Heritage, inside front page

the same time, understanding how individual congregations have been affected by the decline of public worship and changing religious practice in society remain important aspects of understanding 'secularisation'. This thesis therefore looks to local case studies to illuminate these issues. Nevertheless, the chapter that follows presents an overview of the relationships between the heritage protection regime and historic places of worship at a national level.

Chapter 2

Context

Introduction

One of the major themes of this thesis is the role of voluntary action in the history of heritage protection for historic places of worship. Part of the aim of the study is to address academic understandings of the role of voluntary action in the heritage sector, and therefore the study is also concerned with the role of voluntary action in the ongoing maintenance of historic churches. As we saw in the previous chapter, Waterton and Watson have suggested that there was “no distinct role for the ‘public’ within the management process” of public heritage.¹ Yet, this analysis appears to be contingent on a circumscribed understanding of both what constitutes ‘the public’ and, indeed, heritage itself. Evidence to the 2006 House of Commons Culture Media and Sport Committee report *Protecting and Preserving Our Heritage*, for instance, widely applauded, “the huge contribution which [the voluntary and community sector make] to the restoration and management of the nation’s heritage”.² As this thesis endeavours to show, the role of the public has been essential in achieving the management of historic places of worship, although this has been tempered or mediated at times by the activities of a range of official bodies. In addition, it should be noted that public management of heritage assets is not limited to historic places of worship but can be seen in the work of building preservation trusts, the work of community groups in historic parks and gardens, in the running of preserved railways, and elsewhere besides.³

¹ E. Waterton and S. Watson, (2013), ‘Heritage and community engagement: finding a new agenda’, S. Watson and E. Waterton (eds) (2013), *Heritage and Community Engagement: Collaboration or contestation?* London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, p4

² Culture, Media and Sport Committee (12 July 2006), *Protecting and Preserving Our Heritage*, HC 912-I, Para 115

³ Raphael Samuels covered some of these in *Theatres of Memory*. In addition, Kate Clark has outlined the role of the HLF in supporting community action in regard to parks and gardens and other projects, K. Clark (2004), ‘Why fund heritage? The role of research in the Heritage Lottery Fund’, *Cultural Trends*, 13:4, esp. pp76-78

It is therefore hoped that this study has a wider import than merely for places of worship alone. Nevertheless, the role of Parochial Church Councils (PCCs) in managing historic places of worship is important in itself. This is particularly true as the sheer number of Anglican listed places of worship means that a significant proportion of the community groups caring for heritage assets are PCCs. In this chapter we will examine the development of voluntary action in the management of historic places of worship. The following section will explore the changing attitudes to voluntarism adopted by members of the Church of England between the start of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. This has a bearing on both the management of places of worship and their cultural meaning. In the second section of this chapter, the role of church closure within the heritage protection system will be examined. It will be argued that this sheds considerable light on the role of voluntary action in the disparate outcomes for churches in certain locales and will form the basis of the rest of the thesis.

The Church of England, Heritage and Voluntary Action

The twentieth century saw a number of profound changes in the way in which Anglican places of worship were managed. Perhaps foremost amongst these changes was the 1921 Parochial Church Councils Measure which changed the way in which individual church buildings were cared for. The Measure conferred the duties formerly held by the vestry onto the newly formalised PCC.⁴ As *The Times* reported at the time, “[t]he measure is designed to give the parochial church council power to become a body corporate with all the powers and liabilities of the vestry”.⁵ The measure conferred legal right to hold property on the PCC and gave the members rights of representation to the patron over the appointment of clergy.⁶ In this way the Measure formally gave new powers of management of the church to the laity of the Church of England, as the latest stage of a process in train since the 1860s.⁷

⁴ M. Furlong (2000), *Church of England: The State It's In*, London: Hodder & Staunton, pp90-91

⁵ Anon. (27 January 1921), ‘Church and Parish’, *Times*, p7

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ See Furlong (2000), *C of E*, pp90-91

The Parochial Church Councils Measure should be seen as the result of a range of societal changes which affected the Church of England over the nineteenth century. Foremost among these was the pressure from external sources which forced the Church to accommodate itself to voluntarist principles. By the end of the twentieth century these principles had taken root in the consciousness of sections of the laity of the church. For example, in response to the approval of the creation of the Archbishops' Council in 1998, the lay representative of the Diocese of Rochester felt able to object to the plans on the basis that they "failed to recognise... that the Church is not a private limited company, but sociologically at least, a voluntary society".⁸ The Church had indeed repeatedly emphasised the need for voluntary participation during the twentieth century.⁹ However, this can be seen as a clear departure from earlier theories of the Church.

Some time ago now, Alan Gilbert argued that "from 1689 onwards English society moved gradually towards de facto religious voluntarism".¹⁰ However, apart from an evangelical minority, Anglicans were likely to remain defenders of their religious monopoly into the nineteenth century.¹¹ The defense of this monopoly was rooted in a Hutchinsonian Anglican political theology prevalent in the eighteenth century, which has been identified by J.C.D. Clark. This political theology emphasized, as Clark put it "the necessity of dependence and social subordination; the centrality of revelation, tradition, and the Church as the repository of both."¹² A key part of this theology was a rejection of a Lockean theory of social contract in which religion was freely chosen, with the theologian William Jones arguing that "the Church 'was not a mere *voluntary* society; but one whereof men are obliged to become members, as

⁸ G. O'Brien quoted in R. Gledhill (12 February 1998), 'Church slims bureaucracy to increase wealth and efficiency', *Times*, p6

⁹ See for instance Norwich City Commission (1970), *Norwich City Commission Report*, Norwich: Norwich City Commission, pp7 & 10

¹⁰ A. D. Gilbert (1976), *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, London: Longman, p140; Voluntarism also appears to have been a feature of Calvinist communities of an earlier period, prior to the Great Ejection in 1662, see M. Bullett (2016), *Post-Reformation preaching in the Pennines: space, identity and affectivity*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Huddersfield, uk.bl.ethos.688341

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p73, see also pp18 & 166-168

¹² J. C. D. Clark (1985), *English Society 1688-1832*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p218

they value their everlasting happiness; for it is a society appointed by God with enforcement of rewards and punishments”.¹³ Over the course of the nineteenth century, Anglicans were forced to modify this position.

Frances Knight, drawing on the work of Gilbert, has argued that between 1800 and 1870 the Church of England experienced a massive transformation, moving from the status of state church to becoming just one denomination amongst many.¹⁴ Knight has seen these two elements (an increasing emphasis on voluntarism and ‘denominalisation’) as interlinked. As she puts it, in this period “the Church was forced to shift from a monopolistic to a voluntaristic position, from the only officially recognised religious institution in England to a competing denomination”.¹⁵ Over this time period the Church was subject to a series of political pressures, particularly surrounding the church rates, linked to the rise of liberalism as a political philosophy, which saw British society place greater emphasis on voluntarism. Thus, at least by 1887 a speaker at a Diocesan Conference in Wrexham, a Mr Evan Morris, is reported to have felt able to declare that the Church of England “is a voluntary church”.¹⁶ Of course, we should not overstate the extent to which this theory of the Church of England as a voluntary society was generally accepted, and the critique offered by the correspondent to the *Wrexham Weekly Advertiser* of Mr. Morris’ utterance is evidence that his view was not shared by those of other denominations.¹⁷ Nevertheless, this pressure to voluntarise was ongoing throughout this period. We will see some of the implications for church building and repair in the course of the chapters that follow.

¹³ William Jones quoted in J. C. D. Clark (1985), *English Society*, p247 emphasis in original; see also P. Nockles (1994), *The Oxford Movement in Context*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp46-47

¹⁴ F. Knight (1995), *The Nineteenth Century Church and English Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

¹⁵ Knight (1995), *Nineteenth Century Church*, p17

¹⁶ Evan Morris quoted by Observer (17 September 1887), ‘Is the Church of England a Voluntary Church?’, *Wrexham Weekly Advertiser*, p3

¹⁷ Ibid., p3

The pressure to voluntarise the Church of England had clear significance for the ways in which church buildings were constructed and managed in the nineteenth century. Indeed, it continues to play a role in this practice to the present day. We can see this in changing modes of funding for church building and repair. These activities have witnessed a trend from private provision of places of worship, through a phase of state-led delivery bolstered by charitable giving, to more broadly-based arrangements for church buildings and repair by the mid-nineteenth century. Apart from a fairly unsuccessful grant in 1710 for new churches in London, the building of churches and chapels up until 1818 generally relied upon private initiative and represented a significant expense.¹⁸ When church building did take place, it was often either as an adornment to an estate, or as the focus of civic pride in the towns.¹⁹ At the start of the nineteenth century this system remained in place, but, as M. H. Port detailed in his book *600 New Churches*, following the conclusion of Napoleonic Wars the Church of England was faced with an ongoing shift of the centres of population in England.²⁰ To deal with this emerging issue the Anglicans embarked on a major phase of church building, achieved through a mix of both state provision and private contributions.²¹

Helen Meller has called the Church Building Act (1818), “the first piece of new social legislation of the nineteenth century”.²² The state’s foray into church building in this period was heavily linked to the Anglican political theology Jonathan Clark identified. As Port showed, the influence of the Rev. Richard Yates (antiquarian and Doctor of Divinity) was key in providing the ideological undergirding of the Act.²³ Yates’ 1815 work, *The Church in Danger: A Statement of the Cause and the Probable Means of Averting that Danger Attempted in a Letter*

¹⁸ W. M. Jacob (2002), *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp200-202

¹⁹ R. Morris (1989), *Churches in the Landscape*, London: Orion Publishing, chap. 10; and Jacob (2002), *Lay People*, pp186-187

²⁰ M. H. Port (2006), *600 New Churches*, Oxford: Spire Books, pp14-16

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² H. Meller (1997), *Towns, Plans and Society in Modern Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p10

²³ M. H. Port (2006), *600 New Churches*, pp26-29; E. Clarke (23 September 2004), ‘Yates, Richard (1769–1834), Church of England clergyman and antiquary’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

to Lord Liverpool was dedicated to spelling out the message that an insufficiency of church places was the cause of the country's moral decline.²⁴ Yates' remedy was sacerdotal. According to his analysis increasing the number of clergy would have a beneficial effect on the behaviour of their parishioners.²⁵ Operating under the vows they had taken at ordination, clergy would be able to provide "superintendence" of "those placed under his care".²⁶ Yates drew on census data to argue that shifting centres of population as well as a general increase in the number of people in the country was stretching the abilities of the clergy to fulfil this role.²⁷ Large numbers of people were thus being excluded from the Church, becoming dissenters, "sectarian enthusiasts" or worse.²⁸ As he saw it, the social consequences of this were enormous:

Such a Mine of Heathenism, and consequent profligacy and danger... accumulated around the very centre and heart of British Prosperity Liberty and Civilization cannot be contemplated without terror by any real and rational Friend of our Established Government in Church and State.²⁹

Public worship, he argued, was instrumental in guiding conduct of the "lower classes" and thereby preventing crime.³⁰ Yates expanded these ideas in *The Basis of National Welfare*... again addressed to the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool and published in 1817. This anticipated the Government's church building legislation and advised the government on the ways in which a parliamentary inquiry might be conducted on the subject.³¹ The subsequent

²⁴ R. Yates (1815), *The Church in Danger*, London: Nichols, Son and Bentley

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp25-26 & 84

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp25-26, 84 & 107

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp44-45

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p51

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp51-52

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p84

³¹ R. Yates (1817), *The Basis of National Welfare*, London: Nichols, Son and Bentley, pp149-153 & pp165-166 &

Acts in 1818 and 1824 appointed the Church Commission to oversee a grant of £1 million to construct churches in parishes where the population exceeded 1,000 persons.³²

Despite the foregoing, the Church Building Acts should not be seen simply as state provision. They set in place a mixed economy of church building, in which charitable giving supported parliamentary initiative. According to figures quoted by Ian Machin, voluntary subscription for Anglican church extension outstripped parliamentary spending with £1.5million contributed to the cause between 1818 and 1832.³³ As a consequence of this combined funding, 276 new churches were constructed between 1821 and 1831, compared with 152 in the two previous decades.³⁴ Church Building formed part of a wider group of charitable ventures undertaken by the Hackney Phalanx.³⁵ This group of High Churchmen were lobbyists for the Church Building Acts, and in the person of Joshua Watson in particular, were involved in a number of other initiatives such as the National Schools Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.³⁶ Immediately preceding the passing of the first Church Building Act in 1818, the group contributed to the formation of the Church Building Society (CBS) at a meeting chaired by the Archbishop of Canterbury, which elected a committee, including Richard Yates amongst them.³⁷ We can see this organisation as part of a swathe of societies set up by Anglicans in the nineteenth century that M.J.D. Roberts has argued formed part of a wider campaign for moral reform drawing on eighteenth century evangelical precedents.³⁸ These societies were more philanthropic than voluntaristic, in that they maintained a hierarchical view of the social order and were for the supposed benefit of their objects rather than aimed at including the working and middle class in their

³² Port (2006), *600 New Churches*, pp40-41 & 229

³³ G. I. T Machin (1977), *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p17

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p17

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp19-20

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp20 & 29

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p29

³⁸ M. J. D. Roberts (2009), *Making English Morals*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Chapter 1 & pp70-71; Callum Brown has called voluntary societies, "[t]he great invention of evangelicalism", (2009), *The Death of Christian Britain*, London: Routledge, p45

operations.³⁹ As Port noted, the Church Building Society maintained “the High Church standpoint” by insisting that funds raised in the parishes must be done with the “consent of the Ordinary, Patron and incumbent” through their activities.⁴⁰ They thus sought to maintain existing hierarchies. Unlike other denominations in which funds were raised by the congregations themselves, Anglican church building through voluntary subscription continued to operate in a paternalist mode.

The next significant period for church building in the nineteenth century began in the 1830s. Following the return of the Whigs to government at the start of that decade, the amount spent on church buildings by the state declined.⁴¹ Machin gave the total state contribution between 1832 and 1852 as one third of that contributed between 1818 and 1832.⁴² Nevertheless, Anglican church building continued in these decades, with the number of churches consecrated in each decade increasing. Between 1841 and 1870 the Anglicans were opening new churches at an average of more than one a week.⁴³ However, over the same period existing methods for raising money for church repair would be challenged by the emergence of a dissenting middle class whose political power had increased following the Whig’s reform programme of the 1830s.⁴⁴

As we will see in the chapter on Norwich, a city with both a large number of medieval churches and a large dissenting population of middle-class rate-payers, the Anglican political theology came to be contested in both local and national politics. This contestation focused on a tax raised through the church vestry, the church rate, which had been levied as a charge on property “at least as early as 1370... to maintain the fabric of the church and the churchyard”.⁴⁵

³⁹ Port (2006), *600 New Churches*, p28

⁴⁰ CBS Minute Book quoted in *ibid*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p30

⁴² *Ibid.*, p30

⁴³ J. H. Bettey (1987), *Church and Parish: Introduction for Local Historians*, London: Batsford, p129

⁴⁴ Machin (1977), *Politics*, p54

⁴⁵ J. P. Ellens (1994), *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism*, State College: Pen. State University Press p10

Following the Whig reforms, those being taxed were able to make this tax a key political issue and made their opposition to it clear by virtue of their right to vote in the vestries, and by contesting the rates through the courts should this fail. As a consequence, the Church of England was forced to develop its fundraising capacities.

As a result of pressure by the dissenters more voluntaristic funding arrangements for Anglican places of worship developed in the nineteenth century. Simon Bradley suggested that the fundraising committee at St Saviour's and St Mary Overie Church, Southwark (now Southwark Cathedral), was one of the first of its kind and was established as a result of the nonconformist majority in its vestry.⁴⁶ This committee organised fancy fairs, held a concert of sacred music in the church, a fundraising dinner, a ball, and lectures on natural history and phrenology, all under the patronage of the Duchess of Kent and the Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, Lord Arden.⁴⁷ Thus, members of the Church of England developed or utilised fundraising techniques as other sources of income such as the church rates fell away. This expediency would continue to exert itself on Anglican organisation as the government progressively withdrew its support.

The formation of the CBS in 1818, which became the Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS) following an Act of Parliament in 1828 created a single-issue campaign group with the aim of church extension. The CBS' fundraising went in fits and starts, with a prosperous first year followed by a fallow decade lasting until incorporation which again provided a stimulus to donation. The effect of this fillip lasted until 1858 when the Society's right to a royal letter was revoked.⁴⁸ The CBS also provided the spur for church building societies in the dioceses. These began to be formed in England from the 1820s onward.⁴⁹ For instance in the Diocese of Ripon, the first new Diocese to be created since the sixteenth century, the first annual meeting of the

⁴⁶ S. Bradley (1996), *The Gothic Revival and the Church of England 1790-1840*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), Courtauld Institute of Art, uk.bl.ethos.363044, p141

⁴⁷ Ibid., p141

⁴⁸ S. Flew (2015), *Philanthropy and Funding in the Church of England*, Taylor and Francis pp8-9

⁴⁹ A. Burns (1999), *The Diocesan Revival*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p115

Ripon Diocesan Church Building Society took place in May of 1840.⁵⁰ Societies such as this were part of what Arthur Burns has termed 'the Diocesan Revival' in the Church of England, which by 1870 had seen the extension of diocesan organisation and the development of a 'diocesan consciousness' with the clergy and laity identifying with the church at the diocesan level first and foremost.⁵¹

Local organisation of Anglican charities was led by the central societies. Local auxiliaries of the National Schools Society, began to be set up from the 1810s, followed by church building societies.⁵² Burns has suggested that the expansion of these societies was often a function of the relationship between the Bishop and the national organisation, and their development in each of the dioceses took place at varying stages over the course of the period Burns studied.⁵³ These societies formed a framework within which voluntary action could take place. Nevertheless, their activities remained largely for the perceived benefit of others, rather than for those contributing funds. Thus, Simon Bradley has noted that at least within church extension, the clergy provided the lion share of funds contributed in this way.⁵⁴ "The example cited by the Quarterly Review in 1837 of an unspecified diocesan church building fund to which the clergy contributed £243.10s. 6d in a year against £31.1s from the laity was probably an extreme case."⁵⁵ As was seen in the previous chapter, Sarah Flew has completed a close study of the workings of such societies in the Diocese of London, and she suggested that the subject of funding of such societies has not received the attention it deserves by historians.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ K. Snell and P. Ell (2000), *Rival Jerusalems*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p26; A. Burns (1999), *The Diocesan Revival*, p195; Anon. (21 March 1840), 'Ripon Diocesan Church Building Society' *Leeds Intelligencer*, p1

⁵¹ Burns (1999), *The Diocesan Revival*, p2

⁵² *Ibid.*, p115

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp115 & 188

⁵⁴ Bradley (1996), *The Gothic Revival*, p208

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Flew (2015), *Philanthropy*, p1

As noted, both Knight and Gilbert argued that over the nineteenth century the Church of England experienced a significant change in status. A key moment in this transition was the coming to consciousness represented by the religious census of 1851. In the eighteenth century William Warburton had argued that the right of the Church of England to be Established was based on its numerical strength.⁵⁷ However, the religious census of 1851 showed that this dominance was only marginal, with 51% of attendances on census day at Anglican places of worship.⁵⁸ Arguably as a consequence of the census results, the Church of England subsequently sought to increase its provision of church buildings. The 1860s were the most productive decade of building for the Church since the medieval period.⁵⁹ The Church's reliance on the state declined, and the church rates were effectively voluntary by this decade.⁶⁰ Between 1873 and 1891 £20,531,402 was expended on church building "almost all of it from private sources".⁶¹ There was also a corresponding increase in clergy numbers which rose from 14,613 in 1841 to 24,968 in 1911.⁶² These measures were effective as the Church's membership also grew in absolute terms and thus a greater percentage of the general population was Anglican in 1911 than had been in 1831.⁶³ As we will see in later chapters within this period there was a concomitant increase in the demands placed on the laity. For instance, by 1908 it was felt worthy of mention that at St Leonard's Thorpe, Hamlet in Norwich "[t]here was not a penny piece paid in the shape of a salary to any person in the church. All the work was entirely voluntary".⁶⁴ Thus, by the Edwardian period the Church had become increasingly successful at fundraising and was well-wedded to the voluntary ideal.

⁵⁷ G. I. T Machin (1977), *Politics*, p4

⁵⁸ H. MacLeod (1996), *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, London: Palgrave, p11

⁵⁹ Bettey, (1987), *Church and Parish*, p129

⁶⁰ See chapter five

⁶¹ C. Brooks (1995), 'Introduction', C. Brooks and A. Saint (eds), (1995), *The Victorian Church*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p9

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p10

⁶⁴ Anon. (14 March 1908), 'Norwich Church Extension', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p4

As the Church of England continued to come to terms with voluntarism in religion, its clergy were also becoming heavily involved in the formation of a range of associations through which they could indulge in intellectual pursuits. Between 1840 and 1870, regional architectural and archaeological societies were formed, many taking as their main object of enquiry the study of the local parish church.⁶⁵ As will be seen in chapter six, such groups were involved in the production of vast amounts of historical and architectural knowledge. These Societies had a range of purposes, some were focused on topographical and archaeological enquiries, and others, such as the Cambridge Camden Society, were formed to direct the 'proper' restoration of parish churches.⁶⁶ In some cases, such as Salvin's work at Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge, which caused immense controversy for the Cambridge Camdens, this meant drastic alterations.⁶⁷ The ongoing work on church buildings by the Victorians, after a supposed period of neglect by the Georgians meant that there was a wholesale process of 'restoration' of medieval parish churches in the nineteenth century.⁶⁸ This was so extensive that Mark Chatfield was able to author a book under the title *Churches the Victorians Forgot*.⁶⁹ In contrast, archaeological societies and their members developed a critical stance towards such works drawing on a tradition of antithesis to restoration that stretched at least as far back as opposition to James Wyatt's work in the 1790s.⁷⁰ This reaction against restoration was instrumental in the eventual formation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), formed by William Morris and others in 1877.

⁶⁵ C. Miele (2011), 'Heritage and its Communities: Reflections on the English Experience in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', M. Hall (ed) (2011), *Heritage, Culture and Identity: Towards World Heritage*, Farnham: Ashgate, p172

⁶⁶ J. F. White (2004), *The Cambridge Movement*, Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers; C. Webster, and J. Elliott (eds) (2000), 'A Church as it Should be': *the Cambridge Camden Society and its influence*, Stamford: Shaun Tyas

⁶⁷ C. Miele (2000), 'Re-Presenting the Church Militant: The Camden Society, Church Restoration and the Gothic Sign', C. Webster, and J. Elliott (eds) (2000), 'A Church as it Should be': *The Cambridge Camden Society and its influence*, Stamford: Shaun Tyas

⁶⁸ Ibid., p163; See also, C. Webster (2000), "'Absolutely Wretched" Camdenian Attitudes to the Georgian Church', C. Webster, and J. Elliott (eds) (2000), 'A Church as it Should be'

⁶⁹ M. Chatfield (1989), *Churches the Victorians Forgot*, Ashbourne: Moorland

⁷⁰ C. Miele (1996), 'The First Conservation Militants', M. Hunter (1996), *Preserving the Past: The Rise of Heritage in Modern Britain*, Stroud: Sutton, p20

Chris Miele has argued that Morris's innovation was to claim heritage or cultural patrimony for all of humanity, rather than the property of its legal owners.⁷¹ As noted in the previous chapter, this can be understood as 'patrimonialisation'.⁷² A key moment in this redesignation of churches as patrimony is found in the early campaigns of the SPAB with Morris' letter to *The Times* in 1878 lamenting the ongoing destruction of Wren's City Churches.⁷³ However, it is arguable that the process had been in train over the previous century and can be linked to the development of a justification for the church rates which emphasised that Anglican churches were a public service, and therefore a national resource.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the formation of the SPAB represents a coalescence of this movement in direct opposition to the objectives of some of the clergy within the Church of England and is thus a defining moment. Ben Weinstein has illuminated this tension between developing notions of heritage and the intentions of the clergy in this debate over Wren's City Churches.⁷⁵ Faced with a decline of a residential population in the City as it transformed into a centre of commerce, a Union of Benefices Act (1860) was passed which allowed for a church to be demolished, and its plot to be sold to fund the construction of a church building in the suburbs.⁷⁶ Weinstein has argued that the cause of the 'demolitionists' was firmly rooted in an Evangelical theology, "keen to revive the Church of England through urban missionary work and the remobilization of church resources".⁷⁷ This difference of opinion over the utility of conserving places of worship in the face of demographic changes, as opposed to their disposal and the reappropriation of the resources associated with them, would continue to be an issue throughout the majority of the twentieth century as will be seen in the chapters that follow.

⁷¹ Miele (2011), 'Heritage and its Communities', p177

⁷² Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has expressed heritage as "adding the value of pastness" to places and practices, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995), 'Theorizing Heritage', *Ethnomusicology*, 39(3), p370

⁷³ William Morris (17 April 1878), 'Destruction of City Churches', *Times*, p6

⁷⁴ See chapter five

⁷⁵ B. Weinstein (2014), 'Questioning a Late Victorian "Dyad": Preservationism, Demolitionism, and the City of London Churches, 1860-1904', *Journal of British Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 02

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p407

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p403

The patrimonialisation of churches can thus be seen as a response to the threat of loss of these buildings. It should also be seen as the result of the increased production of historical knowledge in the nineteenth century. This, combined with social changes, meant that by the latter part of that century the cultural significance of these buildings had been significantly modified. Through the parish vestry, the church had been a centre of local government at least since the Elizabethan settlement.⁷⁸ Chris Brooks has argued that for rural parish churches the disappearance of this function with the Local Government Act (1894), and their replacement with Parish and District Councils combined with the enfranchisement of farm workers in the 1880s, as well as rural depopulation “spelt the beginning of the end of deference and the dependent parish”.⁷⁹ Local political power had previously been vested in a partnership between the clergy and the squire.⁸⁰ However, by the end of the nineteenth century these arrangements were in decline and Brooks has argued that the medieval parish church thus took on new “meanings cumulatively attached to it by seekers after the picturesque, by antiquarian enthusiasts...[which] now superseded those of the parson and the squire, to be fixed in and by the guardianship of the church’s new possessors.”⁸¹ These meanings took deep root in the middle-class collective consciousness and continued to inform the cultural outlook of a later generation of aesthetes.

Perhaps the most significant group of intellectuals of the twentieth century in the development of the cultural significance of the English parish church were those around John Betjeman and John Piper whom Alexandra Harris has dubbed *Romantic Moderns*.⁸² Piper’s obsession with the parish church would inform his art and his writing, and he and Betjeman would work together on a series of motoring guides for Shell.⁸³ Such publications would reconfirm the

⁷⁸ D. Eastwood (1997), *Government and Community in the English Provinces*, Basingstoke: Palgrave p19

⁷⁹ C. Brooks (1995), ‘Building the rural church: money, power and the country parish’, Brooks and Saint (eds), (1995), *The Victorian Church*, p74

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid., p75

⁸² A. Harris (2010), *Romantic Moderns*, London: Thames and Hudson

⁸³ Ibid., pp204 & 218

importance of the parish church to the English countryside. Harris has also emphasised the significance of Virginia Woolf's *Between the Acts* (1939), which describes the relationships within a village as the villagers perform a pageant for the local landowners centred on the history of England.⁸⁴ We can see this text as emblematic of the extent to which a historical consciousness had become ingrained in minds of the county elites.⁸⁵ As we will see in chapter six, building conservation objectives remained present in a range of societies formed in the interwar period, drawing on this tradition of reverence for place and for the built environment and given voice in the meetings of the Women's Institutes, Civic Trusts and the Council for the Preservation of Rural England. These traditions would continue to inform building conservation activities as the century continued.

Whilst the churches were invested with historic significance, they also continued to be used for their intended function and new frameworks for their local management were formalised. Thus, the Church Assembly Act (1919) provided a modicum of separation between the Church and Parliament, and the Parochial Church Council Measure (1921) put in place arrangements to spread responsibility for the building beyond the incumbent and the churchwardens. Arguably, this is related to the declining number of the clergy, who themselves were declining in financial power. As Simon Green has outlined, the economic position of the clergy would continue to fall as the twentieth century wore on, leading to a drop in the number seeking ordination.⁸⁶ Between 1920 and 1960 the total number of clergy in the Church of England fell from over 20,000 to around 13,000, marking an even steeper decline when population growth is considered.⁸⁷ As these numbers fell, the Church of England would begin to face up to serious questions about the way in which the Church was organised.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp109-14 and *passim*

⁸⁵ V. Woolf (2000), *Between the Acts*, London: Penguin, esp. pp14, 27, 34, & 51; See T. Hulme, (2017). 'A nation of town criers': Civic publicity and historical pageantry in inter-war Britain. *Urban History*, 44(2) for a discussion of the development of the historical pageant in early twentieth century England

⁸⁶ S. J. D. Green (2011), *The Passing of Protestant England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp62-65

⁸⁷ Ibid.

Key in the reorganisation of the Church of England was the report by the sociologist, Leslie Paul, *The Deployment and Payment of the Clergy*, which identified a shortage of manpower and an uneven distribution of clergy, heavily weighted to serve rural parishes.⁸⁸ At the same time a theological stance which became known as the South Bank theology justified a redirection of attention of the Church to the cities, invoking the writing of Dietrich Bonhoeffer.⁸⁹ This theology argued that the Church needed to abandon the religious elements of Christianity and search for “Christ in the secular”, as Mark Chapman has put it.⁹⁰ Concomitant with this were both the transformation of the church building into a centre for social activity, and attempts to recast the clergy’s relationship with the laity in order to free themselves from church buildings and the Church’s parochial structures.⁹¹

We can see the Pastoral Measure (1968) as another crucial event in the patrimonialisation of the English parish church. This Measure drew on the *Paul Report* and was intended to reorient the Church towards urban areas.⁹² In support of the Measure in the Church Assembly the Bishop of Woolwich, John Robinson, radical reformer and a key figure in the South Bank religion, called attention to the high cost of building maintenance, and remarked that he did not “want to remain manager of a preservation society for the rest of [his] life”.⁹³ However, his view was not shared by the whole of the assembly. Opposition to rationalisation was embodied in this debate (and more generally) in the person of Ivor Bulmer-Thomas, who as we will see in the following chapter had devoted his efforts in the post-war period to church conservation. In reaction to Robinson during the debate, Bulmer-Thomas asserted that “[t]he spiritual state

⁸⁸ P. A. Welsby (1984), *A History of the Church of England, 1945-80*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp131-132

⁸⁹ M. D. Chapman (2006), ‘The Theology of the Public Arena: The Case of the South Bank Religion’, J. Garnett et al (2006), *Redefining Christian Britain*, London: SCM Press p93

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp93-94

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ J. Robinson quoted in Anon. (16 Feb. 1965), ‘Layman’s Attack Angers Dr. Stockwood’, *Times*, p6; Anon. (2011), ‘Robinson, John Arthur Thomas (1919–1983), bishop of Woolwich and biblical scholar’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

of the Diocese of Southwark is a matter of disgrace”, thereby criticising the South Bank theology as whole.⁹⁴ This tension between those who sought a rationalisation, and those interested in preservation would persist throughout the century as we will see in later chapters.

The disagreement between Robinson and Bulmer-Thomas is indicative of a wider tension within British society present in the post-war period. Comprehensive redevelopment following the 1947 Planning Act sparked a reaction from building conservationists, and by 1968 laws had been enacted to control works in conservation areas and to require Listed Building Consent for internal alterations to all listed buildings except for churches.⁹⁵ A whole host of literature devoted to the need for preservation was published, and the 1970s saw the formation of groups such as SAVE Britain’s Heritage, Heritage in Danger, and the 30s Society.⁹⁶ As was also noted in the previous chapter, this upswing in concern about the loss of historic buildings and landscapes has been referred to as the “heritage crisis”.⁹⁷ For places of worship concern was prompted by the continued divestment, and in some cases demolition of churches.

Another significant element affecting the conservation of historic buildings in the 1970s was inflation. Whilst higher than at any time in the post-war period in general, it ran at an even higher rate for building materials, causing significant issues for the repair of historic buildings.⁹⁸ The rate of Inflation was at an average of 9.3% between 1971 and 1974, and hit a peak of 25% in 1975.⁹⁹ By 1972 inflation on building materials was judged to be at 12%.¹⁰⁰ In 1975 the

⁹⁴ I. Bulmer-Thomas quoted in Anon. (16 Feb. 1965), ‘Layman's Attack Angers Dr. Stockwood’, *Times*, p6

⁹⁵ S. Andraea (1996), ‘From Comprehensive Development to Conservation Areas’, M. Hunter (ed) (1996), *Preserving the Past*, pp135 &141

⁹⁶ G. Stamp (1996), ‘Twentieth Century Conservation Societies’, M Hunter (ed) (1996), *Preserving the Past*, pp92 & 96

⁹⁷ See A. Law (2004), *The Built Heritage Conservation Movement: Landscapes of Englishness and Social Class*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Newcastle, *passim*

⁹⁸ See A. Chandler (2009), *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century: The Church Commissioners and the Politics of Reform, 1948-1998*, Woodbridge: Boydell, pp328-372 for a discussion of the effects of this on the Church Commissioners

⁹⁹ T. Aldous (5 May 1972), ‘Churches need 'pound for pound' aid’, *Times*, p4

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

Financial Times put this figure at 30%.¹⁰¹ This sustained period of inflation presented serious difficulties for maintaining places of worship. The Church Assembly report the *Preservation of Our Churches* could in 1951 speak approvingly of a £1,250 endowment, producing £50 per year which it was thought “would provide a sufficient income in perpetuity to keep the average church in repair”.¹⁰² However, writing to *The Times* in 1975, welcoming the announcement of £1m state aid to churches, the Duke of Grafton and Seriol Evans, of the Historic Churches Preservation Trust, which, alongside a network of county trusts, had been founded in response to the *Preservation* report, suggested that the money had come ‘in the nick of time’ as “the running fight against rising costs has almost overwhelmed us”.¹⁰³

As we will see in the chapters that follow, with the arrival of state aid in 1977, and its successor schemes, as well as oversight from English Heritage, most of the major elements of the church-heritage system were in place by the early 1980s. These arrangements have only necessitated greater input from the laity. With the development of the Sheffield formula in 1974 for calculating the local clergy provision, rural clergy numbers declined.¹⁰⁴ The declining number of clergy necessitated the increased participation by the laity, including lay ministry, and the formation of a greater number of team ministries.¹⁰⁵ A sketch written by J.D.F. Jones in 2003 for the *Financial Times* of two Somerset parishes illustrates the situation around the turn of the twenty-first century.¹⁰⁶ This made much of the architectural heritage in the benefice which included “the glorious tower of Huish Episcopi, the Pitney chalice older than the Armada, the great church at Muchelney, whose stones came from the ruin of England’s second oldest abbey - all 15th century”.¹⁰⁷ Having visited specifically to see the church at Low Ham, Jones

¹⁰¹ Anon. (19 May 1975), ‘A Year of Crisis’, *Financial Times*, p12

¹⁰² Repair of Churches Commission (1951), *The Preservation of Our Churches*, London: Church Information Board, p53

¹⁰³ Grafton and S. Evans (10 Feb. 1975), ‘Historic churches’, *Times*, p13

¹⁰⁴ D. Davies, et al (1991), *Church and Religion in Rural England*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, p129

¹⁰⁵ Archbishops’ Commission on Rural Areas (1990), *Faith in the Countryside*, London: Churchman Publishing, chapter 8

¹⁰⁶ J.D.F Jones (29 Nov. 2003), ‘Church Changes but the Churches Stay’, *Financial Times*, p12

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

found the building locked and obtained the key from a young man on a nearby farm.¹⁰⁸ Built in the seventeenth century, when Jones arrived Low Ham was part of a team ministry and open once a month for Evensong.¹⁰⁹ The churches in the benefice as a whole were served by two stipendiary ministers assisted by six licensed readers, as well as two retired bishops who lived locally, with the rector and his vicar working 60-90 hour weeks, with services attended by 35 to 40 people.¹¹⁰ The vicar was certain that the churches would be “self-supporting for stipends, upkeep, heating, insurance, etc.” and for major repair the churches could look to English Heritage or the Churches Conservation Trust, supported by local giving.¹¹¹ Thus, the Church of England in rural areas, at least, has accommodated itself to the decline in public worship and the increased pressure that its clergy have been placed under, through a combination of central grant and voluntary action, allowing it to keep churches open, even if not in use every Sunday. The next section looks in more detail about the measures which were put in place to close churches before looking at how these have been applied in a number of localities.

Heritage and Redundancy

In his chapter on the sociology of heritage, Raphael Samuel noted the emergence of the practice of holding steam rallies which he located in a founding event of the summer of 1950.¹¹² In reaction to the spread of the combine harvester, which was making the traction engine redundant, Arthur Napper (whom Samuel notes as the ‘chief protagonist’ in this revival) “recall[ed] the moment when he woke up and thought to himself, there won’t be a traction engine left in Berkshire”.¹¹³ Having bought an engine, Napper organised a private competition against a friend, but following press interest, steam rallies grew in popularity eventually

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² R. Samuel (1994), *Theatres of Memory*, London: Verso, p248 -9

¹¹³ Chris Edmonds quoted in *ibid.*, p249

becoming a nationally popular way of demonstrating the ways in which farm labour was formerly undertaken.¹¹⁴

There are parallels to be drawn between Napper's fear that these machines would no longer be a feature of the Berkshire countryside and the patrimonialisation of churches. This will become evident in the reactions to the Pastoral Measure (1968). The manner in which these buildings have been declared redundant and their subsequent uses provides an insight into the changing social meaning of places of worship in relation to wider societal changes. These changes can be seen as local reactions to national issues. William Whyte has argued that "[r]edundancy... must be understood not just as a reflection of failure - but also as a product of a series of choices made by individuals, by congregations, and by the wider church."¹¹⁵ The patrimonialisation of these places provides evidence of the diverse ways in which secularisation has taken place. This has been characterised by pockets of ongoing strength amongst decline, a co-ordinated push back in rural areas in the shape of county trusts, as well as examples of civic management. The present section is intended to offer a comparison of redundancy rates in the three geographical areas on which the following case studies are based. First however, we will look briefly at the development of legislation governing the closure of churches.

As has been seen above, the church had begun to develop the legal mechanisms with which to dispose of churches which were no longer in use for worship with the Union of Benefices Act (1860). Although the uses to which this Act was put met strong condemnation from conservationists such as Morris, the Church would subsequently assert its right to stand outside of heritage protection legislation.¹¹⁶ "Ecclesiastical Exemption" was granted from the 1913 Ancient Monuments and Consolidation Act meaning that places of worship could not be

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p249

¹¹⁵ W. Whyte (2007), 'The Architecture of Belief', J. Garnett et al (2007), *Redefining Christian Britain: Post 1945 Perspectives*, London: SCM Press, p191

¹¹⁶ Weinstein (2014), 'Questioning a Late Victorian "Dyad"'

designated under the Act.¹¹⁷ In order to maintain a separate system, the Church of England revived its faculty procedure for granting permission for changes to its places of worship and began to set up a network of Diocesan Advisory Committees, although this was hampered by the onset of the First World War.¹¹⁸ Some measure of oversight was also established as part of the Union of Benefices Measure of 1923.¹¹⁹ This Measure established that proposals to demolish a church had to be put before both Houses of Parliament and the advice of the Royal Fine Art Commission had to be sought to “protect churches of ‘archaeological, historic or artistic interest’”.¹²⁰ Thus, the Church managed to maintain control over the demolition of its sites in a system separate to that of secular buildings and monuments.

In the closing stages of the Second World War, the Church began to look for a legal framework within which to rationalise its building stock. This was largely undertaken as a response to war damage. In 1944 the Reorganisation of Areas Measure was passed to attend to the administrative issues caused by the destruction of churches as a result of aerial bombardment.¹²¹ In 1948 a committee was also set up to investigate redundancy, under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Norwich, Percy Herbert.¹²² This found 400 churches “seldom or never used” of which 300 were of “architectural or historic interest”.¹²³ In 1952, partly at the behest of the Pilgrim’s Trust and the Society of Antiquaries, the Church set up the Historic Churches Preservation Trust to begin to address what it had estimated as £4 million backlog of repairs which were being blamed on the moratorium on repairs over the war period.¹²⁴ As we will see, the Trust supported a range of churches in use by the Church of England. Nevertheless, between 1948 and 1958, “some 230 churches were demolished, many as the

¹¹⁷ See J. Delafons (1997), *Politics and Preservation*, London: E & FN Spon, p119

¹¹⁸ N. Boulting (1976), ‘The law’s delays: conservation legislation in the British Isles’, J. Fawcett (ed) (1976), *The Future of the Past*, London: Cox & Wyman, p20

¹¹⁹ Delafons (1997), *Politics and Preservation*, p121

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ecclesiastical Committee, Ninetieth Report, 1944 HL15 HC45

¹²² Delafons (1997), *Politics and Preservation*, p121

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ National Churches Trust (2013), *Keeping Churches Alive*, London: National Churches Trust, p3

result of war damage or comprehensive redevelopment".¹²⁵ In 1958 a new Commission was set up under the chairmanship of Lord Bridges.¹²⁶ This reported in 1960 and called for an improved procedure for redundancy and for funds to be made available for those buildings which it was felt warranted preservation.¹²⁷

It was in response to the *Bridges Report* that the Pastoral Measure (1968) and the Redundant Churches and Other Religious Buildings Act (1969), were devised.¹²⁸ These Acts of Parliament are key to understanding the process of patrimonialisation as it has applied to Anglican places of worship. In introducing the Pastoral Measure to the House of Lords, the Bishop of Chester, Gerald Ellison argued that "the powers taken to meet the needs of reorganisation as a result of war damage [were] now found to be needed for wider application".¹²⁹ In devising the Measure, the Church's interest seems to have been largely concerned with administrative issues related to the cure of souls. Although, as we will see in the following chapter, part of the debate did relate to church buildings, for the majority involved, this appears to have been more or less a side issue. In regard to redundant churches, Ellison argued that,

[t]he Church has a heavy enough burden to bear in keeping in good condition the churches which are needed for parochial purposes, and you will readily understand that church people are reluctant to spend much needed funds in keeping in repair buildings which are no longer needed for public worship.¹³⁰

This transference of responsibility for historic places of worship no longer required by the Church to the nation can be seen as a facet of the process of patrimonialisation. How this

¹²⁵ Delafons (1997), *Politics and Preservation*, p121

¹²⁶ Ibid., p123

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Lord Bishop of Chester, HL Deb 13 May 1968 vol 292 cc2-25 para. 4

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ HL Deb 13 May 1968 vol 292 cc2-25 para. 9-10

has been worked out in practice has been dependent on an interrelationship between local and national concerns. These issues will be dealt with in more detail on a national level in the chapter that follows. For the remainder of this chapter, a comparison between rates of church closure in different geographical areas will be undertaken.

The rate of closures of church buildings have been the subject of some close study. As was noted in the previous chapter, Robin Gill has assessed the impact of the nineteenth century church building, focussing on the provision of seating and its relationship to church attendance.¹³¹ To reiterate, Gill argued that whilst the drive to build new churches in the first half of nineteenth century meant that the Church of England was able to keep pace with the rate of population expansion, it caused a significant financial burden for the dioceses in the later period.¹³² These problems were seen, Gill argued, both in the falling pecuniary power of the Church's congregations and the psychological effect of the excess of seating in "empty churches" which caused their confidence to drop and offered 'proof' of secularisation.¹³³ This has led to the Church of England closing churches, although at a slower rate than other denominations, with the overall total number of churches and mission halls declining from a total of 21,913 in 1921 to 16,373 in 1989.¹³⁴ Gill's work, and that of Linda Monckton, discussed below, offer the opportunity to make comparisons of rates of redundancy in local areas set against national averages and thus explore the process of patrimonialisation further.

Monckton has looked specifically at rates of redundancy and outcomes for buildings under the Pastoral Measure. Her 2010 report *Churches and Closure in the Church of England* estimated that 11% of the Church of England's building stock had been closed since 1969.¹³⁵ This figure provides a baseline against which local studies of redundancy can be measured. It is argued

¹³¹ R. Gill (2003), *The Empty Church Revisited*, Abingdon: Routledge

¹³² Ibid., Table 2, pp222 & 137

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p36

¹³⁵ L. Monckton (2010), *Churches and Closure in the Church of England*, London: English Heritage p2; The total given is 1,795.

here that the heritage protection regime provides a framework within which building conservation takes place. Nevertheless, Monckton's study found no overall link between the listing grade of a building and likelihood of its closure.¹³⁶ Of her sample of 1,795 churches closed between 1969 and 2010, 37.5% were highly graded listed buildings (I and grade II*), with 26% listed at grade II and 35% unlisted.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, Monckton also noted "a trend away from closing highly listed buildings".¹³⁸ Thus, of the 514 closures made "since 1989 9% of closed churches have been grade I, 14% Grade II*, 35% grade II and 42% unlisted."¹³⁹ Monckton's figures also showed a decrease in the number of redundancies over time, with the bulk of redundancies occurring within the first twenty years following the 1968 Pastoral Measure and declining from an average of 79 per year in the 1970s and 1980s to 24 per year in the first decade of the twenty-first century.¹⁴⁰ Whilst it may be that this decline in the rate of redundancy is the result of the Church having front-loaded its rationalisation of building stock, is arguable that it is also related to the availability of grant aid for historic places of worship in use from 1977 onwards.¹⁴¹

Monckton's work also looked at the rates of both demolition and the various new uses found for former Anglican places of worship.¹⁴² This data again can be used as a baseline to make comparisons between national rates and area-based case studies. The Pastoral Measure (1968) specified that if no new use for a building was found within three years, it was to be demolished.¹⁴³ Monckton found that this had occurred in 20% of the cases in her sample.¹⁴⁴ However, in just over a half (51%) of cases, new active use for the building was found.¹⁴⁵ For

¹³⁶ Ibid., p7

¹³⁷ Ibid., p6

¹³⁸ Ibid., p2

¹³⁹ Ibid., p2

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ See B. Taylor (2017), *The Taylor Review: Sustainability of English Churches and Cathedrals*, London: DCMS, p25 for a list of grant aid programmes since this date

¹⁴² Ibid., pp7-8

¹⁴³ I. Bulmer-Thomas (1970), *The Problem of Redundant Churches*, London: Ecclesiological Society, pp5-6

¹⁴⁴ L. Monckton (2010), *Churches and Closure*, p7

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p7

19% of the buildings in her sample a preservation organisation had taken over the building's management.¹⁴⁶ The remaining outcomes were either unknown ('future use under investigation') (6%), part use/part demolition (2%), site disposal (which is used to mean that the church was demolished as part of the order of the pastoral measure) (1%) and 'other' (which is not explained in the text) (1%).¹⁴⁷ Monckton also noted that figures since 1990 show fewer churches demolished (12%), as well as fewer given over to preservation trusts (12%) and more active uses found (60%).¹⁴⁸ In terms of future uses of those buildings which have not been demolished, Monckton grouped together community use, use by another denomination, or a cultural use, which together made up 46% of her sample.¹⁴⁹ Slightly more than a quarter of the churches made redundant under the pastoral measure have been vested in a preservation body (27%).¹⁵⁰ Around a quarter have been given over for commercial uses which includes 'residential, office or shopping, storage and light industrial'.¹⁵¹ Broken down into single categories, closed churches are most likely to be vested in the Churches Conservation Trust (26%), converted to residential (20%), used for worship by other 'Christian bodies' (11%) or retained as a 'monument' (11%).¹⁵²

Chapters four, five and six of this work take Monckton's data as a starting point from which to investigate the management of historic places of worship in a variety of different contexts. The case studies which follow have been chosen to illuminate a number of issues related to the topic at hand. Huddersfield, a market town in West Yorkshire which saw a significant expansion of population throughout the nineteenth century provides an opportunity to examine the present-day outcomes for churches built within this period of Regency and Victorian expansion. These churches are generally considered to be of low architectural quality, and

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p8

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p2

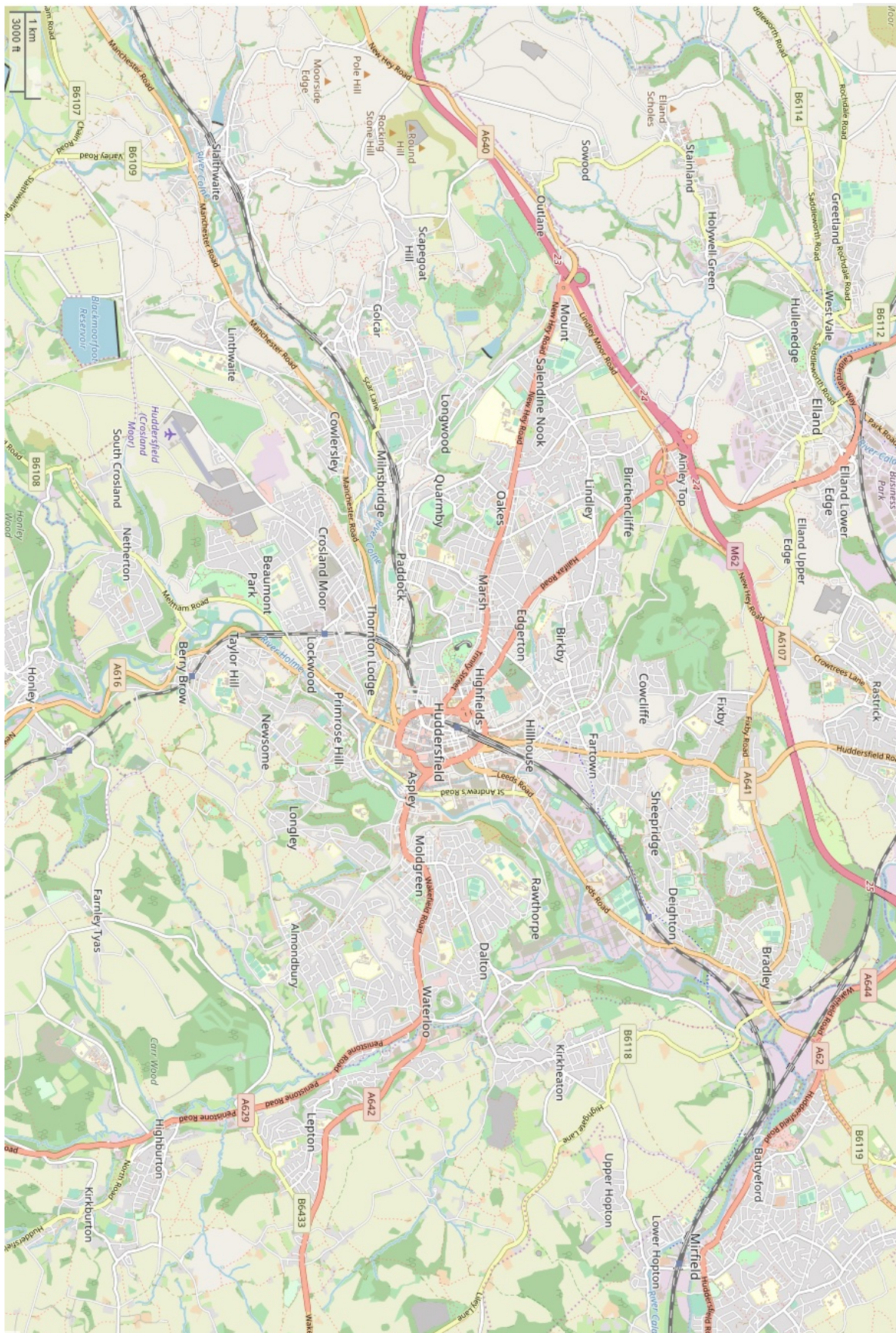
¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

the area which they were built in has not seen the development of a strong building conservation movement dedicated to their retention. Conversely, Norwich, a city in the east of England, which has a large number of medieval churches, as well as those built as result of nineteenth-century suburban expansion, has developed different arrangements for the management of its redundant church buildings. The medieval legacy of church buildings in Norwich provoked extensive public debate in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries concerned with how these buildings should be maintained. In the twentieth century this led to the establishment of a building trust by the City Council to manage the city's historic places of worship. The third and final area-based case study concerns Norfolk, a county with hundreds of medieval churches in rural contexts provides an opportunity to examine the relationships between the production of historical knowledge in the nineteenth century and ways in which a formal system of heritage protection has been developed in the twentieth.

Monckton's figures provide a benchmark with which to judge the outcomes for churches in the case studies chosen for this thesis. As the result of a number of historical developments related to the strength of voluntary action, rates of redundancy vary between urban and rural areas. Huddersfield and Norwich have provided the opportunity to investigate rates of redundancy in different urban contexts. However, these urban contexts are significantly different in themselves. In the case of the Norfolk, it will be seen that by comparison, rates of redundancy are much lower within rural contexts. At the same time outcomes for redundant churches in each of these localities has been remarkably different, resulting from the choices made locally both by the dioceses in question and by those residing in those areas. In the sections that follow, the redundancy rates for these areas will be established.



Map1 Huddersfield and District (Taken from www.openstreetmaps.org)

Huddersfield

The town of Huddersfield is the result of the agglomeration of a large number of villages or townships in the nineteenth century.¹⁵³ Over the course of this history its geographical definition has been dependent on changes in administrative control. Huddersfield was incorporated as a borough in 1868, but the townships subject to this incorporation were situated in three historic parishes, Huddersfield, Almondbury and Kirkheaton.¹⁵⁴ These differing geographical designations have different rates of redundancy. For this reason, it has been decided to restrict statistical analysis to what constituted the historic parish of Huddersfield, although the case study chapter that follows will take in evidence from a wider area. The historic parish ran from Bradley in the north-east to Slaithwaite and beyond in the south-west, with its northern border similar to, but not identical with, the route of what is now the M62.¹⁵⁵ The southern boundary of the historic parish, with that of Almondbury, ran roughly along the line of the River Colne.¹⁵⁶ The history of church building in what became the parish of Huddersfield began prior to the Norman Conquest and it is thought that a chapel of some kind stood there as part of the parish of Dewsbury.¹⁵⁷ The Norman church in Huddersfield was subsequently replaced on grander scale by a parish church in 1503.¹⁵⁸ The parish also gained two chapels of ease, one at Slaithwaite and one at Scammonden, towards its western edge in the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁹ By the end of the seventeenth century the township of Huddersfield was composed of five hamlets, the town itself, Bradley, Deighton, Marsh and Fartown.¹⁶⁰ After the two chapels of ease were built, it was some time before the next significant phase of church

¹⁵³ G. Redmonds (1992), 'Settlement in Huddersfield before 1800', H. Haigh (ed) (1992), *Huddersfield: A Most Handsome Town*, Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, p17; I. A. Thompson (1992), 'The Development of Huddersfield's Town Centre from 1870 onwards', Haigh (ed) (1992), *Huddersfield*, pp341-342

¹⁵⁴ E. Royle (1992), 'Religion in Huddersfield since the mid-Eighteenth Century', Haigh (ed) (1992), *Huddersfield*, p101

¹⁵⁵ See the map reproduced in Royle (1992), 'Religion in Huddersfield', Haigh (ed) (1992), *Huddersfield: A Most Handsome Town*, Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, p100

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp100-101

¹⁵⁷ J. Addy, (1992), 'The Church in Huddersfield 600-1743', Haigh (ed) (1992), *Huddersfield*, p85

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p89

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p92; Royle (1992), 'Religion', Haigh (ed) (1992), *Huddersfield*, p102.

¹⁶⁰ Redmonds, (1992), 'Settlement in Huddersfield before 1800' in Haigh (ed) (1992), *Huddersfield*, p17

building began in the area. This came with the construction of Longwood St Mark in 1749 by the Radcliffe family (a private chapel which became a chapel-of-ease in 1798), along with other churches built in neighbouring parishes.¹⁶¹ The majority of Huddersfield's Anglican places of worship were built in the nineteenth century. Two churches were built, one at Greenhead and one on Woodhouse Hill in the first part of the nineteenth century, both by wealthy patrons.¹⁶² In the century that followed, the town would grow rapidly in size and Huddersfield's Anglicans saw to it that the number of churches built in the town also grew. Within this period, at least eleven new churches would be built in the historic parish.¹⁶³ Up until 1958 when St Paul's was declared surplus to requirements under the Union of Benefices measure the historic parish had 18 churches, not including mission churches.¹⁶⁴

From Table 1 (below) it can be seen that of the eighteen churches built prior to the passing of the Pastoral Measure in 1968, five have been made redundant.¹⁶⁵ This represents a redundancy rate of 27% which is more than twice the national average (11%). Although the sample size of redundant churches is very small, the outcomes for these buildings have been a mix of commercial, residential and semi-public uses. At 20% residential conversions are representative of the national average. Reuse as Office and Shopping as a group is ten times higher than the national average, whilst reuse for sports and educational purposes are also over represented. It should be noted that at the time of writing St Andrews, Leeds Road, although reported as office or shopping is actually in a derelict state.¹⁶⁶ Whether these figures are significant is open to debate, however, conspicuous by their absence is ownership by a

¹⁶¹ Royle, (1992), 'Religion', Haigh (ed) (1992), *Huddersfield*, p103

¹⁶² Ibid., p104

¹⁶³ See Table 1

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ These figures have been arrived at from cross checking the list of redundancies contained in Church of England (2011), *Diocese of Wakefield*, London: Church of England against churches in the historic parish of Huddersfield taken from the Church Heritage Record, retrieved from: facultyonline.churchofengland.org

¹⁶⁶ A. Robinson (3 September 2017), 'Crumbling church in 'critical' condition and could be lost forever' *Huddersfield Examiner*, Retrieved from: <https://www.examinerlive.co.uk/news/watch-crumbling-church-critical-condition-13610906>

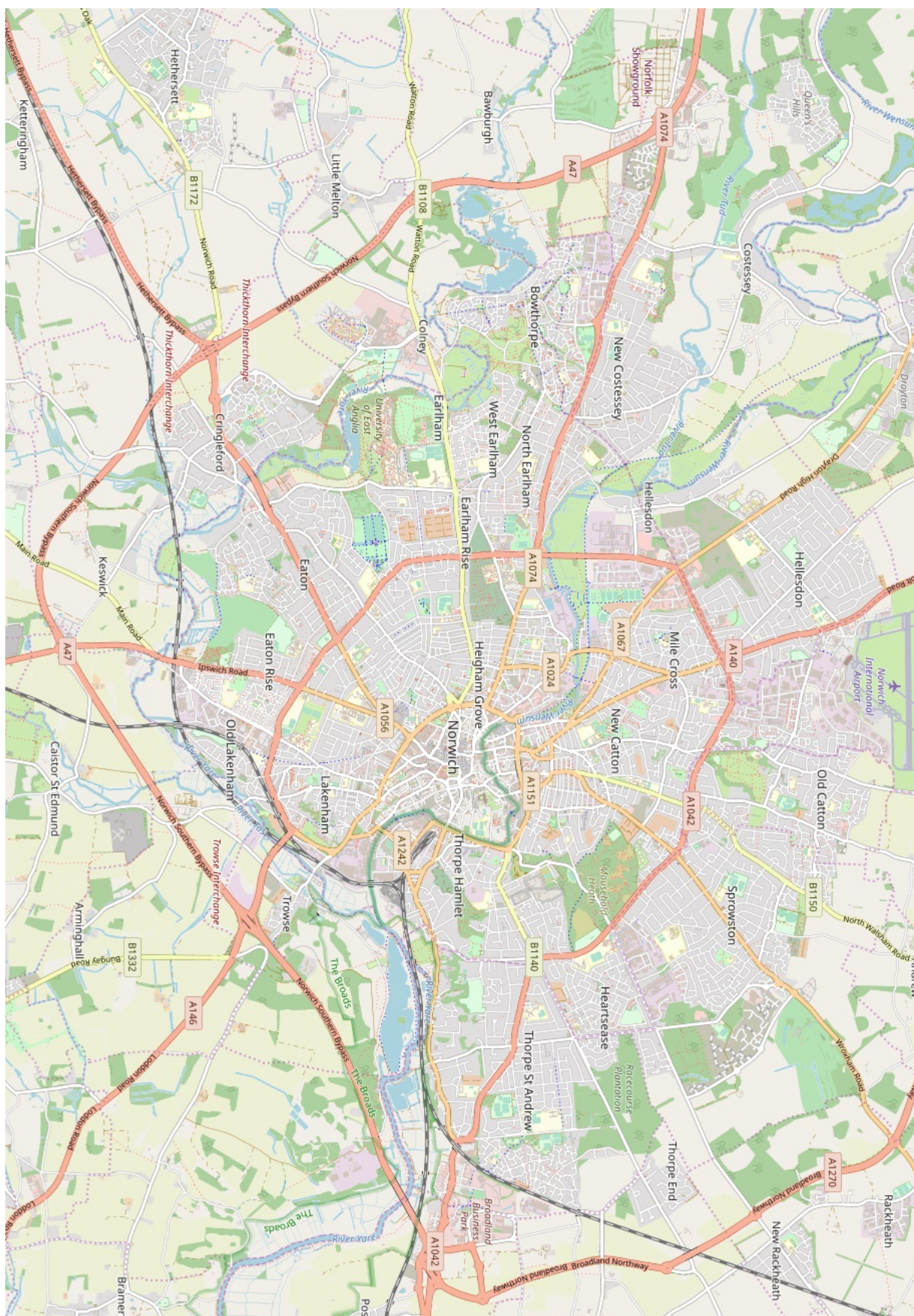
preservation body, which as we have seen forms the largest group (26%) in terms of future uses found for closed Anglican places of worship nationally.

Huddersfield's high rate of redundancy most likely relates to the prevalence of nineteenth-century building stock. Within this stock there is a limited number of highly graded listed buildings. Of the eighteen churches in this sample, this group of four consists of the parish church, St Peter's which is in the town centre and constructed from the materials of the church previously on the site, Holy Trinity, which was the first church to be built in the town in the nineteenth century, and Huddersfield St Thomas, and Birkby St John, both of which were designed by prominent architects, Sir George Gilbert Scott and William Butterworth respectively.¹⁶⁷ None of these churches have been made redundant. Rather the strategy pursued by the diocese appears to have been to dispose of less architecturally important churches and to sell these either for residential or commercial purposes. Thus, although the majority of the churches in Huddersfield are listed, beyond this there has been very little done in the way of recognising their value as heritage. This contrasts considerably with the building stock of Norwich, as we will see.

¹⁶⁷ Parish Church of St Peter, List Entry Number (LEN): 1134977; Church of the Holy Trinity, LEN: 1223128; Church of St Thomas, 1134950; Church of St John, LEN: 1217625

Church	Date (approx)	Rebuilt	Grade	Redundant Date	Outcome
St Peter's Church, Huddersfield	1130	1836	II*		
Slaithwaite St James	1590	1796 (?)	II		
Scammonden Chapel / St Bartholomew's	1615	1813 1865	II		
Longwood St Mark	1749	1877	II		
Huddersfield Holy Trinity	1819		II*		
Woodhouse Christ Church	1823		II		
Lindley St Stephen	1828		II		
Paddock All Saints	1828		II	1984	Residential
Golcar St John the Evangelist	1829		II		
Huddersfield St Paul	1831		II	1959	Educational
Birkby (/Bay Hall) St John	1851		II*		
Huddersfield St Thomas	1857		II*		
Bradley St Thomas	1863		II	1979	Sports
Huddersfield St Andrew	1870		II	1975	Office/Shop
Birchencliffe St Philip	1878		II		
Huddersfield St Mark	1887		N/A	1997	Office/Shop
Birkby St Cuthbert	1925		II		
Cowcliffe St Hilda	1953		N/A		

Churches in the historic parish of Huddersfield built prior to 1968 (Table 1)



Norwich

Norwich was pre-eminently urban and for some time was the second largest city in England.¹⁶⁸ As a settlement it has had a marketplace for longer than Huddersfield and gained both a cathedral and city walls in the medieval period.¹⁶⁹ As a consequence, the history of church building in Norwich stretches further back than that of Huddersfield. Dedications to St Clement and St Olaf stem from Viking influence on the city and Domesday records seven churches specifically by name.¹⁷⁰ Domesday also gives a total of at least twenty-five churches or chapels serving the 1,358 households.¹⁷¹ It was therefore already a major population centre by the time of the Norman Conquest and served by many churches, although the exact number has fluctuated over time.¹⁷² Brian Ayers has used the presence of 60 parish churches in the city at the start of thirteenth century to calculate a minimum population of the city as 15,000 people.¹⁷³ The number of churches decreased to 50 at the end of the middle ages, although this still represents a high concentration of places of worship in an urban area.¹⁷⁴ There was some amalgamation of parishes over the later fourteenth century and by 1520 there were a total of 46 churches.¹⁷⁵ This number further decreased during the Reformation and as at Huddersfield, the next period of expansion came in the nineteenth century, precipitated by Norwich's suburbanisation. In Norwich's newly emerging suburban areas, seven new churches were constructed between 1843 and 1886.¹⁷⁶ However, the effects of the forty-five bombing raids by the Luftwaffe on the city again ate away at the total, with five medieval churches lost as a result.¹⁷⁷ This left 31 medieval churches including the cathedral within the historic centre of

¹⁶⁸ F. Meeres (1998), *A History of Norwich*, Chichester: Phillimore and Co., p102

¹⁶⁹ Meeres (1998), *History of Norwich*, p39; E. J. Law (1992), 'Markets, Fairs and Tolls in Huddersfield', Haigh (ed) (1992), *Huddersfield*, p65

¹⁷⁰ B. Ayers (2004), 'The Urban Landscape', C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds) (2004), *Medieval Norwich*, London: Hambledon and London, pp5-6 & 9

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid., p14

¹⁷³ Ibid., pp19-20

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p25

¹⁷⁵ J. Finch (2004), 'The Churches', Rawcliffe and Wilson (eds) (2004), *Medieval Norwich*, p58

¹⁷⁶ S. Muthesius (2004), 'Architecture since 1800', C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds) (2004), *Norwich Since 1550*, London: Hambledon and London

¹⁷⁷ P. Townroe (2004), 'Norwich Since 1945', Rawcliffe and Wilson (2004), *Norwich Since 1550*, p462

the city.¹⁷⁸ In addition, by the mid twentieth century there were around two dozen churches in the city's suburbs.¹⁷⁹

For the purposes of comparison, it has been decided to divide Norwich's city centre from its suburbs when calculating rates of redundancy. In addition, within the case study chapter which follows, attention will be paid in general to the city-centre churches. Making this distinction presents a problem as the concept of a suburb is difficult to define precisely. In his chapter on suburbs in *The Victorian City*, F. M. L. Thompson suggested that "there is no clear line between a town and a suburb".¹⁸⁰ Nevertheless, in terms of Norwich at least, its urban centre is well defined with an inner ring-road following roughly the line of the medieval city wall and the River Wensum on its east. This has been taken as a working boundary for this study. Many of the villages that became part of Norwich's suburban area in the nineteenth century had their own medieval churches.¹⁸¹ They also feature low density housing of a character generally considered to be a defining element of suburbia, so even where, as at Costessey, there is a short break in the line of development, has been treated this area as suburban in my analysis.¹⁸² Taking the entirety of Norwich together, 58 Anglican churches have been identified, of which 27 have been closed in the twentieth century. This gives a much higher redundancy rate than Huddersfield, at around 47%. However, dividing the city between urban and suburban areas produces clear differences. Some 21 of the 30 parish churches (70%) within the city walls have been declared redundant during the twentieth century.¹⁸³ Norwich's suburbs on the other hand have seen 6 of 28 (21%) declared redundant, a figure more comparable to that of Huddersfield.

¹⁷⁸ Finch, (2004), 'The Churches', Rawcliffe and Wilson (eds) (2004), *Medieval Norwich*, p58

¹⁷⁹ See Table 2 below

¹⁸⁰ F. M. L. Thompson (1993), 'The Rise of Suburbia', R. J. Morris and R. Rodger, (1993), *The Victorian City*, London: Longman, p154

¹⁸¹ See Table 2

¹⁸² J. W. R. Whitehand and C. M. H. Carr (2001), *Twentieth Century Suburbs: A Morphological Approach*, London: Routledge, pp1-12

¹⁸³ These figures have been arrived at from cross checking the list of redundancies contained in Church of England (2012), *Diocese of Norwich*, London: Church of England against a list of churches taken from the Church Heritage Record (retrieved from: facultyonline.churchofengland.org) within the city walls of Norwich



Map of Norwich City Centre (taken from www.openstreetmap.org)

There are some very good historical reasons for this difference in outcomes according to context, which will be discussed in chapter four. These are more striking when it is noted of those buildings in suburban contexts which have been declared redundant, St Michael's, Bowthorpe; St Luke's, New Catton; and St Matthew, Thorpe Hamlet, in all cases gained new

buildings to replace those which were declared surplus to requirements.¹⁸⁴ Therefore a marked difference in the rates of redundancy exists between Norwich's inner city and its suburbs. Within the city centre, the vast majority of buildings have been taken into civic use, or by a preservation organisation.¹⁸⁵ However, for those in the suburbs of Norwich outcomes are split between demolition, civic use, as a monument, office and shopping and worship by another Christian denomination.¹⁸⁶

Of the 21 redundant churches in Norwich's inner-city area, none have been demolished, 16 are used for civic, cultural or community uses (76%), 3 are recorded as having 'preservation' uses (14%) and 2 are now used by another Christian body (10%). Taken together with those in suburban contexts, the vast majority of 27 redundant churches in Norwich were listed grade I (21 or 78%). Two were listed grade II (7%) and four are or were unlisted at the time of their being declared redundant (19%). The listing grade of Norwich's churches further suggests that listing has had no deterrent effect on redundancy, although it may have been a deterrent to demolition. However, beyond the fact of their listing, the historic nature of the buildings has affected the uses which have been found for them following their redundancy as we will see in chapter five.

¹⁸⁴ Information taken from facultyonline.churchofengland.org. St Michael's, Bowthorpe - Church Code (CC):626666; St Luke's, New Catton - CC: 626115, and St Matthew, Thorpe Hamlet - CC: 626108

¹⁸⁵ See Table 2

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

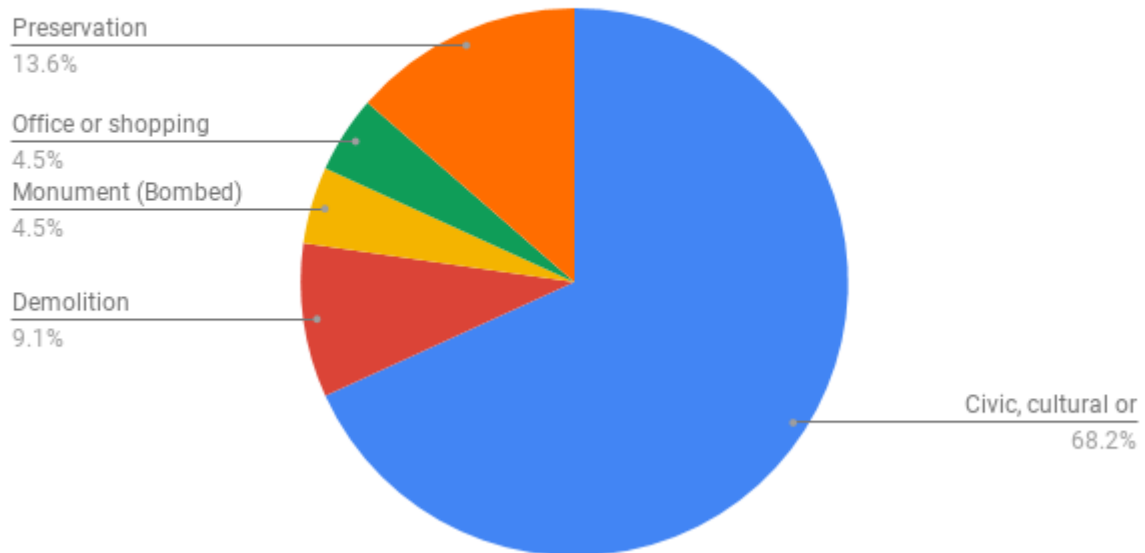
Name	Date	Grade	Redundant	Use note
Hungate St Peter	1300	I	26/05/1933	Civic
St Edmund Fishergate	1400	I	26/03/1937	Worship by other
St Simon and St Jude	1300	I	30/05/1952	Civic
St Martin-at-Oak	1491	I	01/01/1957	Civic
St James Pockthorpe	1400	I	01/06/1972	Civic
St Gregory	1400	I	31/10/1974	Civic
St Margaret	1300	I	31/10/1974	Civic
St Swithin	1400	I	31/10/1974	Civic
St Lawrence	1400	I	31/10/1974	Preservation
St Martin at Palace	1090	I	01/11/1974	Civic
St Michael at Plea	1400	I	01/11/1974	Civic
St Mary-at-Coslany	1000	I	17/02/1975	Civic
St Etheldreda	1100	I	01/06/1975	Civic
All Saints	1400	I	01/10/1975	Civic
St Clement	1450	I	01/03/1976	Civic
St Michael Coslany	1400	I	01/03/1976	Civic
St Saviour	1300	I	01/03/1976	Civic
St Peter Parmentergate	1400	I	01/12/1979	Civic
St John, Maddermarket	1300	I	22/12/1982	Preservation
St John de Sepulchre	1400	I	01/08/1988	Worship by other
St Augustine	1300	I	01/12/1997	Preservation
St John the Baptist Timberhill	1090	I		
St Julian	1090	I		
St Helen	1300	I		
St George Colegate	1400	I		
St George Tombland	1400	I		
St Giles	1400	I		
St Peter Mancroft	1400	I		
St Andrew	1518	I		
St Stephen	1550	I		

Churches in Norwich City Centre (Table 2)

Name	Date	Grade	Redundant	Use note
St Mary, Earlham	1100	I		
St Andrew, Trowse	1200	I		
St Edmund, Costessey	1300	I		
St Mary & St Margaret, Sprowston	1300	I		
St Bartholomew, Heigham (old church remains)	1400	II	01/06/1975	Monument (Bombed)
St Michael, Bowthorpe (ruins)	1300	II	06/02/1986	Civic, cultural or community
Christ Church, New Catton	1840	II		
St Mark, Lakenham	1844	II		
Holy Trinity, Heigham:	1861	II		
St Andrew, Thorpe	1866	II		
Christ Church, Eaton	1872	II		
St Margaret, Old Catton	1100	II*		
St Andrew, Eaton	1200	II*		
St John the Baptist & All Saints, Lakenham	1300	II*		
St Mary, Hellesdon	1400	II*		
St Catherine, Mile Cross	1935	II*		
Heigham St Philip	1872	N/A	01/10/1974	Demolition
Heigham St Bartholomew	1878	N/A	01/06/1975	Worship by other Christian bodies
St Matthew, Thorpe Hamlet	1851	N/A	13/12/1982	Office or shopping
St Luke (old Church), New Catton	1918	N/A	01/04/1989	Demolition
Thomas, Heigham	1888	N/A		
St Barnabas, Heigham	1900	N/A		
St Mary Magdalene	1902	N/A		
St Alban, Lakenham	1937	N/A		
St Paul, Hellesdon	1950	N/A		
The Good Shepherd, Thorpe	1951	N/A		
St Anne, Earlham	1953	N/A		
St Francis, Heartsease	1956	N/A		

Churches in the suburbs of Norwich constructed before 1968 (Table 3)

Outcomes for Redundant Churches in Norwich (Urban and Suburban combined)



Outcomes for redundant churches in Norwich (Urban and Suburban combined) (Chart 1)

Norfolk

The church buildings in Norfolk and East Suffolk once fell under the administration of a single diocese, the Diocese of Norwich.¹⁸⁷ This was historically part of the Diocese of East Anglia, the seat of which was translated from Elmham to Thetford under the Normans and then to Norwich soon after.¹⁸⁸ The historic Diocese of Norwich was divided in 1914 with the creation of the Diocese of St Edmundsbury and Ipswich.¹⁸⁹ Whilst the two dioceses do not correspond exactly to the historic counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, they more or less cover the same geographical area.¹⁹⁰ The county of Norfolk has been chosen for this study both because it has a large number of churches in rural areas and because it saw the development of a strong county trust dedicated to supporting churches in use in the twentieth century. In addition to

¹⁸⁷ N. Groves (2010), *'The Restoration of Popery': the impact of Ritualism on the Diocese of Norwich, 1857-1910*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Wales, Lampeter, p44

¹⁸⁸ S. Wade Martins (1984), *A History of Norfolk*, Chichester: Phillimore, pp24 & 32

¹⁸⁹ Groves (2010), *'Restoration of Popery'*, p44

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

this, the selection of rural churches allows for the examination of the differences in management of historic places of worship in these contexts as opposed to those in urban areas.

According to the Norfolk Churches Trust, there are 659 medieval churches in the Diocese of Norwich.¹⁹¹ Due to this large number, a comprehensive history of their construction cannot be attempted here. Nevertheless, around a hundred of Norfolk's churches have evidence of eleventh-century fabric, and there are examples of all forms of gothic architecture from the following centuries.¹⁹² A common feature of Norfolk churches is the round tower, which is a feature of around 120 of the churches in the county.¹⁹³ The county is also home to the shrine at Walsingham which has been a place of pilgrimage since the thirteenth century.¹⁹⁴ The county was thus well provided for by the time of the Reformation and saw only a few new churches built in the subsequent centuries.¹⁹⁵ As will be discussed in further detail in chapter six, in the nineteenth century extensive 'restoration' work was done to churches in the county. Among this work, perhaps most notable is that at West Tofts, which saw extensive work by A.W.N Pugin in the 1840s and is now enclosed in the Stanford Training Area along with three other church buildings.¹⁹⁶ Also indicative of this period of rebuilding is St Michael's at Booton, at which the Rev. Whitwell Elwin, editor of the Quarterly Review, who was untrained as an architect, entirely rebuilt the church in the 1870s to his own somewhat extravagant designs.¹⁹⁷ Thus, although the rural areas of the country did not see extensive construction of new churches in this century, they were subject to extensive 'restorations'.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹¹ C. Roberts (ed) (2001), *Treasure for the Future*, Norwich: Norfolk Churches Trust

¹⁹² W. Harrod (1988), *The Norfolk Guide*, Bury St Edmunds: Alastair Press, pp15-20

¹⁹³ Ibid., p16

¹⁹⁴ Wade Martins (1984), *History*, p44

¹⁹⁵ Harrod (1988), *The Norfolk Guide*, p21

¹⁹⁶ R. Hill (2007), *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain*, London: Allen Lane, p518; M. Binney (25 June 1994), 'MoD lets church fall into decay', *Times*, p4

¹⁹⁷ Harrod (1988), *The Norfolk Guide*, p46;

¹⁹⁸ E. Baty (1987), *Victorian Church Building and Restoration in the Diocese of Norwich*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of East Anglia, uk.bl.ethos.378592

Understanding the management of rural churches, depends on a definition of the 'rural'. A definition drawn from the Office of National Statistics has been adopted for the purpose of this study. However, this definition is somewhat arbitrary and does not take account of settlement morphology to any great extent and the issue of defining the rural remains open.¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the current rural-urban classification used by the UK government is derived from an analysis based on population statistics. Areas are considered to be urban if they have a population of over 10,000 people, and rural if they fall below this line.²⁰⁰ Although as an arbitrary number this has problems in itself, it presents a working definition.

In using this definition of rural, to examine rural Norfolk, urban centres and their conurbations which together have a population of over 10,000 have been excluded. This in itself has caused problems involved in the definition of place. Settlements have been judged to be separate where their development is not contiguous with neighbouring residential areas. Thus, villages such as Mulbarton near Norwich have not been counted as urban, although their development is arguably intrinsically linked with their neighbouring urban centres.²⁰¹ Another notable anomaly is the area around Ormesby St Margaret, Scratby and Hemsby, which has been counted as rural, although this is within walking distance of Caister, which has been counted as a conurbation within Great Yarmouth, which itself runs into Gorleston to the south. Thus, the analysis presented here can be opened to some scrutiny. However, it nevertheless provides a general picture of the extent of redundancy in rural areas.

Based on the classification of the rural in the foregoing, and a map search, 594 parish churches in the Diocese of Norwich in rural settings have been identified. Of these rural churches in the Norwich Diocese, 40 have been declared formally redundant in a period

¹⁹⁹ See for example D. Davies et al (1991), *Church and Religion in Rural England*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, pp57-60

²⁰⁰ P. Bibby and P. Brindley (2013), *Urban and Rural Area Definitions for Policy Purposes in England and Wales: Methodology (v1.0)*, London: Government Statistical Service

²⁰¹ Population statistics for each parish have been taken from Office of National Statistics, *Nomis*, retrieved from: <https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/>

running from 1973 to 1996.²⁰² This represents a redundancy rate of about 6.7%, which is lower than the national average (11%). In order to provide some comparison, in neighbouring Suffolk, of the 456 churches in rural settings, 38 have been declared redundant.²⁰³ This represents a slightly higher percentage of about 8%, but still lower than the national average. Thus, rural Anglican churches within this sample are less likely to have been declared redundant than urban ones within both the Norwich and Huddersfield samples. In the Norwich Diocese in total, 82 of 735 churches are now redundant (about 11% and therefore equal to the national average), around a quarter of the churches in urban and suburban settings are now redundant (26%). This rises to a third for purely urban contexts. Stripping Norwich out of this sample leaves a figure of 15%, although this percentage is still higher than the national average. Taken as a whole then, rural churches within this sample are about half as likely to have been declared redundant than those in urban contexts.

The future uses of redundant churches in the Diocese of Norwich vary between rural and urban contexts too. In rural places redundant churches are much more likely to be placed in the hands of a preservation body (about 45%), or to be classed as a monument (40%) than in urban places. These outcomes outstrip national averages, with rural churches in the Diocese about twice as likely to be in the hands of a preservation body than the national average, and much more likely to be a monument. Redundant rural churches are also much less likely to be demolished with no rural churches having met this fate. In one noteworthy case, Fornsett St Mary, once declared redundant has reopened as an Anglican place of worship.²⁰⁴ Only two churches in rural parts of the Diocese have seen residential conversion, reflecting local opposition to this outcome.²⁰⁵ Perhaps understandably, redundant churches in a rural context

²⁰² These figures have been derived from Church of England (2012), *Diocese of Norwich*, London: Church of England

²⁰³ These figures have been derived from Church of England (2012), *Diocese of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich*, London: Church of England

²⁰⁴ A. Gretton (18 May 2010), 'Historic church brought back to life after 30 years', Eastern Daily Press, retrieved from: <https://www.edp24.co.uk/news/historic-church-brought-back-to-life-after-30-years-1-480776>

²⁰⁵ W. Harrod and J.E.H. Neville (1 September 1976), 'Use of redundant churches', *Times*, p13

are much less likely to have had 'civic' uses found for them, with only the ruin of Hopton St Margaret counted in this way, reflecting the feasibility of such a use in rural areas.

Conclusion

The listing of historic buildings has been ongoing since 1947.²⁰⁶ The terms under which the original lists were compiled favoured pre-Victorian buildings.²⁰⁷ Thus, the vast majority of both Norwich's city churches and those in rural Norfolk which would be made redundant following the Pastoral Measure had been listed in the 1950s and 1960s, long prior to their redundancy.²⁰⁸ However, with the exception of St Paul's, which was listed in 1952, the churches in Huddersfield which have been closed were not added to the list until 1976 and 1978.²⁰⁹ They were thus not legally recognised as architecturally important until the point when their closure was becoming more likely. When grant aid for churches was first made available in 1977, support was only given to highly graded listed buildings.²¹⁰ Thus, although the majority of the churches in Huddersfield had come to be recognised nationally, they were still unable to find central support. Under the scheme administered by English Heritage from 1984 to 1992, only one church in Huddersfield, Holy Trinity, received grant aid funding.²¹¹ Holy Trinity itself was one of only 22 historic places of worship in West Yorkshire to receive funds in this way during this period.²¹² In comparison, around 130 congregations in Norfolk received support for their building under the scheme in the same period.²¹³ Redundancy rates for highly graded listed buildings after 1989 have fallen significantly with 138 closed up to 2010, compared to 544 between 1969 and 1989.²¹⁴ It is hard not to see this decline as a result of increased

²⁰⁶ S. Thurley (2013), *The Men from the Ministry*, New Haven: Yale, p201

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Exceptions to this were St Simon and St Jude (LEN: 1051274) and St Edmund, Fishergate (LEN: 1051279), which were both listed in 1972.

²⁰⁹ Huddersfield St Andrew (LEN: 1214957), Bradley St Thomas (LEN: 1273979), Milnsbridge St Luke (LEN: 1313530), Paddock All Saints (LEN: 1134328), Lockwood Emmanuel (LEN: 1273670), Rashcliffe St Stephen (LEN: 1217730)

²¹⁰ A. Derrick (2005), *A Review of Heritage Lottery Fund/English Heritage Funding to Places of Worship 1996-2005*, London: Heritage Lottery Fund, p20

²¹¹ Anon. (c.1993), *Grants 1984-92*, London: English Heritage, p66, ACC 2011/176

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid., pp48-52

²¹⁴ Monckton (2010), *Churches and Closure in the Church of England*, p11

financial support granted to such buildings in this time period. As we will see in the chapters that follow, the outcomes for historic places of worship have also resulted from local activity in support of these places.

As we saw, Monckton grouped together cultural and community use or use by another denomination as the largest set of outcomes for redundant churches. However, in Huddersfield, such uses have remained a minority. This, it is argued in a subsequent chapter, is a direct result of a lack of local interest in supporting these buildings in such a way. In comparison, in Norwich a strong tradition of civic pride developed in the late nineteenth century, centred on the city's medieval buildings. This tradition continued into the twentieth century and meant that when the diocese sought to make Norwich's city churches redundant in the early 1970s, the city council decided to take on their management through the establishment of a buildings trust. In Norfolk, a concerted effort to keep Anglican churches in use for worship was adopted by conservationists. They came to be supported by the diocese in this endeavour, and thus the Norfolk Churches Trust, and grant aid from a range of sources has reduced rates of redundancy. Thus, as will be seen in the chapters that follow, the extent of both national support and local voluntary action has led to the range of outcomes discussed in the foregoing. The chapter that follows concentrates on the role of a national framework for church-heritage.

Name	Grade	Redundancy	Use note	Preservation?
Hales St Margaret	I	31/05/1973	Preservation	CCT
Crownthorpe St James	II*	26/09/1974	Residential	
North Barningham St Peter	II*	08/10/1974	Preservation	CCT
West Harling All Saints	I	16/10/1974	Preservation	CCT
Cockthorpe All Saints	I	01/03/1976	Monument	NCT
Snetterton All Saints	I	01/05/1976	Monument	NCT
Rackheath All Saints	I	19/05/1976	Monument	NCT
Sco' Ruston St Michael (ruin)	II	01/06/1976	Monument	
Coston St Michael	II*	02/06/1976	Preservation	CCT
Gunton St Andrew	I	01/07/1976	Preservation	CCT
Burlingham St Peter (ruined church)	II	01/08/1976	Monument	
Panxworth All Saints (ruin)	II*	01/11/1976	Parochial	
Frenze St Andrew	I	01/03/1977	Preservation	CCT
Moulton St Mary	I	01/03/1977	Preservation	CCT
East Ruston St Mary	II*	01/06/1977	Preservation	CCT
Barmer All Saints	II*	01/11/1977	Monument	NCT
Buckenham St Nicholas	I	01/11/1977	Preservation	CCT
Thurgarton All Saints	I	01/11/1977	Preservation	CCT
Dunton St Peter	II*	01/03/1978	Monument	NCT
Hargham All Saints	II*	01/06/1978	Monument	NCT
Corpusty, St Peter	II*	23/01/1979	Monument	NCT

Redundant churches in rural Norfolk (Table 4)

Name	Grade	First Redundancy date	Use note	Preservation?
Morton on the Hill St Margaret	II*	01/04/1979	Monument	NCT
Bagthorpe St Mary	II	01/06/1979	Monument	NCT
West Rudham: St Peter	I	01/07/1979	Monument	NCT
Tunstall St Peter and St Paul (ruins)	II*	01/03/1980	Preservation	
Brandiston: St Nicholas	II*	18/03/1981	Preservation	CCT
Knettishall All Saints (ruins)	II	30/08/1984	Residential	
Forngett St Mary: St Mary	I	01/03/1985	Reopened as a church	
South Walsham St Lawrence	II*	01/08/1986	Parochial or ecclesiastical	
Shimpling: St George	I	01/06/1987	Preservation	CCT
Illington: St Andrew	II*	01/11/1987	Monument	NCT
Booton: St Michael	II*	01/11/1987	Preservation	CCT
Little Witchingham: St Faith	II*	01/08/1991	Preservation	CCT
West Bilney: St Cecilia	II*	01/03/1992	Monument	NCT
Hopton St Margaret (old church ruins)	II*	01/01/1993	Civic, cultural or community	
Mannington St Mary (ruins)	II*	01/07/1993	Monument	
Heckingham: St Gregory	I	01/07/1993	Preservation	CCT
Hellington: St John the Baptist	I	01/07/1993	Preservation	CCT
East Bradenham: St Mary	I	01/07/1995	Preservation	CCT
Wolterton St Margaret (Tower)	II*	01/07/1996	Monument	

Redundant churches in rural Norfolk (Table 4- cont')

Chapter 3

The Church of England: A Heritage Agency?

Introduction

This chapter is intended to provide an overview of the national arrangements for the management of Anglican and former Anglican historic places of worship in England. As noted at the beginning of this thesis, the Church of England lays claim to the largest collection of historic buildings of any organisation in this country. We could therefore consider the church to be a heritage organisation in itself. However, as will be argued in this chapter, the arrangements for the management of these historic buildings is largely devolved onto the dioceses and the parishes meaning that the Church's approach to its management of its heritage is piecemeal and relies on a range of other organisations for its delivery.

Understanding the role of the Church of England in the heritage protection system is itself contingent on understanding of what constitutes the "Church of England". As was outlined in the previous chapter, largely as a reaction to various pressures as a result of a series of social changes, the Church of England in terms of its membership is now akin to a voluntary organisation. However, this is not the full story, and it might be best to look at the "Church of England" as a collection of different organisations, from the Archbishops' Council to the Parochial Church Councils (PCCs), each with a variety of aims and interests that sometimes overlap and sometimes conflict. A range of organisations external to the Church also exist, with these organisations taking a role management of historic places of worship. As we will see in this chapter, a number of these organisations have been created following the publication of literature which has sought to problematize the management of historic places of worship, including two recent major reviews of the way the Church manages its buildings.

Agencement

Drawing on ultimately on the work of Deleuze and Guattari, John Pendlebury has argued that the practices of conservation-planning can be seen as an assemblage.¹ As he put it, conservation-planning constitutes a “social entity [that] has its own distinct history, stories, institutions and institutional context and relationship with actors and interests outside the heritage sphere.”² Pendlebury noted the linkages between the voluntary sector organisations such as SAVE and the SPAB, and a ‘central function’ represented by English Heritage (now Historic England) which form this assemblage.³ Although the extent or limits of this assemblage appear difficult to define, the conservation of a large proportion of the building stock of the Church of England should be included amongst the goals of the agencies within the assemblage.

Linkages between the conservation-planning assemblage and actors within a range of agencies which fall within the ambit of the Church of England also exist. Historic England employs a Head of Places of Worship Advice, and the officers of the Cathedrals and Church Buildings Division (CCBD) of the Archbishops’ Council interact through meetings and exchange personnel.⁴ For instance Becky Clark, currently director of the CCBD, trained as an archaeologist and worked for both the National Trust and English Heritage prior to joining the CCBD.⁵ The CCBD itself is a part of a network of Anglican organisations developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The establishment of these organisations has furnished a diffuse and devolved arrangement for the management of the Church of England’s building stock. Although again drawing a distinction is somewhat arbitrary, it is productive to see

¹ J. Pendlebury (2013), ‘Conservation values, the authorised heritage discourse and the conservation-planning assemblage’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19:7, p710

² Ibid.

³ Pendlebury (2013), ‘Conservation values’, p711

⁴ D. Leatherdale (26 July 2015), ‘National Churches Trust names 40 spires at risk’, *BBC News* retrieved from: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-33634566>

⁵ T. H. MacMath (4 August 2017), ‘Interview: Becky Clark, director, Cathedral and Church Buildings Division’, *Church Times*, retrieved from: <https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2017/4-august/features/interviews/interview-becky-clark-director-cathedral-and-church-building-division>

Church of England's arrangements for the management of historic places of worship as an assemblage in itself.

As discussed in the introduction, the church-heritage assemblage can be seen to operate in two modes. In one sense the aim is to control new works to historic places of worship. Through faculty jurisdiction, material changes to places of worship are controlled in a process of advice giving and the granting of consent.⁶ This system applies to all places of worship in the Church of England's building stock. Where a building is listed, a range of experts with training in the fields of architectural history, archaeology, urban design and nature conservation may be consulted depending on the specific proposals.⁷ These experts use processes of inspection, negotiation and advice-giving to manage the ways in which church buildings are changed and used.⁸ These processes take place in dialogue with PCCs, working with and within Diocesan Advisory Committees (DAC). The DAC essentially works as a planning department, advising the registrar and chancellor on faculty applications.⁹

Again, to reiterate some of the foregoing, the second operational mode is linked to the first, but in contrast, it is not merely permissive, but is supportive. Grant-aid from a range of providers, both charitably and publicly-funded, assists individuals and organisations to conserve places of worship and to share their history with others through exhibitions and events.¹⁰ Here applications are made to a range of funding bodies by PCCs and those connected to the church, both in a professional capacity and as volunteers, in order to achieve a range of outcomes specified by those funding bodies. These have included repair of historic fabric, conservation of monuments within the church, introduction of new facilities, such as a

⁶ See J. Halsall (2015), *Caring for Your Church Building*, Buxhall: Kevin Mayhew, pp19, 31 & 121-128

⁷ Ibid.,

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., p16

¹⁰ B. Taylor (2017), *The Taylor Review: Sustainability of English Churches and Cathedrals*, London: DCMS, p25

kitchenette or WC, and activities centred on the church.¹¹ Grant funding may cover any or all of these outcomes. However, repair of historic fabric has been the item which has attracted the largest amount of funding.¹² Yearly repair costs on all of the Church of England's building stock have been estimated at £185m.¹³ However, according to the same source only £112m of this need is actually met each year.¹⁴ These funds are raised from a variety of sources, which include the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) (recently renamed the National Lottery Heritage Fund), the Listed Place of Worship Scheme (which provides VAT relief for building projects), grant aid administered by the CCBF, and a range of other sources, including funds raised in the parishes, which make up a significant part of the whole.¹⁵

Grant aid funding remains an important element of understanding the world of church conservation. Funding of repair on the whole does not come from the central resources of the Church of England. For instance, The Archbishops' Council's *Annual Report* of 2016 showed something of a disparity between its spending on mission (£57.1m) and 'development of Church buildings for worship and service' (£11.2m).¹⁶ The Council's funding for churches is therefore well below the Church of England stock's yearly repair bill. In 2016 as an organisation it received £42m from the Church Commissioners, £30m from the Dioceses, £8.8m from the DCMS in aid of Cathedrals (the total fund is of which was £20m), £4.2m from 'other sources' and £51,000 from grants.¹⁷ £150,000 of this money was from the Pilgrim Trust in order that a grant scheme for parish churches can be run on their behalf.¹⁸ Funding for the repair of places of worship, and their management generally has been under review at a number of points since the Second World War. Through a series of problematizations a range of organisations

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ S. Heffer (n.d.), 'Why Churches Matter', *National Churches Trust*, <https://www.nationalchurchestrust.org/discover-churches/why-churches-matter>

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ B. Taylor (December 2017), *The Taylor Review*, pp12 & 25; B. Clark (2016), 'Introduction', *Cathedral & Church Buildings Division Grants Report*, London: Archbishops' Council

¹⁶ Archbishops' Council (2017), *Annual Report and Financial Statements for the year ended 31 December 2016*, London: Archbishops' Council, p27

¹⁷ Ibid., p8 & p21

¹⁸ Ibid., p50; B. Clark (2016), 'Introduction', *Cathedral & Church Buildings Division Grants Report*, p2

to support this management have been called into being. We will first look at the top-level organisations involved in this system, before moving on to a consideration of the problematizations themselves.

Of the organisations in the church-heritage assemblage, the National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLHF) is key. It is currently the source of a wide range of funds for heritage projects related to places of worship delivered by the different trusts and societies discussed here. The fund is administered by a non-departmental public body (NDPB), the National Heritage Memorial Fund (NHMF), which was established in 1980.¹⁹ The NHMF itself had its roots in the National Land Fund which was created by Labour Chancellor Hugh Dalton in 1946, who apportioned £50m to the fund, with this money intended to be used to acquire property for the National Trust.²⁰ However, by the late 1970s the decision not to use the Fund to halt the dispersal of the contents of Mentmore Towers brought the Fund under criticism, including from the Council for Protection of Rural England, which denounced the Fund as “a fiction of public accountancy rather than an autonomous public resource.”²¹ Following the defeat of a Private Members Bill which sought to bring the Fund out of Treasury control, the Labour government published a White Paper proposing the establishment of a National Heritage Fund.²² After the change of government in 1979, the NHMF was brought into existence by the National Heritage Act (1980).²³ This Act essentially created a fund which was driven by demand, rather than directed from the centre. As Hewison and Holden note, the Act “contained no definition of the word ‘heritage’.”²⁴ Thus the Trustees adopted a reactive stance in responding to requests for funds, allowing others to define the term.²⁵

¹⁹ R. Hewison and J. Holden (2004), *Challenge and Change: HLF and Cultural Value: A report to the Heritage Lottery Fund*, London: Heritage Lottery Fund, p11

²⁰ A. Jones (1985), *Britain's Heritage*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, pp21 & 29

²¹ Council for the Preservation of Rural England (1976), *Annual Report*, London: CPRE, p16, MERL, SR CPRE B/1/25 to 37

²² Jones (1985), *Britain's Heritage*, p168

²³ *Ibid.*, p204

²⁴ Hewison and Holden (2004), *Challenge and Change*, p12

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p13

The use of the NHMF to support the repair of places of worship can be seen as the result of the demands placed on the budget of English Heritage.²⁶ As we have seen state aid for places of worship was granted in 1977 and administered by the Department of the Environment and then English Heritage.²⁷ By the 1990s the demand for grant aid in this way far exceeded of the funds allocated to it.²⁸ The arrival of the National Lottery represented a new stream of funds for places of worship and congregations began to apply for both repairs and new facilities.²⁹ Subsequently, Lottery funds were contributed to a grant scheme run by English Heritage as the Repair Grants for Places of Worship scheme (RGPOW) .

The RGPOW scheme ran from 2002 to 2013.³⁰ It was administered by English Heritage and utilized the expertise of English Heritage's Heritage at Risk teams, typically architects and surveyors, to monitor repair works undertaken as part of the scheme.³¹ This contribution was carried over into the HLF's Grants for Places of Worship (GPOW) scheme which from ran from 2013 to 2017.³² As part of the GPOW scheme, the HLF invited congregations of listed places of worship of any grade to apply for grant aid for between £10,000 and £250,000.³³ The priority of the programme was to 'support structural repairs urgently required within two years'.³⁴ At the same time, the programme aimed to assist applicants "to encourage more people and a wider range of people to take an interest in [their] place of worship and to help care for it in the future."³⁵ In 2017 the GPOW scheme came to an end and grant aid to places of worship was

²⁶ English Heritage (1998), *Conservation Bulletin*, London: English Heritage, p23

²⁷ B. Taylor (2017), *The Taylor Review*, p25

²⁸ English Heritage (1998), *Conservation Bulletin*, p23

²⁹ Andrew Derrick (2005), *A Review of Heritage Lottery Fund/English Heritage Funding to Places of Worship 1996-2005*, London: Heritage Lottery Fund, p7

³⁰ See *ibid.*, *passim*, for a brief history of the schemes

³¹ Heritage Lottery Fund (2015), *National Heritage Memorial Fund Lottery Distribution Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2015*, London: HLF, p48

³² *Ibid.*; S. Crofts (5 April 2017), 'A new approach to supporting places of worship', *Heritage Lottery Fund*, retrieved from: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/news-features/new-approach-supporting-places-worship>

³³ Heritage Lottery Fund (2016), *Grants for Places of Worship, England: Application guidance*, London: HLF, Front Cover

³⁴ HLF (2016), *Grants for Places of Worship, England: Application Guidance*, p4

³⁵ *Ibid.*; This will be explored more in Chapter Seven

folded into already existing programmes, Our Heritage and Heritage Grants, effectively breaking the stipulation that grant aided listed places of worship be maintained for religious worship.³⁶

Grant aid has also been bolstered by refund schemes on Value Added Tax (VAT) paid on repairs. Opposition to VAT was first raised in 1972 by the Historic Churches Preservation Trust (HCPT) in response to the parliamentary bill which proposed the tax.³⁷ With the advent of state supported grant aid for repair work, correspondents to *The Times* repeatedly drew attention to the anomaly of these funds being recouped in part by the Treasury through tax.³⁸ This issue was still being raised in the 1990s, finding its way into the Archbishops' Commission on Rural Affairs report, *Faith in the Countryside*, which examined the problems of rural churches and communities.³⁹ By the end of the decade these arrangements were still in place and the tax raised by repairs to churches was being given as £16m a year.⁴⁰ Plans mooted by Gordon Brown as Chancellor to lower the rate to 5% were judged illegal under European Law.⁴¹ However, a workaround was found with Brown announcing in the budget of 2001 that up to £20m a year of VAT repairs would be refunded through grant aid.⁴² The resulting Listed Places of Worship grant scheme paid out £125m between 2001 and 2011.⁴³ The scheme is still in operation, although following the Coalition's Comprehensive Spending Review in 2010 the scheme was capped at £12m a year.⁴⁴ Subsequently, however the then Chancellor, George Osborne announced £30m in extra funding to be administered by the fund, reinflating it to £42m a year.⁴⁵ In addition, he announced two rounds of extra funding for roof repairs to the

³⁶ S. Crofts (5 April 2017), 'A new approach', *HLF*

³⁷ F. Allison (16 June 1972), 'Churches and VAT', *Times*, p17

³⁸ G. Hunt (17 Oct. 1984), 'Protection of churches', *Times*, p15; E. Ford (25 Sept. 1986), 'Extra charge for church repairs', *Times*, p17

³⁹ ACORA (1990), *Faith in The Countryside*, Stoneleigh Park: ACORA Publishing, p300

⁴⁰ Anon. (5 Apr. 1999), 'Treasure in Heaven', *Times*, p21

⁴¹ M. Kite (23 Dec. 2000), 'Brussels blocks plan to cut church VAT', *Times*, p1

⁴² R. Gledhill (8 Mar. 2001), 'Surprised bishops cheer VAT 'refund'', *Times*, p35

⁴³ D. Hipwell (30 May 2011), 'Listed buildings left praying for salvation', *Times*, p35

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ M. Savage (18 May 2012), 'Chancellor puts £30m in the collection plate for VAT bills', *Times*, p16

value of £40m in 2014.⁴⁶ Thus funding through this scheme continues to support repairs to places of worship.

Another organisation important within the church-heritage assemblage is the Church Commissioners. The earliest in formation of the two National Church Institutions relevant here, the Commissioners are the grouping within the Church of England responsible for generating and managing the Church's income. The institution was created by the Church Commissioners Measure (1947).⁴⁷ Andrew Chandler's narrative history of the Commissioners traces their formation in an amalgamation of two antecedent bodies Queen Anne's Bounty and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.⁴⁸ This latter body was created in 1836 to manage the Church's estates and revenues as a joint operation between the Church and state, and the ninety-five commissioners were composed of archbishops and other clergy, the Lord Chancellor, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and three Church Estates Commissioners.⁴⁹ The Church Commissioners retained a similar make-up with the same number of commissioners.⁵⁰

At its inception, the Commissioners' operations focused on the management of an investment portfolio and grew the income of their General Fund.⁵¹ This was done with the goal of keeping up with the costs of paying for clergy and the repair of their houses, alongside the provision of clergy pensions.⁵² In terms of church buildings, in the post-war period the Commissioners were interested in dealing with the issues presented by urban expansion and changing population locations.⁵³ Interest free loans for new buildings in 'new towns and new developments' were therefore made available by the Commissioners.⁵⁴ The Commissioners

⁴⁶ E. Stead (3 December 2015), 'Roof Repair Fund Now Open', *Parish Resources*, retrieved from: <https://www.parishresources.org.uk/news/roof-repair-fund-now-open/>

⁴⁷ A. Chandler (2009), *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century: The Church Commissioners and the Politics of Reform, 1948-1998*, Woodbridge: Boydell, p25

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp8-9

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p9

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p29

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp40-53

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp40-53 & 80-88

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p99

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

also oversaw the reorganisation of the parishes, with the Administrative Committee overseeing the unions of benefices through a number of different legal processes.⁵⁵

Following the Pastoral Measure (1968) the Commissioners continued to oversee pastoral reorganisation and were now able to create team and group ministries following consultation with stakeholders.⁵⁶ This Measure created the Advisory Board for Redundant Churches, which advised the Commissioners on “the historic or architectural qualities of any church” being considered for redundancy, the Redundant Churches Committee of the Church Commissioners which advised on future uses of churches declared redundant under the measure, as well as the Redundant Churches Fund (RCF), a separate body which received income from the sale of churches, as well as government subsidy.⁵⁷

The Church Commissioners continue to operate similar arrangements in regard to the church building stock as those established by the Pastoral Measure. In 2016, £1.54m was raised “from the disposal of closed church buildings and sites” which went towards the Church of England’s running costs and their share of funds for the CCT.⁵⁸ The Commissioners’ annual report of 2017 gave the total raised from the closure of churches put towards diocesan running costs over the previous decade as £18.6m.⁵⁹ To put this into context, the Commissioners’ total net income after tax in 2017 was £292.2m.⁶⁰ The Commissioners also maintain investment assets of £8.3bn.⁶¹ However, it should be noted that the Commissioners pension obligation for pre-1998 pensions is £1.75bn.⁶² Thus although the Commissioners derive income for the dioceses from the closure of churches, this figure is significantly lower than its liabilities.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p111

⁵⁶ Ibid., p215

⁵⁷ I. Bulmer-Thomas (1970), *The Problem of Redundant Churches*, London: Ecclesiological Society, p7; Chandler (2009), *Church of England*, pp229-239; R. Wilding (1990), *The Care of Redundant Churches*, London: H.M.S.O., p13

⁵⁸ Church Commissioners for England (2018), *Annual Report 2017*, London: Church Commissioners for England, p18

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p48

⁶¹ Ibid., p5

⁶² Ibid., p43

Alongside issues related to the closure of churches, the Church of England operates a central advisory service for its building stock in the form of the CCBD. Its parent body, the Archbishops' Council began its work in 1999 and as such a comprehensive history of the organisation is yet to be written.⁶³ However, the Council was created in response to the *Working as One Body* report.⁶⁴ This report was authored in the context of the Church Commissioners' loss of £800m following the downturn in property asset prices in the early 1990s recession.⁶⁵ As such the Council was formed amidst accusations that the Church of England was spending too much on bureaucracy.⁶⁶ Like the Commissioners, the Council is a registered charity.⁶⁷ It had an income of £85.1m in 2017 and drew the majority of this funding from the Church Commissioners, as well as an apportionment from the dioceses.⁶⁸ In addition, it has been bolstered by government funding for Cathedral repairs to mark the centenary of the First World War.⁶⁹ This money was distributed by the Council and available to both Anglican and Roman Catholic cathedrals.⁷⁰ One of the stated objectives of the Council is to "provide advice and guidance on the maintenance and development of Church buildings for worship & service to the community and lobbying for national funding".⁷¹ The percentage of its expenditure which went directly on the Church of England building stock was around 13% in 2016.⁷²

The CCBD itself is the product of a longer-term history. The Church of England has run a central advisory service for its DACs since 1917.⁷³ This was recognised as an official body in

⁶³ Chandler (2009), *Church of England*, p466

⁶⁴ R. Gledhill (21 September 1995), 'Structural shake-up will give Church stronger leadership', *Times*, p7

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Anon. (18 March 1997), 'Church cash lost in red tape jungle', *Daily Mail*, p2

⁶⁷ Registered Charity Number 1074857

⁶⁸ Archbishops' Council (2018), *Annual Report*, p8

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p21

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Archbishops' Council (2013), *Summary Information Return*, London: Charity Commission, p2

⁷² Archbishops' Council (2017), *Annual Report*, p8 (£11.2m of £85.4m)

⁷³ From Our Special Correspondent (5 Nov. 1955), 'Preserving A Heritage', *Times*, p7

1923, with the organisation at that time operating as a Central Council for these committees.⁷⁴ This organisation has been renamed a number of times but its modern equivalent is the Church Buildings Council (CBC), which alongside the Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England (CFCE) forms the CCBd.⁷⁵ The CCBd is a relatively small operation and in 2013 had 16 paid staff members.⁷⁶ The CBC was established under the Dioceses, Pastoral and Mission Measure (2007), which abolished the Advisory Board for Redundant Churches and moved its functions to the CBC.⁷⁷ This measure specified the role of the Council as to advise upon applications for faculty, to promote the conservation and understanding of churches, and to work with the DACs.⁷⁸ Their advice extends to archaeological matters and thus the CBC also employ an archaeological officer.⁷⁹ Assisted by the staff of the CCBd and chaired by former MP Sir Tony Baldry, the Council proper has a membership composed of architects, conservators, clergy and DAC members.⁸⁰ Although the budget of the CCBd is small, the organisation acts as a vehicle through which grants from the Wolfson Foundation, the Pilgrim Trust, and the Radcliffe Trust can be distributed.⁸¹ £600,000 in grants were distributed to churches for conservation work on this basis in 2016.⁸² In addition, the CCBd runs the ChurchCare website which provides advice to congregations.⁸³ Other initiatives include the Church Heritage Record, the HLF funded digitisation of the Canon Clarke Collection as well as campaigns such as 100 Church Treasures and Open and Sustainable Churches.⁸⁴

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ See M. Binney and P. Burman (1977), *Chapels & Churches: Who Cares*, London: British Tourist Authority, p63; ChurchCare (2014), *Annual Review 2014*, London: Cathedral and Church Buildings Division

⁷⁶ Archbishops' Council (2014), *Annual Report and Financial Statements for the year ended 31 December 2013*, London: Archbishops' Council, p43. Up-to-date numbers do not appear in the most recent accounts.

⁷⁷ Dioceses, Pastoral and Mission Measure (2007) s.54

⁷⁸ Dioceses, Pastoral and Mission Measure (2007) s.55

⁷⁹ W. Rodwell (2005), *The Archaeology of Churches*, Stroud: Amberley Publishing, p50

⁸⁰ Anon. (2016), 'Church Buildings Council Members 2016-2021', *ChurchCare*, Retrieved from: http://www.churchcare.co.uk/images/Membership_2016-21.pdf

⁸¹ B. Clark (2016), 'Introduction', p2

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ *ChurchCare*, <http://www.churchcare.co.uk/churches>

⁸⁴ Church Heritage Record, <https://facultyonline.churchofengland.org/churches>; ICON (11 July 2016), 'ChurchCare seeks volunteers for Canon Clarke archival collection', ICON, retrieved from: <https://icon.org.uk/news/churchcare-seeks-volunteers-canon-clarke-archival-collection>; ChurchCare (n.d.), 'Open and Sustainable', *ChurchCare*, retrieved from:

The central function of the CCBD is advisory and reflects the devolved structure of the Church of England. The faculty system on which the CBC advises is administered at a diocesan level. Within this system, permission for alterations to both buildings and land requires the bishop's authorisation as they are within his or her guardianship.⁸⁵ In the twentieth century there have been a series of measures which have set out rules on faculty. These included the Faculty Jurisdiction Measures of 1938 and 1964, as well as the Care of Churches and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure 1991, an amendment in 2015, and new measure in 2018.⁸⁶ As we have seen, in running their own consent system, the Church of England, alongside a number of other denominations, has been granted Ecclesiastical Exemption from Listed Building Consent. As noted, this exemption from listed buildings control was based on a precedent set by the exemption won by the Church from the Ancient Monuments Act in 1913.⁸⁷

In winning exemption from control under the 1913 Act, the Church undertook to create its own DACs to manage works to historic churches.⁸⁸ These plans were hampered by the First World War, but by 1923 there was a DAC in thirty one of the thirty eight dioceses.⁸⁹ The DACs currently operate under the Care of Churches and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure 2018, which specifies their function as the provider of advice on faculty applications and of information on the history and care of church buildings.⁹⁰ The measure also specifies that the DACs are to be made up of individuals with shared knowledge of church buildings history, architecture, archaeology, art, liturgy and conservation of historic buildings.⁹¹

<http://www.churchcare.co.uk/churches/open-sustainable>; ChurchCare (n.d.), '100 Church Treasures', ChurchCare, retrieved from: <http://www.churchcare.co.uk/about-us/campaigns/our-campaigns/100-church-treasures>

⁸⁵ K. M. Macmorran, and T. Briden (2006), *A Handbook for Churchwardens and Parochial Church Councillors*, London: Continuum, p14

⁸⁶ N. Boulting (1976), 'The law's delays: conservation legislation in the British Isles', J. Fawcett (ed.) (1976), *The Future of the Past*, London: Cox & Wyman, p20;

⁸⁷ Anon. (4 Feb. 1922), 'Ecclesiastical News', *Times*, p6

⁸⁸ Anon. (4 Feb. 1922), 'Ecclesiastical News', *Times*, p6

⁸⁹ N. Boulting (1976), 'The law's delays', p20

⁹⁰ Care of Churches and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure (2018), Part 3

⁹¹ Ibid.

The DACs are overseen by a secretary who is the ‘first point of contact’ for the PCCs.⁹² Whilst the chancellor of a diocese generally makes decisions over whether to grant a faculty, the DAC secretaries operate with a coordinating role, arranging site visits from consultees, managing the application process, and facilitating the provision of the DAC’s advice to the chancellor.⁹³ The most recent Care of Churches Measure for the first time specified that the membership of the DAC must include one member selected in consultation with the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England (Historic England).⁹⁴ In addition the Inspection of Churches Measure (1955) requires quinquennial inspections of churches, which can be paid for by the dioceses.⁹⁵ The dioceses also each maintain a list of architects approved to carry out this work.⁹⁶

Within this system the key body is the PCC, which is essentially the nodal point of the whole assemblage. The PCC is a governing body of elected members with responsibility for each church. The activities of these groups takes place within the framework of legislation Parochial Church Council (Powers) Measure (1956) and amendments, and provision in other legislation.⁹⁷ These Councils are nominally led by the minister of the parish along with two churchwardens.⁹⁸ They will also include a number of the laity dependent on the number of people on the church’s electoral roll.⁹⁹ The PCC oversees the financial affairs of the church, the care of its fabric and ornaments, and the care of the churchyard.¹⁰⁰ Besides the minister, the churchwardens are generally the organising members of the PCC.¹⁰¹ Subject to yearly elections by the parishioners and ultimately responsible to the bishop, churchwardens are

⁹² Halsall (2015), *Caring for Your Church*, p122

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp20-21

⁹⁴ Care of Churches and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure (2018), Schedule 2

⁹⁵ Inspection of Churches Measure (1955); Halsall (2015), *Caring for Your Church*, p28

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Macmorrán, and Briden (2006), *Handbook*, pp112-115

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p93

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. 11

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 112-115

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p63

responsible for the furniture and ornaments of the church.¹⁰² They must also oversee the inspection of the fabric of the church and report their findings to the PCC.¹⁰³ For this reason, the churchwarden generally plays a key role in the procurement and management of funds, both from grant-aid and other sources. The recent *Taylor Review* put the amount spent by parishes on building repairs at over £100m in all years after 2004 up to the date of its publication.¹⁰⁴

At a local level, church management has also been contributed to by Friends groups, which are secular organisations with an interest in conserving specific church buildings. The history of these organisations has proven difficult for the present author to trace. However, the earliest direct reference from the newspaper evidence I have found is to the founding of a Friends group at Crediton, Devon in 1937.¹⁰⁵ However, supporters of churches were calling themselves ‘friends of the parish church’ long before this, although these arrangements do not seem to have been formally codified.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the practice is well established and the NCT has published guidelines and a model constitution for such groups.¹⁰⁷ In 2010 English Heritage reported that it was supporting the Trust to create a national network of these groups.¹⁰⁸ The relationship that emerges between these groups and the congregation of the church in question is not always straightforward. The case of Christ Church, Spitalfields is particularly noteworthy. This group were highly successful in bringing a Hawksmoor church back into use.¹⁰⁹ However, in recent years a conflict between competing visions for the buildings held by the congregation and other groups involved in the church has led to a dispute

¹⁰² Ibid., pp80-81

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp83-85

¹⁰⁴ Taylor (December 2017), *The Taylor Review*, p27

¹⁰⁵ Anon. (5 Nov. 1937), ‘Friends of Crediton Church’, *Western Times*, p. 8

¹⁰⁶ See for instance Anon. (13 Feb. 1896), ‘The Huddersfield Parish Church’, *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p3; Anon. (22 September 1950), ‘Festival of Friends’, *Western Times*, p5

¹⁰⁷ National Churches Trust (September 2014), *A Friends (or similar) Group for your church: using our model constitution*, London: NCT

¹⁰⁸ English Heritage (2010), *Caring for Places of Worship*, London: English Heritage, p13

¹⁰⁹ K. Powell and C. De La Hay (1986), *Churches: A Question of Conversion*, London: SAVE, p108

over a planned extension.¹¹⁰ This has been resolved through legal action and the resulting 523 page consistory court judgment, outlines numerous issues that developed as part of this dispute.¹¹¹

As a parallel system to the Listed Building Consent process, the faculty for listed places of worship system is subject to scrutiny from Historic England and the Amenity Societies.¹¹² Historic England is thus consulted on all works to grades I and II* churches, and on demolition to all or substantial parts of grade II churches.¹¹³ Of the Amenity Societies perhaps the most active in church conservation are the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), which, as we saw in the previous chapter, was founded in part as a reaction to alterations to historic places of worship, and the Victorian Society. The activities of the amenity societies in regard to churches are broadly similar. Each campaign for the conservation of churches constructed within the relevant period and publishes research related to these buildings.¹¹⁴ In addition the SPAB has actively promoted maintenance works to historic places of worship through its Faith in Maintenance programme which ran from 2006 to 2011 and was funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund.¹¹⁵

Problematizations

In his work on governmentality Mitchell Dean argues for the importance of an examination of “problematizations” in the “analytics of government”.¹¹⁶ Dean’s work draws heavily on that of

¹¹⁰ R. Moore (6 October 2013), ‘The unholy row over a Hawksmoor masterpiece’, *Observer*, retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2013/oct/06/christ-church-spitalfields-dispute-school>

¹¹¹ *Governing Body of Christ Church School vs. Spitalfields Open Space* (2014)

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ DCMS (July 2010), *The Operation of the Ecclesiastical Exemption and related planning matters for places of worship in England Guidance*, London: DCMS, fn.25

¹¹⁴ R. Jeffery (ed) (1998), *The Twentieth Century Church*, London: Twentieth Century Society; C20 Society Churches Database, <https://c20society.org.uk/churches/>; Ancient Monuments Society, Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society, <http://www.ancientmonumentsociety.org.uk/transactions/>; Ancient Monuments Society (2017), *Report of the Trustees and Financial Statements for the Year Ended 31 December 2016*, London: AMS

¹¹⁵ S. Jackson (2016), ‘Working co-operatively with closed churches: the Holland Coastal Group’, N. Groves (2016), *Redundancy and Renewal*, Norwich: Lasse Press, p41

¹¹⁶ M. Dean (1999), *Governmentality*, London: Sage, pp28-29

Michel Foucault from whom the idea of governmentality is taken.¹¹⁷ Foucault's attention, at least in the second volume of his *History of Sexuality*, was on the far reaching implications of “the forms in which sexual behaviour became problematized, becoming an object of concern, an element for reflection” within Greek and Christian thought.¹¹⁸ Dean's interest in the notion of problematizations lay in its application to practices of government. Thus, he argued that “an analytics of government directs us to examine the different and particular contexts in which governing is called into question, in which actors and agents of all sorts must pose the question of how to govern”.¹¹⁹ On the face of it the management of historic places of worship does not appear to speak to problematizations of this sort. Nevertheless, the remit of the commission appointed by the Church Assembly to investigate church repair in 1950 was to examine “the problems concerned with the repair of churches and their regular inspection.”¹²⁰ Arguably, in launching the inquiry, the arrangements for the management of places of worship by the Church of England were called into question by the Assembly, and these issues became an object of concern. New structures of governance were then looked to achieve the aim of keeping these buildings in good repair. The management of places of worship has continued to be the subject of a number of inquiries throughout the twentieth century and into the present century, with the most recent, the *Taylor Review* published at the end of 2017. Thus, the management of places of worship in general have presented a problem which a select group of policy makers and citizen experts have sought to solve.

The Church Repair Commission's report, *The Preservation of Our Churches* problematized the then present arrangements for managing places of worship by identifying issues with the ways in which repair was funded. Drawing on evidence presented by the Georgian Group, the report argued that “a marked decline in regular attendance at our churches” compared with

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p1

¹¹⁸ M. Foucault (1998), *The History of Sexuality: The Use of Pleasure*, London: Penguin, p23 and *passim*

¹¹⁹ M. Dean (1999), *Governmentality*, p27

¹²⁰ Quoted in Church Repair Commission (1951), *Preservation*, p11

1914, combined with “the sustained high level of taxation makes it impossible for those who have hitherto borne the main burden of repairing the fabrics to continue to do so”.¹²¹ The report also looked to the effects of urbanisation, which it blamed for what it perceived as a decline in the clergy’s knowledge of building maintenance, as well as a decline in the number of people willing to support churches in villages.¹²² These issues, combined with a ten-year moratorium on building repair from 1939 onwards had created a backlog of repair, which the report estimated at between £2m to £5.5m in total value.¹²³ The report thus set in motion the establishment of network of trusts to raise these funds. In doing so, it rejected the possibility that the state might take responsibility for the management of places of worship as had been done in France.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, in line with the *Gowers Report*, which had recently recommended the creation of the Historic Buildings Council and the provision of repair grants to historic houses, the Church Repair Commission recommended that state aid should also be made available to places of worship in use as such.¹²⁵

The Repair Commission’s report also called into question the present arrangements for the inspection and maintenance of church buildings. The report saw no issue with the responsibility for maintenance lying with the PCCs, and rejected the notion of setting up Diocesan Repair Boards, equivalent to a system in existence for clergy houses.¹²⁶ However, the need to train PCC members, including the clergy was identified as desirable.¹²⁷ More centrally, however, the report identified issues with the principle of the archdeacon’s visitation (a triennial survey), which had been a stipulation of canon law since 1604.¹²⁸ The report noted that there was no mechanism for enforcement of the archdeacons’ directions, and in addition

¹²¹ Ibid., p20

¹²² Ibid., p19-20

¹²³ Ibid., p23

¹²⁴ Ibid., p30

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp32-32

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp57-61

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp62-63

¹²⁸ Ibid., p64

the archdeacons' lack of architectural training reduced their ability to identify defects.¹²⁹ In making these recommendations, the report drew on evidence provided by the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), the SPAB and the Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS) to argue for a regime of quinquennial inspection.¹³⁰ The report thus called for a greater level of architectural oversight in church building repair than hitherto existed. This requirement would form part of the subsequent Inspection of Churches Measure (1955).

As a consequence of the *Preservation* report the first national church conservation charity, the HCPT was set up in 1952.¹³¹ In 2007 this organisation was relaunched as the National Churches Trust (NCT) although it has the same objects.¹³² The HCPT itself was set up in response to the Church Repair Commission's report as "a national, non-denominational registered charity, whose purpose would be to help finance church repairs in England and Wales".¹³³ Initially, the organisation looked to raise £4m over ten years for the repair of churches and chapels in poor repair.¹³⁴ Again the state of disrepair was blamed on the interregnum of the Second World War and the issues with securing repair to historic buildings this had caused.¹³⁵ The HCPT also established a panel of architects to advise on repair grants, and stipulated that repair must be overseen by an architect as a condition of grant.¹³⁶

As part of its operation, the HCPT looked to create a network of county trusts. In order to do so it immediately formed links with already existing friends groups based in Kent and Essex, as well as contributing to the formation of Lincolnshire Old Churches Trust.¹³⁷ The same year,

¹²⁹ Ibid., p66

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp67-69

¹³¹ Historic Churches Preservation Trust (1997), *Annual Report*, p4, NRO, 2011/176

¹³² National Churches Trust (2017), *Annual Review 2016-2017*, London: National Churches Trust

¹³³ Historic Churches Preservation Trust (1997), *Annual Report*, London: HCPT p4, NRO, 2011/176

¹³⁴ Anon. (2 Oct. 1952), 'The Parish Churches', *Times*, p7

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Anon. (3 Nov. 1953), 'Architects to Advise On Church Repairs', *Times*, p3

¹³⁷ Anon. (11 Oct. 1952), 'Preservation of Old Churches' *Times*, p3

the Pilgrim Trust donated £100,000 to HCPT, which was to be its major vehicle for church repair funding.¹³⁸ The HCPT also organised a number of high profile public events, normally involving politicians and athletes running around London.¹³⁹ However, the aim to reach £4m in donations in ten years was not achieved, and by 1964 the organisation had raised only a quarter of this total.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, over this time, the Trust had provided grants to 1,300 of the 2,013 churches originally estimated to need assistance.¹⁴¹ In addition, 16 county trusts had become affiliated with the HCPT.¹⁴² In 1983 it took on the administration of the ICBS funds which it has used to offer interest free loans.¹⁴³

In terms of its present day operations, the NCT remains a relatively small a membership organisation, with around 2,000 members.¹⁴⁴ According to the annual report for 2017, the NCT has provided £15m in funding over 1,600 grants across the United Kingdom over a ten-year period.¹⁴⁵ The Trust had an income of over £1.68m in 2016, deriving a significant proportion of this from legacies.¹⁴⁶ The majority of these funds have been used to support Anglican places of worship.¹⁴⁷ As well as directly grant aiding repair, the NCT also provides funding on the recommendation of the county trusts.¹⁴⁸ Recent initiatives have included the Maintenance Booker website, through which congregations “can book accredited contractors” for minor works such as gutter clearing.¹⁴⁹ This scheme itself was developed with Heritage Lottery

¹³⁸ Anon. (4 Dec. 1952), ‘Pilgrim Trust’s £100,000 Grant’, *Times*, p2

¹³⁹ Anon. (2 Dec. 1952), ‘£4M. Appeal for Churches’, *Times*, p5; Anon. (1 May 1954), ‘Saving Historic Churches’, *Times*, p8

¹⁴⁰ Anon. (29 Aug. 1964), ‘Losing Battle Over Decaying Churches’, *Times*, p8

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² From Our Special Correspondent (29 Feb. 1956), ‘Historic Churches Trust In Sussex’, *Times*, p4; Anon. (2 May 1957), ‘Appeal’, *Daily Mail*, p7; Dorset Historic Churches Trust (2017), *Financial Statements for the year to 31 December 2016*, Poole: DHCT, p2; Oxfordshire Historic Churches Trust, <https://ohct.org.uk/>; Leicestershire Historic Churches Trust, <http://www.lhct.org.uk/>

¹⁴³ Historic Churches Preservation Trust (1997), *Annual Report*, p4, NRO,2011/176

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p17

¹⁴⁵ L. March (2017), ‘Chairman’s Message’, NCT (2017), *Annual Report and Financial Statements 2016*, London: NCT, p6

¹⁴⁶ NCT (2017), *Annual Report*, p16

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p45

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp47-48

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p6

Funding and aims to prevent the need for more costly repairs in the future.¹⁵⁰ Thus, through a mix of funding the Trust continues to support the maintenance of churches at a county and a parish level.

The network of county trusts which the Repair Commission conceived of is still in existence.¹⁵¹ The Commission's report set out the ideal structure for these trusts, which it envisioned would be led by the Lord Lieutenant of the county.¹⁵² Establishing this network proved to be successful but slow in developing. The inauguration of the Lincolnshire Old Churches Trust in 1952 was accompanied by the formation of a committee in Staffordshire, and affiliation with the two pre-existing trusts.¹⁵³ By 1956 eleven such trusts had become part of this network.¹⁵⁴ The foundation of the Dorset Trust in 1959 appears to have been typical.¹⁵⁵ Sir Owen Morshead, who had just retired from the role of Royal Librarian acted as the Trust's first chairman, and the presidency was taken up by Lord Salisbury, with the Vice Presidency undertaken by the Bishop of Salisbury.¹⁵⁶ In a sense, then, these societies represented a revitalisation of the older diocesan building societies, with their purposes limited to raising money for repair. They had now, however, become interdenominational as a consequence of the growth of ecumenism in the twentieth century.¹⁵⁷

The growth of the county societies seems to have stalled after the 1950s, with only three societies founded in the following decade.¹⁵⁸ However, the passing of the Pastoral Measure spurred on another wave of society foundations including the Norfolk Churches Trust which

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p9

¹⁵¹ Church Repair Commission (1951), *Preservation*, p8

¹⁵² Ibid., p51

¹⁵³ Anon. (11 Oct. 1952), 'Preservation of Old Churches', *Times*, p3

¹⁵⁴ From Our Special Correspondent (29 Feb. 1956), 'Historic Churches Trust in Sussex', *Times*, p4

¹⁵⁵ From Our Correspondent (6 May 1959), 'Preserving Old Dorset Churches', *Times*, p8

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ See A. Hastings (2001), *A History of English Christianity, 1920- 2000*, London: SCM, *passim*, for a discussion of this trend

¹⁵⁸ Dorset Historic Churches Trust (2017), *Financial Statements*, p2; Oxfordshire Historic Churches Trust, retrieved from: <https://ohct.org.uk/>; Leicestershire Historic Churches Trust, <http://www.lhct.org.uk/>

will be discussed further in chapter six. In addition to the county trusts a small number of civic trusts have been formed, these include the Norwich Historic Churches Trust, discussed in more detail in chapter five, as well as the Ipswich Churches Trust, and the Friends of the City Churches.¹⁵⁹ Like their national equivalents, these county and civic trusts remain small in membership. The membership of the Norfolk Churches Trust numbers around 1,409.¹⁶⁰ This is the largest membership of any of the Trusts which include this figure in their annual report.¹⁶¹ Their income varies greatly, with the Norfolk Churches Trust receiving £509,777 for 2016/17 and the Greater Manchester Churches Preservation Society reporting an income of £2,941 for the same period.¹⁶² Fundraising for these organisations often takes place through events, such as an annual sponsored cycle ride between the churches of the respective county, which raises more than a £1m a year nationally.¹⁶³ These organisations tend to offer small grants which “act as an endorsement to attract larger grants from national providers”.¹⁶⁴ This will be covered in more detail in chapter six which looks more closely at the establishment of the Norfolk Churches Trust.

The next significant addition to the church-heritage assemblage was formed of a dispute over the priorities of the HCPT. Ivor Bulmer-Thomas had overseen the Repair Commission and had been made chairman of the Trust at its inception.¹⁶⁵ However, during his tenure he entered into a public disagreement with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, over proposals to demolish St Mary’s, Sandwich in Kent.¹⁶⁶ Opposing the demolition represented a point of principle for Bulmer-Thomas who objected to the idea that the HCPT’s work would be

¹⁵⁹ Ipswich Historic Churches Trust (2017), *Report of the Trustees for Year Ending 31st December 2016*, Ipswich: IHCT, p1; Anon. (25 April 1996), ‘Rare chance to see the City’s churches’, *Times*, p22

¹⁶⁰ Norfolk Churches Trust (2017), *Annual Report and Financial Statements for the year ended 31 March 2017*, Tibenham: Norfolk Churches Trust p5;

¹⁶¹ For instance, Cambridge Historic Churches Trust gave their membership in 2017 as 297, Cambridgeshire Churches Trust (2017), *Annual Report of the Trustees and Financial Statements for the Year Ended 30 June 2017*, Ely: CamCT, p8

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p16; The Greater Manchester Churches Preservation Society income is below the reporting threshold for the Charity Commission, Registered Charity Number: 1119834

¹⁶³ A. Riley (1 Sept. 2012), ‘Hit the road, save your church from moth and rust’, *Times*, p94

¹⁶⁴ D. Taylor, (13 May 2006), ‘Funding churches’, *Times*, p18

¹⁶⁵ Anon. (14 July 1956), ‘Church Preservation Trust Difference On Policy’, *Times*, p6

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

subsumed into the aims of the dioceses, thus turning the organisation into a diocesan building society.¹⁶⁷ As a consequence he was removed from his post, and subsequently aired his grievances in a number of letters to *The Times*.¹⁶⁸

In 1957 Bulmer-Thomas and others formed the Friends of Friendless Churches (FFC).¹⁶⁹ The FFC continued to oppose demolition and looked to support churches for which the Church of England had no use.¹⁷⁰ By 1962, following the departure of Fisher as Archbishop, Bulmer-Thomas appears to have effected a rapprochement between the two charities.¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, the FFC continued to oppose schemes for demolition of redundant churches as well their conversion.¹⁷² In the main its work has been devoted to securing the future of individual places of worship by taking them into the ownership of the trust.¹⁷³ In terms of membership numbers, it is broadly similar in size to the NCT. The FFC's membership scheme is run in conjunction with the Ancient Monument Society and the total membership in 2017 was listed as 2,012.¹⁷⁴ However the income of the charity is lower than that of the NCT at just under £509,311.¹⁷⁵ The FFC has recently taken over the role of managing redundant churches in Wales and receives grant aid from Cadw and the Church in Wales for this purpose.¹⁷⁶

The *Preservation of Our Churches* was primarily concerned with churches in use. However, as we have seen, in the post-war period the Church of England was developing the legal frameworks through which to dispose of parish churches deemed surplus to requirements.

¹⁶⁷ Anon. (16 July 1956), 'Policy Dispute On Churches', *Times*, p10

¹⁶⁸ Anon. (14 July 1956), 'Church Preservation Trust Difference On Policy', *Times*6; I. Bulmer-Thomas (30 July 1956), 'Preserving Churches', *Times*, p9; I. Bulmer-Thomas (10 Aug. 1956), 'Preserving Churches', *Times*, p9

¹⁶⁹ Anon. (13 Aug. 1957), 'Saving 'Friendless Churches'', *Times*, p5

¹⁷⁰ Anon. (18 Nov. 1957), 'Loss of Ancient Churches', *Times*, p10; Anon. (15 Feb. 1960), '£10,800 In Aid For Four 'Friendless' Churches', *Times*, p12;

¹⁷¹ I. Bulmer-Thomas (1 Dec. 1962), 'New Outlook for Old Churches', *Times*, p9

¹⁷² L. E. Jones (31 Aug. 1974), 'Listed church buildings', *Times*, p13

¹⁷³ Friends of Friendless Churches (2017), *Report of the Trustees and Financial Statements for year ended 31st March 2017*, London: FFC, p4

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p7

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p10

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p5

The FFC marks a voluntaristic reaction to these changes, but in the following years there would also be a more institutional response. The Pastoral Measure (1968) sought to streamline redundancy procedures and end the situation whereby the financial burden for a church no longer in use fell upon the parish.¹⁷⁷ In his pamphlet, *The Problem of Redundant Churches*, Bulmer-Thomas identified the origin of the measure in the decision taken by the Archbishop Fisher and the HCPT to restrict its attentions to buildings either in use, or which could be brought back into use.¹⁷⁸

Bulmer-Thomas was appointed chairman of the Redundant Churches Fund, despite his mixed reaction to the Pastoral Measure as it was being drafted.¹⁷⁹ These objections had included a criticism of plans which would see the Church continue to make evaluations of the historic and architectural significance of a church by appointing its own Advisory Board to report on this issue, thus bypassing the Ministry of Housing and Local Government which then had responsibility for listing buildings.¹⁸⁰ Bulmer-Thomas also objected to proposals that the proceeds from the sale of churches would be split between the diocese and the RCF, arguing that this would encourage the disposal of churches.¹⁸¹ Criticism of the Measure was not confined to those with a conservationist outlook. Concern was also voiced by those who opposed the proposals to create the Fund on the basis that “money would be spent on ‘dead’ churches to the detriment of the evangelizing work of the Church”.¹⁸² In countering this idea Bulmer-Thomas later argued that churches in the care of the Fund could be brought back into use should they again be required for worship.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, this binary opposition between living and dead churches would remain a feature of future debates between church conservationists and those seeking to rationalise the Church’s operations.

¹⁷⁷ Anon. (26 October 1960), ‘State Aid Proposed for Upkeep of Redundant Churches’, *Times*, p15

¹⁷⁸ Bulmer-Thomas (1970), *The Problem of Redundant Churches*, p3

¹⁷⁹ Anon. (23 July 1969), ‘Churches Fund Members’, *Times*, p10

¹⁸⁰ Anon. (09 June 1965), ‘Finding A Use for Ancient Churches’, *Times*, p6

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² Anon. (07 July 1961), ‘Saving Historic Redundant Churches’, *Times*, p7

¹⁸³ Bulmer-Thomas (1970), *The Problem of Redundant Churches*, p13

Despite the objections of Bulmer-Thomas and others, the Pastoral Measure retained a complex arrangement of multiple organisations overseeing different aspects of redundancy. The RCF itself represented the first foray of the state into the funding of historic places of worship. The *Bridges Report*, which led in part to the Pastoral Measure had expected 790 churches to become redundant by 1980.¹⁸⁴ In 1969 Government grant of up to £200,000 was made available by the Labour government to cover a five-year period, with the Church Commissioners expected to match this contribution to take over the management of redundant churches.¹⁸⁵ The RCF retained the expertise of those already well acquainted with this work, appointing Bulmer-Thomas as chairman, and Lord Anglesey, President of the FFC, along with a Church Commissioner, an architect, the chairman of the Ancient Monuments Board and a member of the clergy to its board.¹⁸⁶ By 1978 around a quarter of the 574 churches that had been declared redundant under the Pastoral Measure were in the hands of the RCF.¹⁸⁷ By this point over £3.2m had been raised by the sale of churches with a third of this money going to the Fund.¹⁸⁸

The RCF created a national stock of redundant churches. Initially, the number of churches in the hands of the Fund increased by around 10 per year so that by 1990, 258 were in their care.¹⁸⁹ Between 1989 and 1994 the RCF budget was £12.4m with the lion's share of this funding coming from the Department of the Environment, with the Church Commissioners contributing 30%.¹⁹⁰ The majority of the buildings vested in the RCF were in rural areas.¹⁹¹ However, in the 1990s the Fund began taking on more churches in urban areas.¹⁹² Since

¹⁸⁴ Anon. (26 October 1960), 'State Aid Proposed for Upkeep of Redundant Churches', *Times*, p15

¹⁸⁵ Anon. (23 January 1969), 'Surplus Church Grants Bill', *Times*, p10

¹⁸⁶ Anon. (23 July 1969), 'Churches Fund Members', *Times*, p10

¹⁸⁷ Anon. (25 July 1978), 'Finding new uses for redundant churches', *Times*, p4

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Wilding (1990), *Care of Redundant Churches*, p14

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ Redundant Churches Fund (1990), *Churches in Retirement*, London: H.M.S.O., *passim*

¹⁹² M. Binney (28 December 1999), 'Trust in the safekeeping of our Anglican heritage', *Times*, p18

relaunching as the Churches Conservation Trust in 1994 the organisation has diversified its income.¹⁹³ This followed a report commissioned by the Conservative government (the *Wilding Report*) which called for the Fund to increase its earnings, and the subsequent Labour government's decision not to increase funding to the Trust.¹⁹⁴ Between 2008/9 and 2013/4 the Trust raised its percentage of non-grant in aid income from 19% to 51%.¹⁹⁵ By 2017 it had 1,805 members and was spending just over £1m a year on the repair of 350 churches, with its acquisition rate having dropped to 1-3 a year.¹⁹⁶ The Trust gives its visitor numbers as around 2 million a year.¹⁹⁷

As we have seen, Bulmer-Thomas objected to the implications of the Pastoral Measure, although his criticisms do not seem to have been accepted in the final draft of the Measure. He himself would remark in a note to the Georgian Group following the passing of the Redundant Churches Act (1969) that the Pastoral Measure had been "unique amongst statutes in that it was amended before coming into force".¹⁹⁸ The implications of the Measure were highly complex as will be seen in relation to its being put into effect in Norwich in one of the following chapters. The Measure put in place a multi-stage procedure, which began with recommendation for redundancy by a Diocesan Pastoral Committee.¹⁹⁹ In making this recommendation, the Pastoral Committee were required to take representations from interested parties, including the Advisory Board which assessed the architectural or historic significance of the building.²⁰⁰ Following the declaration of redundancy, an individual church would then enter a waiting period during which a new use would be sought.²⁰¹ This was to last

¹⁹³ Anon. (29 March 1994), 'The Churches Conservation Trust', *Times*, p18

¹⁹⁴ Wilding (1990), *Care of Redundant Churches*, p67; Anon. (07 February 2005), 'Churches cross the high wire to preservation', *Times*, p53

¹⁹⁵ Churches Conservation Trust (2013), *Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2013*, London: The Stationery Office, p16; Churches Conservation Trust (2014), *Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2014*, London: The Stationery Office, p16

¹⁹⁶ Churches Conservation Trust (2017), *Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2017*, London: The Stationery Office, p14

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p2

¹⁹⁸ I. Bulmer Thomas (14 December 1971), 'Note to the Georgian Group - 12 January 1972', NRO, 2005/362 WH/RFH

¹⁹⁹ Bulmer-Thomas (1970), *The Problem of Redundant Churches*, pp5-6

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

between one and three years.²⁰² If after the three year period no use had been found, the church was then to be demolished no matter its architectural or historic interest.²⁰³ After being put into place a number of objections began to be raised to these rules. This included the criticism that the waiting period was as an “invitation to vandalism” as the church was left empty for a considerable period.²⁰⁴ In addition, the threat of demolition of a church for which no suitable use could be found appears to have caused widespread concern, and spurred the formation of a second wave of Churches Trusts in the 1970s.²⁰⁵

The campaign for state aid for repairs to churches pre-dated the pastoral measure, but its introduction saw renewed calls for the government to provide grant aid to churches in use in order to stave off redundancy and the threat of demolition. For instance in 1973 a group composed of Lord Fletcher, Chair of the Advisory Board, along with John Betjeman, Conservative MP Patrick Cormack, Labour MP Tom Driberg, Nikolaus Pevsner and others wrote jointly to *The Times* to draw attention to the plight of Norman Shaw’s Holy Trinity, Bingley.²⁰⁶ Threatened by demolition as the congregation had no more use for it, unlike a house by the same architect, the church was not eligible for state aid, a situation which the authors saw as anomalous.²⁰⁷ However, the announcement of state aid in 1975 came too late as the church had been demolished a year before.²⁰⁸

State aid had been delivered after a quarter of a century of campaigning. Lord Kilmaine, Secretary of the Pilgrim Trust had suggested prior to the formation of the HCPT that state aid was now needed because “[t]here had been a social revolution since the war, and in general surplus money was no longer in the hands of the educated and cultured classes” but had

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ B. Gingell (8 October 1970), ‘Empty churches law seen as vandals’ charter’, *Times*, p4

²⁰⁵ Elements of this will be covered in chapters five and six

²⁰⁶ Fletcher et al. (20 Dec. 1973), ‘Preserving churches’, *Times*, p13

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Victorian Society (2008), *Saving a Century*, London: The Victorian Society

passed to the workers in industry and commerce who needed to be educated in giving.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the *Preservation* report stopped short of calling for state aid, preferring to discuss other fundraising methods.²¹⁰ However, in 1964 the Council for the Care of Churches published a report entitled *Who Should Pay?* arguing that since the Church was “acting as custodian for the nation in preserving buildings which are part of the national heritage” some form of state assistance was warranted.²¹¹ However, this was not well received by the clergy and in response a spokesman for the Church Assembly voiced concerns over the prospect of state control which this represented.²¹²

Despite the objections to *Who Should Pay?*, in 1968 the Church Assembly established a commission to “consider the problem of the upkeep of buildings used for worship”.²¹³ Following discussion with Lord Kennet, the Labour government appears to have been willing to grant state aid on the proviso that the Church bring the buildings under listed building control.²¹⁴ However, Arthur Phillips, chair of the commission, noted the concerns of clergy that this would obstruct liturgical change.²¹⁵ He thus suggested that notice of interior alterations could be provided to local planning authorities as part of the faculty process.²¹⁶ The Conservative administration which followed continued to consider the issue and gave tax relief on both estate duty and donations to charity under £50,000, which it was felt would alleviate the problems parish churches were having.²¹⁷ In addition, the Church of England began its campaign to seek relief from VAT on repairs, with the Bishop of Winchester writing to *The Times* to highlight the issue in 1972.²¹⁸

²⁰⁹ Kilmaine, quoted in Anon. (26 June 1951), ‘Church Repairs’, *Times*, p2

²¹⁰ Church Repair Commission (1951), *Preservation*, p29-41

²¹¹ Anon. (16 Oct. 1964), ‘State Aid Urged for Repair of Churches’, *Times*, p10

²¹² Daily Mail Reporter (4 Nov. 1964), ‘Churches want State aid for repairs’, *Daily Mail*, p11

²¹³ Anon. (25 Mar. 1968), ‘Church Building Upkeep’, *Times*, p10

²¹⁴ A. Phillips (15 June 1971), ‘State aid for church repair’, *Times*, p15

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Anon. (19 Apr. 1972), ‘Government May Aid Church Buildings’, *Financial Times*, p12

²¹⁸ F. Winton (16 June 1972), ‘Churches and VAT’, *Times*, p17

The eventual granting of state aid was delivered with a dose of voluntaristic rhetoric by Labour Ministers.²¹⁹ In 1975, after three years of negotiation between the Church of England and the government, it was announced by John Silkin, Labour's Minister for Planning and Local Government that £1m would be made available in order to assist in repairs. Derek Pattinson of the General Synod assured *The Times* that this would represent a "‘topping up’ of voluntary efforts" rather than covering the "whole cost of preservation".²²⁰ By the time the grants were introduced in 1977 the government was seeking to stipulate that grant aid would provide £1 for every £5 raised by the churches themselves, except in cases where churches were in serious difficulties.²²¹ Grant was made on the proviso that the Church review its faculty procedures and open up proposals for demolition to a form of public enquiry.²²² This first grant aid scheme was administered by the Historic Buildings Council, with £750,000 committed for 1978, rising to £2m over 1979 to 1980.²²³

Throughout their campaign to secure funding for historic places of worship, the advocates of church building conservation emphasised the significance of church buildings as part of "our national heritage".²²⁴ As such, they sought to invest these buildings with meaning separate from their use as places of worship, separating the churches' historic value from their present use. For instance, in their article discussing the possibility of state aid being made available to places of worship *The Times* used the title "Churches as Historic Buildings".²²⁵ As we have seen, these ideas drew on thought from the previous century, particularly that of William Morris and his antecedents. Here, however the patrimonialisation of churches was given institutional support from within the Church of England. Thus the Church Assembly's *Preservation* report

²¹⁹ Birk quoted by a Staff Reporter (3 Apr. 1975), 'Repair grants for churches 'no panacea'', *Times*, p16

²²⁰ P. Scott, (31 Jan. 1975), 'Historic churches to get £1m aid', *Times*, p1

²²¹ C. Longley, (21 Feb. 1977), "'Means test' for churches seeking repair aid', *Times*, p12

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.; Staff Reporter (5 Aug. 1977), '£750,000 in state aid for historic churches', *Times*, p4

²²⁴ Council for the Care of Churches quoted in Anon. (16 Oct. 1964), 'State Aid Urged for Repair of Churches', *Times*, p10

²²⁵ Anon. (5 June 1971), 'Churches as Historic Buildings', *Times*, p11

identified the England's villages with their parish churches ("the blocks hewn from the same quarry, and the houses roofed with the same material") and waxed lyrical on the "austere flints of the East Anglia and the glowing red sandstone of the West Country".²²⁶ This strategy became used as a fundraising measure, and the HCPT produced a guide to historic churches with the foreword by the Archbishop of Canterbury in which he noted that the building stock of the Church of England "is an incomparable heritage, and we have a duty to hand it down unimpaired to our descendants".²²⁷ Accordingly, in discussions over the granting of aid, conservationists were keen to underline that the money was not being used to support parish funds, but rather to support the repair of a historic building.²²⁸

This rhetoric of national heritage would continue to be espoused in newspaper articles and in books like Rodwell and Bentley's, *Our Christian Heritage* and more recently, Roy Strong's *A Little History of the English Country Church*.²²⁹ Nevertheless, there were ongoing attempts to resist this definition from within the Church of England. This was not confined solely to John Robinson having demurred at the notion continuing to lead "a preservation society" in debates over the Pastoral Measure.²³⁰ For instance, the Bishop of London in discussing redundancy in 1960 had averred that their main concern was "the living church".²³¹ As we have seen, this trope would again be used in the discussions on the proposals to set up the RCF.²³² In writing on the subject with the Bishop of Taunton authored a piece for *The Times* in 1971 with the title 'Tombs - or Living Shrines?' which invoked Paul Tillich to warn against "being lulled into a sense of theological torpor by the splendour of the buildings in which we worship".²³³ The Church of England also continued to rationalise its building stock and demolish listed

²²⁶ Church Repair Commission (1951), *Preservation*, pp14-15

²²⁷ G. Cantaur (1953), 'A Godly Heritage', I. Bulmer-Thomas (1953), *Historic Churches*, Southend-on-Sea: The Golden Cross Publishing Company, p3

²²⁸ Anon. (10 Nov. 1964), 'Warning On Endowments for Little-Used Churches', *Times*, p5

²²⁹ W. Rodwell and J. Bentley (1984), *Our Christian Heritage*, London: Guild Publishing; R. Strong (2008), *A Little History, of The English Country Church*, London: Vintage

²³⁰ Anon. (16 Feb. 1965), 'Layman's Attack Angers Dr. Stockwood', *Times*, p6

²³¹ Anon. (10 Nov. 1960), 'State Aid Urged to Preserve Redundant Churches', *Times*, p18

²³² Anon. (7 July 1961), 'Saving Historic Redundant Churches', *Times*, p7

²³³ F. West (4 Sept. 1971), 'Tombs-or living shrines?', *Times*, p12

churches, although the FFC were able to intervene in some cases.²³⁴ Nevertheless, Margot Eates of the Advisory Board was able to point out that the percentage of listed Anglican places of worship demolished between 1969 and 1977 was far lower than the percentage of secular listed buildings demolished in the same time period.²³⁵

Despite objections from some sections of the clergy, conservationists continued to produce material to support their goals and to call into question the Church of England's management of its building stock. As was noted in the previous chapter, in the 1970s, under the direction of Roy Strong, the Victoria and Albert Museum organised a series of exhibitions concerned with Britain's built heritage.²³⁶ The second of these, *Change and Decay*, opened two weeks before the announcement that state aid would be granted to churches in use for the first time.²³⁷ The exhibition was concerned with the parish church, and was accompanied not only by a companion volume to the exhibition, but also by a report by conservationists and members of SAVE, Marcus Binney and Peter Burman, *Chapels and Churches: Who Cares*.²³⁸ This report was commissioned by the British Tourist Authority and foremost among their purposes was to establish the economic value of places of worship as Britain's heritage.²³⁹ The report looked at the situation of historic buildings held by all denominations, and identified closure and demolition resulting from declining congregations, as well as vandalism as a threats to historic interiors and churchyards alike.²⁴⁰

Binney and Burman's report also looked at the state of the heritage protection system and considered ecclesiastical exemption, noting the "irritation" of the amenity societies at the lack of standing in consistory court proceedings.²⁴¹ It also drew attention to the occasional flouting

²³⁴ L. E. Jones (31 Aug. 1974), 'Listed church buildings', *Times*, p13

²³⁵ M. Eates (4 Mar. 1978), 'Preserving churches' *Times*, p15

²³⁶ Strong (2008), *A Little History*, p1

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ M. Binney and P. Burman (1977), *Chapels & Churches*, pp3-6

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, *passim*

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pxi-xii

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p65

of consistory court rulings, arguing that DACs should make inspections as a matter of course.²⁴² Amongst its other recommendations was a call for the ongoing presence of technical expertise on DACs, and just as the *Preservation* report had nearly two decades before, it also called for more training of the clergy.²⁴³ Similarly, the need for regular maintenance was also emphasised and both reports recommended more conservation training for architects.²⁴⁴ In terms of redundancy procedures, the authors voiced “concern” over the Pastoral Measure and reiterated criticisms of the waiting period as a “vandal’s charter” urging the rules to be changed so that churches not be left empty over this time.²⁴⁵ In the final chapter the authors welcomed the recent announcement of state aid for churches and argued for greater oversight of historic places of worship, calling for the repeal of s.2 of the Redundant Churches Act (1969), so that Listed Building Consent would be necessary to demolish “listed churches and churches in conservation areas”.²⁴⁶

Despite the conservationists’ efforts to bring the rules governing church buildings into line with other listed buildings, the Church of England was able to operate a separate value system to the rest of designated sites. When listing commenced, churches were designated A, B or C rather than I, II*, II and III.²⁴⁷ In addition, the Advisory Board’s considerations operated without formal regard for the listed status of the buildings it reported on.²⁴⁸ Indeed, Lord Esher, writing to *The Times* in the capacity of chairman of the Board in 1978 asserted the superiority of the Board’s judgements, and referred to the listing process as ‘rough and ready’ and “notoriously outdated and unreliable in this field”, noting that the Church Commissioners had only ignored the Board’s advice twice out of seven hundred cases.²⁴⁹ This separate system of valuation

²⁴² Ibid., p67

²⁴³ Ibid., p69; Church Repair Commission (1951), *Preservation of Our Churches*, p57

²⁴⁴ Binney and Burman (1977), *Chapels & churches*, p76; Church Repair Commission (1951), *Preservation*, pp84-85

²⁴⁵ Binney and Burman (1977), *Chapels & Churches*, p165-166

²⁴⁶ Binney and Burman (1977), *Chapels & churches*, p209

²⁴⁷ Binney and Burman (1977), *Chapels & Churches*, p208

²⁴⁸ See J. Jenkins (21 June 1972), ‘Two Essex churches’, *Times*, p15

²⁴⁹ Esher (10 Feb. 1978), ‘Redundant churches’, *Times*, p15

continued to be maintained in decisions over vesting in the Redundant Churches Fund. This is evident from the *Wilding Report* published in 1990, which looked at the operations of the Fund, and referred to churches as being “Fund quality” rather than discussing their listed status.²⁵⁰

In the second half of the twentieth century there was, then, a slow process of the Church of England accommodating itself to the burgeoning movement for heritage protection. Addressing the need for nationally based funding arrangements, the Church Repair Commission led both to a national network of funding bodies as well as increased oversight from architects. However, as a consequence tensions opened up between those who saw mission as priority, and those who thought mission and conservation could be accommodated. Taking their cue from the *Gowers Report*, the Commission had argued that historic significance was something which warranted government funding. Nevertheless, this raised issues for members of the clergy who sought to avoid interference in matters of worship. Despite the eventual award of state aid, the Church of England continued to be able to operate a separate system of building consent and a separate system of valuation in regard to redundant churches. In this way the Church of England continued to try to resist patrimonialisation whilst conservationists, like SAVE sought to tighten up the rules applied to ensure the conservation of these buildings. As such, technical advice dealing with changes to historic places of worship would continue to be developed.

New Work and New Uses

As will be discussed in more detail in chapter seven, a combination of social changes and government policy have meant that the need to facilitate community uses of historic places of worship has come to be emphasised by both heritage agencies and the clergy hierarchy. There has thus been a need for new technical documents through which to manage these

²⁵⁰ Wilding (1990), *Care of Redundant Churches*, p43

changes. In the first instance this came from the conservationists, and their basic advice became incorporated into the work of heritage agencies. In opposing demolition, Binney and Burman had advocated both increased secular use of places of worship and new uses for redundant ones.²⁵¹ As they commented themselves, these issues had become a hot topic in recent years with numerous letters to *The Times* advocating a variety of positions.²⁵² Within this debate objections to re-use were particularly directed at the notion of residential conversion with the Committee of the Norfolk Churches Trust arguing that churches had been built “not only to the glory of God, but for the inclusive use of all”, something which residential conversion obviated.²⁵³ The authors were not alone in arguing that allowing rural churches to “crumble to ruins” would be preferable, a position which was backed by Bulmer-Thomas.²⁵⁴ In response Margot Eates of the Advisory Board asserted their preference for community uses, but noted the difficulty in securing these in rural areas.²⁵⁵ Eates was adamant that ruination was “totally unrealistic” and argued that far from being romantic ruins, the buildings would become “structurally dangerous shells”.²⁵⁶ Binney also responded noting that the Pastoral Measure precluded ruination and recommended the reuse of redundant churches as ideal for conversion to sports halls.²⁵⁷ Whilst this public debate seems to have been triggered by plans for the *Change and Decay* exhibition, it had also followed government advice, with the Department of the Environment publishing *New Life for Old Churches*, which contained examples of conversions illustrated with floor plans and photographs as a guide for architects.²⁵⁸ Likewise *Chapels and Churches* contained a vast array of examples where former places of worship had been converted to new uses including community arts centres, arts studios and physio clinics.²⁵⁹

²⁵¹ Binney and Burman (1977), *Chapels & Churches*, pp116-122 & 188-204

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p198

²⁵³ Harrod et al (1 Sept. 1976), ‘Use of redundant churches’, *Times*, p. 13

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; R. Morris (21 September 1976), ‘Neglected and redundant churches’, *Times*, p13; J. Young (11 January 1977), ‘New controversy on fate of redundant churches’, *Times*, p14

²⁵⁵ M. E. Eates (04 September 1976), ‘Redundant churches’, *Times*, p13

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ M. Binney (9 Sept. 1976), ‘Restoration of churches’, *Times*, p15

²⁵⁸ Department for the Environment (1977), *New Life for Old Churches*, London: Stationery Office

²⁵⁹ Binney and Burman (1977), *Chapels & Churches*, pp188-204

In the following decade SAVE Britain's Heritage would continue to bang the drum for conversion of all kinds over demolition. Their 1987 publication, *Churches: a Question of Conversion* was sponsored by the Department of the Environment and contained numerous examples of renovations of former places of worship. It also presented guidelines for conversion and warned against subdivision and extension, urging the use of ancillary buildings to provide income, community space and opportunities for grant aid.²⁶⁰ Residential conversion was deemed to be acceptable so long as subdivision could be avoided.²⁶¹ These guidelines have remained a part of conservation advice. English Heritage's *New Uses for Former Places of Worship* guidance note of 2010 applied the same rules, advocating "single vessel use".²⁶² The author of *New Uses* drew on the language of English Heritage's policy document *Conservation Principles* and provided information to those proposing reuse of churches both on the processes of assessment which were expected of them prior to application and on the principles on which their application would be judged by English Heritage (and now Historic England).²⁶³ The overriding themes were for applicants to propose low-impact and reversible changes for which a need had been established, and for schemes to retain some form of public access.²⁶⁴ Thus commercial and residential reuses, although acceptable in some cases, are seen to require a higher degree of justification.²⁶⁵

Chapels and Churches had advocated what would come to be called "extended use" whereby places of worship still in use as such were to accommodate uses beyond public worship.²⁶⁶ This has now become a key aspect of the strategies of conservationists, the Church of England

²⁶⁰ K. Powell and C. De La Hay (1986), *Churches: A Question of Conversion*, London: Save Britain's Heritage

²⁶¹ Ibid., pp76-78

²⁶² English Heritage (2010), *New Uses for Former Places of Worship*, London: English Heritage, p4

²⁶³ Ibid., inside cover & *passim*; English Heritage (2008), *Conservation Principles*, London: English Heritage

²⁶⁴ English Heritage (2010), *New Uses for Former Places of Worship*, p9 & *passim*

²⁶⁵ Ibid., p10

²⁶⁶ Binney and Burman (1977), *Chapels & Churches*, pp116-122

and successive governments in relation to places of worship. One facet of this has been to ensure public access. Governmental organisations have achieved this through grant aid. English Heritage grant had come with stipulations for public access from 1984, although this appears to have been negotiable.²⁶⁷ Public access was also a condition of grant for the Joint Scheme between EH and the HLF which ran from 1996-2003 and all schemes thereafter.²⁶⁸ The Joint Scheme that followed also offered funding for new facilities, as did the later GPOW scheme, thus improving the attractiveness of church buildings as venues for community use.²⁶⁹ In assessing the effectiveness of this in 2005, Andrew Derrick found that where new facilities were introduced, community use of places of worship did increase, especially where this use was actively promoted.²⁷⁰ These objectives would also be applied to the management of redundant churches with the *Wilding Report* calling on the RCF to improve its arrangements.²⁷¹ The (now defunct) Open Churches Trust, set up by Andrew Lloyd-Webber in 1994, can also be seen as part of this trend.²⁷²

The Church of England, at least at a high level, appears to have accepted extended use as a worthwhile approach to improved management. Thus, the Archbishops' Council report of 2004 *Building Faith in Our Future*, argued that "[u]sing historic church buildings for activities besides worship can offer scope for a sustainable future, enrich the life of the neighbourhood, help to meet running costs and develop the skills of both the worshipping and the wider community".²⁷³ The report included a number of examples of churches where, with the assistance of Church of England and public funds, schemes for community use had been put into place.²⁷⁴ It also included reference to "an extraordinary range of activities" taking place in rural churches, such

²⁶⁷ English Heritage (1992), *Grants 1984-1992*, London: English Heritage, pp5-6, NRO, 2011/176

²⁶⁸ A. Derrick (2005), *A Review of Heritage Lottery Fund/English Heritage Funding to Places of Worship 1996-2005*, Guildford: AHP, p15

²⁶⁹ B. Taylor (2017), *Taylor Review*, p25

²⁷⁰ A. Derrick (2005), *Assessment of the Impact of HLF/English Heritage Places of Worship Funding*, London: HLF, pp5-7

²⁷¹ R. Wilding (1990), *The Care of Redundant Churches*, p53

²⁷² K. Knight (17 Sept. 1994), 'Lloyd Webber to unlock churches', *Times*, p7

²⁷³ Church Heritage Forum (2004), *Building Faith in our Future*, London: Church House Publishing, p24

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp25-26

as holiday clubs and flower festivals.²⁷⁵ This theme was taken up by the Church of England's *Church Building's Review* which was published in 2015 as part of the Church of England's Renewal and Reform programme. This criticised a form of "pietism" which "has tended to exclude everything but public worship from them".²⁷⁶ The report compared locked churches to "mausoleums" and argued that adapting churches for "community use... has breathed new life into them".²⁷⁷ To support community use, the Church of England has sponsored the creation of a guidance document, *Crossing the Threshold*.²⁷⁸

The drive to ensure extended use through the introduction of new facilities has had a number of consequences for historic buildings. The authors of *Churches: A Question of Conversion* had voiced concern over the potential of "a coffee lounge, counselling room or lavatory having a detrimental effect on an historic structure", as well as "unhappy schemes for extensions".²⁷⁹ Like their advice document, *New Uses*, English Heritage's *New Work in Historic Places of Worship* picked up from *Churches: A Question of Conversion* and contained detailed and specific advice on a range of interventions from extensions to the introduction of telecommunications equipment.²⁸⁰ Published in 2012 the booklet incorporated aspects of the new *National Planning Policy Framework*, as well as the language of *Conservation Principles* and was aimed at assisting in the management of change through the consent process.²⁸¹

As we will explore more fully in chapter seven, the use of grant aid to promote community use of churches has been a key feature of recent approaches to the management of historic places of worship. Alongside this, government agencies have been looking at ways of supporting

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p28

²⁷⁶ Church Buildings Review Group (2015), *Report of the Church Buildings Review Group*, London: General Synod, p27

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ B. Payne (2017), *Crossing the Threshold*, Hereford: Historic Religious Buildings Alliance (HRBA) in collaboration with the Diocese of Hereford

²⁷⁹ K. Powell and C. De La Hay (1986), *Churches: A Question of Conversion*, p105

²⁸⁰ English Heritage (2012), *New Work in Historic Places of Worship*, London: English Heritage, *passim*

²⁸¹ Ibid., pp1-5

those engaged in managing these buildings. Thus, in 2006 with sponsorship from Ecclesiastical Insurance, English Heritage launched the *Inspired!* programme.²⁸² The accompanying booklet noted the yearly repair totals and put the full repair costs for a five-year period at £925m.²⁸³ Thus the campaign sought funding from the Treasury to reduce these costs by creating maintenance grants, a small repairs fund, and a fund to provide officers to work within denominations and organise training programmes for local authorities and congregations.²⁸⁴ These support officers, which had been piloted in three dioceses, were to assess “repair priorities” and to assist congregations “to make the most of their buildings”.²⁸⁵ English Heritage’s grant scheme for support officers was launched in 2008 and by March 2010, 12 posts were in place, with a further 12 agreed.²⁸⁶ According to the Church Buildings Review Group, however, some of these positions were cut by the dioceses when the funding ran out.²⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the necessity of funding such positions has been reconfirmed by the most recent investigation into the management of historic places of worship, the *Taylor Review*.

The *Taylor Review* was commissioned by what is now the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport in 2016. The Review was set up to consult with stakeholders to explore “new models of financing repairs and maintenance”.²⁸⁸ As well as including the chair of the CBC, the panel was made up of the high level management of heritage organisations and incorporated the director general of the National Trust, the chairman of Historic England and the chair of the Heritage Alliance.²⁸⁹ This report drew on ideas present in previous thinking on the subject, building on the appeal of the *Inspired!* campaign for maintenance and small grants

²⁸² English Heritage (2006), *Inspired!*, London: English Heritage

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p6

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*,

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp12-13

²⁸⁶ English Heritage (2010), *Caring for Places of Worship*, London: English Heritage, p13

²⁸⁷ Church Buildings Review Group (2015), *Report*, p35

²⁸⁸ B. Taylor (2017), *The Taylor Review*, p10

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp38-42

schemes and for support officers.²⁹⁰ Thus, the *Taylor Review* called for both Minor and Major Repairs Funds to be set up with the total money available to be £51m (which is more than double the amount earmarked by the HLF for its yearly expenditure on places of worship).²⁹¹ The report also called for the establishment of a network of support officers for the dioceses and exceeded the proposals of the *Inspired!* campaign by calling for two posts to be created in each diocese, that of a Community Support Adviser and a Fabric Support Officer role.²⁹² Pilots for these posts have recently been appointed in the Dioceses of Manchester and St Edmundsbury and Ipswich.²⁹³ The funding for these posts was put at £15m per annum. Despite these initiatives, the goal of the *Review* has been to reduce the reliance on public funds for church repair.²⁹⁴

Mixed Economy of Heritage

Successive reports have rejected direct state management of historic places of worship. The *Preservation* report examined the situation in France, “Italy, Spain, Greece, Denmark and Sweden” before concluding that “the relations of Church and State in England have taken a very different pattern”.²⁹⁵ In order to reject these options, the *Taylor Review* included a list of European countries and outlined whether each state funded “listed churches” and whether “listed building controls” were applied to these buildings.²⁹⁶ The *Review* then dismissed ownership of church buildings by the state as in France, arguing, seemingly without need for justification that this system “could not be adopted in the UK”.²⁹⁷ In the place of direct government intervention there has been an accumulation of a variety of agencies often

²⁹⁰ Ibid., p18

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid., p16

²⁹³ M. Davies (6 April 2018), ‘New £1.8 million pilot scheme set up to help churches after Taylor Review’, *Church Times*, retrieved from: <https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2018/6-april/news/uk/new-18-million-pilot-scheme-help-churches-cathedrals-mission-repairs-taylor-review>

²⁹⁴ Ibid., p17

²⁹⁵ Church Repair Commission (1951), *Preservation*, p30

²⁹⁶ Ibid., pp63-67

²⁹⁷ Ibid., p22

founded under an assertion of the voluntarist impulse. This has entailed the liberalisation of approaches to the management of historic places of worship.

This liberal approach represents the *modus vivendi* of the management of historic places of worship in Anglicanism. Indeed, the *Church Buildings Review* quoted the argument of Sir Roy Strong in support of further liberalisation: recommending “giving the church building back to the local community, albeit with safeguards for worship” and provided guidance on establishing ‘open’ churches, which are in part leased for “cultural, communal and commercial use of parts while the building remains in use for worship”.²⁹⁸ Thus, the Church of England has been seeking to develop modes in which participation in the life of church buildings can be expanded beyond use for worship. In tandem, the network of Friends groups proposed by English Heritage was part and parcel of attempts to broaden participation in the management of these buildings, outside the formal structures of the PCCs.

Despite the management of these buildings being devolved, in line with trends within voluntary action in the twentieth century, successive governments have sought to direct the activities of those managing these places. The *Building Faith in Our Future* report quoted the then Bishop of London, Richard Chartres as saying the “[t]he Church of England is, in financial terms, the most disestablished in Europe”.²⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the structure which has grown up around the management of places of worship has been open to partnership with governmental organisations and able to provide indirect funding for ‘secular’ purposes. Thus the Brown government commissioned *Churches and Faith Buildings: Realising the Potential* to look at ways in which churches might engage in the delivery of services in line with the Labour government’s policy for the voluntary sector in general.³⁰⁰ Although the change of government

²⁹⁸ Church Buildings Review Group (2015), *Report*, p32

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p13

³⁰⁰ A. Burnham et al (2008), *Churches and Faith Buildings: Realising the Potential*, London: Churches and Faith Buildings Working Group, p13; See P. Alcock (2011), ‘Voluntary Action, New Labour, and the ‘third sector’, M. Hilton and J. Mackay (eds) (2011), *The Ages of Voluntarism: How We Got to the Big Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

meant changes to the funding structures put in place by Labour, the goals of “building capacity” amongst PCCs arguably live on in the *Taylor Review*.³⁰¹ At the same time, church buildings have been co-opted into governmental strategies such as “building social cohesion”, more recently understood as “strengthening local communities”.³⁰² We will revisit this subject in chapter seven to examine the ways in which it has worked on the ground.

³⁰¹ See for instance the proposals on ‘engaging communities’ in Taylor (2017), *The Taylor Review*, p15

³⁰² K. Clark, and G. Maeer (2008), ‘The cultural value of heritage: evidence from the Heritage Lottery Fund’, *Cultural Trends*, 17(1), p27

Timeline of Events Referred to in Chapters Two, Three and Seven

1911	Number of Anglican Clergy reaches peak of 24,968
1913	Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act passed establishing Ecclesiastical Exemption
1917	Establishment of a central Advisory Service for DACs
1919	Church Assembly Act is passed
1921	Parochial Church Councils Measure establishes PCCs
1921	Number of Churches and Mission Halls stands at 21,913
1923	A new Union of Benefices Measure is passed
1923	Central advisory service relaunched as Central Council for DACs
1938	Faculty Jurisdiction Measure passed
1944	Reorganisation of Areas Measure is passed making it easier for dioceses to respond to war damage
1947	The Town and Country Planning Act is passed nationalising the planning process
1947	The Church Commissioners Act establishes the Church Commissioners
1950	The <i>Gowers Report</i> into tax relief and funding for country houses is published
1951	<i>The Preservation of Our Churches</i> published addressing aspects of funding for historic churches
1952	Creation of the Historic Churches Preservation Trust
1955	Inspection of Churches Measure passed legislating for quinquennial inspection of churches
1956	Parochial Church Councils (Powers) Measure refines the power of PCCs
1957	Formation of Friends of Friendless Churches
1960	Clergy number falls to c.13,000
1960	The <i>Bridges Report</i> calling for new redundancy procedures published
1964	The <i>Paul Report</i> on the deployment of the clergy is published

1964	A new Faculty Jurisdiction Measure passed
1964	The report <i>Who Should Pay?</i> is published by the Council for the Care of Churches
1968	the Pastoral Measure establishes new redundancy procedures
1969	Redundant Churches and Other Religious Buildings Act amends the Pastoral Measure and creates the Redundant Churches Fund
1973	Introduction of Value Added Tax
1975	State-aid for churches is announced
1977	<i>Chapels and Churches: Who Cares?</i> is published
1977	Department for the Environment publishes <i>New Life for Old Churches</i>
1977	State-aid for church repair is introduced
1978	The <i>Wolfenden Report</i> into the future of voluntary organisations is published
1980	National Heritage Act is passed creating of the National Memorial Heritage Fund
1983	Creation of English Heritage
1987	<i>Churches: A Question of Conversion</i> is published by SAVE Britain's Heritage
1989	Number of Churches stands at 16,373
1990	New Town and Country Planning Acts are passed, retaining Ecclesiastical Exemption
1990	The <i>Wilding Report</i> into the operation of the Redundant Churches Fund is published
1991	Care of Churches and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure
1996	Heritage Lottery Fund founded
1996	First Joint Scheme for grant aid between EH and HLF begins
1998	The Compact ("On relations between Government and the Voluntary and Community Sector in England") published
2001	Listed Places of Worship Scheme to refund VAT launched
2002	Repair Grants for Places of Worship scheme launched by EH

2006	Culture, Media and Sport Committee publishes <i>Protecting and Preserving Our Heritage</i>
2006	The <i>Inspired!</i> Programme launched by EH
2007	Relaunch of the HCPT as National Churches Trust
2008	EH publishes <i>Conservation Principles</i>
2010	Election of the Lib Dem Conservative Coalition and the launch of the Comprehensive Spending Review
2010	EH publishes <i>New Uses for Former Places of Worship</i>
2012	EH publishes <i>New Works in Historic Places of Worship</i>
2013	HLF takes on LPoW funding launching the Grants for Places of Worship scheme
2015	Church Buildings Review Group publishes the Church Buildings Review
2017	The <i>Taylor Review: Sustainability of English Churches and Cathedrals</i> published
2018	Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Care of Churches Measures passed
2018	HLF folds GPOW into other grant schemes

Chapter 4

Huddersfield

Introduction

In 1982 the church of Milnsbridge St Luke was closed for worship.¹ The church in Milnsbridge, part of the Longwood township on the western edge of Huddersfield, was built in 1845.² Its construction was funded by a mixture of charitable and private funds and was arranged by textile manufacturers, the Armitage family, a branch of which were based at Milnsbridge House.³ The site of the church was given by Sir Joseph Radcliffe, a magistrate and former owner of the Armitage's home.⁴ The brunt of the cost of building the church itself was taken by the Armitage family, with Miss Armitage of Honley bearing £1,000 of the £2,500 costs, £350 was borne by the Ripon Diocesan Church Building Society, and another £150 by the Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS).⁵ Following the incorporation of the Armitage Brothers' factory at Milnsbridge in 1925 and the business' subsequent liquidation in 1930, it ceased to be a family concern.⁶ However, connections between the church and the family appear to have continued. In 1948 a Mrs E.M. Armitage would leave money to the church in her will, her husband having been buried in the churchyard in 1942, but by the time of their deaths they were living in Edgerton, closer to the centre of Huddersfield with Milnsbridge house apparently having been sold to the Freemasons in 1919.⁷ Thus, one of the main sources of wealth that had built and sustained the church had become dislocated from it.

¹ Church of England (2012), *Diocese of Wakefield*, London: Church of England retrieved from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140311032117/http://www.churchofengland.org/media/811168/wakefield.pdf>

² GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, 'History of Milnsbridge, in Kirklees and West Riding', A *Vision of Britain through Time*, retrieved from: <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/place/21543>; Anon. (18 March 1843), 'Ripon Diocesan Church Building Society', *Leeds Intelligencer*, p5; 'Anon. (18 November 1845), 'New Churches in the Diocese of Ripon', *Morning Post*, p2

³ Anon. (18 March 1843), 'Ripon Diocesan Church Building Society', *Leeds Intelligencer*, p5; 'Anon. (18 November 1845), 'New Churches in the Diocese of Ripon', *Morning Post*, p2

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.; Anon. (18 March 1843), 'Ripon Diocesan Church Building Society', *Leeds Intelligencer*, p5. I have inferred the size of the grant from the ICBS from this article

⁶ Anon. (17 May 1930), 'Cloth Manufacture: Affairs of a Milnsbridge Company', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, p17

⁷ Anon. (3 September 1942), 'Mr H.G. Armitage', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, p6; Anon. (6 August 1948), 'Officials Gain: Milnsbridge Will', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, p5 ; Anon. (18 August 2010),

By the late 1960s, the strain of organising a parish with a dwindling congregation appears to have been telling on the vicar at Milnsbridge. In an article in the *Huddersfield Daily Examiner* in 1967, Rev. R J Legg was reported as having argued for the amalgamation of parishes as a solution for “problem parishes” such as his own, as the present system, in his words was “reducing the role of the church to that of an estate agent”.⁸ Legg complained that the system of one vicar per parish led to the “identification of one man as the church” and “the energy of God’s people is swallowed up in fundraising instead of world-watching”.⁹ He was unrepentant in this view, and at the suggestion “that amalgamations might lead initially to some people leaving the church, he claimed that such desertions would indicate an allegiance not to the church but to a building.”¹⁰

Milnsbridge St Luke remained in use for more than a decade after this, but during this time clearly experienced further decline. First to be lost was the church hall, which in the mid-seventies required several thousand pounds worth of repairs.¹¹ By 1981 the church was without a vicar and an application for its closure was submitted.¹² Three years later, a buyer for the church had not been found and it was still on the market.¹³ Although an enquiry had been made by “a group interested in preserving the church”, this came to nothing, and eventually in 1987 the church was bought as a store in which to keep classic cars, with the suggestion that this would later form the basis of a museum.¹⁴

The story of the redundancy of Milnsbridge St Luke is just one of a number of church closures around Huddersfield in the second half of the twentieth century. As we saw, William Whyte

‘Blue Plaque at Last for Milnsbridge House’, *Huddersfield Examiner*,

<https://www.examiner.co.uk/news/west-yorkshire-news/blue-plaque-last-milnsbridge-house-4992663>

⁸ Anon. (18 March 1967), ‘Vicar has plan to save Church from being ‘estate agent’’, *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p1

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Anon. (3 May 1974) ‘Hall from church plan’, *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p1

¹² Anon. (23 November 1981), no title, *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p5

¹³ Anon. (14 September 1984) ‘Church Buyer still sought’, *Colne Valley Chronicle*, p1

¹⁴ Ibid.; Anon. (16 January 1987) ‘New Lease of life as a car museum: Classic vehicles in former church’, *Colne Valley Chronicle*, p3

has argued that redundancies should be seen as “as a product of a series of choices made by individuals, by congregations, and by the wider church”.¹⁵ At Milnsbridge, a series of events led eventually towards redundancy, each contributing to the present arrangements for the building’s use. In the section which follows, these developments collectively are considered in order to understand the privatisation, and thus the eventual secularisation, of a number of Huddersfield’s Anglican churches. These will be seen to have been made simply in response to a series of exigencies in each location, due to changes of population centres, or for financial reasons. At the same time, it will be argued that the range of uses found for these redundant churches in Huddersfield has meant that these buildings on the whole no longer play a role in the public life of the town. The Church of England is therefore unable to benefit from a continued assertion of its connection to the past of the place.

Narratives of Decline

The history of Huddersfield has been well covered, and continues to be written thanks not only to the presence of the university, but also a strong local history society, which publishes the work of both academic and non-academic historians.¹⁶ A number of narrative histories of the town were written in the twentieth century, most notably Roy Brook’s 1968 *The Story of Huddersfield* which was published to mark the centenary of the Huddersfield achieving Borough status.¹⁷ However, the most comprehensive work on the town remains Hillary Haigh’s 1992 edited collection, *Huddersfield: A Most Handsome Town*, which covered aspects of the town’s past from prehistory and its premodern development, but focused on the modern period.¹⁸ In doing so the text represented a reflection of the growth of the town in the nineteenth century. This urban growth has been the subject of some interest to academics,

¹⁵ W. Whyte (2006) ‘The Architecture of Belief, in Garnett et al (2006), *Redefining Christian Britain*, London: SCM Press, p191

¹⁶ See for instance J. A. Hargreaves (2018), *The Charter Our Right!*, Huddersfield: HLHS

¹⁷ J. Sykes (1968) ‘Introduction’, R. Brook (1968), *The Story of Huddersfield*, London: MacGibbon & Kee, pvii

¹⁸ H. Haigh (ed) (1992), *Huddersfield: A Most Handsome Town*, Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services

and the town features strongly in Richard Dennis' work of historical geography, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century*.¹⁹ In addition, Huddersfield received sustained attention in John Prest's *Liberty and Locality*, a chapter of which was devoted to the activities of its corporation in the nineteenth century.²⁰ The presence of the university has also meant the town has been the subject of some PhD research. For instance, Esther Moriarty's 2010 PhD thesis covered the experience of Irish immigrants to the town in the nineteenth century.²¹

The religious life of Huddersfield has also been of interest to a number of researchers. Moriarty's work in part dealt with the role of the Catholic Church in the lives of the immigrant Irish she studied.²² Edward Royle has also contributed a significant amount of research on the subject of religious belief and secularism in the town's history. His chapter for *Huddersfield: A Most Handsome Town* covered the extent of religious affiliation in the town from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, covering the major denominations.²³ Royle's main interest, however, has been a history of radicalism, and his monograph, *Victorian Infidels* provided evidence for the extent of secularist activity in Huddersfield (and elsewhere) in the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁴ In addition to Royle, Cyril Pearce's work on conscientious objectors has emphasised the role of non-conformity in informing the strength of opposition to the First World War in Huddersfield.²⁵ However, the role of the Anglicans in the town has not received particularly sustained treatment.²⁶ It is my contention here that the lack of visibility of

¹⁹ R. Dennis (1984), *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, *passim*

²⁰ J. Prest (1990), *Liberty and Locality: Parliament, Permissive Legislation, and Ratepayers' Democracies in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

²¹ E. Moriarty (2010), *The Great Famine: an Irish tragedy and its impact on the English town of Huddersfield from 1845-1861*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Huddersfield,

²² *Ibid.*, pp162-201

²³ E. Royle (1992), 'Religion in Huddersfield since the Mid-Eighteenth Century', Hilary Haigh (ed) (1992), *Huddersfield: A Most Handsome Town*, pp101-144

²⁴ E. Royle (1974), *Victorian Infidels*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, *passim*

²⁵ C. Pearce (2001), *Comrades in Conscience*, London: Francis Boutle, esp. pp32-97

²⁶ There have been two articles published in the Huddersfield Local History Society Journal on the Anglicans of the town. These are: M. Tomlinson (Winter 2001/2002), 'The Oxford Movement in Huddersfield', *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, 12, Winter; and R. Piggott (2017/2018), 'The Great War and the Vicar of Huddersfield: Huddersfield's Parish Church and the war effort', *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, 28. Some of the research from the latter is reproduced below.

Huddersfield's Anglicans within this history has played a part in the outcomes for Huddersfield's redundant churches. To develop this argument, we will now consider the process of church closure in Huddersfield in the twentieth century.

We saw in chapter two that in the historic parish of Huddersfield, 27% of the churches had been made formally redundant since the 1968 Pastoral Measure, and it was noted that this was more than twice the national average.²⁷ In addition, these figures did not encompass a number of mission churches, nor the mortuary chapel at Edgerton Cemetery, which is now in a ruinous state.²⁸ It was also seen that Huddersfield's redundant churches were much less likely to be retained as monuments; vested in a conservation body; or to be used for civic, cultural or community uses than is the case nationally. This is reflective of the value placed on these buildings in terms of their architectural history, which has been formalised in their grade II or unlisted status as will be discussed below. However, in addition it also reflects the fact that no civic solution for these buildings has been looked to, which it is argued here relates to the relative weakness of building conservationism in the town.

Market solutions have generally been found by the diocese when disposing of these former places of worship and the buildings sold on to new users. The Commissioners' Churches in Paddock and Lockwood, closed in 1984 and 1990 respectively, have both been converted to residential use.²⁹ A further Commissioners' Church, St Paul's, which closed in 1959 and was thus the town's first formal redundancy, is now in use by the University of Huddersfield as a performance space.³⁰ Milnsbridge St Luke, as we have seen, closed in 1981 and was

²⁷ These statistics were drawn from the Closed Churches Team's list of redundant churches for the Diocese of Wakefield, Church of England (2012), *Diocese of Wakefield*, London: Church of England

²⁸ A. Robinson (2016), 'Ask Examiner: What is happening to the crumbling buildings in Longroyd Bridge?', *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, Retrieved from: <https://www.examiner.co.uk/news/west-yorkshire-news/ask-examiner-what-happening-crumbling-11913816>

²⁹ M. H. Port (2006), *600 New Churches*, Oxford: Spire Books, pp237-238; Church of England (2012), *Diocese of Wakefield*

³⁰ Port (2006), *600 New Churches*, p238; Huddersfield Music Society, 'St Paul's Hall', retrieved from: <http://www.huddersfield-music-society.org.uk/st-pauls-hall.html>

converted for use as store for classic cars.³¹ Huddersfield St Mark was sold in 1997 and now functions as office space.³² St Andrew's, Leeds Road was transferred to use by a Roman Catholic congregation in 1975, but is now recorded as used for 'office and shopping'.³³ However, this building remains in a semi-ruinous state at the time of writing.³⁴ Bradley St Thomas, officially closed in 1979, is in use as a gymnastics club.³⁵ Rashcliffe St Stephen the most recent redundancy, was on the market in 2015 and does not appear to have found a new use at the time of writing.³⁶

We can see the solutions arrived at for Huddersfield's redundant churches as marked to a degree by the privatisation of public space. St Paul's and the churches at Paddock and Lockwood were built with public money as a consequence of the Church Buildings Acts, which as we saw in chapter two, have been seen as a landmark piece of social legislation.³⁷ These buildings, and the subsequent additions to the Anglican stock of buildings in the town, were built under the motive of contribution to the lives of the people of Huddersfield. At the ceremony laying the foundation stone for Rashcliffe St Stephen in 1863, Bentley Shaw Esq, one of the major donors to the subscription fund for the church, expressed the hope that the church might "be a gathering place for worship and prayer through many future ages; and may thousands upon thousands here find spiritual health and blessings in this life and secure enduring happiness and unfading glory in the life to come".³⁸ However, just over one hundred and fifty

³¹ Ibid.; Anon. (16 January 1987), 'New Lease of life as a car museum: Classic vehicles in former church', *Colne Valley Chronicle*, p3

³² Church of England (2012), *Diocese of Wakefield*

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.; A. Robinson (3 September 2017), 'Crumbling church in 'critical' condition and could be lost forever', *Huddersfield Examiner*, retrieved from: <https://www.examiner.co.uk/news/watch-crumbling-church-critical-condition-13610906>

³⁵ L. Cooper (25 March 2014), 'Bradley based gymnastics group apply for church repairs', *Huddersfield Examiner*, retrieved from: <https://www.examiner.co.uk/news/local-news/bradley-based-gymnastics-group-apply-6874288>

³⁶ Hanson (2015), 'For Sale, Huddersfield: St Stephen's Church, St Stephen's Road, Rashcliffe, Huddersfield', Hanson Chartered Surveyors, Ref: 2122; See also Emmanuel Team, 'St Stephen's Church', retrieved from: <http://www.theemmanuelteam.org.uk/st-stephens-church/>

³⁷ H. Meller, (1997), *Towns, Plans and Society in Modern Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

³⁸ Anon. (28 March 1863), 'New Church at Rashcliffe', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p8

years later the church would be placed on the property market.³⁹ Hugh McLeod has defined secularisation in practical terms, as the extent to which religion has become privatised, with religious organisations no longer playing a part in life outside of strictly demarcated 'religious' practices.⁴⁰ Whilst, amongst the redundant churches in Huddersfield, St Paul's retains a semi-public function, this function is secular and the majority of these spaces once intended for public use are now closed off from this purpose. The closure of public space to religious use should therefore be seen as secularisation in itself.

The privatisation of public space has been the subject of extensive academic interest over the past two decades.⁴¹ We can see this as part of wider academic interests in the role of public space, which as we will see in chapter seven is part of certain strands of communitarian thought.⁴² Examining processes which have led to this privatisation, Ali Madanipour has identified the "ancient church" amongst the sites affected by social changes which have meant that "rituals and ceremonies" can take place "through a variety of means other than face-to-face communication".⁴³ Madanipour argued that developments in "communication and transportation have created a despatialized public sphere, severely undermining the political, economic and cultural significance of the public spaces of the city".⁴⁴ In the case of Anglican places of worship, this privatization of public space has been the result of a number of factors, not least changes in the way that funding for church buildings has been secured. We have seen these changes in the previous chapter, with a greater recourse to public funds for the repair of historic places of worship being sought by congregations. In tandem, the identification

³⁹ Hanson (2015), 'For Sale, Huddersfield: St Stephen's Church, St Stephen's Road, Rashcliffe, Huddersfield', Hanson Chartered Surveyors, Ref: 2122

⁴⁰ H. McLeod (1996), *Religion and Society in England 1850-1914*, Basingstoke: MacMillan, p178

⁴¹ M. Devereux and D. Littlefield, (2017) 'A literature review on the privatisation of public space', retrieved from: <http://eprints.uwe.ac.uk/31529>, p4

⁴² For instance, A. Giddens (1998), *The Third Way: the Renewal of Social Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity Press, p41

⁴³ A. Madanipour (2003), *Public and Private Spaces of the City*, London: Routledge, p188

⁴⁴ Ibid.

of a decline in local giving would seem to speak to processes of secularisation. However, questions of how to measure this, and its causes remain.

As we saw in chapter one, there has been considerable debate amongst historians on two fronts. Firstly, in attempting to 'date' secularisation, and secondly concerning the extent to which the urban middle class maintained an ongoing commitment to civic life in the interwar years. Steven Yeo suggested that the period leading up to the First World War saw the role of the urban middle class supplanted by the state.⁴⁵ As Doyle put it, summing up this argument, "[i]n the process they surrendered their social and political leadership, deserted the churches, charities and council...and handed control of the city to the working class and the petit bourgeois economizers".⁴⁶ However, as Doyle has shown, further evidence from the localities suggests that this was not necessarily a uniform or blanket reaction to the social changes of the Edwardian era. Further, Laura Balderstone has argued for the continued engagement with civic matters by suburbanites in the second half of the twentieth century.⁴⁷

The extent to which the middle classes remained engaged with places of worship which their families had had an historic connection has clear implications for charting the decline of Anglican congregations in the localities. As we saw at Milnsbridge, there was some indication that this connection had been maintained subsequent to the declining fortunes of the Armitage family. However, comparatively, Sarah Flew has shown that the total number of male donors to the Diocese of London home missionary organisations declined from the 1890s onward.⁴⁸ This deprived the societies of major donors, and although in the same period the number of women giving to some societies increased, the income of the societies on the whole

⁴⁵ S. Yeo (1976), *Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis*, London: Croom Helm, p296

⁴⁶ B. M. Doyle (1997), 'The structure of elite power in the early twentieth-century city: Norwich, 1900–35', *Urban History*, 24(2), p181

⁴⁷ Ibid.; L. Balderstone (2014) 'Semi-detached Britain? Reviewing suburban engagement in twentieth-century society', *Urban History*, 41(1)

⁴⁸ S. Flew (2014), *Philanthropy and the funding of the Church of England, 1856-1914*, Abingdon: Routledge, esp. pp67, 68 & 75

declined.⁴⁹ Flew's evidence was derived from a wider range of initiatives than merely church extension, and thus the limited focus of this study cannot definitively prove that her findings are not applicable to Huddersfield. However, the small number of churches built in Huddersfield after 1890 perhaps suggests that Flew's thesis does hold for the town.

Despite the foregoing, there is evidence that major donors continued to contribute to church building in the early part of the twentieth century in Huddersfield, and that men retained an interest in promoting Anglicanism. The first of the Anglican churches to be built in the Huddersfield area in the new century, St Barnabas, Crosland Moor, the foundation of which was laid in 1900, benefited from the endowment of £10,000 by "an anonymous Churchman", and the building committee consisted of 26 men.⁵⁰ St Matthew's Primrose Hill, opened in 1904, received a £250 bequest from a Mr. W.R. Shaw of Southport, who also gave to a number of other causes.⁵¹ Therefore, the ongoing support of major donors in this small number of cases is clear. In addition, the building of the church of Birkby St Cuthbert in the interwar period aroused some interest in the press on account of a bequest which stipulated that the church must be open for worship on the final day of August 1926.⁵² Here the legacy was left by a woman, who remained unnamed in the coverage.⁵³ However, the church also benefited from the donation of an organ from a Mr Harold Starkey, as well as a further £500 from an anonymous donor. Thus, there is some evidence here to suggest that Flew's thesis is not applicable in relation to Huddersfield. However, it is not conclusive and requires more study than can be attempted here.

Having tentatively suggested that the relative decline of Anglicanism in the town has not been the result of the factors Flew identified, it is possible to move on to other theories of

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp78-80

⁵⁰ Anon. (6 August 1900), 'St Barnabas', Crosland Moor', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p3

⁵¹ Anon. (6 February 1903), 'Bequests to Huddersfield', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, p5

⁵² Anon. (27 February 1925), no title, *Yorkshire Evening Post*, p7

⁵³ Anon. (01 September 1925), 'A Fight Against Time', *Leeds Mercury*, p3

secularisation. As we have seen, Robin Gill suggested that the decline of public worship in England was linked to the over-provision of church seating, with empty churches adding to a feeling of decline. Gill also suggested that “in some cases empty churches preceded church going decline”.⁵⁴ In fact, in Huddersfield this appears to be true across most of the different denominations. Census Sunday 1851 is now generally considered to be a highpoint of religious attendance.⁵⁵ On the day of the census, the Anglican churches in the township of Huddersfield were on average around 60% full, with the Methodist Chapels on average at 49% of their capacity, and other denominations combined 42% full.⁵⁶ However despite this, in the 1860s the Huddersfield area saw 4 new Anglican churches constructed, with one at Lepton, and one at Moldgreen in the parish of Kirkheaton, as well as St Stephen’s at Rashcliffe and St Thomas’s at Bradley.⁵⁷ Churches would continue to be built in the area in the following decade, including St Andrew’s, Leeds Road, Newsome St John and Birchenccliffe St Philip, as well as mission rooms at Aspley and at Swallow Street.⁵⁸

It is probable that none of the new churches built in the second half of the nineteenth century were filled to capacity at any point following their construction. Nevertheless, whether or not this was the most significant factor in their decline is difficult to determine. As we saw Gill also made the point that the increased costs on the dioceses in the twentieth century represented by these buildings was a factor in the need for rationalisation.⁵⁹ As he put it, this manifested in

⁵⁴ R. Gill (2003), *The Empty Church Revisited*, Abingdon: Ashgate, p24, original emphasis removed

⁵⁵ C. G. Brown (2009), *The Death of Christian Britain*, Abingdon: Routledge, p161

⁵⁶ Figures calculated from J. Wolffe (ed) (2005), *Yorkshire Returns of the 1851 Census of Religious Worship, Vol. 3 West Riding (South)*, York: Borthwick Texts and Studies 32, pp5-30 It should be noted that the Roman Catholics and the New Connexion Methodists were outliers, each full to capacity at their best attended sittings of the day, with the Primitive Methodists not far behind.

⁵⁷ Anon. (3 November 1866), ‘New Church at Lepton’, *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p8; Anon. (11 October 1862), ‘The Intended New Church at Mold Green’, *Leeds Intelligencer*, p7

⁵⁸ Anon. (1 January 1870), ‘The Proposed New Church’, *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p7; Anon. (1 June 1877), ‘Church Extension at Birchenccliffe’, *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p3; Anon. (29 January 1870), ‘Aspley Chapel of Ease’, *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p8; Anon. (8 February 1876), ‘Opening of A Mission Church’, *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p3

⁵⁹ Gill (2003), *The Empty Church Revisited*, p24

churches and especially chapels beginning to close; chronic financial problems typically preceding these closures; ordained ministers having single-handed charge of several churches/chapels; thinner and increasingly elderly congregations experiencing difficulties attracting new members; and predominantly empty churches being seen as a sign of secularization.⁶⁰

Examining Gill's narrative of decline in the twentieth century, within which financial issues and aging congregations lead to amalgamations of parishes and clergy spread more thinly, before their ultimate closure in relation to Huddersfield also leads to mixed results. At St Paul's, Huddersfield, which we have seen was the first to close, closure was primarily the result of the parish having been encroached upon by the technical college, with houses in St Paul's Street and Commercial Street marked for demolition to facilitate this expansion.⁶¹

Nevertheless, the slow drip of redundancies really begins in the 1970s, with the closure of St Andrew's, Leeds Road. Here, evidence from contemporary parish magazines suggests that Gill's narrative is broadly applicable. By 1972 the Vicar, David Vale, was complaining that "we are too often tied to buildings that are unsuitable, too big, or in the wrong place, or with big maintenance bills, or with inadequate heating and so on".⁶² In a church, built for 400, the largest congregation he had seen was 120.⁶³ In a letter for the parish magazine the following month, he noted that the area was being redeveloped for industry, the population was decreasing and therefore "young marrieds, the potential leaders of a church, are very unlikely to get a house or a flat in the parish".⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² D. Vale (July 1972), 'Letter from the Vicar', *St Andrew's Parish Magazine*, unpaginated, (p3) WYAS, WYW1467/40

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ D. Vale (August 1972), 'Letter from the Vicar', *St Andrew's Parish Magazine*, unpaginated (p3), WYAS, WYW1467/40

Name	Free Sittings	Other	Total	Highest attendance	As prop. of the sittings
Huddersfield St Paul	250	950	1200	700	58.33%
St Peter's Church, Huddersfield	460	1000	1460	1200	82.19%
Huddersfield Holy Trinity	500	1000	1500	900	60.00%
Hill House School Room	50		50	20	40.00%
Woodhouse Christ Church	105	425	530	291	54.91%
Paddock All Saints	450	400	850	140	16.47%
Aspley Room	200		200	200	100.00%
Total	2015	3775	5790	3451	59.60%
Methodists					
Primitive Methodists	200	432	632	600	94.94%
Queen Street Wesleyan	298	1564	1862	777	41.73%
High Street Chapel	130	692	822	402	48.91%
Cowcliffe Wesleyan		72	72	40	55.56%
Sheepridge Wesleyan	30	180	210	56	26.67%
Deighton (New Connexion)	66	210	276	100	36.23%
Paddock (Wesleyan)	150		150	100	66.67%
Paddock New Connexion	123		123	123	100.00%
Buxton Rd (Wesleyan)	300	1050	1350	480	35.56%
Total	1297	4200	5497	2678	48.72%
Particular Baptists, King St.	40	80	120	48	40.00%
Princess St. Particular Baptists		200	200	170	85.00%
Christ's Disciples Ramsden St.	100		100	70	70.00%
Ramsden Street chapel	60	1510	1570	635	40.45%
St Patrick's Roman Catholic		400	400	400	100.00%
Unitarians, Bath Building	100	120	220	90	40.91%
Highfield chapel	400	940	1340	430	32.09%
Latter Day Saints	250		250	40	16.00%
Friends meeting house	310	119	429	73	17.02%
Total	1260	3369	4629	1956	42.26%

Attendance as a percentage of sittings at places of worship in the township of Huddersfield at the religious census in 1851, figures taken from J. Wolfe (ed) (2005), *Yorkshire Returns of the 1851 Census of Religious*, pp5-30 (Table 5)

With an overdraft in the bank and the building used for three hours a week, the church was given over to shared use by the Roman Catholics.⁶⁵ This inevitably provoked nostalgia amongst the parishioners, with one writing for the magazine, looking back to a time when the church was “full on special occasions such as The Harvest Festival, we also had a good choir in those days”.⁶⁶ In doing so, he also lamented the disparity in attendance numbers between their and the Roman Catholic congregation.⁶⁷ In 1975 the Anglican congregation joined St Peter’s, Huddersfield and St Andrew’s was given over in its entirety to the Catholics.⁶⁸ Thus we can see from this evidence that In the case of St Andrew’s, Gill’s narrative fits well with the parish’s experience. However, in other examples, this evidence is not so clear cut.

At Lockwood Emmanuel the same issues that had affected St Andrew’s presented themselves. In the closing years of the 1960s, the rector, in the face of declining use for Occasional Offices was musing on the question of whether the general population of the parish “would be unduly distressed if the church were suddenly and completely destroyed?”⁶⁹ Nevertheless, despite not attracting new adherents, he was also able to remark that the congregation of the church itself remained committed to the church. As he put it, “[v]estments and copes, silver and furnishings, we have them all and they all witness to the genuine affection that people have for their church”.⁷⁰ Again perceptions of decline led to nostalgia. Writing in the magazine before moving to take up a post at nearby Kirkburton, the rector looked back at the associational life that the church had once been at the centre of, noting that the “removal of so many families with no one to replace them has meant the demise of all our extraneous organisations, Sunday School, Choir, Emmanuel Guild and the Men’s

⁶⁵ D. Vale (October 1972), ‘Letter from the Vicar’, *St Andrew’s Parish Magazine*, unpaginated (p3), WYAS, WYW1467/40

⁶⁶ H. Scott (May 1973), ‘The Cinema and The Church’, *St Andrew’s Parish Magazine*, p5, WYAS, WYW1467/40

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Church of England (2012), *Diocese of Wakefield*, p3

⁶⁹ D.S.D (June 1967), no title, *Lockwood Parish Magazine*, (inside back page), WYAS WYW1467/52

⁷⁰ D.S.D (January 1971), no title, *Lockwood Parish Magazine*, (inside back page), WYAS WYW1467/52

Fellowship.”⁷¹ With the rector's departure, the parish was linked with that of Armitage Bridge, and the vicar there became the priest-in-charge at Lockwood.⁷² There is some evidence to suggest that this had a beneficial effect on the life of the Lockwood Emmanuel, and it appears to have occasioned a friendly sporting rivalry between the two congregations.⁷³ As we have seen the church continued in use for some time after this, and was only formally made redundant in 1990.⁷⁴ Thus despite falling into some difficulties, through amalgamation, the redundancy of Lockwood was staved off for two decades.

A further example at St Thomas', Bradley is of a different order entirely. After finding the church required repairs of £6,800 in 1971, the PCC decided that they should build an entirely new place of worship.⁷⁵ This was achieved, with the church apparently able to draw on savings of £17,500.⁷⁶ These were augmented with a £9,000 grant from the Church Commissioners toward plans for a £40,000 building project.⁷⁷ From the parish magazines, it is unclear if this total was reached and financial problems caused issues for the project for a short while.⁷⁸ However, a new church centre, presumably on a value-engineered scheme, was opened in 1974, with £4000 left to pay.⁷⁹ By the end of 1975, seemingly through incessant fundraising, this figure had been reduced to £900.⁸⁰ In this case redundancy for the church was then the result of the strength of the congregation rather than its decline.

⁷¹ D.S.D (March 1971), no title, *Lockwood Parish Magazine*, p1, WYAS, WYW1467/52

⁷² F. Stocks (April 1971), no title, *Lockwood Parish Magazine*, p1, WYAS, WYW1467/52

⁷³ Anon. (November 1971), 'Looking Forward', *Lockwood Parish Magazine* (inside front page), WYAS, WYW1467/52

⁷⁴ Church of England (2012), *Diocese of Wakefield*, p4

⁷⁵ Anon. (April 1971), 'Church Fabric', *Bradley St Thomas Parish Magazine*, p1, WYAS, WYW1467/13

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Anon. (June 1971), 'New Church Premises', *Bradley St Thomas Parish Magazine*, p2, WYAS, WYW1467/13; Anon. (March 1973), 'From the PCC', *Bradley St Thomas Parish Magazine*, unpaginated (p2), WYW1467/13; Anon. (June 1973), 'Building Project', *Bradley St Thomas Parish Magazine*, unpaginated (p2), WYAS, WYW1467/13;

⁷⁸ Anon. (Jan 1973), 'New Buildings', *Bradley St Thomas Parish Magazine*, unpaginated (p6), WYAS, WYW1467/13

⁷⁹ Anon. (Aug 1974), no title, *Bradley St Thomas Parish Magazine*, unpaginated (p6), WYW1467/13

⁸⁰ Anon. (Sept 1975), 'Gift Day Sunday September 28', *Bradley St Thomas Parish Magazine*, p5 WYAS, WYW1467/13

As was noted in chapter two, by the mid-to-late 1960s decline in clergy numbers meant that the clergy were increasingly looking for justifications to divest themselves of poorly attended churches. We saw this sentiment in the words of Rev Legg at Milnsbridge. Here the struggle of sustaining a dwindling congregation led the clergy to develop a rationale for the decentring of places of worship from the religious life of their communities. Legg was supported in the press by the Archdeacon of Halifax, Rev. J F Lister who argued that “the idea of one vicar, one parish is not now so valid in some areas as it used to be”.⁸¹ Thus Legg had some sympathy in the Diocese. In a separate article in the same year concerning the division of the Huddersfield Deanery into four, Lister drew attention to the churches’ financial difficulties citing the churchwardens’ accounts in evidence.⁸² He attributed the problems to dwindling congregations, saying, “It is no longer true that there is a small and faithful band of true worshippers in every parish and a wholesale body who come to church for festivals and are ready to support us in money.”⁸³ Looking to the low number of Easter communicants, Lister remarked that “the outer fringe is fast dropping away- unless it has dropped away already”.⁸⁴ These frustrations appear to have been generated from the church having pinned their hopes on social events to bring people into the church, but without success.⁸⁵

Between the end of the 1960s and into the 1970s, there thus appears to have been developing some despondency at least in some parishes about the viability of the parish church. Piled on to this were the economic shocks of the 1970s which entailed rising inflation and economic recession. The initial promise of funding from the Church Commissioners at Bradley was threatened by inflationary pressure coming into 1973. As the parish magazine related, “Inflation has caused a drstatic [sic] revision. The Commissioners rightly feel that the clergy

⁸¹ Quoted in Anon. (20 April 1967), ‘Division of Deanery will make work more manageable - Archdeacon Lister’, *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p7

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

have first claim on them”.⁸⁶ As we have already seen, inflation in this period was pushing up building costs at an alarming rate.⁸⁷ Within this context, and with the need to find £8,000 a year to keep the church open and costs rising, Huddersfield parish church was forced to deny rumours that it was to close.⁸⁸ The problems of funding were hitting both the Church Commissioners and the dioceses, and the dioceses were forced to increase the parish quota, the contribution paid by the parishes to the diocese in return for the supply of clergy.⁸⁹ At Longwood St Mark a member of the PCC explained the situation thus, “[f]or hundreds of years, the Church of England has not had to pay its employees itself, they’ve been paid out of centuries old endowments. Now inflation has radically altered that, the endowments no longer produce nearly enough income”.⁹⁰ Another article the following year summed up the situation. “As you know, inflation is hitting the Church very hard indeed. The yearly quota we must pay to the diocese has risen by several hundred per cent in the last few years. The cost of fuel has doubled in one year. Maintenance costs are also rising fast.”⁹¹ Thus, the funding arrangements of the parishes were subject to both local and national trends.

Again, following financial issues in the mid-1990s, the parishes in Huddersfield were told that £2million of savings had to be found, and that the Diocesan Boards of Finance were to be self-financing by 2000.⁹² The Chair of the Diocesan Board of Finance was thus forced to encourage ‘spiritual giving’ to fill the gap.⁹³ This may have been a factor in St John’s Birkby having closed

⁸⁶ Anon. (Jan 1973), ‘New Buildings’, *Bradley St Thomas Parish Magazine*, unpaginated (p6), WYAS, WYW1467/13

⁸⁷ T. Aldous (5 May 1972), ‘Churches need ‘pound for pound’ aid’, *Times*, p4

⁸⁸ Anon. (9 August 1976) ‘Church closure rumour denied’, *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p4;

⁸⁹ A. Chandler (2006), *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century*, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, chapter 13

⁹⁰ D. Drake-Brookman (April 1978), ‘Priorities’, *The Parish of St Mark the Evangelist*, p1 WYAS, WDP83/ additional boxes 10-13

⁹¹ Finance Committee of the PCC (October 1979), *The Parish of St Mark the Evangelist*, unpaginated (inside back page), WYAS, WDP83/additional boxes 10-13

⁹² Anon. (21 April 1995), ‘Plea to parishioners after cash cut’, *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p3; See A. Chandler (2006), *Church of England*, p428

⁹³ *Ibid.*; Anon. (21 April 1995), ‘Plea to parishioners after cash cut’, *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p3

for some time around this time, although the church is now open.⁹⁴ We can see closure, then as a localised response to financial issues, necessitated by the impact of national crisis.

Besides changing centres of population, the demand for labour in the town particularly in the textiles industry in the post-war period, meant that a range of workers from across the world, including India, Pakistan, the West Indies and Eastern Europe, were drawn to the town to take up work.⁹⁵ In some places this confounded the missionary approaches which the churches had traditionally taken. As the rector at Lockwood put it, “[d]uring the time here I have seen the whole nature of the community change with the coming of the immigrant population. They bring with them their own customs and religions so that they cannot be expected to join us in church.”⁹⁶ Nevertheless, in some cases the churches did seek to incorporate these newcomers into their congregations. At St Andrew’s there seems to have been an attempt to bring the West Indian Community into the church by holding a “West Indian party” with “West Indian music and drinks.”⁹⁷ It is not clear, however, from subsequent issues of the parish magazine how attractive this prospect proved. Thus, the churches struggled to adapt to the changing demographic profile of the town.

Ethnicity continued to be cited as an issue for the churches in drawing attendance and an article in the *Examiner* in 2000 discussing St Thomas’s felt it necessary to note that, “[i]t also has the smallest parish in Huddersfield, approximately 700 people, the majority of who [sic] are from the Asian community and followers of Islam”.⁹⁸ Whether or not it was acceptable to transfer redundant church buildings to congregations of other faiths presented a thorny issue

⁹⁴ Anon. (14 January 1995) ‘Comment’, *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p12

⁹⁵ See B Jackson (1972) *Working Class Community*, London: Penguin for contemporary look at local reactions to these changes. In addition, there are a growing number of articles in the Local History Society Journal dedicated to this subject, particularly the experiences of those from India and Pakistan.

⁹⁶ D.S.D (January 1971) no title, *Lockwood Parish Magazine*, unpaginated (inside front page), WYAS, WYW1467/52

⁹⁷ D. P. Vale (June 1972), ‘Letter from the Vicar’, *Huddersfield St Andrew Parish Magazine*, WYAS, WYW1467/40

⁹⁸ C. Logue (4th August 2000), ‘At Your Service’, *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p14

for the Church of England in the 1970s, as exemplified by a case in Dewsbury which sparked a great deal of public debate, with the Church Commissioners eventually turning down the application for a Muslim congregation to use the building.⁹⁹ This decision has limited the range of options for future use of historic places of worship in these parishes.

The demographic makeup of parishes has continued to exert pressure on the ability of Anglican churches to attract worshippers. Lockwood, and neighbouring Rashcliffe, allow us to look more closely at the way this has affected places of worship more recently. As we have seen, Lockwood Emmanuel is listed as having been formally closed for worship in 1990. Following its closure, the building was registered as being in use for 'arts and crafts' in 1995 and then in residential use in 2001.¹⁰⁰ The parish of Lockwood became incorporated into that of Rashcliffe, which itself is now part of Newsome.¹⁰¹ Examining the *Parish Spotlight* produced by the Church of England for Rashcliffe, we can explore the demography of the parish and some of the possible reasons for its eventual closure. Part of this can be seen in the comparatively low number of those of a Christian faith within the parish. As a consequence of the parish's expansion in population from 6,300 to 8,100 between the 2001 and 2011 censuses, the number of people in the parish professing Christianity for the purposes of the census actually increased in real terms from 1,512 to 1,944, although as a proportion of the population of the parish the percentage of Census-Christians declined from 36% to 24%. It was therefore now less than half of the national average (59.4% in 2011).¹⁰² In terms of attendance St Stephen's appears to have had an average of about 20 worshippers a week between 2007 and 2010 and had 25 people on its electoral role in 2011.¹⁰³ For comparison, Huddersfield's parish church, St Peter's, which serves a smaller parish by population (though

⁹⁹ Chandler (2006), *Church of England*, pp233-239

¹⁰⁰ Church of England (2012) *Diocese of Wakefield*

¹⁰¹ Church of England (2012) *Parish Spotlight: Parish of: Rashcliffe: St Stephen Parish Code: 400073*, London: Church of England p2, retrieved from: <http://www.leeds.anglican.org/content/parishes-spotlight-data-2014#ALMONDBURY>

¹⁰² See I. Hardill (1987), *The Regional Implications of Restructuring in the Wool Textile Industry*, Aldershot: Gower pp2 & 7

¹⁰³ See *Ibid.*, p2

with a larger percentage of Census-Christians), claimed an electoral roll of 134 and a weekly attendance of about 100 to 140 between 2007 and 2010, presumably benefiting from its town centre location.¹⁰⁴ Rashcliffe St Stephen therefore had a comparatively low Christian population from which to draw worshippers, whilst only a small proportion of these were likely to be committed Anglicans.

The divergence of the demographic make-up of Rashcliffe from the diocese's 'core congregation' appears to be an important factor in the church's decline, arguably because those seeking Christian fellowship will do so with those with whom they are culturally similar. Just over half of the core congregation for the dioceses was (in 2007) was 65 or over, and only 1% of which was of an ethnic minority background.¹⁰⁵ At Rashcliffe only around 10% of the population were over 65 in 2011, and 62% were from an ethnic minority background, meaning that members of the diocese's core congregation were underrepresented.¹⁰⁶ Thus, as well as having fewer Christians within the parish than the national average, the parish also had fewer people of the age group and ethnic group from which Anglicans are likely to be drawn.

Alongside demographic nature of the parish, the wealth of those who live there can also been seen to be a key factor. Rashcliffe had a large score on the index of multiple deprivation (46.1) and was in the top 10% most deprived nationally.¹⁰⁷ These factors can be seen in the financial returns of the parish, and its expenditure in 2011 at £19,134 was greater than its income of £17,234, and with the congregation able only to meet £6,936 of its parish share, which had been assessed at £8,393.¹⁰⁸ We can compare this with one of the wealthier parishes in

¹⁰⁴ Church of England (2012), *Parish Spotlight: Huddersfield: St Peter Parish Code: 400069*, London: Church of England, p2 retrieved from: <http://www.westyorkshiredales.anglican.org/sites/default/files/spotlight/HUDDERSFIELD%20400069%20Huddersfield%20St%20Peter.pdf>

¹⁰⁵ Church of England (2012), *Parish Spotlight: Rashcliffe: St Stephen*, pp4-5

¹⁰⁶ See *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ See *ibid.*, p16

¹⁰⁸ See *ibid.*, p11

Huddersfield, Holy Trinity, which had a deprivation index score of 28.4, and was able to pay all of its parish share of £56,183 in 2011.¹⁰⁹ The lack of wherewithal to contribute to the diocese to support ministry at Rashcliffe may then have played a part in the decision to close the building. In addition, the sales particulars for the church indicate the presence of structural movement and the cost implications of this would seem to have been significant.¹¹⁰ Thus, Rashcliffe had a small congregation, with limited funds to provide for the church, and faced a substantial task in rectifying the building's faults.

Listed at grade II, Rashcliffe St Stephen when in use as a parish church, would have been eligible to apply for repair funds under the GPOW scheme.¹¹¹ However, statutory listing provides only a framework in which voluntary action can work. The congregation do not appear to have received grant aid funding to deal with the church's structural issues.¹¹² It is unclear why this is the case. Certainly, other churches in the area have used Lottery money to part-fund their repairs. Between 2007 and 2016 a total of at least £1,427,448 in grant aid from the Heritage Lottery Fund was given to churches in the Huddersfield parliamentary constituency.¹¹³ This included £436,700 for St John's, Birkby (grade II*) spread over two grants in 2012 and 2016; £395,748 in three grants for the Parish Church (grade II*) in 2009, 2010 and 2012; £272,000 for St Thomas's (grade II*) in 2011; £176,000 for St Cuthbert's, Birkby (grade II) in 2010; and £147,000 for St Paul's, Armitage Bridge.¹¹⁴ Rashcliffe St Stephen does not seem to have benefited in this way. As we will see in chapter seven, organising grant aided

¹⁰⁹ Church of England (2012), *Parish Spotlight: Huddersfield: Holy Trinity Parish Code: 400064*, London: Church of England, pp11, retrieved from: <http://www.westyorkshiredales.anglican.org/sites/default/files/spotlight/HUDDERSFIELD%20400064%20Huddersfield%20Holy%20Trinity.pdf>

¹¹⁰ Hanson (2015) *For Sale*, Huddersfield: Hanson Chartered Surveyors, Ref: 2122 p2; See also retrieved from: <http://www.theemmanuelteam.org.uk/st-stephens-church/>

¹¹¹ See Heritage Lottery Fund (2016), *Grants for Places of Worship*, England, London: Heritage Lottery Fund, p3. It possible too that the repairs were not sufficiently urgent to warrant grant aid, see *ibid.*

¹¹² No results are returned from a search of <http://www.lottery.culture.gov.uk/>

¹¹³ Results returned from a search of <http://www.lottery.culture.gov.uk/>

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

repair entails a significant amount of work, which involves intensive commitment when placed on a small number of people.

Although Gill and Whyte were wary of equating the closure of churches with secularisation, through their privatisation, Huddersfield's redundant churches are now turned over to secular purposes. Rather than being linked to changes taking places in the Edwardian period or indeed the 1960s, it has been tentatively suggested here that this form of secularisation resulted from both economic and demographic changes which began to fully exert themselves on Anglican congregations in the 1970s. It seems arguable that for Anglicans, in Huddersfield at least, this decade was the key period of religious decline. This was by no means unilinear, and individual congregations continued to thrive during this time, even building new places of worship. Nevertheless, within this period the struggle of managing their place of worship overwhelmed some congregations in the town. Although in the following decade grant aid was available, only Holy Trinity was able to benefit from repairs funded by English Heritage.¹¹⁵ More grant aid has been available subsequently, but beyond this and the listing process, there has been little attempt to assert the heritage value of these places. There therefore exists a relatively weak support network for Huddersfield's churches. As we will see, voluntary action in both Norwich and Norfolk has been responsible for either converting such buildings to civic uses, or supporting them to remain open as churches. In the case of Huddersfield's redundant churches, no similar movement to invest these buildings with historic value has arisen.

History Conversion

As we saw in chapter two, the outcomes for Huddersfield's redundant church buildings differ greatly from Norwich or Norfolk in that none of its buildings have been taken over either for civic use, by a preservation trust, or preserved as monuments. This largely reflects the values at work in the church-heritage assemblage nationally. Of the eight churches declared

¹¹⁵ Anon. (c.1993), *Grants 1984-92*, London: English Heritage, p66, NRO, ACC 2011/176

redundant in Huddersfield, seven were listed grade II, whilst St Mark's, Leeds Road, was unlisted. These buildings would therefore not have been deemed "fund worthy" by the Redundant Churches Fund. As we saw in chapter three, the Fund has only belatedly begun to take on churches in urban settings. Thus, as nineteenth-century buildings in urban areas, Huddersfield's churches have not been a high priority for conservationists. However, this is not to say that no interest has been expressed in conserving Huddersfield's redundant churches. As we saw in the opening section of this chapter, at Milnsbridge, plans for a conservation group to take on the church were mooted locally, but came to nothing. In addition, in September 2017 the Victorian Society included St Andrew's, Leeds Road on its top ten endangered buildings list in order to publicise the state of disrepair into which the building has fallen.¹¹⁶ However, overwhelmingly Huddersfield's historic places of worship have not been of interest to preservation bodies besides those courted by their PCCs.

Planning permission for the change of use of St Andrew's to a restaurant was granted in 2008, but the former church has remained empty ever since.¹¹⁷ Despite this, the building remains nationally significant, as evidenced in its grade II listing.¹¹⁸ St Andrew's is of considerable local significance too. The architect who designed the building, W. H. Crossland, studied under Sir George Gilbert Scott and has been described as "[t]he most important of locally born architects".¹¹⁹ Crossland was responsible for a number of the grand buildings in the town centre around the train station and the centre of Huddersfield would look significantly different without his work.¹²⁰ He also designed a number of other places of worship in the area, including St Thomas', Bradley, which as we have seen has been converted to a gymnasium after the congregation raised the funds to build a new place of worship in the 1970s.¹²¹

¹¹⁶A. Robinson (3 September 2017), 'Crumbling church in 'critical' condition and could be lost forever', *Huddersfield Examiner*, retrieved from: <https://www.examiner.co.uk/news/watch-crumbling-church-critical-condition-13610906>

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Former Church of St Andrew, Leeds Road (List Entry Number: 1214957)

¹¹⁹ K. Gibson and A. Booth (2009), *The Buildings of Huddersfield*, Stroud: The History Press, p97

¹²⁰ Ibid., pp98-104

¹²¹ Ibid., p98

However, despite the local importance of his architecture, interest in conserving St Andrew's, Leeds Road appears to be limited to the Victorian Society and Huddersfield's Civic Society, who have so far been unable to stir up wider interest.

Huddersfield itself saw a slow growth of building conservation groups generally. The Cloth Hall, emblematic of the town's principle industry, was demolished in 1930 and replaced by a short-lived cinema and electricity showroom.¹²² Perhaps in a nod to the building's importance, the Cloth Hall's cupola was removed to Ravensknowle Park, however, nothing else remains.¹²³ The town was also comparatively slow in organising a Civic Society. Huddersfield Civic Society was formed in 1964, more than a quarter of a century after the Council of Civic Societies had come into being.¹²⁴ This is perhaps a reflection of the town's rapid growth in the nineteenth century, and the condescension shown towards Victorian buildings well into the twentieth century.¹²⁵ In the event, the early conservation activities of the Civic Society included interest in the preserving the facade of the railway station and a study of the housing in the centre.¹²⁶ Interest was also taken in the textile heritage of the area in which reflected the personal research of founding chairman Dr C. R. Shaw .¹²⁷

Huddersfield's Civic Society thus took only a limited interest in building conservation, and this was not directed towards its places of worship. A member of the Victorian Society spoke at one of their meetings in 1968, but according to the minutes emphasised the quality of the town's Victorian buildings in the classical style, rather than its gothic revival churches.¹²⁸ The

¹²² Ibid., p28

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Huddersfield Civic Society (10th September 1964), 'Public meeting to consider the formation of a local civic society for Huddersfield held in the Mayor's reception Room at the Town Hall', *Huddersfield Civic Society Minute Book*, p1 WYAS, WYK1084/1/1; L. Hewitt (2012), 'Associational Culture and the Shaping of Urban Space: Civic Societies in Britain before 1960', *Urban History*, 39, 12, p597

¹²⁵ Victorian Society (2008), *Saving a Century*, London: The Victorian Society, pp3-4

¹²⁶ Huddersfield Civic Society (2nd May 1966), 'Minutes of the meeting of 2nd May 1966', *Minute Book*, p35 WYAS, WYK1084/1/1

¹²⁷ Anon. (17 November 1977), 'Death at 77 of Dr Cecil Shaw', unknown newspaper, *Minute Book*, p133 WYAS, WYK1084/1/1

¹²⁸ Huddersfield Civic Society (9 September 1968), 'Minutes of the meeting of Sept 9th 1968', *Minute Book*, p62 WYAS, WYK1084/1/1

effect of the Society on the redevelopment of Huddersfield also seems to have been limited. Whilst the council had played a supportive role in the founding of the Society, the town saw a massive amount of redevelopment in the twentieth century.¹²⁹ In regards to this, Amery and Cruickshank in their alarmist publication, *The Rape of Britain*, remarked that “Huddersfield epitomises the re-developed town”.¹³⁰ This included the introduction of an inner ring road and a quarter of all its commercial space being rebuilt between 1965 and 1975.¹³¹ Building conservation does not seem to have become a priority for the Civic Society which until the 1980s, and seems to have been more concerned with issues of pollution rather than the built environment in this period of redevelopment.¹³²

As we will see particularly in chapter six, the prevalence of medieval buildings in an area can be seen as a key factor in the development of a local conservation movement. However, Huddersfield was only to experience its growth from a set of unconnected townships in the nineteenth century, and over this time there appears to have been little interest in the maintenance of the town’s historic buildings. The parish church for instance, which had stood since the beginning of the sixteenth century was completely rebuilt in 1836.¹³³ In addition, although there are a number of seventeenth and eighteenth century domestic buildings in the area, buildings of an older date are not much in evidence.¹³⁴ The exceptions to this include the parish churches at Almondbury and Kirkheaton, although the latter itself underwent significant alterations in the late nineteenth century following a fire.¹³⁵ The majority of Huddersfield’s churches were built in the nineteenth century and were thus of little interest to the early building conservationists. As Basil Clarke put it in 1938, in respect to contemporary

¹²⁹ Huddersfield Civic Society (10th September 1964), ‘Public meeting to consider the formation of a local civic society for Huddersfield held in the Mayor’s reception Room at the Town Hall, *Minute Book*, p1 WYAS, WYK1084/1/1

¹³⁰ C. Amery and D. Cruickshank (1975), *The Rape of Britain*, London: Paul Elek, pp96-98

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p96

¹³² See for instance Huddersfield Civic Society (5 January 1970), ‘Minutes of the meeting of Jan 5th 1970’, *Minute Book*, p71 WYAS, WYK1084/1/1

¹³³ Gibson and Booth (2009), *The Buildings of Huddersfield*, p51

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp11-26

¹³⁵ Anon. (31 March 1887), ‘Restoration of Kirkheaton Parish Church’, *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, p6

interest in nineteenth-century churches, “[i]f they are told the church is new, they consider themselves defrauded. Old churches are worth looking at, new ones are not”.¹³⁶ As we will see in the following chapter, raising money for churches as historic buildings began to be a strategy adopted by Anglicans in the nineteenth century. However, this was clearly not a method which could be developed by the majority of Anglican congregations in Huddersfield in this period.

The popular image of the town as strongly nonconformist may also have contributed to the lack of civic interest in conserving these places. Cyril Pearce has suggested that nonconformity had grown in strength by 1914 to the extent that it now had more than twice the number of sittings than the Anglicans. Nevertheless, as Pearce himself notes, as “the Religious Census was never repeated there is no way of telling in detail how the religious affiliations may have changed over sixty years”.¹³⁷ After 1851, the Anglicans continued to build churches and mission rooms, building 14 new places of worship in Huddersfield by 1904.¹³⁸ Whilst the different streams of Methodism taken together formed the largest denomination in terms of places of worship in 1912 in the borough; with 29 places of worship the Anglicans were well ahead of the Independents (on 9) and the Baptists (on 7).¹³⁹ Therefore, the Anglicans remained a significant presence within the town into the interwar period. However, it has been the town’s nonconformist past which has been focused on by those writing the history of Huddersfield.

The kinds of stories towns tell about themselves can have clear consequences for the conservation choices which are made in relation to them. In examining the history of Edinburgh, Rebecca Madgin and Richard Rodger have shown that the myth of Edinburgh as

¹³⁶ B. Clarke (1969), *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century*, Newton Abbot: David & Charles, pix. First published 1938

¹³⁷ Pearce (2001), *Comrades in Conscience*, p42

¹³⁸ See Table 2

¹³⁹ Pearce (2001), *Comrades in Conscience*, p311

a non-industrial city was highly influential in planning decisions made by the City Council and led to the decline of what was formerly actually a fairly substantial manufacturing output.¹⁴⁰ It is arguable that the development of an image of Huddersfield as a nonconformist and radical town has played a part in the lack of there having been a coordinated strategy for the conservation of its Anglican places of worship there.

As we have seen, Laurajane Smith has argued that hegemony of the expert in the construction of the past “disempowers” others in their articulation of “the meaning of the past”.¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, it is not clear in Smith’s schema where the limits of expertise are drawn. Evidence from Huddersfield suggests that the writing of history outside of the academy remains strong. The Huddersfield Local History Society requires no professional qualifications for entry and currently runs the Edward Law History Prize aimed at rewarding those who have never before published their research.¹⁴² Although the Society maintains links to the University, in part by publishing articles by its students, it remains outside of the academy.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, it has a strong track record of publishing works of history, by both professionals and amateurs. Thus, it makes more sense to consider their membership to be a form of ‘citizen-expert’, rather than ‘experts’ in Smith’s sense.¹⁴⁴ Alongside professional historians, citizen-experts have contributed significantly to research about Huddersfield’s past.

The attraction of the Huddersfield to historians of radicalism has already been noted. The published output of Huddersfield’s Local History Society has strongly focused on Huddersfield’s radical past. For instance, the strength of Luddism within and around the town

¹⁴⁰ R. Madgin and R. Rodger, ‘Inspiring Capital? Deconstructing myths and reconstructing urban environments, Edinburgh, 1860-2010’, *Urban History*, Vol 40, Iss 03, pp507-529

¹⁴¹ L. Smith (2006), *Uses of Heritage*, Routledge: New York, p29

¹⁴² Huddersfield Local History Society (2018/2019), ‘Journal’, *HLHS Journal* 29, p1; Frank Grombir (2018/2019), ‘Edward Law History Prize’, *HLHS Journal* 29, p9

¹⁴³ See for instance M. Richardson (2017/2018), “‘Oh just think of Huddersfield, that’s Christmas enough!’: The Sex Pistols at Ivanhoe’s, 25 December 1977”, *HLHS Journal*, 28

¹⁴⁴ See L. E. Hewitt & J. Pendlebury (2014), ‘Local associations and participation in place: change and continuity in the relationship between state and civil society in twentieth-century Britain’, *Planning Perspectives*, 29:1 for a discussion of the role of citizen experts

has attracted significant interest. Brooke and Kipling's *Liberty or Death*, which dealt with a series of incidents of civil disobedience in the town, was reprinted by the Society in 2012 to coincide with the bicentenary of the Luddite frame-breaking.¹⁴⁵ In addition, and in partnership with the University of Huddersfield, the Society has held an annual lecture on subjects related to Luddism since 2014.¹⁴⁶ This interest in radicalism has continued in recent years and members of the Society have contributed to a collection of essays on the Tory radical Richard Oastler which was published by the University Press.¹⁴⁷ The most recent work in this vein has been *The Charter Our Right!* published in 2018.¹⁴⁸ In addition, the group Discover Huddersfield has also produced a Radical History Trail as a guide to the sites, which includes the Philosophical Hall and the Hall of Science, both associated with secularist history.¹⁴⁹ Thus the output of the Local History Society has tended to focus on an image of Huddersfield's past which has largely been anti-establishment in nature.

Of the output of the members of the Local History Society, Cyril Pearce's *Comrades in Conscience* has perhaps presented the most coherent narrative of the role of nonconformity in shaping the public life of the town.¹⁵⁰ In this monograph Pearce well-articulated the role of dissent in influencing the activities of pacifists in the town in the First World War. As part of this he sought to present the role of radicalism and the non-conformist history of the town as its defining feature.¹⁵¹ However, the narrative he presented glossed over the contribution of Anglicans to the life of the town, and their activities in the war. This is not to quibble with the overall thrust of Pearce's arguments. It is definitely the case that there was a strong tradition

¹⁴⁵ A. Brooke and Leslie Kipling (2012), *Liberty or Death*, Huddersfield: Huddersfield Local History Society

¹⁴⁶ Huddersfield Local History Society (n.d.), 'Luddite Memorial Lecture', retrieved from: <http://www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk/events/luddite-lecture/>

¹⁴⁷ J. A. Hargreaves, and E. A. H Haigh (2012), *Slavery in Yorkshire: Richard Oastler and the campaign against child labour in the Industrial Revolution*, University of Huddersfield Press, Huddersfield

¹⁴⁸ J. A. Hargreaves (ed) (2018), *The Charter Our Right!: Huddersfield Chartism re-considered*, Huddersfield: Huddersfield Local History Society

¹⁴⁹ Discover Huddersfield (n.d.), 'Radical History Trail', retrieved from: http://www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/radical_heritage_trail.pdf

¹⁵⁰ Pearce (2001), *Comrades in Conscience*, pp32-97

¹⁵¹ Ibid., esp. p32

of pacifism in the town, and in fact this had been evident at the time of the Napoleonic wars.¹⁵² In addition, the strength of the Liberal Party within Huddersfield in the second part of nineteenth century was tied to the strength of nonconformity in the town.¹⁵³ These constituencies thus contributed to the strength of anti-war and anti-conscriptionist feeling. Nevertheless, Pearce's aim in marshalling this extensive amount of evidence from conscientious objectors in the town was to cast "doubts... about the claims and assumptions for the war's enduring popularity".¹⁵⁴ However, by focusing on the activities of the nonconformists alone, part of the picture of the story of the residents of Huddersfield's reaction to the war becomes obscured.

In his neglect of the activity of the Anglicans, Pearce overlooked the strength of the pro-war sentiment in the town. In fact, the Anglican vicars, and particularly the two who held the office of Vicar of Huddersfield over the course of the war, were particularly active in directing the public in support of the conflict. For instance, in his first public appearance after taking on this role on the third anniversary of the war, the Vicar of Huddersfield, Rev. Tupper-Carey spoke at a "solemn service of intercession attended by between three and four thousand persons near the Peel monument St George's Square".¹⁵⁵ Both he, and his predecessor had familial connections to the armed forces, and both were unwavering in their support of the war.¹⁵⁶ The Vicar of Huddersfield, before Tupper-Carey, Canon Rolt, had led the prayers on the parade ground of the Drill Hall in August 1914 for Huddersfield's Territorials in his capacity as their chaplain.¹⁵⁷ Rolt was the grandson of a veteran of the Napoleonic Wars and Tupper-Carey's

¹⁵² J. E. Cookson (1982), *The Friends of Peace*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp202-206 and *passim*

¹⁵³ R. Perks (1992), 'Late Victorian and Edwardian Politics in Huddersfield', Haigh (ed) (1992), *Huddersfield*

¹⁵⁴ Pearce (2001), *Comrades in Conscience*, p27

¹⁵⁵ Anon. (6 August 1917), 'Three Years of War', *Leeds Mercury*, p4

¹⁵⁶ Anon. (17 September 1926), 'The Rev. C H. Rolt', *Chelmsford Chronicle*, p8; Anon. (10 April 1918), 'Closed the Gap - Brilliant Feat of Canon Tupper-Carey's Brother', *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p3; A. D. Tupper-Carey (November 1923), 'My Dear Friends...', *Huddersfield Parish Magazine*, p2-3, WYAS, WDP32/ Box 14

¹⁵⁷ Anon. (5 August 1914), 'Embodied!', *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p4

extended family included a Brigadier-General and an Admiral.¹⁵⁸ Accordingly, Huddersfield parish church itself became a centre for those who supported the war, or wished to commemorate aspects of it. From November 1914 the church held a daily service of intercession and continued this practice throughout the war.¹⁵⁹ In addition, both vicars used the pulpit to rally public support for the war. A church parade for St George's 1915 was one such occasion.¹⁶⁰ This event drew a large crowd and the service that followed was attended by the Mayor and the Corporation, with hundreds unable to get through the doors.¹⁶¹ This practice was continued each year following, with similar events on the fourth anniversary of the declaration of war which was declared as 'Remembrance Day'.¹⁶²

Whilst the pulpit was used to make the on-going case for the war, the church was also used as a site of memorial. The death of Lord Kitchener in 1916 occasioned a service in which Rolt paid tribute to his work in service of the Empire.¹⁶³ A memorial service was also held in November of that year for the members of the parish church who had been killed in action and memorials were also printed in the parish magazine, as were reports of members of the congregation mentioned in despatches.¹⁶⁴ After the war was over, the congregation elected to rebuild the chancel and side chapel as a war memorial, with these plans partially coming to fruition in November of 1923.¹⁶⁵ The church was thus an important site in the town's relationship with the conflict, and was significantly altered by it.

¹⁵⁸ Anon. (17 September 1926), 'The Rev. C H. Rolt', *Chelmsford Chronicle*, p8; Anon. (10 April 1918), 'Closed the Gap - Brilliant Feat of Canon Tupper-Carey's Brother', *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p3; A. D. Tupper-Carey (November 1923), 'My Dear Friends...', *Huddersfield Parish Magazine*, p2-3, WYAS, WDP32/ Box 14

¹⁵⁹ C. H. Rolt (November 1914), 'My Dear Friends...', *Huddersfield Parish Magazine*, p2, WDP32/ Box 14

¹⁶⁰ Anon. (26 April 1915), 'Flag Day', *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p2

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Anon. (1 May 1916), 'Wild Speeches at Huddersfield', *Leeds Mercury*, p4; Anon. (6 August 1918), 'Remembrance Day' *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p3

¹⁶³ Anon. (12 June 1916), 'Church's Tribute to Kitchener' *Leeds Mercury*, p4

¹⁶⁴ See *Huddersfield Parish Magazine* for June 1915, August 1916, June 1917, January 1918, August 1918, WYAS, WDP32/ Box 14

¹⁶⁵ A. D. Tupper-Carey (November 1923), 'My Dear Friends...', *Huddersfield Parish Magazine*, p2-3 WYAS, WDP32/15

Whilst the involvement of the Church of England in recruitment for the First World War may prove difficult reading, the activities centred on the parish church remain part of the town's interaction with national and international events. Aside from the First World War, parish churches have been sites of national culture over the course of many hundreds of years. Philip Williamson has drawn attention to the role of the churches and chapels in National Days of Prayer in the twentieth century.¹⁶⁶ These were devised by Archbishop Randall Davidson at the start of the First World War in response to calls for national days of humiliation which had been a feature of nineteenth-century religious life.¹⁶⁷ Through corporate acts of worship, the churches were keyed into significant events of national history. Huddersfield churches held days of humiliation during the Crimean War, in response to the Indian Revolt of 1857, and as intercession on behalf of the King in 1902.¹⁶⁸ In his article Williamson argued that "[a]n understanding of these occasions of special worship explains much about the place of the churches and religion in public life in modern Britain."¹⁶⁹ The fact that these National Days of Prayer have heretofore only attracted "incidental historical comments" prior to Williamson's interest is also telling.¹⁷⁰ These subjects are at risk of being neglected as the Church appears to have no national strategy to promote its history to a wider public. As we will see in the chapter seven, what engagement that does take place is organised at a parish level by congregations. As a result, the privatisation of Huddersfield's places of worship contributes to a weakening of the ability of the Church corporately to emphasise its historic connection to the town, as fewer people are in place to support this endeavour.

As was noted in chapter one, Brown and Woodhead have argued that the Church of England has ceased to be a societal church, one which helped "English society to... sustain and

¹⁶⁶ P. Williamson (2013), 'National Days of Prayer: The Churches, the State and Public Worship, 1899-1957', *English Historical Review*, Iss. 128

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p333

¹⁶⁸ Anon. (29 April 1854), 'Day of Humiliation', *Leeds Intelligencer*, p6; Anon. (10 October 1857), 'Day of Humiliation and Prayer', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p6; Anon. (1928), *S. Paul's*, Huddersfield: Swindlehurst & Nicholson, p23

¹⁶⁹ Williamson (2013), 'National Days of Prayer', p323

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

comprehend itself”, and has instead become a sectarian church.¹⁷¹ In recent years, as they bluntly put it, “[r]ather than engage with what was happening [the Church of England] has started to mutter threats against the society of which it had been a part, and to turn inwards”.¹⁷² It is tempting to see the continued divestment of places of worship as part of this turning inwards, representing a loss of tangible links to the history of places like Huddersfield. We can see Huddersfield’s redundant Anglican churches as sites of memory linking the town to its religious history and the communities who worshipped in them.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, aspects of the buildings’ histories present issues for this public history. These lie in the changing values within British society.

As part of their thesis, Brown and Woodhead, argued that the issues that the Church of England is experiencing stem from the changing social values. In their analysis this derives from “the decline of paternalism” with the majority of people now subscribing to liberal values, and an array of areas in which it is now “not... appropriate to tell other people how to live their lives”.¹⁷⁴ This represents a problem for the celebration of Anglican history in the localities, which can be directly linked to a paternalistic outlook. As we saw in chapter two, the impetus for the construction of the Commissioners’ Churches in Huddersfield and elsewhere had its provenance in ideals of subordination and superintendence. An opposition to this paternalism was evident at the time of their construction. For instance, the non-conformist owned *Leeds Mercury* greeted the imminent construction of one with this short report: “A new church is about to be erected at Paddock, near Huddersfield, a hamlet the inhabitants of which are all dissenters from the Church of England, except six families”.¹⁷⁵ A little later in the year the

¹⁷¹ A. Brown and L. Woodhead (2016), *That Was the Church That Was*, London: Bloomsbury, pp68-70

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p70

¹⁷³ See P. Nora (1997), *Realms of memory: the construction of the French past*, Columbia University Press: New York, 3 Vols., for a discussion of the concept of ‘lieux de memoire’

¹⁷⁴ Brown and Woodhead (2016), *That Was the Church That Was*, p64

¹⁷⁵ Anon. (19 May 1827), ‘Leeds’, *The Leeds Mercury*, p3; A. G. Crosby (2004), ‘Baines, Edward (1774–1848)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; J. R. Lowerson (2004), ‘Baines, Sir Edward (1800–1890)’, *ODNB*

Mercury also published a letter from a Dissenter in Leeds, who complained of the inequitable nature of having to pay “the maintenance of a clergy whom I never hear, and of a church I never enter” whilst also having to pay for the upkeep of the chapel he or she did use.¹⁷⁶ We will see more evidence of this conflict in the chapter that follows. Nevertheless, the spirit in which these early nineteenth-century buildings were constructed was paternalistic in nature.

Paternalism was much in evidence in the founding of the Anglican churches in Huddersfield. Robert Proctor has recently written on the role of celebrations over new buildings by Roman Catholics in Britain in the twentieth century. Proctor has argued that through processions “[t]he parish performed and effected community”, and that these procession represented “symbolic enactments of the Catholic parish in its relationships to both the broader Church and to the secular world”.¹⁷⁷ It is arguable that the same is true for the events surrounding the opening of the Anglican churches in the nineteenth century. For instance, at Christ Church, Woodhouse, the second church to be built around Huddersfield in the nineteenth century, it was reported that “several thousand spectators” had assembled to watch the laying of the foundation stone.¹⁷⁸ The event allowed the founder, John Whitacre of Woodhouse, a woollen manufacturer, to display his munificence by providing “old English fare” to two hundred tenants, “[t]he company parading on the lawn, a band of music playing”.¹⁷⁹ We can see this as an opportunity for Whitacre to symbolically enact his paternal relationship with the township.

The coming of the Commissioner’s Churches to Huddersfield again offered an opportunity to display the strength of Anglican paternalism, this time with the benefactors comprising the corporate body of the Established church. The patriotic magazine *John Bull* reported on the

¹⁷⁶ A Ley Payer (21 July 1827), ‘The New Churches’, *The Leeds Mercury*, p4

¹⁷⁷ R. Proctor, (2014), *Building the Modern Church: Roman Catholic Church Architecture in Britain, 1955 to 1975*, Abingdon: Ashgate, p270

¹⁷⁸ Anon. (31 July 1823), ‘New Church at Woodhouse, near Huddersfield’, *Leeds Intelligencer*, p3

¹⁷⁹ Anon. (20 March 1869), ‘The Late John Whitacre’, *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p5; Anon. (31 July 1823), ‘New Church at Woodhouse, near Huddersfield’, *Leeds Intelligencer*, p3

laying of the foundation stone of what was to be St Paul's, which commenced with "full cathedral service" at the parish church.¹⁸⁰ There followed a procession composed of

a band of music; the singers; the National School Children, the Vicar, followed by about 40 clergymen in canonicals; Constables, and Gentlemen bearing white wands, to preserve order; Ladies and Gentlemen; the band of the Freemasons, and the Freemasons themselves; the Orangemen and their band closed the procession; which moved up Kirkgate, through New-street and down Ramsden-street, to the site of the intended church, where, after the usual prayers were gone through, the Vicar gave an excellent address, and the ceremony concluded by the National Anthem being sung.¹⁸¹

Thus, the Anglican conception of the social order was dramatized for public consumption in what must have remained a memorable event for those who took part or watched from the side-lines. The correspondent for *John Bull* described the events as "a complete holiday throughout the town".¹⁸² This and similar events also gave the Vicar of Huddersfield, Rev J. C. Franks the opportunity to distinguish himself by speaking in public. *The Bradford Courier* covered the laying of the first stone for the church at Golcar, reporting that "Franks, the very worthy vicar of Huddersfield, delivered an impressive and appropriate address at the end of the ceremony" in front of a "large concourse of people".¹⁸³ *The York Herald* reported his performance at the opening of the church at Lindley in similar terms.¹⁸⁴ Thus, in the act of positioning the Church of England within the society of these settlements, the new churches offered the clergy opportunities to make themselves more visible as public persons and leaders within their respective communities.

¹⁸⁰ Anon. (November 24, 1828), 'Clerical Intelligence', *John Bull*, Issue 415, p375

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Reprinted in Anon. (25 March 1828), 'News', *The Hull Packet and Humber Mercury*, p4

¹⁸⁴ (27 February 1830), 'New Churches', *The York Herald, and General Advertiser*, p3

The churches themselves have a complicated relationship with the radical history of the town. For instance, The two founders of the earliest nineteenth-century churches in the area, Benjamin Haigh Allen and John Whitacre were both landlords and magistrates.¹⁸⁵ In his role as magistrate, Allen, the founder of Holy Trinity played a part in the suppressing of two uprisings planned locally in 1817 and 1820.¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the relationship between these two with the history of radicalism is less than straightforward, as aside from playing a role in suppressing such activities, Allen and Whitacre, who were also brothers-in-law, were connected to Richard Oastler, who worshipped at Christ Church, Woodhouse.¹⁸⁷ Oastler's connection to radical history has already been mentioned here and his activities included organising resistance to the implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act locally and campaigning for factory legislation nationally.¹⁸⁸ A monument to Oastler was erected by public subscription to in the churchyard at Christ Church in 1862.¹⁸⁹ Thus as well as being connected to the suppression of the Luddites, the site can be connected to campaigns for amelioration of factory conditions.

Despite its clear relationship with paternal and authoritarian actions, as the century went on the Church of England was able to accommodate itself to more liberal times. We can see this in relation to the funding of church building and repair where voluntarism quickly became accepted as part of the Anglican way of doing things in the area. For instance, in terms of the church rate, in Huddersfield, the "last church rate was laid and collected throughout the whole parish of Huddersfield" was in 1832.¹⁹⁰ A subsequent call for repairs of the church in 1837 was met through subscription.¹⁹¹ Sermons in aid of repair also began to be preached around this

¹⁸⁵ Anon. (20 March 1869), 'The Late John Whitacre', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p5; Brooke and Kipling (2012), *Liberty*, pp85 & 112

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Hargreaves and Haigh (2015), *Slavery in Yorkshire*, p29

¹⁸⁸ J. A Hargreaves (1992) 'Metropolis of Discontent' in Haigh (ed), *Huddersfield*, pp212-214

¹⁸⁹ Anon. (22 August 1862), 'Monument to Richard Oastler', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, p2

¹⁹⁰ Anon. (20 February 1869), 'Huddersfield Church Rates', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p5

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

time.¹⁹² The funding of church buildings eventually came to be accomplished through subscription as a rule. This followed an interregnum in which a number of churches were built through private initiative following the construction of the final Commissioners' Church, St Paul's. Churches in this intervening period were often augmented by funds such as the Ripon Diocesan Church Building Society, as at Milnsbridge St Luke and Armitage Bridge St Paul, although private funding was key.¹⁹³ However, by the 1860s subscription came to be increasingly relied upon and all four churches built in the town in this decade would be completed with funds raised in part by subscription. The church at Moldgreen, opened in 1862, was part funded by a bazaar which raised £300 for the cause, although this appears to have fallen short of the organisers' expectations and perhaps precipitated the founding of the Church Extension Society in the deanery.¹⁹⁴ St John's Lepton, consecrated six years later, was funded with £2,900 raised by subscription, and benefited from £400 from the Diocesan Building Society, with £100 coming from the ICBS.¹⁹⁵ Thus, church building in the area was increasingly being achieved through voluntaristic means.

Funding by voluntary contribution appears to have increased in prominence as the century progressed. St Andrew's Leeds Road, consecrated in 1870, benefited further from the increased skill in fundraising amongst the Anglicans. Here a £1,000 grant from the Huddersfield Church Extension Society, was matched by that of Sir John William Ramsden, as well as the combined effort of two JPs.¹⁹⁶ At Newsome, St John, consecrated two years later, the Anglicans' fundraising strategies were taken up a gear and in addition to a sale of work, a concert was held and notices were regularly placed in the newspaper enquiring "Who

¹⁹² See for instance Anon. (29 August 1840), 'Sermon', *Leeds Intelligencer*, p5 in aid of repair at Paddock

¹⁹³ St John's, Birkby was built in 1851 by the Ramsden Family, see Anon. (18 October 1851), 'Visit of Sir J.W. Ramsden', *Leeds Intelligencer*, p4; Anon. (13 May 1848), 'Consecration of St Paul's Church, Armitage Bridge', *Leeds Intelligencer*, p2

¹⁹⁴ Anon. (18 October 1862) 'Grand Bazaar in the Gymnasium Hall', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p5

¹⁹⁵ Anon. (5 December 1868), 'Consecration of a new church at Lepton', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p8

¹⁹⁶ Anon. (13 August 1870), 'Consecration of St Andrew's Church', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p8

will build and endow a new church at Newsome?", with a list of subscribers printed below.¹⁹⁷ Although contributions to the fund were generally in the shape of large donations, with £1,000 coming from a single anonymous donor, much was made in the articles on both the laying of the foundation stone and the consecration ceremony of the first contribution to the church. This £5 was reportedly donated "by a young woman of that place, dependant on her own toil for her daily bread".¹⁹⁸ Two further churches would be built in the remaining part of the century in Huddersfield area, Birchencliffe, St Philip in 1878, Huddersfield St Mark, 1887, followed by St Barnabas, Crosland Moor.¹⁹⁹ Each church would be paid for through subscription in what had now become the accepted fashion.²⁰⁰

As the Church accommodated itself to voluntarism, it also renewed its importance to the town's associational culture.²⁰¹ Thus the Anglican churches became centres of a range of shared activities, including music, sport, outings, mental improvement, as well as the education of children. Of these, involvement in musical activities was perhaps central. Such pastimes had a strong tradition in the West Riding, and the church choirs, organ recitals and bell ringing all contributed to a social calendar centred on the churches.²⁰² The church choirs and choral societies played a leading role in this calendar and their performances were regularly reported in the *Huddersfield Chronicle*.²⁰³ The churches supported these groups by raising money

¹⁹⁷ Anon. (1870, January 01), 'Newsome: The Proposed New Church', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p7; Anon. (1872, April 27), 'Newsome Church Grand Concert', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p5; See for instance Anon. (1870, December 10), 'Who will help to build and endow a church at Newsome' *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p5

¹⁹⁸ Anon. (1871, July 22), 'The New Church at Newsome' *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p7; Anon. (1872, October 19) 'Consecration of a new church at Newsome', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p7. The quote comes from the latter article.

¹⁹⁹ Anon. (1 June 1877), 'Church Extension at Birchencliffe', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p3; Anon. (22 May 1886), 'The New Huddersfield Church - Laying the Cornerstone', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p6; Anon. (6 August 1900), 'St Barnabas', Crosland Moor', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p3

²⁰⁰ Anon. (1 June 1877), 'Church Extension at Birchencliffe', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p3; Anon. (22 May 1886), 'The New Huddersfield Church - Laying the Cornerstone', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p6; Anon. (6 August 1900), 'St Barnabas', Crosland Moor', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p3

²⁰¹ See McLeod (1996), *Religion and Society in England 1850-1914*, for a general discussion of the ways in which congregations established a social life for their members, esp. pp24-27 & 100-109

²⁰² D. Russell (1997), *Popular Music in England 1840-1914: A Social History*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p5

²⁰³ See for instance Anon. (18 March 1871), 'The Parish Church Choir', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p5; Anon. (13 October 1892), 'Mirfield Parish Church Dedication Festival', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p3

through special church services.²⁰⁴ Likewise, performances of the choirs were used for fundraising for the churches.²⁰⁵ The choirs also took advantage of the Anglicans' wider infrastructure and often used of the National School rooms as venues for their public performances.²⁰⁶

Choral groups were just one part of a wider network of musical performers. In certain cases the choirs were conducted by organists from other churches in the area.²⁰⁷ In addition, the organs and organists themselves were a key element of this social milieu and events were organised by the churches dedicated to raising money for organ funds.²⁰⁸ St Paul's developed a strong tradition of organ music, and Walter Parratt, who was born locally, was organist there for a time before later becoming Master of the Queen's music.²⁰⁹ The installation of a new organ in a church also brought the opportunity to invite an organist of national renown to give a performance in the church, as at Woodhouse where Dr Bexfield played in 1851.²¹⁰ Concerts within the church were also popular social occasions. In the 1890s St Paul's and Almondbury parish church developed a tradition of playing Alfred Gaul's music at Lent, something which appears to have been very popular and continued into the following century.²¹¹ Thus through music the churches were confirmed as both sites of association, and of high occasion.

The congregations also offered various other opportunities for association outside of the church itself. The choral societies engaged in excursions, which allowed them to demonstrate their musical talents in new settings.²¹² The presence of the church choir also added interest to the social events organised by the churches, such as the church schools' prize-giving

²⁰⁴ Anon. (27 November 1852), 'The Choir of All Saints, Paddock', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p5

²⁰⁵ Anon. (15 October 1892), 'Grand Concert at Almondbury', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p6

²⁰⁶ Anon. (22 January 1870), 'Concert by the Church Choir', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p7

²⁰⁷ Anon. (24 April 1869), 'The Choral Society', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p7

²⁰⁸ Anon. (06 October 1874), 'All Saints Paddock', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p2

²⁰⁹ R. Firman, (2004), 'Parratt, Sir Walter (1841–1924), organist', *ODNB*

²¹⁰ Anon. (1 March 1851), 'Opening of a new organ at Christ Church, Woodhouse', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p5; W. Squire, (2004), 'Bexfield, William Richard (1824–1853), composer', *ODNB*

²¹¹ Anon. (6 April 1895), 'Passion Music at the Churches', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p4; Anon. (2 April 1914), 'Passion Music at Almondbury Church', *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p2

²¹² Anon. (7 August 1886), 'Choir Trip', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p7

ceremonies and penny readings.²¹³ A programme of such activities was kept, including tea parties and excursions.²¹⁴ Chief in this programme were the harvest festivals which drew large attendances and also offered the opportunity for musical performances.²¹⁵ In addition, sermons were preached by members of the clerical hierarchy, which were also popular. Almondbury church in particular appears to have been favoured for such events and played host to theologian and future Bishop of Oxford, Charles Gore in 1900 and to Archbishop of York, William Temple in 1932, amongst others.²¹⁶ The churches then, offered opportunities for association and the opportunity to hear speakers of national renown.

The churches also had a key role to play in education, both the general education of children through the National Schools and in Sunday school, as well as in adult education. These schools often predated the establishment of the church itself.²¹⁷ The schools themselves also offered opportunities for association. For instance, the anniversaries of the National Schools were marked by public performance of the children.²¹⁸ In addition, the children were paraded at Whitsuntide, subjected to a special service in the churches, and rewarded with tea and buns in what was a yearly tradition which lasted throughout the century.²¹⁹ The churches also made forays into adult education by organising mutual improvement societies.²²⁰ These offered the opportunity for the clergy to display their learning to an assembled audience.²²¹ Thus, as well as supporting the education of children, the churches were developed as centres of intellectual pursuits for adults.

²¹³ For instance, Anon. (19 October 1867), 'St Stephen's Church - Penny Readings', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p8

²¹⁴ Anon. (5 January 1867), 'Church Tea Party', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p8

²¹⁵ Anon. (12 October 1888), 'St Andrew's Harvest Festival', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p3

²¹⁶ Anon. (8 September 1900), 'Canon Gore at Almondbury', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p6; Anon. (04 November 1931), 'Almondbury Church 700th Anniversary', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, p3

²¹⁷ See for instance Anon. (1 January 1870), 'Newsome: The Proposed New Church', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p7

²¹⁸ Anon. (28 May 1864), 'St Mark's Church', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p8

²¹⁹ Anon. (14 June 1862), 'Whitsuntide Festivities', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p7; Anon. (07 June 1895), 'Whitsuntide Festivities', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p4

²²⁰ Anon. (06 December 1890), 'Lockwood Church Mutual Improvement Society', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p7

²²¹ Anon. (16 March 1872), 'Mutual Improvement Society', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p7; Anon. (22 March 1876), 'Lecture on Oliver Goldsmith', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p3

Besides mental stimulus, Huddersfield's churches also organised outlets for physical activity. Dominic Erdozain has drawn attention to the changing attitudes to sport evinced by evangelicals in the nineteenth century. From regarding pleasure as "the enemy of vital religion", by the mid-century nineteenth century the YMCA had legitimised recreation as a virtuous use of time.²²² As he showed, these ideas would be adopted in the 1860s by the Anglicans, and the end of the century would see "recreation's coming of age".²²³ By the 1890s Huddersfield's Anglican churches had teams competing in rugby, football and cricket.²²⁴ This organisation of sporting activities continued well into the next century with a cycling club and a billiards team in evidence in 1914.²²⁵ In the interwar period the parish church considered the construction of a recreation hall with billiard room and gymnasium, and maintained a football team.²²⁶ At Golcar, the congregation had use of a recreational ground and worked to create tennis courts for the use of the congregation.²²⁷

The churches also supported social causes. One of the most prominent causes was the hospital, the laying of the foundation stone in 1829 of which mirrored the ceremony for the Commissioners' Churches, and involved choristers and a speech and prayer by the Vicar of Huddersfield.²²⁸ Later in the century the churches would reaffirm this association beginning a dedicated collection on 'Infirmary Sunday' in 1870.²²⁹ The practice of Infirmary Sunday

²²² D. Erdozain (2010), *Problem of Pleasure*, pp42 & 119-133

²²³ Ibid., pp133-139 & 157

²²⁴ Anon. (17 January 1890), 'To-Morrows Fixtures', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p4; Anon. (24 January 1890), 'Local Athletic Notes', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p4; Anon. (26 December 1891), 'Local Athletic Notes', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p2

²²⁵ Anon. (August 1914), 'Cycling Club', *Golcar Parish Magazine*, unpaginated, p4 WYAS, WDP105/8/9, Anon. (3 April 1914), 'Billiards', *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p3

²²⁶ D.R.H. Williams (June 1919), no title, *Huddersfield Parish Magazine*, unpaginated (p3), WDP32/Box 14

²²⁷ Anon. (September 1919), 'Football Club', *Huddersfield Parish Magazine*, unpaginated (p2), WDP32/Box 14

²²⁸ Anon. (2 July 1829), 'Huddersfield Infirmary', *Leeds Intelligencer*, p3

²²⁹ E. D. (25 July 1868), 'Aid to the Infirmary' *The Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, p8

continued in some parishes until 1948.²³⁰ In 1926 at Golcar the donations had been augmented by a collection of 2,240 eggs by the parish timed to coincide with Easter, a practice which was not uncommon in the interwar period.²³¹ With the demise of Infirmary Sunday, Golcar used the second Sunday in February 1949 for a collection for the Church Missionary Society in support of their Medical Mission.²³² The congregation had supported medical missions before, with collections usually taking place at St Luke's Tide.²³³ This support also offered opportunities for association with speakers from these missions visiting the parish to talk to the congregation about their experiences.²³⁴ Thus, the churches offered outlets for social service, the influence of which stretched far beyond the town.

Golcar's interest in supporting missionary activity was indicative of the interests of Huddersfieldonians as a whole, and the town played host to missionaries and evangelists who had travelled to Huddersfield to speak to their supporters about their activities abroad.²³⁵ The Church Missionary Society had been supported by John Whitacre and B. H. Allen.²³⁶ The Huddersfield Auxiliary of the CMS had been in existence since 1813 and continued to meet throughout the century.²³⁷ In 1899 the centenary of the Society was celebrated with a meeting at the town hall which included a performance by an orchestra and choir of five hundred voices.²³⁸ Sponsoring missionary activity was clearly very important to the congregations of

²³⁰ See Golcar (February 1948), 'The Infirmarys', *Golcar Parish Magazine*, front page, WYAS, WDP105/8/9

²³¹ See Anon. (May 1926) 'Egg Collection', *Golcar Parish Magazine*, unpaginated (p3), WYAS, WDP105/8/9; and N. Hayes and B. M. Doyle (2013) 'Eggs, rags and whist drives: popular munificence and the development of provincial medical voluntarism between the wars', *Historical Research*, vol. 86, no. 234, esp. pp735 & 737

²³² Edward Clarke (February 1949), 'Vicar's Letter' *Golcar Parish Magazine*, p1, WYAS, WDP105/8/9

²³³ Anon. (October 1927), 'Medical Mission', *Golcar Parish Magazine*, unpaginated (p2), WYAS, WDP105/8/12

²³⁴ See for instance Anon. (April 1908), 'Missionary Meeting', *Golcar Parish Magazine*, unpaginated (p3), WYAS, WDP105/8/12

²³⁵ See for instance Anon. (31 May 1862), 'Church Missionary Society', *The Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, Wednesday, p6

²³⁶ Anon. (4 June 1821), no title, *Leeds Intelligencer*, p3

²³⁷ Ibid.; Anon. (1899, May 11), 'C.M.S. Centenary', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p3

²³⁸ Ibid.

Huddersfield's Anglican churches and the yearly contributions to the Society ran to hundreds of pounds.²³⁹

It is clear that the churches provided a hub for the social lives of their congregations, and they continued to do so well into the interwar period. Even at Paddock, not a quarter-full on census day, the church was the source of fond reminiscences to be shared in the local paper a century after it was built.²⁴⁰ The newspaper articles covering the centenary events for the churches show the occasions provided the setting for the sharing of stories about the church. These related to the choir, or night classes, as well as the service of certain members of the congregation.²⁴¹ At Golcar the celebrations appear to have been particularly jubilant. A point of particular pride appears to have been the church's ongoing association with local schools, both the day school and Sunday schools, and the National Society. As part of the centenary celebrations the Sunday School Scholars of the three churches in the Golcar parish (St John's and the chapels of ease at Westwood and St Michael's) were entertained at the National School with a tea, the centrepiece of which was a four tiered cake, the ingredients of which were donated by the congregation.²⁴² The whole cake was topped off with a model of the church and 100 candles.²⁴³ The congregation also used the centenary celebrations to raise £700 to augment the income of the benefice, and to declare all the sittings in the church to be free forever, paying the Ecclesiastical Commissioners £1,200 for the privilege.²⁴⁴ This target was achieved, in part through benefaction, and in part through the holding of a bazaar which reportedly netted £2,212 19s 7d.²⁴⁵ The following year two new windows were unveiled to permanently mark the centenary.²⁴⁶ Thus the parish clearly felt that the church had a history

²³⁹ See for instance Anon. (4 June 1853), 'Church Missionary Society', *Huddersfield Chronicle*, p6

²⁴⁰ Anon. (31 March 1930), 'All Saints Paddock', *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, p19

²⁴¹ Anon. (c.1930) 'Golcar Church Centenary', unidentified newspaper, WYAS, WDP105/8/9

²⁴² Anon. (c.1930) 'Golcar Church Centenary', unidentified newspaper, WYAS, WDP105/8/9

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Anon. (c.1930) 'Golcar Church Centenary', unidentified newspaper, WYAS, WDP105/8/9

²⁴⁵ Undated news clippings from the *Colne Valley Guardian*, WYAS WDP105/8/9

²⁴⁶ Anon. (4 April 1931) 'Dedication of the Memorial Windows - At Golcar Church by Canon Baines', *Colne Valley Guardian*, page number unknown, WYAS, WDP105/8/9

worth celebrating. The church building itself had come to embody the history of a community, and the centenary offered members of this community the opportunity to celebrate their connection with the church.

It has been argued here that the lack of local interest in promoting the history of Huddersfield's Anglican churches has meant that very little attention has been paid to their conservation outside of their congregations. In having popularly conceived of their town as nonconformist, those interested in promoting Huddersfield's history have not emphasised the presence of the Anglicans in the town. Thus, in producing a heritage trail for Milnsbridge, the Milnsbridge Enhancement Group omitted St Luke's from their itinerary, whilst including sites such as the Socialist Club and the Christadelphian Hall.²⁴⁷ An emphasis on radical history presents issues for the Church of England and parts of its history may be unpalatable to some. Nevertheless, the Huddersfield's church buildings are of both national and local importance. As there appears to be no national strategy for the promotion of this history, the Church of England is neglecting to capitalise on its historic connections to places like Huddersfield.

Afterword

The majority of the churches built in the nineteenth century in what is now the borough of Huddersfield remain in use for their intended purposes. Grade II listed buildings make up the majority of those which have been closed, and with the exception of Rashcliffe St Stephen, were closed prior to buildings of this grade becoming eligible for grant aided repairs in 2002 under the GPOW scheme.²⁴⁸ As we have seen, in line with Gill's observations, in most cases this closure was linked to financial trouble, with the exception of St Thomas' Bradley, where the success of the congregation in fundraising was the ultimate cause of the church's closure. Had these buildings been eligible for grant aided repairs, it is possible that they may have

²⁴⁷ Milnsbridge Enhancement Group (n.d.), *Milnsbridge Heritage Trail*, Kirklees Council, retrieved from: <https://milnsbridge.files.wordpress.com/2016/01/milnsbridge-heritage-trail-leaflet.pdf>

²⁴⁸ See Table 2; A. Derrick (2005), *A Review of Heritage Lottery Fund/English Heritage Funding to Places of Worship 1996-2005*, London: Heritage Lottery Fund, p20

continued in use as places of worship as financial worries related to the building would have been alleviated. It has been argued in the foregoing that the financial pressures from the 1970s onwards have been a major factor in the closure of these buildings.

Besides the work of Gill, these sorts of explanations have not been prominent within historiography dealing with the question of secularisation.²⁴⁹ Attention has been directed towards the central institutions of the Church of England or to wider social changes.²⁵⁰ However, the ability to sustain religious communities clearly relates both to available labour and the wherewithal to keep a building in repair and in use. Thus, rather than looking to the interwar or the 1960s, it appears to be more cogent to look to the 1970s as a period in which these issues came to a head for a series of congregations in England. Returning to the words of Whyte, there appears to be more work to be done in understanding these issues as the 'product of a series of choices' rather than of national decline.

²⁴⁹ Gill (2003), *The Empty Church Revisited*

²⁵⁰ Compare S.J.D. Green (2011), *The Passing of Protestant England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; H. McLeod (2007), *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Church	(Approx) date	Historic parish	Grade	Date	Use?
Woodhouse Christ Church	1823	Huddersfield	II		
South Crosland Holy Trinity	1827	Almondbury	II		
Paddock All Saints	1828	Huddersfield	II	1984	Residential
Lockwood Emmanuel	1828	Almondbury	II	1990	Residential
Lindley St Stephen	1828	Huddersfield	II		
Linthwaite Christ Church	1828	Almondbury	II		
Golcar St John the Evangelist	1829	Huddersfield	II		
Huddersfield St Paul	1831	Huddersfield	II	1959	Educational
Milnsbridge St Luke	1845	Almondbury	II	1982	Storage
Armitage Bridge St Paul	1848	Almondbury	II		
Birkby (/Bay Hall) St John	1851	Huddersfield	II*		
Huddersfield St Thomas	1857	Huddersfield	II*		
Rashcliffe St Stephen	1863	Almondbury	II	2013	(on market?)
Bradley St Thomas	1863	Huddersfield	II	1979	Sports
Christ Church Moldgreen	1863	Kirkheaton	N/A		
Lepton St John	1868	Kirkheaton	II		
Huddersfield St Andrew	1870	Huddersfield	II	1975	Office or shopping (derelict)
Newsome St John	1872	Almondbury	N/A		
Birchenccliffe St Philip	1878	Huddersfield	II		
Huddersfield St Mark	1887	Huddersfield	N/A	1997	Office or Shopping
St Barnabas, Crosland Moor	1897	Almondbury	N/A		

Churches built in Huddersfield in the nineteenth century (Table 6)

Chapter 5

Norwich

Introduction

In October 1897 the *Norfolk News* published a series of articles over several weeks in its Saturday edition with the headline, 'Crumbling City Churches' each dealing with a separate church in the city of Norwich which had fallen into disrepair.¹ These articles were perhaps prompted by the City Engineer's decision to serve a notice on the churchwardens of St Swithin's ordering them to make safe the walls of the church, thought to be in danger of collapse, or these walls would be pulled down.² As a result of the City Engineer's assessment, St Swithin's would lose its tower, and there was serious discussion over the possibility of the other churches identified by the *News* being demolished.³ Those churches, St Mary, Coslany; St Peter, Hungate; and St Simon and St Jude, were all then in need of £1,000 each in repair work according to *News*.⁴ However, each of these churches would be brought back from the brink and returned to some form of use over the next decade and a half.⁵ Nevertheless, the management of Norwich's historic places of worship would continue to be a key element of the history of the city into the twentieth century, as it had been in the preceding century.

This chapter will consider the arrangements for procuring the repair of Anglican and eventually redundant Anglican churches in Norwich between roughly 1830 to the end of the twentieth century. The first section of this chapter will explore the development of the political settlement in place by the 1860s which was confirmed by Church Rates Abolition Act of 1868. This entailed the defeat of the Tory Anglican position, which had seen the payment of the church rates as a duty of all property owners and denied the right of anyone to disobey any law, no

¹ Anon. (9 October 1897), 'Crumbling City Churches, St Mary's Coslany', *Norfolk News* (NN), p10; Anon. (16 October 1897) "Crumbling City Churches, St Mary, Coslany", NN, p11; Anon. (23 October 1897), 'Crumbling City Churches, St Simon and St Jude, no. IV', NN p3;

² The first article was printed in the *News*' stablemate, the *Eastern Daily Press* (EDP). The EDP for 1897 is not currently available through the British Library collection online. See Anon. (02 October 1897), 'Dilapidated Church at Norwich', NN, p7 for the story on the City Engineer

³ N. Spencer and A. Kent (1990), *The Old Churches of Norwich*, Norwich: Jarrold Publishing;

⁴ Anon. (23 October 1897), 'Crumbling City Churches', NN p3

⁵ See below

matter how unjust. The defeat of this position was brought about by the emergence of a dissenting middle class whose political power had increased following the Whigs' reform programme of the 1830s. These middle class rate-payers were now able to contest the Tory political philosophy through local and national politics and by virtue of their right to vote in the vestries, and to contest the rates through the courts should this fail. The position of a number of these activists within the corporation meant that to some extent the conflict was marked as one between members of the civic authority and the Church of England. As a result of the dissenters winning freedom from compulsion, the Anglicans were forced into new voluntarist arrangements for the repair of their church buildings.⁶ In tandem, as part of their fundraising strategies, they would begin to emphasise the importance of the antiquity of Norwich's medieval places of worship.

The arrangements set in place as the church rates fell away proved to be only partially effective at maintaining churches in Norwich's urban area in good repair, as the Anglicans turned their attentions to Norwich's expanding suburbs. By the end of the nineteenth century, with less money being directed towards the maintenance of Norwich's city churches and their environs, members of Norwich's corporation again sought to take on aspects of the management of these buildings, beautifying churchyards, and campaigning for the demolition of dilapidated churches. The national interest this campaign created led to a reprieve for the buildings in question. Nevertheless, in the post-war period, Norwich's historic places of worship continued to present an issue for the civic authorities. As the Church of England sought to reassess its priorities, a new solution to the management of these buildings was found. Within this, the strands of voluntarism, civic pride and the historic interest led to a settlement in which the City of Norwich would take charge of these buildings through the establishment of a building preservation trust. This process speaks to the messy process of 'secularisation' in which even

⁶ It has been decided to use the more modern 'voluntarist' in this thesis where the contemporary term 'voluntaryist' was more in evidence, for the sake of the modern reader

after divesting itself of these buildings, the Church of England attempted to retain an interest in their management.

Civic Authority

The city of Norwich has been the subject of some interest to academics. Perhaps most notable amongst this work has been two edited collections overseen by Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson.⁷ The second of these volumes, *Norwich Since 1550* covered a range of issues related to the city in the early modern and modern eras. Of particular interest to this study within that volume have been the chapters by Barry Doyle and by Clyde Binfield. Both of these chapters touched on the church rate conflict, although only in passing. Binfield dealt with the conflict in terms of its effect on the repair of Anglican buildings using the 1851 Census as a source and as part of the nonconformist experience within the period, without covering the conflict in detail.⁸ Likewise, Doyle's contribution was devoted to the political history of the city between the 1830s and 1945, outlining the contest between the Liberals and the Conservatives up until the eventual rise of the Labour Party. For this reason, he mentioned the church rate conflict only in passing.⁹

Doyle's work in particular was the result of extensive research on politics and religion in the city in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁰ As we have seen in an earlier chapter, this work has contested the assumptions of historians which provided a generalised picture of civic disengagement in the interwar period.¹¹ In a recent article Pendlebury and Hewitt have used Norwich as an example through which to outline the role of civic pride in influencing planning

⁷ C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds) (2004), *Medieval Norwich*, London: Hambledon and London; C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds) (2004), *Norwich Since 1550*, London: Hambledon and London

⁸ C. Binfield (2004), 'Church and Chapel', Rawcliffe and Wilson (eds) (2004), *Norwich Since 1550*, pp410-414 & 424

⁹ B. M. Doyle (2004), 'Politics' Rawcliffe and Wilson (eds) (2004), *Norwich Since 1550*, p354

¹⁰ See for instance, B. M. Doyle (1996), 'Through the Windows of a Baptist Meeting House: Religion, Politics and the Nonconformist Conscience' in the Life of Sir George White MP', *Baptist Quarterly*, vol. 36 (April 1996) pp294-307

¹¹ B.M. Doyle (1997), 'The structure of elite power in the early twentieth-century city: Norwich, 1900–35', *Urban History*, 24(2)

decisions in the same period, thus supporting Doyle's analysis.¹² The development of this civic pride in the post-war period and the problem of redundant churches in the city has not received extensive academic attention, which appears to be limited to contributions to a volume organised by the Norwich Historic Churches Trust, *Redundancy and Renewal* to which the present author was a contributor.¹³ The present work seeks to draw on the foregoing and expand academic understandings of the phases of management of Norwich's medieval places of worship in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The first section of this chapter is concerned with the conflict over the church rates in Norwich between 1830 and the 1860s. As we have seen, Norwich has an exceptionally large number of medieval churches within its centre. At the 1851 census, Anglicans remained the largest single denomination, but a good proportion of those worshipping on Census Sunday were Baptists, Congregationalists or Methodists, and the City had well established congregations of each.¹⁴ In the early nineteenth century, liberal elements within these congregations fought a political campaign with the aim of securing greater oversight in the ways in which their taxes were spent in the management of the churches as public buildings. At the start of the period, the church rate was being levied on parishioners as a result of the tax raising powers of the vestry. By the end of the period, before the law was changed, money for church repair was generally being raised on a voluntary basis.

Arthur Burns has argued that the church rate conflict was part and parcel of a protracted diminution of the authority of the Church which had been ongoing since the start of the nineteenth century.¹⁵ In addition, J. P. Ellens in covering the national debate over the church

¹² J. Pendlebury and L. E. Hewitt (2018), 'Place and voluntary activity in inter-war England: Topophilia and professionalization', *Urban History*, 45(3)

¹³ N. Groves (ed) (2016), *Redundancy and Renewal*, Norwich: Lasse Press; R. Piggott (2016) 'Historic Churches, Heritage and Voluntary Action', Groves (ed) (2016), *Redundancy and Renewal*

¹⁴ C. Binfield (2004), 'Church and Chapel', pp412 & 414-416

¹⁵ A. Burns (2006), 'Authority and the Church', P. Mandler (ed) (2006), *Liberty and Authority in Victorian England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

rates argued that the conflict was instrumental in bringing dissenters into the Liberal Party.¹⁶ Evidence presented here seeks to modify this latter position and to argue that dissenters in the localities themselves were able to influence the conduct of national politics. Nevertheless, as Ellens indicated, the church rate contest can be seen as part of the development of more voluntarist arrangements for the practice of religion in England. The conflict arose from two political theologies. As was touched upon in chapter two, Tory Anglicans relied on a theology which emphasised subordination, whilst the dissenters sought freedom from compulsion in religion, and therefore favoured more voluntarist arrangements. The church rate conflict thus represents a key battleground in the campaign to establish voluntaristic arrangements for the management of historic places of worship. Within this process, as a result of their unwillingness to concede the voluntary principle in the funding of church repair, Norwich's Anglicans drew attention to their declining authority.

Norwich is a particularly good location to examine the church rate contest through the prism of the local newspapers as each newspaper represented a clearly defined political faction. Norwich had come to support three major weekly newspapers by the mid-nineteenth century. The *Norfolk Chronicle* was published by the Tory Anglican Stevenson family from 1785 until the newspaper became incorporated in 1886.¹⁷ The *Norwich Mercury* was in the hands of the Bacon family from 1794 has been described as "one of the leading provincial organs of liberal opinion".¹⁸ The later *Norfolk News*, founded in 1844 by the mustard magnate Jeremiah Colman, adopted a much more radical-reformist bent.¹⁹ Indeed, J. H. Tillett, who would make a name for himself in part as a solicitor defending church rate refusals, would play a major

¹⁶ J. P. Ellens (1994), *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism*, University Park: Penn. State University Press, p1

¹⁷ Anon. (5 December 1925) 'Early Printing at Norwich', *Yarmouth Independent*, p11; J. M. Blatchly, (2004) 'Stevenson, Seth William (1784–1853)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press; Anon. (25 August 1888), 'The Late Henry Stevenson, Esq. F.L.S.', *Norfolk Chronicle (NC)*, p7

¹⁸ J. Warrack (2004), 'Bacon, Richard Mackenzie (1776–1844)' *ODNB*

¹⁹ R. Church (2004), 'Colman family (per. 1814–1898), mustard and starch manufacturers', *ODNB*

part in the life of the paper and was dubbed “by his opponents the Norwich Robespierre”.²⁰ Thus, the *Chronicle*, the *Mercury*, and the *News* offer extensive source material in their reports and editorials through which we can view the conflict in detail.

As Owen Chadwick long ago noted, “[f]rom immemorial times the village regarded the repair of its parish church... as a public service”.²¹ The contest over the church rates can thus be seen as one over the provision of public services. A correspondent to the *Chronicle* argued that in refusing to pay the church rate one “might as reasonably refuse to pay the rate on Gas Lights and carry a lantern”.²² In another article in the same newspaper dissenters’ unwillingness to pay the rate was likened to a refusal to pay for “a country bridge, over which they never pass; or towards the support of a gaol, which they are of course unwilling to enter”.²³ These arguments also included a note of paternalism in that those paying the rate were said to be providing free seating to benefit the poor.²⁴ In addition, those defending the church rate developed the idea that the churches were public property.²⁵

Those who opposed the rate argued that they too were involved in a kind of social service. For instance, Samuel Mitchell, a town councillor, speaking at a public meeting in 1837, argued that the Church of England had fallen behind in its service provision, and that dissenters then contributed “upwards of a million annually in support of the same objects for which the Establishment is instituted”.²⁶ Others simply opposed compulsion, as evidenced by the words of a correspondent to the *Mercury* who asked readers to “imagine ourselves subjects of a government so paternal in its pretensions as to undertake... to provide for us, in addition to

²⁰ M. Allthorpe-Guyton (1984) ‘The Artistic and Literary Life’ in C. Barringer (ed), *Norwich in the Nineteenth Century*, Norwich: Gliddon Books

²¹ O. Chadwick (1970), *The Victorian Church*, London: Adam and Charles Black, p82

²² A. B. (27 August 1836), ‘To the Editor of the Norfolk Chronicle’, *NC*, p4

²³ Anon. (25 March 1837), ‘Church rates’, *NC*, p4

²⁴ See for instance Anon. (9 September 1865), ‘Letters to a Friend on Church Rate Repudiation’, *NC*, p4; Anon. (25 March 1837), ‘Church rates’, *NC*, p4

²⁵ Fitzwilliam quoted in Anon. (4 November 1837), ‘Church Rate Question’, *NC*, p4; Anon. (21 May 1853), ‘Anticipated Church Rate Proposals’, *NN*, p4

²⁶ S. Mitchell quoted in Anon. (28 January 1837), ‘Church Rates’, *Norwich Mercury (NM)*, pp2-3

state bishops and pastors, state schoolmasters, state lawyers and state physicians” and that in addition to the population preferring the services of others, to also “insist, contrary to every principle of justice” that they pay fees for those provided by the state as well.²⁷

A key element within the church rate conflict in Norwich was the activity of the dissenters within the corporation. Local elections across the country following the 1835 Municipal Corporation Act resulted in dissenters being brought onto town councils.²⁸ The Whig reforms of the 1830s removed barriers to political participation for dissenters, and this, combined with the rise in economic power of some, resulted in their greater political influence.²⁹ From this position they began to challenge the variety of legal discriminations against them then still in place.³⁰ The church rate was arguably the most prominent issue within this campaign. Dissenters were liable for the rates in parishes other than those they lived in if their business property was held there, and thus some were potentially liable to two rates. In a report of March 1836 entitled ‘*Spirit and Liberality of the age*’ covering a vestry meeting at Heigham, the *Chronicle* listed the occupations of those who had opposed the rate as a ‘chair-maker’ and a ‘baker’ and gave the rateable values of their property.³¹ As a consequence of the rates affecting their business dealings and their increased political power, the dissenters brought the conflict out of the vestries and into other institutions of local government.

At the first election under the Municipal Corporations Act in January 1836 a grouping designated by the *Chronicle* as the ‘Whig Radicals’ won a majority of eight seats.³² Election to the Corporation provided an institutional perch from which to oppose the church rates. For instance, the Congregationalist Thomas Brightwell, who had been appointed as an alderman

²⁷ Mikros (13 February 1841), ‘To the Editor of the Norwich Mercury’, *NM*, p3

²⁸ G.I.T Machin (1977), *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832-1868*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p54

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp39-40 & 54

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp42-43

³¹ Anon. (19 March 1836), ‘*Spirit and the Liberality of the Age*’, *NC*, p2 italics in original

³² Anon. (9 January 1836), ‘Election of Norwich Municipal Councillors’, *NC*, p2

in January 1836, was subsequently elected mayor in November that year, and used his mayoral office to agitate against the church rates.³³ Brightwell presided over a meeting at the Guildhall in January 1837 at which prominent dissenters from a range of denominations spoke in favour of a resolution to petition parliament.³⁴ The following month at a meeting of the Council, Samuel Mitchell presented a motion for the council to approve this petition, and despite the criticism of the Conservative councillor and later MP, Samuel Bignold, it was moved that the petition be presented to parliament “with the Corporation seal affixed”.³⁵ Almost twenty years later in 1858 as John Trelawny’s abolition bill was being debated in the House of Lords, a petition would again be ratified by the council, this time proposed by J. H. Tillett, who was then a councillor himself.³⁶

The Church Rates were a key issue in Norwich’s politics, informing election campaigns to parliament, as well as local political discourse. Martin Daunton has argued that the rhetoric of taxation has the power to constitute “interests and identities”.³⁷ Accordingly, the church rates were a defining issue for the formation of local political identities. Although at the 1835 election the Conservative candidates won both of Norwich’s seats, slogans used by the liberals included “No church rates - Relief for dissenters”.³⁸ It was in the vestry meetings that the liberals first began to assert themselves. In reporting on the vestry meeting at St George’s Colegate, the *Chronicle*, sardonically referred to “the new system of *conciliation* pursued by Dissenters, with the professed object of supporting what they call ‘their *rights*,’... promoted from so *liberal* a motive and carried to a conclusion in so *becoming* a manner”.³⁹ The church rates thus provided a central issue around which this political identity could coalesce locally.

³³ Anon. (2 January 1836), ‘First Meeting of Councillors’, *NC*, p2; Anon. (12 November 1836), no title, *NC*, p2; Anon. (28 November 1868), ‘The late T. Brightwell, Esq.’, *NC*, p5

³⁴ Anon. (28 January 1837), ‘Church Rates’, *NM*, pp2-3

³⁵ Anon. (11 February 1837), ‘Quarterly Meeting of the Town Council’, *NC*, p2; R. Blake (2004), ‘Bignold, Sir Samuel (1791–1875), businessman and politician’, *ODNB*

³⁶ Anon. (3 July 1858), ‘Town Council Meeting’, *NN*, p9

³⁷ M. Daunton (2001), *Trusting Leviathan: The Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1799-1914*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p19

³⁸ Anon. (10 January 1835), ‘Norwich Election’, *NC*, p2

³⁹ Anon. (22 March 1834), no title, *NC*, p2, emphasis in original

The vestry was the key site of resistance to the rate and the vestry contest at the church on Colegate would be frequent and legal action related to it would eventually reach the highest court in the land.⁴⁰ In October 1833 the move to adjourn a rate was not carried as the churchwarden was found to be out of pocket by £17.⁴¹ However, the following March the next call for a rate met fierce resistance from a Mr Newbiggin (himself listed as a liberal activist at the 1835 election) who asserted the right of the vestry not to raise a rate, pointing out that the only penalty for not doing so was excommunication, and dismissing this punishment as “a white sheet!”.⁴² Newbiggin also used the vestry as a public platform from which to expound the voluntary principle, declaring that he “would rather pay a voluntary sovereign than a compulsory shilling”.⁴³ The vote on the rate that followed ended 46 against, with only 4 in favour.⁴⁴ The parishioners at Colegate would continue to vote against the making of a rate until a voluntary subscription was finally raised for repairs in 1867.⁴⁵

The combination of the vestry meetings and newspaper reports opened the expenditure derived from the church rates up to public scrutiny. At the Guildhall meeting mentioned above, Brightwell accused an unnamed parish of using the rate to pay for “upwards of £1,000 in feastings.”⁴⁶ He was pulled up on this statement in a subsequent council meeting, but afterward wrote to the newspapers with more concrete details, enumerating the expenses paid by the church rate 1832 in the parish as including a “Dinner at Easter”, “new Coats for the Sextons”, and “sword irons for the Mayor’s pew” amongst other things.⁴⁷ Although the Archdeacon of Norwich, Henry Bathurst responded in a public letter that the expenses had

⁴⁰ Anon. (4 May 1844), ‘The Court of the Queen’s Bench’, *NC*, p5

⁴¹ Anon. (5 October 1833), no title, *NM*, p3

⁴² Anon. (10 January 1835), ‘Norwich Election’, *NC*, p2; Anon. (15 March 1834), ‘Church rates’, *NM*, p3

⁴³ Anon. (15 March 1834), ‘Church rates’, *NM*, p3

⁴⁴ Anon. (15 March 1834), ‘Church rates’, *NM*, p3

⁴⁵ For example, Anon. (16 October 1847), ‘St George’s Colegate’, *NN*, p3; Anon. (9 March 1867), ‘St George’s Colegate’, *NC*, p5

⁴⁶ Anon. (28 January 1837), ‘Church Rates’, *NM*, p2

⁴⁷ T. Brightwell (18 February 1837), ‘To the Editor of the Norfolk Chronicle’, *NC*, p3; T. Brightwell (18 February 1837), ‘To the Editor of the Norwich Mercury’, *NM*, p3;

been valid as they had been voted for by the vestry, in fact the ability of the vestry to gain control over the activity of the churchwardens was less straightforward than this.⁴⁸ When the making of a rate for the church in question was attempted some years subsequently, an inquiry into the income and expenditure of the church was insisted upon.⁴⁹ When the accounts were finally produced, a correspondent to the *News* on viewing the accounts noted the “parishioners’ surprise” on finding that “enormous sums” had been expended on payment of the organist, the organ blower, singers, land tax, pension to the dean and chapter and much else besides.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, at the subsequent vestry meeting it was argued that since the musicians had already rendered their services, it would be unfair to withhold payments, and thus a rate of 1d was sought.⁵¹ Bignold then spoke to defend the actions of the churchwarden and a rate was agreed to.⁵²

In some cases the churchwardens and the ratepayers resorted to a kind of micropolitics to achieve their aims, adjourning polls until a later date when more of those in favour of the rate could be mustered, or holding vestry meetings before their allotted time with a select few gathered to pass a rate.⁵³ One way for those opposed to the rate to counter such tactics was to elect churchwardens favourable to their position.⁵⁴ Both sides also devoted their time to public campaigning for their respective position. To this end, the voluntarists organised a series of public lectures at which Tillett amongst others argued their case.⁵⁵ The contrary point was argued in a subsequent lecture by the Vicar of Lakenham, Rev. Gladstone, cousin of the future Prime Minister.⁵⁶ Petitions were also raised in order to attempt to influence the

⁴⁸ H. Bathurst (4 March 1837), ‘To Thomas Brightwell, Esq.’, *NC*, p4. Rather confusingly his father was also Henry Bathurst and Bishop of Norwich until his death in April of 1837. The letter in question does not have the author’s office included but is probably from the Archdeacon and not the Bishop.

⁴⁹ Anon. (15 March 1845), ‘Church Rates’, *NN*, p3

⁵⁰ Anon. (22 March 1845), ‘Church rates’, *NC*, p2

⁵¹ Anon. (21 June 1845), ‘St Stephen’s Church Rates’, *NC*, p2

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Anon. (18 March 1837), ‘Church Rates’, *NC*, p2; Anon. (21 November 1857), ‘A New Mode of Making Church Rates’, *NN*, p5

⁵⁴ See for instance, (26 April 1851) ‘St Saviour’s Vestry Meeting’, *NN*, p2

⁵⁵ Anon. (22 January 1848), ‘Religious Liberty Society’, *NC*, p3

⁵⁶ Anon. (3 April 1847), ‘The Rev. Gladstone’s Lecture on Church and State’, *NM*, p4;

parliamentary debates over the various abolition bills. The newspapers supported this activity with the *News* printing a model petition in favour of 'total abolition', and the *Chronicle* later keeping a petition in its offices defending the rate.⁵⁷ In 1860 the *News* put the national number of signatories in favour of abolition of the rate at more than three times the 187,959 who had signed in favour of keeping them.⁵⁸

In justifying the church rates, opponents of abolition developed a position consistent with a sort of High Toryism, derived from a biblical interpretation that supported the rule of law and denied the dissenters' right to break the law under any circumstances.⁵⁹ As Rev. J. Perowne, Rector of St John Maddermarket, put it at a meeting of the Norwich Operative Protestant Society in 1844, "the Saviour commanded his disciples not to resist even injustice".⁶⁰ The line of defence adopted by the churchmen was not purely biblical, however. The *Chronicle's* article on St George's Colegate refusal mentioned above continued by pouring scorn on the voluntarists, suggesting that the ultimate logic of their position would leave the "King's taxes" unpaid, which "not even a Whig financier would be found sanguine enough to reckon very long on the flourishing state of his Majesty's Exchequer".⁶¹ The opposition to the church rate by the mayor and councillors also drew opprobrium from correspondents to the *Chronicle*, and the abolitionists were accused of using the issue as a cover for the "destruction of the Church of England".⁶² Another letter argued that in supporting those who refused to obey the law, the mayor, Thomas Brightwell had no right to continue as a magistrate.⁶³

⁵⁷ Anon. (13 May 1854), 'Total Abolition of Church Rates', *NN*, p4; Anon. (9 February 1856), 'Church Rate' *NC*, p2

⁵⁸ Anon. (14 April 1860), no title, *NN*, p4

⁵⁹ See Civis (11 February 1837), 'To the Editor of the Norfolk Chronicle', *NC*, p3; see also H. T. Dickinson (1979), *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in 18th Century Britain*, London: Methuen, esp. 20-21 & 307

⁶⁰ Rev. J. Perowne quoted in Anon. (20 January 1844), 'Norwich Operative Protestant Association', *NC*, p2

⁶¹ Anon. (22 March 1834), no title, *NC*, p2 emphasis in original

⁶² Q. (4 February 1837), 'To the Editor of the Norfolk Chronicle', *NC*, p3

⁶³ Civis (11 February 1837), 'To the Editor of the Norfolk Chronicle', *NC*, p3

In his examination of the church rates abolition campaigns and the repeated attempts to legislate for abolition in parliament, J. P. Ellens argued that the conflict was central to the “shaping [of] a secular and desacralized liberal state, and drawing Protestant Dissenters into the Liberal Party.”⁶⁴ However, as we have seen, as early as 1835, long before the Liberal Party-proper existed, dissenting opponents of the church rates such as Mr Newbiggin were campaigning on a liberal platform in local politics.⁶⁵ The church rate played a significant role as a marker in distinguishing the liberals and radicals who were generally against the rate from the Whigs, who might remain in favour.⁶⁶ This issue would become more central to the Liberal identity over the course of the 1850s and “Vote by Ballot, Extension of the suffrage and Repeal of the Church Rates” would become key aspects of the Liberal platform.⁶⁷ Accordingly, the MP for King’s Lynn, J. H. Gurney drew heavy criticism from the *News* in 1855 “as the only Liberal who voted against the abolition of the church rate”.⁶⁸ Of the two Liberal candidates for the City of Norwich at the 1857 election, Mr Schneider and Lord Bury, though both Anglicans, declared for abolition.⁶⁹ This marked out Lord Bury for continued criticism by the *Chronicle*, which before the 1859 election suggested that Bury had been converted “to the Ballot” and church rate repeal by an “interview with Mr Tillett”.⁷⁰ Even after his election, the *Chronicle* would not let the matter drop and repeated this charge on a number of occasions, with one article asking “Who would be a modern Whig?”, and lamenting the influence of “Radicals” like Tillett on Bury, “a member of one of the oldest and most aristocratic Whig families in the county”.⁷¹

⁶⁴ Ellens (1994), *Religious Routes*, p1

⁶⁵ Anon. (10 January 1835), ‘Norwich Election’, *NC*, p2

⁶⁶ See for instance, Anon. (9 September 1837), no title, *NC*, p2, emphasis in original

⁶⁷ Anon. (29 November 1856), ‘The Norfolk Chronicle’, *NC*, p2

⁶⁸ Anon. (7 April 1855), ‘What falling off is there?’, *NV*, p4; The Liberal electors of Kings Lynn seem to have been equally confused by Gurney’s position, see Anon. (23 August 1854), ‘Meeting of the Liberal Party’, *NM*, p3

⁶⁹ Anon. (18 March 1857), ‘Norwich Election’, *NM*, p2

⁷⁰ Anon. (9 April 1859), ‘The Norfolk Chronicle’, *NC*, p4; Anon. (23 April 1859), ‘The Norfolk Chronicle’, *NC*, p5

⁷¹ Anon. (24 March 1860), ‘The Norfolk Chronicle’, *NC*, p4; see also Anon. (25 June 1859), ‘The Norfolk Chronicle’, *NC*, p5

Tillett, who was a solicitor by profession, arguably cemented his role as leading opponent of the church rates by defending a number of prosecutions for non-payment of the rate in the magistrates' courts, and succeeding in having a number of these cases dismissed on technicalities.⁷² In one of these instances, the defendant, Charles Gittings, was the churchwarden of another parish, liable for the rate by virtue of his wine merchants business in St Saviour's.⁷³ Gittings was not the only Norvician in public office to be prosecuted for non-payment. Jeremiah Colman, during his tenure as deputy-mayor was brought in front of the magistrates for refusal to pay a church rate raised to repair the chapel of ease at Heigham.⁷⁴ According to the report in his own paper, the *News*, the defendant was met with "applause" on entering the courtroom, with the article suggesting "that the majority of those present were opposed to the unjust principle of compelling one man to pay for the religion of another".⁷⁵ Colman was defended by Tillett, with Tillett insisting that the parishioners were not bound in law to pay for the chapel as well as the church.⁷⁶ Thus disputing the legality of the rate, Tillett moved that the case be brought before an ecclesiastical court and the matter appears to have been dropped.⁷⁷ The *News* used the occasion to print an editorial, which argued that "[t]he Establishment seems doomed to fall by its own hands. They who strive most stoutly to defend it are unconsciously hastening its overthrow."⁷⁸

Resistance to the rate was, then, extensive and supported by those in influential positions in the city. In this sense, by the end of the 1850s the rate can be considered to have been *de facto* voluntary in the city. In 1857 *The Ipswich Journal* reported a parliamentary return instigated by Lord Robert Cecil which showed that at one time or another the rate had been

⁷² Anon. (2 November 1844), 'Church Rates', *NC*, p2; Anon. (1 November 1845), 'Church Rates', *NC*, p2; Anon. (18 April 1846), no title, *NM*, p3

⁷³ Anon. (1 November 1845), 'A Churchwarden Summoned for Church Rates', *NN*, p2

⁷⁴ Anon. (25 March 1848), 'Non-Payment of Church Rates', *NN*, p3

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Anon. (25 March 1848), 'Heigham Church Rate Case', *NN*, p2

refused or had proven to be difficult to collect at thirteen of Norwich's churches.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, subsequent to this return the Church of England would begin a rear-guard action in defence of the rate. The archdeacons were instrumental in leading this defence and used their visitation charges to defend both the rate and establishment.

The Archdeacon of Norwich, Robert Hankinson used his charge of 1859 to assert that abolition had "been made a popular cry of political agitation" and that their removal would be a step on their road to disestablishment.⁸⁰ In November that year the *News* printed an editorial with the title "The Archdeacons in Battle Array!", which was unsympathetic to a declaration made by the Archdeacons as a corporate body defending the rates as a cornerstone of Establishment and the Church as the "inheritance of the poor".⁸¹ The *Chronicle* was more supportive and the following January published a petition "recommended" by Hankinson which it hoped the county parishes would use to petition parliament.⁸² The Archdeacons nationally also used convocation to call on the bishops in the Lords to oppose the abolition bill.⁸³

As the clergy were mobilising to defend establishment, the laity of the Church of England also set-up their own campaigning groups. The Committee of Laymen and the Church Institution were both set up to rival the Liberation Society, which had been campaigning for church rate repeal since 1853.⁸⁴ Nationally these organisations were successful in delegitimizing the Liberation Society, and those bringing abolition bills at the turn of the 1860s were keen to disavow any connection with the Society.⁸⁵ The Church Institution also spawned a network of local auxiliaries.⁸⁶ Norwich Diocesan Church Association was set up in 1862, which as Archdeacon Hankinson put it was to "unite churchmen, lay and clerical of every shade of

⁷⁹ Anon. (7 February 1857), 'Church Rates' *Ipswich Journal*, p4

⁸⁰ Quoted by Anon. (21 May 1859), 'Archdeacon Hankinson's Visitation', *NN*, p5

⁸¹ Quoted in Anon. (5 November 1859), 'The Archdeacons in Battle Array!', *NN* p5

⁸² Anon. (28 January 1860), 'Petitions in Favour of Church Rates', *NC*, p5

⁸³ Anon. (28 January 1860), 'Convocation', *NC*, p4

⁸⁴ See Ellens (1994), *Religious Routes*, pp115-116 & 172-174

⁸⁵ Machin (1977), *Politics*, p319

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p313

political opinion in the maintenance and support of the Established Church”.⁸⁷ The Association was involved in arranging petitions against Church Rate Abolition Bill and against the Dissenter’s Burial Bill and, at least according to the *News*, at the first annual meeting, the chairman referred “in congratulatory terms to the defeat” of these bills.⁸⁸ In 1864 the Association “issued a circular calling upon Churchmen to commence a thorough Church-Rate crusade in the several parishes of the Diocese.”⁸⁹ Thus in the face of continued opposition to the rate both the clergy and leading members of the laity sought to reassert their authority.

Despite its initial success, the combination of action by the laity and the clergy of the Church of England arguably came too late. In some ways the voluntary principle had already been confirmed. From a conservative standpoint some were to argue that the vote in the vestry made the rate voluntary. As ‘A Conservative’ argued in a pamphlet, a review of which was printed in the *Chronicle*, the rates were “assessed by the voluntary principle; the minority must give way certainly”.⁹⁰ To some extent a version of this argument was becoming a popular view amongst defenders of the rate. William Bates wrote to the *Chronicle* in 1858 on the same lines, arguing that “[i]f a majority in the vestry of this parish choose voluntarily to tax themselves to maintain the fabric and the services of the church... the law leaves them perfectly to do so or not”.⁹¹ From a different angle, in 1860 as a Church Rate Bill moved from the Commons to the Lords, the *Mercury* suggested that “[t]he fabrics, not the Church as a spiritual body, may now be said to stand completely subservient to the voluntary principle, as the most unpretending meeting house in the kingdom.”⁹² A year later the *News* reprinted an article from *The Times* which argued that “the church rate is not a thing of our age” and that “all the great buildings and rebuildings, and restorations and decorations and considerable repairs are done by

⁸⁷ Quoted in Anon. (24 May 1862), ‘Archdeacon Hankinson’s Visitation Charge’, *NM*, p6

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*; Anon. (7 March 1863), ‘Norwich Diocesan Church Institution’, *NN*, p3

⁸⁹ Anon. (19 March 1864), ‘Church Rates’, *The Suffolk Chronicle*, p5

⁹⁰ A Conservative quoted in Anon. (26 December 1863), ‘Literary Notices’, *NC*, p7

⁹¹ William Bates (10 March 1860), ‘To the Editor of the Norfolk Chronicle’, *NC*, p7

⁹² Anon. (31 March 1860), ‘Church Rates’, *NM*, p4

voluntary zeal".⁹³ Although the repeal bill was not to pass the Lords, in reporting on the second reading of Sir John Trelawny's bill in the commons that year, the *News* hailed the "Triumph of the Voluntaries".⁹⁴

As Binfield noted, the row over the rates had left the fabrics of the churches in poor repair. The members of the clergy completing the 1851 Church Census returns at St George's, Colegate and at St Mary, Coslany both took the opportunity to lament the poor state the refusal of a rate had meant for these buildings.⁹⁵ At St Margaret de Westwick an attempt to raise a rate seems to have been continually adjourned, the church had to be closed in the mid 1863 as it was "in an unfit and unsafe condition for public worship".⁹⁶ Writing to the *Chronicle* in 1856, a correspondent signing themselves Presbyter stated that "it is a lamentable thing to see the magnificent churches of our fair city sinking into a state of sordid disrepair".⁹⁷ Presbyter's solution was to raise money through collections on communion Sundays.⁹⁸ Raising money through the preaching of sermons had already been adopted as method of fundraising, with the Bishop preaching at St George's Colegate in 1844, and at St Clement's in 1846.⁹⁹ However, the offertory system seems to have been associated with ritualism, and was therefore suspect in some quarters.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, increasingly, funds for repair were to be raised outside of or as an adjunct to the rate.

Whilst the church rate debate was to rumble on for another seven years after the *News* hailed the voluntary's triumph, there was ample evidence to suggest that a new mode of funding

⁹³ Anon. (2 March 1861), 'The "Times" on Church Rates', *NN*, p2; Anon (27 Feb. 1861), no title, *The Times*, p8

⁹⁴ Anon. (2 March 1861), 'Triumph of the Voluntaries', *NN*, p5

⁹⁵ See N. Ede and J. Virgoe (1998), *Religious Worship in Norwich - the 1851 Census of Accommodation and Attendance at Worship*, Norwich: Norfolk Records Society, pp123 & 124. See also C. Binfield (2004), 'Church and Chapel' in C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson, *Norwich since 1550*, p410

⁹⁶ Anon. (29 April 1865), 'Proposed Restoration of St Margaret's Church', *NC*, p2

⁹⁷ Presbyter (27 September 1856), 'To the Editor of the Norfolk Chronicle', *NC*, p6

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Anon. (28 December 1844), 'St George's Colegate Church', *NC*, p2; Anon. (21 February 1846), 'Re-opening of St Clement's Church', *NN*, p2

¹⁰⁰ See for instance R. H. Mason (20 January 1866), 'The Free Seat Movement in the Church', *NM*, p4

church building and repair was now in force. In 1850 the *Chronicle* had noted “a very general spirit abroad, amongst churchmen, to promote the restoration and improvement of their parish churches”.¹⁰¹ This included work at St Peter Mancroft, and at St Martin-at-Palace where the vicar and the churchwardens had “subscribed most liberally themselves” to a fund for repair.¹⁰² The assistant curate at the latter church took the opportunity of the Census to record the imminent restoration of the church, noting that £600 had been raised by subscription for the works.¹⁰³ Those who filled out the 1851 Church Census returns in relation to the new churches of Christ Church, New Catton and St Mark’s Lakenham noted the combination of public and private funds which had resulted in their construction.¹⁰⁴ The Incorporated Church Building Society was also turned to for funds and supported the repair of St Michael, Coslany in 1858.¹⁰⁵ In 1862 the Society held a public meeting in Norwich for the first time and the *Chronicle* devoted a supplementary page to the proceedings.¹⁰⁶ The Diocese of Norfolk itself, had had a Diocesan Society for Building and Enlarging Churches since 1836. However, the Society was not well supported by the laity in the diocese as we will explore further in the following chapter.¹⁰⁷

Civic Pride

The effectiveness of a more voluntaristic settlement that had developed by the end of the 1860s in securing the repair of the stock of Norwich’s city churches as a whole can be gauged by the mooted dilapidations mentioned at the start of this chapter. Whilst fundraising for repair was often very successful, it is clear that this settlement did not provide effective management for Norwich’s medieval churches *in toto*. There may have been something in the objections to

¹⁰¹ Anon. (24 August 1850), ‘Restoration and Repair of Churches’, *NC*, p2

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp129

¹⁰⁴ Ede and Virgoe (1998), *Religious Worship in Norfolk*, Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, pp121 & 135

¹⁰⁵ Anon. (2 January 1858), no title, *NC*, p4

¹⁰⁶ Anon. (21 June 1862), ‘Incorporated Church Building Society’, *NC*, pp9-10

¹⁰⁷ See *ibid.*; and Anon (1 May 1883) ‘Norwich Diocesan Church Building Society’, *The Ipswich Journal*, p2

abolition that it would “leave thousands of poor parishes to the tender mercy of voluntaryism” as a correspondent to the *Chronicle* put it in 1868.¹⁰⁸ Whether or not this was reflected in the ongoing availability of religious instruction in these parishes is not my concern here, but from a building conservationist standpoint the settlement was piecemeal and resulted in the proposed dilapidations mentioned at the start of this chapter. Rather than raise the rate, the Anglicans had recourse to a number of fundraising strategies for repair. This left churches open to the mercy of local issues, such as declining populations, and the patchy provision of local organisation without extensive support for maintaining existing churches from the diocese.

As we have seen, Doyle’s work on Edwardian Norwich argued that despite increasing suburbanisation, “most of the middle-class remained spatially wedded to the city with residents paying city rates, using city services and conducting most of their social, religious and political life in the city centre.”¹⁰⁹ This social engagement continued to be a feature of life in Norwich through the inter-war period and beyond, and was deeply linked to the historic nature of the city. Pendlebury and Hewitt have drawn attention to the role of “place attachment” in the activities of voluntary societies in this period, taking the Norwich Society as an example.¹¹⁰ This group was formed by members of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (NNAS) and the Norfolk and Norwich Association of Architects in order to contest planning decisions taken by the Corporation involving the demolition of historic buildings.¹¹¹ Pendlebury and Hewitt argued that the Society’s motivation stemmed from “a deep topophilia for the city collectively held by its most active members, often expressed through its historic nature and the aesthetic qualities this was felt to imbue.”¹¹² As we will see in this section, the Norwich

¹⁰⁸ A Norfolk Clergyman (25 April 1868), ‘The Confederacy Against our Protestant Church’, *NC*, p10

¹⁰⁹ Doyle (1997), ‘The structure of elite power’, p183

¹¹⁰ Pendlebury and Hewitt (2018), ‘Place and voluntary activity’, pp458 & 462-464

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp463-464

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p464

Society was just one expression of this love of place, through which Norwich's elites "used their professional expertise... to engage with" the Corporation.¹¹³

The NNAS itself had a key role in the ongoing social construction of Norwich as a historic city, and the importance of the city's churches within this. The next chapter will consider the influence of the NNAS more thoroughly. However, by the time of the formation of the Norwich Society, the NNAS had been in existence for more than three quarters of a century, meeting regularly and organising excursions to the historic sites of the county.¹¹⁴ During the presidency of the Dean of Norwich, Dr Goulburn, excursions seem to have been made more frequently to places in and around the city.¹¹⁵ From 1881, yearly "Walks in Norwich" were held by the Society and generally these took in a number of the city's churches on their routes.¹¹⁶ The 1882 excursion, for instance, visited St Augustine's, St Mary, Coslany, St Michael, Coslany, and St George, Colegate, as well as the Old Meeting House, and a number of secular sites.¹¹⁷ Reflecting back on the excursions a few years later, a member of the NNAS suggested that the walks "became very popular with the society, and led to a great increase in the number of our members. People were glad to learn about the antiquities of our ancient city".¹¹⁸ Thus the Society contributed to a growing public awareness of the significance of Norwich's historic churches. This added an extra dimension to fundraising for their repair and in fact by the 1860s in the case of St John, Maddermarket, the Anglicans were talking up the historic significance of their churches as part of their fundraising strategies, appealing directly to 'archaeologists'.¹¹⁹

As at Huddersfield, the Anglicans held bazaars in aid of church repair, as well as making collections after sermons. However, unlike Huddersfield, added interest to these activities

¹¹³ Ibid., p468

¹¹⁴ B. Cozens-Hardy (1946), 'The Early Days of the Society', P. Millican (ed) (1946), *Norfolk Archaeology*, Norwich: Jarrold and Sons

¹¹⁵ Merrick Goulbourn was president from 1869 to 1889 of the NNAS, Ibid., p6

¹¹⁶ Anon. (30 October 1897), 'Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *NC*, p8

¹¹⁷ Anon. (1 November 1882), 'Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *NM*, p5

¹¹⁸ Quoted in Anon. (30 October 1897), 'Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *NC*, p8

¹¹⁹ Anon. (19 September 1863), 'Church of St John Maddermarket', *NC*, p3

could be found in the antiquity of the buildings in question. For instance, an article in the *Eastern Evening News* trailing a fancy fair in aid of the repair of St Gregory's played on its "foundation in the days of King John (1210)" its "fresco" painted "probably at the expense of that influential fraternity, St George's Guild" amongst other historic features.¹²⁰ Goulburn spoke at the opening of the bazaar and suggested the church was "one of the most - if not the most - curious and interesting in an archaeological point of view" in the city, before discussing points of interest within the church.¹²¹ The historic value of the churches would continue to be looked to for fundraising purposes throughout the late Victorian period. In some cases, this took on an almost parodic quality. For instance, at a later bazaar for the repair of St Michael, Coslany, again held at St Andrew's Hall, the "lady stall keepers wore costumes of the period Louis Quinze".¹²² In opening this event, Sir Henry Bullard, then Conservative MP for Norwich, drew attention to the church's connections with sixteenth century mayors of the city.¹²³ Talking up the church's historic connections continued to be an oft-resorted to strategy, with the Vicar of St Clement's and St Edmund's seeking to raise £10 to reglaze and clean the latter church writing to the *Eastern Daily Press*, calling for assistance from "those who are interested in the preservation of our ancient historical buildings" and noting the church's connection to the ancient fishermen of the city and the children's hospital which once stood opposite.¹²⁴ Thus fundraising for church repair and their enjoyment as places with a deep connection to the history of the city became intertwined.

Despite the growing interest in the history of these places, the declining population numbers of certain parishes and over-provision of places of worship in the city centre, as well as issues surrounding the payment of the clergy were becoming a cause of concern in the diocese.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ Anon. (10 February 1886), 'Grand Bazaar at Norwich', *Eastern Evening News (EEN)*, p2

¹²¹ Ibid., p3

¹²² Anon. (01 February 1896), 'St Michael's Coslany Church Restoration Fund', *NM*, p5

¹²³ Anon. (01 February 1896), 'St Michael's Coslany Church Restoration Fund', *NM*, p5

¹²⁴ C. W. H Baker (03 June 1891), 'St Edmund's Church Fishgate Street', *EDP*, p8

¹²⁵ Anon. (11 February 1905), 'Norwich Consistory Court', *NC*, p4; Anon. (23 October 1897), 'Crumbling City Churches', *NN*, p3;

In 1890 the Bishop of Norwich set up a commission to look at possible alterations to rearrange the benefices in the City of Norwich and to search for ways to improve the incomes of both the benefices and their curates.¹²⁶ The report of this commission recommended the reorganisation of eleven parishes into five united benefices and proposed ‘dilapidation’ of St Peter, Hungate; St Simon and St Jude; All Saints’; St Swithin’s; and for services at St Mary in the Marsh to be discontinued.¹²⁷ The reasons for these decisions stemmed from the changing centres of population in Norwich as a whole which had left the populations of its parishes mismatched. Whereas St James with Pockthorpe had a population of 3,505 (“largely increased since census”), St Simon and St Jude had a population of just 351.¹²⁸ These changes had already led to some rationalisation. In the 1880s St Peter Southgate was demolished, and in the following decade SS Simon and Jude was saved from the same fate by being used as a Sunday School.¹²⁹ Besides the diocese’s plans for reorganisation, these dilapidations can also be linked to disparities in clergy income. In the case of the Church of St Simon and St Jude, the *News* admitted that this building was not in the same state of disrepair as the other “crumbling churches”.¹³⁰ However, it did not see worship as the living had been combined with that of the more successful St George’s Tombland, and did “not permit an assistant priest to be kept”.¹³¹

The dilapidation plans of the 1890s did not immediately come to fruition, but the plans remained in the public mind and the deteriorating condition of St Swithin’s and St Mary, Coslany were the subject of at least one letter calling for their demolition in 1895.¹³² However, rather than immediately pursue the goal of rationalisation, the Bishop, John Sheepshanks launched a New Century Fund in 1901 to raise money towards mission rooms and churches,

¹²⁶ Anon. (07 March 1891) ‘Commission of Enquiry Re Norwich (City) Benefices’, *EDP*, p2

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ N. Groves (2016), “‘With Concern, but not without hope’: An Overview of the Norwich Historic Churches Trust”, N. Groves (ed) (2016), *Redundancy and Renewal*, p49

¹³⁰ Anon. (23 October 1897), ‘Crumbling City Churches’, *NN*, p3

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Meliboeus (08 October 1895), ‘Two Church Wrecks in Norwich’, *Eastern Evening News*, p4

school provision and towards the foreign missions.¹³³ In terms of church provision, the aim was to expand the Church's reach into the "large suburbs springing up where there was inadequate church provision."¹³⁴ Here again the voluntary principle was being looked to by the Anglicans.

In trailing the fund the *Norfolk Chronicle* suggested that the aim was to raise £5,000 through one hundred thousand shilling offerings by communicants.¹³⁵ The columnist St Nicholas in the *Norfolk News* lauded this goal "if only to teach us to rely on the small offerings of the many, rather than the large offerings of the few" whilst also lamenting the ongoing decline of major donors to the "cause of God".¹³⁶ Here we can see echoes of the situation uncovered by Sarah Flew in relation to the Diocese of London discussed in the previous chapter.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, by 1907 the Bishop's Fund had raised £25,000 with some of the money put toward the construction new churches in Pockthorpe, Heigham, New Catton and New Lakenham.¹³⁸ Money was also put to the renovation of already existing medieval churches in the villages being swallowed up by Norwich's urban expansion at Trowse and at Lakenham.¹³⁹ Thus the diocese used the fund to prioritise congregations beyond the line of the historic city wall.

Whilst the diocese was willing to spend money to repair its building stock in the suburbs, the same was not true for its existing stock in the city. The church of St Mary, Coslany, for instance, had been closed at least since 1892 with new vicar of the benefice, Dudley Suffling, arriving to find all the windows broken and the church therefore unfit for service.¹⁴⁰ His successor, acting as sequestrator, was accused by a parishioner at the consistory court hearing of having

¹³³ Anon. (23 February 1901), 'The New Century Fund', *EEN*, p2

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Anon. (7 November 1891), 'Norwich City Benefices Commission', *NC*, p7

¹³⁶ St Nicholas (09 February 1901), 'Church Chat', *NN*, p10

¹³⁷ S. Flew (2014), *Philanthropy and the funding of the Church of England, 1856-1914*, Abingdon: Routledge, esp. chapter four

¹³⁸ Anon. (16 February 1907), 'The Bishop's Fund', *NN*, p10; see also Anon. (7 March 1903), 'Church Extension in Norwich', *NM*, p6

¹³⁹ Anon. (7 March 1903), 'Church Extension in Norwich', *NM*, p6

¹⁴⁰ S. A. Dudley Suffling (25 June 1892), 'St Mary at Coslany Norwich', *NC*, p3

neglected the church.¹⁴¹ He rebutted this charge in a letter to the *Chronicle*, and recounted his trouble in fundraising, having unsuccessfully sought money from the Bishop's fund and from subscription.¹⁴² The meagre £20 from the living he used to pay for a Bible woman to make ministrations in the parish, whilst he concentrated on his other parishes in the benefice.¹⁴³ In fact, the issues had been ongoing since the church's closure in the 1890s, and neither Suffling, nor the Archdeacon had found the money needed to keep the building wind and water tight.¹⁴⁴ By 1905 a column in the *Eastern Evening News* was outright calling for the demolition of St Mary's, along with that of St Peter, Hungate and St Swithin's.¹⁴⁵ However, despite the call for dilapidation contained in the report of the Bishop's Commission, this was not permissible under the relevant legislation because of the size of the population of the parish.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, these buildings seem to have been subject to a period of a lack of interest from their parishioners, and to some extent by the diocese, the attention of which was directed elsewhere.

With the diocese targeting its resources towards the suburbs, care for the churches and their churchyards in the centre were opened to more secular arrangements for their management. An Open Spaces and Playing Fields Society was formed in 1892 to secure spaces in which to play sport, playgrounds for children, and other spaces for recreation.¹⁴⁷ Funds for the Society were raised through subscription, but the association also had strong links to the Corporation, with the mayor acting as president.¹⁴⁸ Soon after its formation, the Society turned its attention to Norwich's churchyards, beginning with St Augustine's which was laid out as a garden.¹⁴⁹ The scheme contributed funds from the group and the lease taken on by the Corporation with

¹⁴¹ Anon. (09 September 1905), 'The Bells of St Mary's Norwich', *NN*, p1

¹⁴² S. A. Dudley Suffling (25 June 1892), 'St Mary at Coslany Norwich', *NC*, p3

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; Anon. (09 October 1897), 'Crumbling City Churches', *NN*, p10

¹⁴⁵ Sprite (27 January 1905), 'Miles' Boy Tells Me', *Eastern Evening News*, p4

¹⁴⁶ St Nicholas (25 February 1905), 'Church Chat', *NN*, p10

¹⁴⁷ Anon. (10 February 1892), 'Playing Fields and Open Spaces', *NM*, p2

¹⁴⁸ Anon. (10 February 1892), 'Playing Fields and Open Spaces', *NM*, p2

¹⁴⁹ Anon. (13 May 1893), 'Norwich Consistory Court', *Eastern Evening News*, p3; Anon. (7 June 1894), 'Recreation Grounds in Norwich', *Eastern Evening News*, p4

an undertaking to maintain the space.¹⁵⁰ By 1903 the Society had converted at least six churchyards into gardens in this way.¹⁵¹ In addition, they made a number of small grants to parishioners to beautify their churchyards.¹⁵² In this, the concerns of the Society seem to have been a form of civic revivalism with the aim of reclaiming the title “city of gardens” for Norwich repeatedly asserted at events they organised.¹⁵³ Their goal also came to include civic boosterism, and in 1894, at a joint meeting with the NNAS, the “[a]dvertisement by photographs, books and correspondence was advocated, as well as the regular opening of the churches and other places of interest during the week” in order to promote Norwich as a tourist destination.¹⁵⁴ In doing so, the Society attempted to forge links with Norwich, Connecticut, sending a copy of their reports to the Otis library there and drawing publicity in the process.¹⁵⁵

As the Corporation came to support the management of the spaces around the city’s churches, building conservationists began to take a concerted interest in the churches themselves. The case of St Peter, Hungate ran parallel to that of Mary, Coslany, but here the possibility of dilapidation seems to have been legally permissible. The congregation seems to have been active at the time of the ‘crumbling churches’ articles in 1897, making do with a tarpaulin over the chancel.¹⁵⁶ However, the death of the incumbent in 1901 offered the opportunity to unite the parish with that of St Michael-at-Plea, as suggested by the Bishop’s Commission.¹⁵⁷ Subsequently, the Archdeacon launched an appeal for £700 to repair the church and use it as a mission room, appending a detailed architectural description of the church and emphasising its connection with the Paston family in his appeal letter.¹⁵⁸ This was without success, and at

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Anon. (07 June 1902), ‘Topics of the Time’, *NC*, p7; Anon. (25 July 1903), ‘Re-opening of St Saviours’, *NM*, p5

¹⁵² Anon. (3 November 1906), ‘Norwich Open Spaces Society’, *NC*, p10

¹⁵³ See for instance Anon. (3 November 1894), ‘Norwich Playing Fields and Open Spaces Society’, *NC*, p2; and Anon. (4 November 1899), ‘Norfolk Notes’, *NN*, p13

¹⁵⁴ Anon. (21 July 1896), ‘The Attractiveness of Norfolk and Norwich’, *EDP*, p3

¹⁵⁵ Anon. (02 July 1898) ‘About another Norwich’, *NC*, p2

¹⁵⁶ Anon. (16 October 1897), ‘Crumbling City Churches’, *NN*, p11

¹⁵⁷ Anon. (15 April 1901), ‘Death of Rev W. B. Hull’, *EEN*, p2

¹⁵⁸ T. T. Perowne (26 March 1904) ‘St Peter Hungate, Norwich: An Appeal’, *NM*, p3

a vestry meeting the formal union of the parishes, the removal of the contents of St Peter's and its dilapidation was agreed to, and a faculty was then granted for these proposals.¹⁵⁹

The scheme for St Peter's dilapidation caught national attention, and the editor of the *Paston Letters* was amongst those voicing their opposition.¹⁶⁰ Prince Frederick Duleep Singh, later president of the NNAS, wrote to the Registrar, appealing for more time, having interested the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in the building, and a six month reprieve to the dilapidation was granted.¹⁶¹ The SPAB contributed £250 to the scheme, and along with the support of a number of other donors, and its repair was secured.¹⁶² St Peter, Hungate was finally re-opened in 1908.¹⁶³ In the other parishes the activities of the parishioners also saw the churches reopen, with St Swithin's benefiting from a £1,000 donation toward restoration of the church and tidying up of the churchyard.¹⁶⁴ In 1934 St Peter, Hungate was reopened as a museum for ecclesiastical art. Thus, between the end of the nineteenth century and the First World War, the city's middle classes had established an interest in the management of Norwich's urban environment and developed an association to achieve this end. In tandem, national groups had come to take an interest in the conservation of Norwich's historic places of worship. Both of these developments foreshadowed activities in the later twentieth century, as the following section will show.

Civic Trust

As we have seen, in the post-war period the Church was experiencing issues related to both clergy number and historic patterns of their deployment, whilst the cost of repairing churches was ever increasing. Nevertheless, the ongoing process through which churches were

¹⁵⁹ Anon. (28 January 1905), 'Our Crumbling Churches', *EDP*, p9; Anon. (11 February 1905), 'Norwich Consistory Court', *NC*, p4

¹⁶⁰ J. Gairdner (22 February 1905), 'Correspondence', *EDP*, p3

¹⁶¹ Anon. (27 February 1905), 'Dilapidation of a Norwich Church', *EEN*, p3

¹⁶² Anon. (07 March 1908), 'St Peter Hungate, Norwich', *NC*, p5

¹⁶³ Anon. (7 March 1908), 'St Peter Hungate, Norwich', *NC*, p5

¹⁶⁴ Sprite (18 September 1908), 'Norwich Notes and Notions', *EEN*, p4

invested with historic significance meant that by the nineteen-seventies new arrangements for the management of Norwich's buildings were being called for and the majority of the churches were then taken into civic use. This phased transition to civic management is indicative of the messy process of secularisation. As we saw in the previous chapter, McLeod has described secularisation as the on-going privatisation of religion.¹⁶⁵ In some senses we can see this process at work in transference of Norwich's formerly religious buildings to civic use, but as we will also see, this process has not been uniform and throughout the history presented here a religious influence remained, both stemming from the interest of the Church of England as an institution, and from popular understandings of these buildings.

As we saw in chapter two, the post-war period was one in which the Church began to put into place a plan for a major rationalisation of its building stock. It was a combination of these proposals, and the ongoing interest in the maintenance of the historic buildings of the city which would result in a new settlement for Norwich's city churches. The city's 1945 plan for post-war rebuilding focused on the city centre and encouraged care for Norwich's medieval heritage, including its churches.¹⁶⁶ In this way the goals of the Norwich Society were becoming realised and the heritage of Norwich had become a matter for public concern, contributing to planning policy decisions in the city. This continued to be a feature of future plans. Peter Townroe has argued that the 1967 Draft Urban Plan for Norwich came at a time of "widespread public awareness" of Norwich's "particularly rich heritage", which put pressure on the City Council to address its various objectives for employment, retail and leisure "within the constraints imposed by the height, mass, elevation, design and urban context of existing historic buildings".¹⁶⁷ A year prior to this plan, the Norwich Society and the City Council set up the Norwich Preservation Trust in order to acquire sites for conservation.¹⁶⁸ Thus the local

¹⁶⁵ H. McLeod (1996), *Religion and Society in England 1850-1914*, Basingstoke: MacMillan, p178

¹⁶⁶ P. Townroe (2004) 'Norwich since 1945' in C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (2004), *Norwich since 1550*, p464-465

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Canon M. Mann (30 Nov. 1971), 'Expansion fails to keep pace with population', *Times*, p11

authority continued to take an active interest in managing historic buildings in the city in the post-war period.

Suburbanisation continued to present issues for the diocese, and these perhaps intensified in the post-war period. As was outlined in chapter two, this period was also one in which the Church nationally looked to solve problems of administration, with the Reorganisation of Areas Measure leading to the Pastoral Measure (1968). Thus, whilst the latter measure was being drawn up, the question of church buildings provision in Norwich was revisited. The resulting Norwich Commission, led by the Conservative, Lord Brooke of Cumnor, reported near the beginning of 1970 and declared 24 of Norwich's churches to be surplus to requirements.¹⁶⁹ The issues pointed to in the report remained the same as they had at the end of the previous century. In terms of suburbanisation, the document drew attention to "the massive outward movement of population that has now taken place from the inner City" which meant that the 14 parishes in the city centre combined had a population of 4,000, whereas parishes on the outskirts had more than 10,000 each.¹⁷⁰ The report was upfront about the need to rationalise the city's stock of churches arguing that "the upkeep of so many little-used churches, some indeed being kept locked all week for fear of vandalism, is a drain on the Church's finances".¹⁷¹ The report argued that Norwich had no right to more than a fair share of clergy, or money from central funds.¹⁷² In illustrating this, it was noted the spending of the Norwich Deanery on repairs to church buildings and building upkeep was more than twice that being spent on clergy stipends.¹⁷³

The *Brooke Report* was clear that new arrangements for the care of Norwich's places of worship were needed and the arguments it contained related to this were suffused with the

¹⁶⁹ Anon. (28 June 1971), 'Norwich Churches', *EDP*, NRO, ACC 2005/362

¹⁷⁰ Norwich City Commission (1970) *Norwich City Commission Report*, Norwich: Norwich City Commission, p12

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p15

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p7

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p13

voluntary principle. The text presented a voluntaristic theory of church membership, arguing that “men and women make up the church: not set institutions”, and called for greater lay involvement.¹⁷⁴ At the same time, the report sought to minimise the importance of places of worship themselves, and argued that Christian groups can meet to worship anywhere.¹⁷⁵ Now surplus to requirements, the majority of Norwich’s “remarkable heritage of medieval churches” were to be disposed of.¹⁷⁶ As the report made clear, under the Pastoral Measure (1968) if no use for these buildings could be found, they would be demolished.¹⁷⁷ The burden of their maintenance was thus to be transferred from the Church of England, and here again the voluntary principle was key. As Lord Brooke put it in a House of Lords debate in 1972, “it seemed to us that the primary responsibility lay with the people of Norwich to seek to find means to preserve their own heritage”.¹⁷⁸ The report noted that a friends group might be formed to save the buildings from this fate. As the report put it, this group would have “the object of ensuring that this unique collection of ancient churches shall survive in totality for future generations, as an essential element in the preservation of the quality of the City”.¹⁷⁹

Those with a voice on the Commission were drawn from a mixture of ecclesiastical and civic sources. Aside from Lord Brooke, the Commission included members of the clergy such as the Rural Dean of Norwich, Canon Westwood, as well as those with commercial interests in the city, including the General Manager of the Norwich Union.¹⁸⁰ The conservation architect Bernard Feilden, who was a member of the Norwich Society, also sat on the commission.¹⁸¹ As a consequence, the report looked to the Norwich Society to support the management of

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., pp10-11

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p10

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p8

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p23

¹⁷⁸ HL Deb 18 April 1972, vol 330, cc18-52, para 42

¹⁷⁹ Norwich City Commission (1970) *Norwich City Commission Report*, p23

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p2

¹⁸¹ A. Webster (20 November 2008), ‘Sir Bernard Feilden: Dynamic architect who led the post-war conservation of British cathedrals’, *Independent*, Retrieved from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/sir-bernard-feilden-dynamic-architect-who-led-the-post-war-conservation-of-british-cathedrals-1026182.html>

the churches to be made redundant under the scheme.¹⁸² Duly, the Society publicly called for a group to be formed to save these buildings from demolition.¹⁸³ In trailing the launch of the friends group which would be formed as a result of this, John Cornforth for *Country Life* suggested that “the vital thing is to attract significant members and raise enough money to be able to form some kind of working arrangement with the City authorities.”¹⁸⁴ The report set in place the motions which would lead to a mixed economy of church repair provision in the city.

This mix of local government and voluntary action was evident from the first meeting in October 1970 at which Friends of Norwich Churches was called into being.¹⁸⁵ The driving force in the early stages in this Friends group was Lady Harrod, who had worked for the Georgian Group in the 1930s and was at that time chair of the Norfolk Branch of the Council for Protection of Rural England.¹⁸⁶ The City Council also maintained its interest in future of Norwich’s churches and the Lord Mayor of Norwich, John Jarrold spoke at the meeting of the possibility of £100,000 needing to be raised within the following ten years.¹⁸⁷ That meeting was timed to coincide with an exhibition held at St Michael-at-Plea, with the title ‘Investment in the Future’ run jointly by the City Council, the Norwich Society, the Mousehold Heath Conservators and the Norfolk Association of Architects.¹⁸⁸ For this exhibition the architects drew up plans for a variety of social uses for the buildings including a night shelter and a community centre.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸² Norwich City Commission (1970) *Norwich City Commission Report*, Norwich: Norwich City Commission, p24

¹⁸³ J. Cornforth, (27 August 1970), ‘Must all the Country Churches Go? II’, *Country Life*, p504

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Anon. (29 October 1970), ‘Friends’ fight for churches praised’, *EDP*, NRO, 2005/362 Box 1

¹⁸⁶ See M. Girouard, ‘Obituary: Billa Harrod’, *Independent*, 12 May 2005, p38; Anon. ‘Lady Harrod Campaigner for Norfolk’s churches and long-term friend and confidante of Sir John Betjeman’, *Daily Telegraph*, 12 May 2005, p25; E. W. Young, (1996), *Sixty Years of the Norfolk Society*, Dereham: Lark’s Press, p100

¹⁸⁷ Anon. (29 October 1970), ‘Friends’ fight for churches praised’, *EDP*, page number unknown NRO, 2005/362 Box 1

¹⁸⁸ J. Mardle (14 Oct 1970), ‘The Salvation of Norwich’, page number unknown *EDP*, NRO, 2005/362 Box 1

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

Jarrold also brought together an advisory group and instituted a caretaker scheme, in which local businesses arranged minor repairs to the churches during the holding period.¹⁹⁰

The interest of the City Council in taking on the management of Norwich's redundant churches led to the creation of the Norwich Historic Churches Trust (NHCT). This was conceived of as mediating organisation, a "joint body in which the Church, the Friends of the Churches, and the City Council should be represented".¹⁹¹ The Trust was formed with the objective of "preservation and maintenance for the public benefit of redundant churches of all denominations in the City of Norwich, which are of historic or architectural value" to "let or hire as the trustees see fit".¹⁹² However, whereas the Friends group was broadly based, the new Trust was relatively closed in its membership. Nevertheless, the Friends group continued to work alongside the Trust and was well established by the time the Trust came into being. By June 1971, the Friends had gained 300 members and had raised £3,000.¹⁹³ However, the Friends group had not been incorporated into a Trust, and therefore had no legal standing.¹⁹⁴ The former chairman of Colman's, Rowan Hare took on the chairmanship of the Friends, with Lady Harrod becoming vice-chair.¹⁹⁵ Hare would later be appointed chairman of the Trust. However, Harrod's personal correspondence suggests that she was unhappy with the way the arrangements had been made and viewed the changes as a "take-over" by the council.¹⁹⁶

The NHCT was essentially an agency of the Council and was supported by an annual grant up until 1990, when this funding ceased, following a decade of central government limitation on local government spending.¹⁹⁷ Local authorities generally had themselves been denuded

¹⁹⁰ A. South (05 October 1971), *Report of the Policy Committee Regarding Redundant Churches in Norwich*, p3, Norwich: Norwich City Council, NRO, 2011/176

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p4, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

¹⁹² Anon. (28 June 1971), 'Norwich Churches', *EDP*, NRO, 2005/362 Box 1

¹⁹³ Anon. (28 June 1971), 'Norwich Churches', *EDP*, NRO, 2005/362 Box 1

¹⁹⁴ M. Sayer (27 February 1975), Letter to Lady Harrod, NRO, 2011/176

¹⁹⁵ Anon. (28 June 1971), 'Norwich Churches', *EDP*, NRO, 2005/362 Box 1

¹⁹⁶ W. Harrod (4 March 1975), 'Letter to Jim [Presumably J. E. H. Neville]', NRO, 2166/1/3

¹⁹⁷ Comedia (1995), *Spirit of Place: Redundant Churches as Urban Resources*, Stroud: Comedia, p53; Norwich Historic Churches Trust (2014), *Trustees' Report and Financial Statements*, Norwich: NHCT, p17; R. Atkinson and G. Moon (1994), *Urban Policy in Britain*, London: MacMillan, pp203-206

of a range of functions from 1931 onwards.¹⁹⁸ However, despite this ongoing trend there appears to have been scope in the 1970s for local authorities to take on new functions. The founding of the Norwich Historic Churches Trust was overseen by the Town Clerk, Gordon Tilsley, an Alderman and a Councillor.¹⁹⁹ Thus, with the founding of the Trust, Norwich City Council were in the rare position of taking on a new service, albeit at arm's length. The ideal of the Trust as mediating body continued to be represented in the interests of a number of stakeholders through election to the committee. These included the members of the council, with three councillors nominated to be Trustees each year.²⁰⁰ A range of specialists were also appointed, and in the early days the Trust included the architect and former secretary of the Norwich Society, Michael Gooch, and an art historian at U.E.A. (later head of the Courtauld Institute) Professor Peter Lasko.²⁰¹ The Trust also retained links to the diocese in the person of Canon Westwood, who had contributed to the work of the Norwich City Commission.²⁰² Links to the Friends were maintained through Michael Gooch and Rowan Hare, although the latter resigned as chair of the Friends in September of 1972.²⁰³ The Trust also had outward links to the Redundant Churches Fund (RCF) in the person of architect Paul Paget.²⁰⁴ It was therefore composed of a mixture of members with both professional skills, as well as links to ecclesiastical and civic organisations.

As we saw in chapter three, the arrangements created in the Pastoral Measure for dealing with redundancy were subject to some criticism for their complexity and lengthiness. Thus, the

¹⁹⁸ M. Daunton (2002), *Just Taxes: The Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1914 - 1979*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p355

¹⁹⁹ N. Groves (2016), "With Concern, but not without hope", p51

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p53

²⁰¹ P. Hepworth (1983), 'Post-War Reconstruction and Reorganisation', R. A. Dehn (ed) (1983), *Sixty Eventful Years*, Norwich: The Norwich Society, p23; G. Tilsley (14 July 1988), 'Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; Anon. (29 May 2003), 'Professor Peter Lasko', *Times*, p. 40; W. R. Hare (11 May 1973), 'Norwich Historic Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁰² Anon. (28 January 1970), 'Plea for historic churches', *EDP*, page number unknown NRO, 2011/176

²⁰³ M. Gooch (15 January 1973), 'The Friends of Norwich Churches', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; W. Hare (29 September 1972), 'Norwich Historic Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁰⁴ P. Paget (12 March 1973), 'Redundant Churches Fund and the Norwich City Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

process of transferring Norwich's redundant churches to the Trust took place over some years. Reporting to a meeting in 1972, apart from St James Pockthorpe, which had already been declared redundant, Canon Westwood expected the first set of redundancies to be finalised by the summer of 1973, with the remaining churches to become redundant the following year.²⁰⁵ However, the Pastoral Scheme, overseen by the Church Commissioners allowed time for investigation and representations to be made, with an Order in Council necessary for final approval.²⁰⁶ Thus the first set of redundancies to be declared were in November of 1974 and the Norwich Over-the-Water group of churches subsequently declared redundant in March of 1976.²⁰⁷ Similarly, the process of finding new uses for these buildings was drawn out partly as a consequence of the Pastoral Measure. This included a fourteen-step process between redundancy and the sub-lease of the building to a tenant.²⁰⁸ After some discussion between the Advisory Board, the Church Commissioners and the Trust, it was decided that an umbrella clause specifying the re-use of the churches for the purposes of "any civic, public or educational purpose in connection with the district of Norwich or for storage" would be used in determining acceptable uses.²⁰⁹ By 1977 13 of the 24 churches identified by the *Brooke Report* were in the possession of NHCT.²¹⁰

In managing these buildings, the work of the Trust consisted of securing their repair and arranging new uses, generally by finding tenants willing to rent them. Significant difficulties were created by both these tasks. At a meeting in 1972 it was estimated that an average of £10,000 would need to be spent on each of the 14 churches expected to be made redundant over the course of the first five years.²¹¹ It was hoped that this money could be raised from an

²⁰⁵ Chairman (21 July 1972), 'Norwich Historic Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁰⁶ C. Pordham (10 January 1975), 'The Norwich Historic Churches Trust Limited', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁰⁷ C. Pordham (8 July 1974), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; C. Pordham (22 March 1976), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁰⁸ C. Pordham (10 January 1975), 'The Norwich Historic Churches Trust Limited', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁰⁹ S.A.M. Clay (06 June 1973), 'Norwich City Churches', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²¹⁰ C. Pordham (14 March 1977), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²¹¹ W. R. Hare (18 August 1972), 'Norwich Historic Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

annual grant from the City Council of £10,000, through a £50,000 grant from the RCF, and from a further £50,000 raised through rent and through other sources, such as the Friends group.²¹² In the event, only the annual grant from the City Council could be relied upon. This was granted in 1972 and reassessed on a five-yearly basis.²¹³

Besides the difficulties in securing adequate funding, the repair costs in some cases spiralled upwards. For instance initial costs at St Laurence's were thought to be around £15,000.²¹⁴ However, it became apparent that the building had gone unrepaired for a century and by 1981 full repairing costs were estimated to be in the region of £300,000.²¹⁵ The cost of the repairs probably contributed to an on-going discussion between the NHCT or the Redundant Churches Fund over which organisation would take the building on, St Laurence's was left in limbo for some time.²¹⁶ Similar cost increases were evident at St Gregory's, whilst the repair cost for others, such as St Michael-at-Plea and St Edmunds, although lower in value, still represented significant sums.²¹⁷ All this was contributed to by the economic issues of the mid-seventies, and the Rowan Hare noted in Draft Report for 1975-6, "we would be wrong not to underline the financial problems which will be facing us in these inflationary times".²¹⁸ By 1981 the Trust had arranged £180,000 of repairs to Norwich churches, with the vast majority of this spent on St Michael-at-Plea and St Gregory's.²¹⁹

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ W. R. Hare (26 January 1973), 'Norwich Historic Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²¹⁵ Council of Management (28 October 1981), 'The Future of St Clement's Church', unpaginated (p2), NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²¹⁶ A. Anderson (08 January 1973), 'Norwich St Laurence - visual survey', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; C. Pordham (18 May 1979), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; G. Tilsley (12/11/1987), 'Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²¹⁷ C. Pordham (24 June 1974), 'The Norwich Historic Churches Trust Ltd', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; W. R. Hare (13 September 1974), 'Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²¹⁸ W. R. Hare (01 October 1976), 'Draft Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²¹⁹ Council of Management (28 October 1981), 'The Future of St Clement's Church', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

As has been noted, the Trust drew on a mixed economy for its funding. Although not successful in raising money from the RCF, the Trust did manage to secure funding from a range of other sources.²²⁰ These included a number of small donations through events such as a recital at the Assembly House, and one-off contributions.²²¹ The Friends also continued fundraising including an antiques fair in 1974 that raised £1,000 for the Friends and Norfolk Society Committee for Country Churches, the forerunner of the Norfolk Churches Trust.²²² In addition, labour for several of their projects was secured through the Manpower Services Commission.²²³ However, the City Council grant was the mainstay of their funding for the Trust between 1972 and 1990.²²⁴ This money unlocked a range of other grants from the Historic Buildings Council and the Department of the Environment.²²⁵ At the beginning of 1987 the Trust launched an appeal for funds, eventually securing around £165,000 this way.²²⁶ Thus, the majority of its funds were derived from centralised sources rather than voluntary giving.

Finding new uses for Norwich's redundant churches involved a series of lengthy negotiations. A list of applications from 1973 included a night shelter for the homeless, a library, a permanent antiques fair, and an application for use for worship by the Latin Mass Society.²²⁷ Settling on uses for these buildings entailed detailed discussions both with the City Council as planning authority, and with the Diocese and the Church Commissioners as to acceptable uses.²²⁸ Early interest in the re-use of St Clements by both Pentecostals and the Roman Catholics led to

²²⁰ W. R. Hare (29 September 1972), 'Norwich Historic Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²²¹ W.R. Hare (16 February 1973), 'Norwich Historic Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; W.R. Hare (30 March 1973), 'Norwich Historic Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²²² W. R. Hare (24 June 1974), 'The Norwich Historic Churches Trust Ltd', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²²³ Anon. (20 January 1978), 'Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²²⁴ Groves (2016), "With Concern, but not without hope", p55

²²⁵ W. R. Hare (30 September 1978), 'Report of the Norwich Historic Churches Trust at year end', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; C. Pordham (10 November 1978), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²²⁶ C. Pordham (9 March 1987), 'Secretary's Report'; G. Tilsley (12 January 1989), 'Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management' NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²²⁷ Anon. (12 January 1973), 'Norwich Historic Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; C. Pordham (15 March 1984), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²²⁸ W. R. Hare (23 August 1973), 'Norwich Historic Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; C. Pordham (27 May 1977), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; C. Pordham (19 January 1979), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

the suggestion by the Secretary that “for religious purposes” be added to the umbrella clause’.²²⁹ However, the Church Commissioners considered this too broad and reserved the right to modify or waive the covenant in the conveyance “to allow for use by the Roman Catholics or some other acceptable religious body”.²³⁰ Subsequent uses deemed acceptable by these interested parties included a night-shelter for the homeless, a community arts centre, and a gymnasium.²³¹ In 2015 the Trust was the “largest landlord in the city to arts-based organisations”, with ten of its eighteen buildings used in this way.²³²

Through a range of institutions, the Church of England therefore maintained an active interest in the re-use of Norwich’s redundant churches. The Bishop himself was concerned with these issues. For instance, whilst he publicly approved of proposals to reuse St Mary, Coslany as a centre for ballroom dancing, the Trust’s minutes noted he had privately expressed some concern, and asked to be “kept informed at an early stage of proposed uses”.²³³ However, in other respects the Trust maintained a good relationship with bodies of the Church of England, and the Bishop himself offered £1,000 to the Trust towards repairs to St Peter Parmentergate.²³⁴ With the retirement of Maurice Wood in 1985, the new Bishop, Peter Nott was noted in the Trust’s minutes as being “full of praise for the Trust”.²³⁵ The NHCT also appears to have had a particularly good relationship with Miss Eates of the Advisory Board for Redundant Churches. The Advisory Board itself was well disposed to the Trust and its 1978 annual report praised the Trust as “an outstanding example of Local Authority patronage in its most enlightened form”.²³⁶ In addition, the Trust found backing from the Council for Care of

²²⁹ C. Pordham (9 May 1975), ‘Secretary’s Report’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Groves (2015), “With Concern, but not without hope”, pp56-59;

²³² Ibid., p55

²³³ C. Pordham (27 May 1977), ‘Secretary’s Report’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²³⁴ G. Tilsley (21 November 1980), ‘Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²³⁵ G. Tilsley (11 September 1986), ‘Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²³⁶ Anon. (31 May 1978), ‘Extract from the Tenth Report (1978) of the Advisory Board for Redundant Churches’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

Churches which supported the Trust's application to Department of Environment for conservation of wall paintings at St Gregory's.²³⁷

Although the Trust was conceived of as a mediating body at its creation, perhaps ironically through its creation the civic authorities limited the democratic control of the Norwich's redundant churches. This is evident from the Trust's relationship with the Friends. Whilst Lady Harrod was still vice-chair of the Friends, the Friends had issued a set of guidelines over re-use which sought the maintenance of the architectural integrity of the buildings inside and out and the retention of their contents, including fonts and monuments being retained in-situ.²³⁸ Whilst these aims were acknowledged as "splendid ideals", it is not clear that they were subsequently adhered to by the Trust.²³⁹ Nevertheless, the Friends continued fundraising after the Trust began its work, and they arranged emergency repairs to St Michael-at-Plea and at St Gregory's.²⁴⁰ However, the level of funding required in the repair of these churches stretched the Friend's fundraising abilities. At the latter church, which had already seen £3,000 worth of works, further urgent repairs were judged to be necessary which were left to the Trust to fund.²⁴¹ Thus, with their objectives having been taken on by the Trust, by 1976 the Friends were beginning to question their role.²⁴²

There arose a clear difference of opinion between the Friends and the Trust over the re-use of St Gregory's.²⁴³ The estrangement between the two organisation is evident in minutes of a 1981 meeting of the Trust at which it was resolved to appoint a member of the Friends to the

²³⁷ W. R. Hare (16 November 1979), 'Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²³⁸ M. Gooch (15 January 1973), 'Norwich Historic Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²³⁹ W. R. Hare (16 February 1973), 'Norwich Historic Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁴⁰ W. R. Hare (06 July 1973), 'Norwich Historic Churches Trust', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁴¹ C. Pordham (10 March 1975), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁴² W. R. Hare (23 January 1976), 'Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁴³ C. Pordham (18 May 1979), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; C. Pordham (16 November 1979), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; C. Pordham (18 July 1980) 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

committee so that they “would be aware of the economic problems which the Trust faced”.²⁴⁴ The Trust moved to further accommodate the Friends by acceding to their request to hire St Mary, Coslany for their use as a headquarters in 1981.²⁴⁵ However, by 1984 their source of income for this venture had dried up, and the arrangement ceased.²⁴⁶ By 1985 the Friends were discussing amalgamation with Norfolk Churches Trust and by the end of 1986 it was announced that the Friends would disband and the NHCT would receive their remaining funds.²⁴⁷ Thus the establishment of the Trust appears to have hampered greater public involvement in the management of Norwich’s redundant churches.

Arguably as a consequence of the closure of their management to democratic control, conflict was precipitated by the Trust’s more dispassionate approach coming up against individuals who had formed personal attachments to individual churches. Early in the discussions over re-use the Trust had marked out St Gregory’s for use as a museum.²⁴⁸ However, in the interim period between the declaration of redundancy and conveyance to the Trust, Martin Wyatt, the director of a choir, who had been married in the church and had formed a deep connection with the building, began to use the church for services and concerts.²⁴⁹ Conversion plans for St Gregory’s were arranged by the Museums Committee, and the significant repair bill attached to the building necessitated the raising of a substantial amount of money from the Historic Buildings Council, and from a range of charitable trusts towards the project.²⁵⁰ However, Wyatt objected to the scheme and courted public opposition, whilst refusing the Trust’s assistance to find an alternative venue for his project.²⁵¹ After the involvement of the

²⁴⁴ G. Tilsley (17 July 1981), ‘Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁴⁵ C. Pordham (18 November 1980), ‘Secretary’s Report’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁴⁶ Anon. (17 July 1984), ‘Secretary’s Report’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁴⁷ G. Tilsley (13 November 1986), ‘Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁴⁸ A.G. Munro (15 June 1973), ‘Report of the uses Sub-Committee Meeting’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁴⁹ C. Pordham (6 September 1974), ‘Secretary’s Report’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁵⁰ C. Pordham (13 January 1978), ‘Secretary’s Report’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁵¹ W. R. Hare (15 September 1978), ‘Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; W. R. Hare (16 March 1979), ‘Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; W. R. Hare (10 May 1977), ‘St Gregory’s’, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

Friends group and the Fine Art Commission, costs increased and the museum plans fell through.²⁵² Subsequently, a St Gregory's Trust was set up and by 1985 the building was re-opened as an arts venue.²⁵³

The very fact of the buildings' status as former churches also presented problems for the Trust. For instance, the fact that the churches had been closed for worship at all appears not to have been clear and someone apparently turned up for 9.30 communion at St Margaret's, prompting the Trust to remove the notice board that was still in place outside.²⁵⁴ In addition, reuse by other denominations did not always mean that repair was secured. After redundancy, St John's Maddermarket was taken over by a Greek Orthodox congregation.²⁵⁵ However, they struggled to keep the building in good repair and were eventually given notice to quit.²⁵⁶ At the same time, less formal arrangements for worship in the buildings also developed. At St Clement's a Methodist minister, Rev. Jack Burton took an interest in using the church and began hiring it on a twelve month basis in 1978.²⁵⁷ The church was then used as neither "a parish church nor a non-conformist chapel but simply as a place of prayer" as a guide to Norfolk Churches put it in a laudatory entry in 1985.²⁵⁸ However, this appears to have caused friction with the Anglicans and prompted the Diocesan Registrar to make enquiries on behalf of the Bishop.²⁵⁹ The Bishop appears not to have approved of Burton's use of the church and was quoted in the NHCT's Secretary's Report as feeling that the arrangements had "caused some embarrassment to the Anglican community in the neighbourhood".²⁶⁰ The hiring of this

²⁵² C. Pordham (18 May 1979), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; C. Pordham (16 November 1979), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; C. Pordham (18 July 1980) 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁵³ C. Pordham (9 November 1984), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; C. Pordham (17 May 1985), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁵⁴ C. Pordham (16 January 1976), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁵⁵ D. P. Mortlock and C.V. Roberts (1985), *The Popular Guide to Norfolk Churches*, Cambridge: Acorn Editions, p102; C. Pordham (07 November 1988), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁵⁶ C. Pordham (7 November 1988), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁵⁷ C. Pordham (13 January 1978), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁵⁸ Mortlock and Roberts (1985), *The Popular Guide*, p96

²⁵⁹ C. Pordham (21 September 1979), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁶⁰ Bishop of Norwich quoted by C. Pordham (16 May 1980), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

church thus appears to have caused some public relations problems for the Trust, as it had at St Gregory's. A proposal for Burton to share the building with the newly created Broads Authority in 1989 led to some negative correspondence in the *Eastern Daily Press*.²⁶¹ Thus, despite their status as redundant churches, these buildings retained an element of spiritual attraction in the public mind, raising issues for the Trust as mediating body. When the Friends group asked to hire St Mary, Coslany in 1980, the Trust allowed them to do so on the proviso that "corporate acts of worship" required the Trust's prior permission.²⁶² Later proposals for the Friends to use the building for worship appear to have been negatively received by the diocese.²⁶³

Funding the Trust through the proceeds drawn from rental income also proved to be an issue. As we have seen, it was thought at the outset that income from rent would make up a third of the Trust's supply of funds. However, both the drawn out process of redundancy, and the issues with finding suitable tenants of the churches meant that this was not achievable in the short term.²⁶⁴ In addition, as their uses were informal, and meant to be temporary, both St Gregory's and St Clement's were let at below market rent.²⁶⁵ In addition, the social uses of the churches meant that rental income could not be taken for granted. In hiring the church of All Saints to the Mothers' Union the Trust initially agreed a rent-free period.²⁶⁶ In the cases of St Swithin's and St James Pockthorpe, both in use as venues for the arts, the tenants fell into

²⁶¹ C. Pordham (4 September 1987) 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; H. G. Morton, 'Tribute to a remarkable worker-minister', *EDP*, page number unknown, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; M. Duncum (14 January 1989), 'Points', *EDP*, page number unknown, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; A. Anderson (27 January 1989), *EDP*, page number unknown, NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁶² Gordon Tilsley (26 September 1980), 'Minutes', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁶³ C. Pordham (1 October 1984), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁶⁴ W. R. Hare (20 July 1979), 'Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁶⁵ W.R. Hare (21 November 1975), 'Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; Anon. (17 March 1978), 'Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁶⁶ C. Pordham (18 July 1979), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

rent arrears.²⁶⁷ Thus, over the course of funding the maintenance of these buildings, the council and other funders indirectly subsidised other activities in the city.

As medieval buildings, all the former churches in the Trust's possession were listed buildings. As we have seen this meant that they were eligible for assistance for grant aid. It also meant that works to the buildings were opened to the scrutiny of government agencies. The Department of the Environment (DoE) and the Historic Buildings Council met with the Trust, Margot Eates and a representative of the Church Commissioners to develop categorisations for the churches specifying acceptable approaches to alterations for each category.²⁶⁸ In a subsequent meeting the view that that these were "rigid limits on the extent of structural and architectural alteration" was attributed to the Advisory Board, with the notion that imposing these terms would mean that the DoE should have to take responsibility for the buildings.²⁶⁹ In 1983 these rules were tightened with the regrading of Norwich's churches which meant that all applications for Listed Building Consent would need the approval of the DoE.²⁷⁰ As well as seeking to control works, the DoE provided grant aid to a number of projects including a grant of £39,000 to St Peter Parmentergate.²⁷¹ In addition the Trust was grateful to the DoE for the assistance provided by their architects.²⁷² Seemingly by virtue of its contribution of grant aid, the Historic Buildings Council inspected the Trust's churches on a number of times, raising concerns about the use of emulsion paint and care for the brasses.²⁷³

The City Council in its role as Local Planning Authority (LPA) also had input into the management of the Trust's buildings. For instance, the Conservation Officer had had

²⁶⁷ G. Tilsley (17 January 1985), 'Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁶⁸ C. Pordham (16 March 1981), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁶⁹ C. Pordham (11 May 1981), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁷⁰ G. Tilsley (18 March 1983), 'Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; See M. Binney and P. Burman (1977), *Chapels and Churches: Who Cares?*, London: British Tourist Authority for details of the old style of listing for ecclesiastical buildings, p208

²⁷¹ C. Pordham (14 March 1983), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁷² W. R. Hare (30 September 1978), 'Report of the Norwich Historic Churches Trust at year end', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁷³ C. Pordham (18 September 1981), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

reservations about the scheme to convert St Gregory's to a costume museum.²⁷⁴ In addition, the LPA also raised concerns about the 'continuous jumble sale' taking place outside of All Saints as part of its use by the Mothers' Union, and this was subsequently brought to an end.²⁷⁵ However, perhaps the greatest issue of concern for the LPA was the contents of the churches. By the early nineteen-eighties it seemed that the city had acquired "something of a reputation for having stripped its churches of contents".²⁷⁶ According to the Trust's secretary the agreements through which the buildings had been conveyed to the Trust had created "a grey area as to ownership of the fixtures".²⁷⁷ The Diocese had advised the Trust that the removal of contents did not require Listed Building Consent.²⁷⁸ The Secretary continued to hold this view and the contents were removed from a number of the churches.²⁷⁹ At St Mary, Coslany, the Planning Officer sought the reintroduction of the font and other fittings, but since these had been removed as part of the redundancy scheme, this was not legally possible.²⁸⁰ Thus, the extent to which the Church of England was able to operate outside of the heritage protection system had clear consequences in regards to the degree to which the churches it had made redundant became denuded of their contents. This shaded into the Trust's activities and caused considerable confusion as to the law concerning the fittings, with the LPA and the Church Commissioners taking different views.

In the latter half of the twentieth century local government experienced an ongoing decline in funding. As Simon Szreter has put it, "[r]ising local government activism and expenditure was a continuous trend in Britain for almost 110 years until it appeared to hit a roadblock in

²⁷⁴ C. Pordham (10 November 1978), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁷⁵ C. Pordham (12 September 1983), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁷⁶ G. Tilsley (18 March 1983), 'Minutes of the meeting of the Council of Management', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁷⁷ C. Pordham (08 July 1983), 'Note on the legal position relating to furnishings', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁷⁸ C. Pordham (18 July 1979), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁷⁹ C. Pordham (08 July 1983), 'Note on the legal position relating to furnishings', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13; C. Pordham (17 January 1985), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

²⁸⁰ C. Pordham (12 July 1982), 'Secretary's Report', NRO, 2006/351 Box 13

1979".²⁸¹ Thus the development of the Trust at the end of this period perhaps represents a last gasp of civic activism of this sort. In 1990 the City Council's block grant for the Trust ended. This arguably ended a significant period in the history of the city, in which the civic leaders had sought new ways to express their topophilia. Nevertheless, in the subsequent period the Trust has become more able to rely on rental income and its fundraising capabilities.²⁸² It has also continued to benefit from central funding. Since 2005 the Norwich Historic Churches Trust has received grant aid from English Heritage and for repair projects at St Michael Coslany, St John de Sepulchre and St Martin-at-Palace.²⁸³ English Heritage also advised the Trust to prepare a Conservation Management Plan for a tenyear period and provided funding on this basis.²⁸⁴ In addition, a Friends group has been refounded to support the Trust's work.²⁸⁵ More recently the Trust has applied to the HLF for funding, which led to a "major reassessment of the way in which the Trust functions".²⁸⁶ Whilst seemingly unable to raise a large capital grant from the HLF, the Trust has benefited from funds to promote Norwich's churches, and organised a festival ('Flintspiration') in order to celebrate Norwich's churches in 2017 on this basis.²⁸⁷ The Trust also received a number of other grants, including a Waste Recycling Environment grant, funds from Historic England and from the Town Close Charities.²⁸⁸ In addition, all of the Trust's properties are now leased, with rent now representing more than half of the Trust's income.²⁸⁹

²⁸¹ S. Szreter (2012), 'Britain's Social Welfare Provision in the Long Run: The Importance of Accountable, Well-financed Local Government', A. Ishkanian and S. Szreter (eds) (2012), *The Big Society Debate*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, p47

²⁸² Groves (2015), "'With Concern, but not without hope'", p54

²⁸³ Norwich Historic Churches Trust (2012), *Trustees' Report and Financial Statements*, Norwich: NHCT, p16; Norwich Historic Churches Trust (2010), *Trustees' Report and Financial Statements*, Norwich NHCT, p16

²⁸⁴ R. Quinn (2015), 'The Norwich Historic Churches Trust, returning churches to the community', Groves (ed) (2016), *Redundancy and Renewal*, p68

²⁸⁵ Groves (2016), "'With Concern, but not without hope'", p54

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p55

²⁸⁷ Norwich Historic Churches Trust (2017), *Trustees' Report and Financial Statements for Year Ended March 2017*, Norwich: NHCT, p22

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*; G. Ishmael (2016) 'Heavenly Gardens', Groves (ed) (2016), *Redundancy and Renewal*, p85;

²⁸⁹ Norwich Historic Churches Trust (2017), *Trustees' Report*, p12

Over the course of the twentieth century, Norwich's medieval churches were affected by twin processes of secularisation and the growth in interest in historic buildings conservation. Whilst the diocese continued to seek rationalisation of its building stock in the post-war period, the local authority, and Norwich's middle-classes, had by then a well-established interest in managing historic sites in the city in order to aid civic amenity. Following the *Brooke Report* voluntary action was looked to to manage Norwich's medieval churches, but the City Council's organisational clout effectively overrode a broadly-based contribution to the management of these buildings by setting up a buildings trust which acted as an executive agency. As we have seen myriad issues arose for this group. These stemmed from the complex process of redundancy and the vast repair sums needed for the buildings in question. These issues were deepened by a changing economic climate and the continuing input of a range of stakeholders with aims at odds to the Trust. The Trust itself established civic uses for Norwich's historic churches and in some cases subsidised such uses. Nevertheless, they were not wholly successful, or indeed strictly committed to changing the symbolic value of these places. Both through the ongoing interest of diocese and through the actions of interested members the public, the religious meanings of the buildings continued to be maintained long after being formally disposed of for religious purposes. Thus, although formally 'secularized', these buildings retained both religious meanings and purposes for some.

Afterword

Following the 2001 census Norwich was branded by *The Times*, "the atheist capital of Britain" as the percentage of people claiming 'no religion' for the purpose of the census was the highest in the country, and double that of the national average.²⁹⁰ This census had been the first national census to ask respondents their religious beliefs, and represented the first time since 1851 that enquiries had been made by the government into such questions on a national

²⁹⁰ R. Gledhill, (14 February 2003), 'Unholy mystery of Norwich, the atheist capital of Britain', *Times*, p1

basis.²⁹¹ Between 1851 and 2001 the management of Norwich's church underwent a number of significant changes, which, it has been argued, stemmed from the adoption of an ethic of voluntarism by Norwich's civic leaders. This voluntarism had been insisted upon in the debate over the church rates, and it was again insisted upon by the authors of the Brooke Report. Over the same period voluntary organisations in Norwich concerned themselves with the history of the city and invested its buildings with historic significance. These activities were non-sectarian in basis and Thomas Brightwell, whom as we have seen was fervently against the church rate, was himself listed amongst those attending meetings of the NNAS and served on their committee.²⁹² Thus, through an interest in the past, Norwich's civic leaders began to seek ways of managing the cityscape, and took on responsibility for the condition of the areas outside of the churches, with the civic authorities building on the traditions established in the nineteenth century by the NNAS. Thus, when the clergy determined that Norwich's churches were surplus to requirements, the civic authorities were well placed to take on their management. This transferal to civic management is indicative of a messy process of secularisation. Within this, the Church of England continued to take an interest in the management of these buildings and in certain cases, members of the public sought to retain these places for religious worship. As we will see in the chapter that follows, in Norfolk's rural areas, conservationists were much more successful in achieving this aim.

²⁹¹ J. R. Southworth (2005), 'Religion' in the 2001 Census for England and Wales', *Population, Space and Place*, 11(2), p75

²⁹² Anon. (31 January 1852), 'The Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *NN*, p3

Chapter 6

Norfolk

Introduction

In 1981 the Diocese of Norwich set up a working party on redundancy procedures.¹ The report that followed presented a bleak picture of the future of the churches in the rural parts of the Diocese. Noting changes to the structure of rural society in England, the report implied a consequent effect on the churches and chapels in the Diocese.² Without “water or electricity” and sited in sparsely populated areas, away from centres of employment these buildings had been affected by the decline in rural labour which has resulted from the mechanisation of agriculture.³ The report argued that these social changes had broken the link between the churches and the landowners who built them and they were now considered to be too closely clustered.⁴ Taking all this together, the authors argued that “such churches are no longer ‘village churches’ in the generally accepted sense”.⁵ But the authors were chary of following the requirements of the Church Commissioners by vesting a “large and increasing number of redundant buildings” with the Diocesan Board of Finance whilst an alternative use was found, doubting that a new use could even be found in most cases.⁶ It was therefore their recommendation that those churches which could not be turned over to the Redundant Churches Fund and for which no alternative use could be found, should be left to fall into ruins ignoring the redundancy procedure.⁷

In the period since the working party reported, there has been no upswing in the number of ruined churches in Norfolk and the strategy put forward by the committee to circumvent the

¹ D.H. Bishop, I.M. Asbury, E. Shirling (c.1982), ‘Working Party on Redundancy Procedures in the Diocese of Norwich’, p1 NRO, 2011/176

² Ibid., p2

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., p3

⁷ Ibid.

Pastoral Measure does not appear to be in effect. On the contrary in fact, there has been a decline in the frequency of churches being made redundant in rural areas in the Diocese.⁸ Although the countryside is no longer predominantly a place of agricultural employment, and therefore the social changes identified by the report remain, ruination has not been the path chosen by the Diocese, and in fact by the end of the twentieth century, Norfolk's churches were generally said to be in good repair.⁹ Of the 40 redundancies in rural contexts in the Diocese of Norwich between 1973 and 1996, the majority (60%) took place in the 1970s, 20% occurred in the following decade and a further 20% between 1990 and 1996.¹⁰ Despite the ongoing decline in public worship over this period, there have been no redundancies in rural areas as defined in chapter two, at least as recorded in the Church of England's official statistics (2012), since 1996.¹¹ Overall, as we saw in that chapter, the rate of redundancy in rural Norfolk is low and was calculated to be around 6.7%, which was seen to be well below the national average.

It is my contention here that the low rates of redundancy in the rural areas of the counties of Norfolk are the direct result of the development of a strong associational culture in the nineteenth century which was linked to a pursuit understood by its participants to be 'archaeology'. In the course of their activities, these archaeologists produced a vast amount of historical knowledge, which invested Norfolk's medieval parish churches with both historic and cultural significance, and placed the parish church at the heart of rural history.¹² The archaeologists' activities would provide a vast amount of material to be printed in the

⁸ See figure 1

⁹ A. Howkins (2003), *The Death of Rural England*, London: Routledge; Peter de Bunsen (Spring 1998), 'A Recipe for Disaster or a Prescription for Success', *Historic Churches Review*, Number 18, p9, NRO, 2011/176

¹⁰ Figures compiled from Closed Churches Team (2012), 'Diocese of Norwich', London: Church of England

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² This argument owes a debt to C. Miele (2011), 'Heritage and its Communities: Reflections on the English Experience in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' Melanie Hall (ed) (2011), *Heritage, Culture and Identity: Towards World Heritage*, Farnham: Ashgate; and C. Brooks (1995), 'Building the rural church: money, power and the country parish', C. Brooks and A. Saint (eds) (1995), *The Victorian Church*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p74

newspapers and thus informed public understandings of the county well into the twentieth century. This ongoing influence was both intellectual and familial and shaped the activities of later preservation societies, most notably the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE) and its outgrowths. These twentieth century associations were themselves linked through membership to the archaeologists and came to influence local and national policy towards church buildings, doing so both through personal connections and through connections in the media. Whilst the clergy played a significant role in the archaeological societies of the nineteenth century, the growth of church conservation in Norfolk represents a turn to greater lay involvement in parochial affairs as a consequence of both a decline in clergy number and their redeployment since the 1970s.

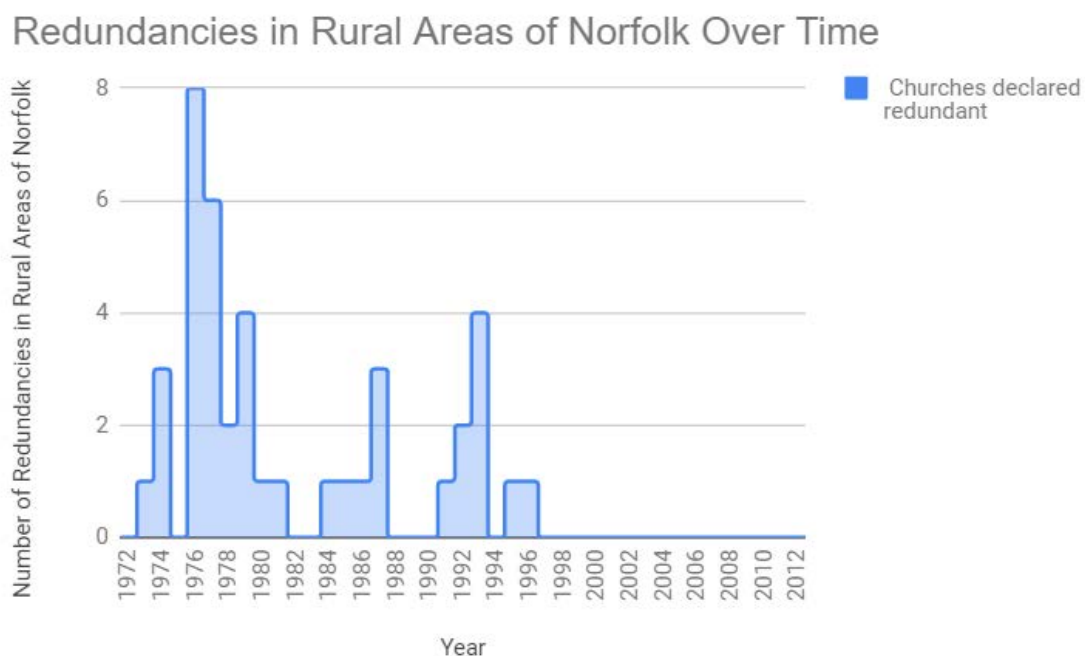


Figure 2. Redundancies in Rural Norfolk since 1971

As we saw in the first chapter, Laurajane Smith has strongly argued for a social constructionist approach as to what counts as heritage. This process has, she argued, produced a ‘common sense assumption’ that the concept can be “identified as ‘old’, grand, monumental and

aesthetically pleasing sites, buildings, places and artefacts”.¹³ Listed places of worship clearly fit this description, and could be seen as key output of what Smith described as the “hegemonic discourse” implicated in the social construction of heritage.¹⁴ What I want to investigate here are the historical processes which led to a situation of blanket statutory protection and a multi-million pound centrally supported repair budget for listed places of worship. Smith presents the broad brushstrokes picture of the development of ‘heritage’ on an international level, as a consequence of nationalism.¹⁵ However, by examining the case of Anglican churches in rural Norfolk we can see the social construction of heritage in fine-grain detail.¹⁶ In so doing, I want to show the nuances of this development as the achievement of a set of networked actors working at a local level. In the process it is argued that, particularly in the regards to twentieth-century developments, the intention of those seeking to protect these building have been based in religion, rather than heritage, *per se*.

A Series of Associations

Rural Norfolk has been of some interest to academics and scholars. Most notable of these perhaps has been the work of Tom Williamson and Susanna Wade-Martins, who have contributed a number of volumes on the landscape archaeology of the county and the region.¹⁷ Wade Martins has also published a history of conservation groups in Norfolk, which this thesis hopes to develop with particular reference to the conservation activities of archaeologists in relation to churches, and of the Norfolk Churches Trust.¹⁸ Both of these groups received only limited attention in her monograph, which was concerned with a broad range of conservation activities in the county.¹⁹ In terms of religious history, Owen Chadwick’s *Victorian Miniature* examined the relationship between a Victorian squire and his parson in Norfolk using their

¹³ L. Smith (2006), *The Uses of Heritage*, London: Routledge, p11

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., p20

¹⁶ See *ibid.*, pp17-28

¹⁷ S. Wade Martins and T. Williamson (2008), *The Countryside of East Anglia: Changing Landscapes, 1870-1950*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press

¹⁸ S. Wade Martins (2015), *A History of the Conservation Movement in Norfolk*, Woodbridge: Boydell

¹⁹ Ibid.

diaries as a lens through which to examine their power dynamic.²⁰ The squire in Chadwick's book, Sir J.P. Boileau, features below, although not in to the depth Chadwick provided. Wade Martins has also recently authored a history of Rev. Benjamin Armstrong, whose diaries have provided a source for historians of the late Victorian period.²¹ In addition, Robert Lee has taken a close look at the relations between the Norfolk's clergy and the rural poor in the nineteenth century.²² Norfolk's churches themselves have been the subject of a number of guides, most notably Mortlock's *Guide to Norfolk Churches*.²³ Nevertheless, there appears to be scope for expanding academic coverage of the history of church building conservation in Norfolk in the period in question.

In this chapter I explore the continuities between a set of associations in Norfolk over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These continuities are clearly evident and have served to create the present arrangements for the repair of historic places of worship in the Diocese of Norwich. My argument here follows that of Hewitt and Pendlebury who have noted the danger of "over-periodization" in urban and planning history which can "underplay continuities... in the relationship between state and civil society".²⁴ As they put it,

patterns of urban governance usually seen as characteristic of the Victorian period, which combined a local government and voluntary culture dominated by middle classes, continued well into the twentieth century, that there was no clear disjuncture in practices of participation in the late 1960s.²⁵

²⁰ O. Chadwick (1991), *Victorian Miniature*, Cambridge: Canto

²¹ S. Wade Martins (2018), *A Vicar in Victorian Norfolk: The Life and Times of Benjamin Armstrong*, Woodbridge: Boydell

²² R. Lee (2006), *Rural Society and the Anglican Clergy, 1815-1914: Encountering and Managing the Poor*, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer

²³ D. P. Mortlock and C. V. Roberts (2007), *The Guide to Norfolk Churches*, Cambridge: James Clarke and Co.

²⁴ L. E. Hewitt and J. Pendlebury (2014), 'Local associations and participation in place: change and continuity in the relationship between state and civil society in twentieth-century Britain', *Planning Perspectives*, 29:1, p27

²⁵ Ibid.

Although Hewitt and Pendlebury's arguments are clearly intended to relate to urban contexts, it is argued here that they extend to issues of rural governance too. This chapter will concentrate on the activities of a number of associations in Norfolk, which with East Suffolk formed part of the historic Diocese of Norwich until 1914.²⁶ Within the county this history is dominated by the development of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (NNAS) and the Norfolk Society, which was one of the branches of the CPRE.

Norfolk's conservation associations were incubated in the county's urban areas. Norwich in particular provided a hub within which the county's middle classes could develop a literary culture. Urban historians have long recognised the role of voluntary societies in the formation of urban middle class identities.²⁷ Urban associational culture in the nineteenth century was a constitutive element of the development of the middle classes in the localities, with members of this class tied together by familial links and through voluntary societies.²⁸ Norwich itself was preeminent amongst provincial urban areas in England in developing such a culture. It was the home of one of the first publicly accessible libraries in the country and had one of the first provincial newspapers.²⁹ By the mid-eighteenth century the city supported a range of associations. The masons had 12 lodges in the city by 1759 and from 1775 a Scots Society existed to support Scottish expatriates.³⁰ Norwich also hosted a number of learned societies including a Natural History Society (1747) and the esoteric Society of United Friars (1785).³¹ Early in the nineteenth century the Norwich Society of Artists (1803) was founded, and in addition to supporting a library, the Society of Artists hosted public exhibitions and fortnightly

²⁶ N. Groves (2010), *'The Restoration of Popery': the impact of Ritualism on the Diocese of Norwich, 1857-1910*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Wales, Lampeter, p44

²⁷ See for instance R. J. Morris (1983), 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780-1850: An Analysis', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 1,

²⁸ S. Gunn (2004), 'Class identity and the urban: the middle class in England, c. 1790-1950', *Urban History*, 31, 1, esp. p33

²⁹ D. Chandler (2010), '"The Athens of England": Norwich as a Literary Center in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 2, pp174

³⁰ A. Dain, (2004), 'An Enlightened and Polite Society', in C. Barringer (ed) (1984), *Norwich in the Nineteenth Century*, Gliddon Books, pp196-197

³¹ Ibid.

meetings.³² Public lectures also featured in the life of the city and the founding of the Norfolk and Norwich Museum by subscription in 1825 provided greater public space for such activities.³³ The Museum itself was a key urban site in the development of the county's conservation movement. Many of the Museum's subscribers were to become members of the NNAS and the space it provided was frequently used by antiquarians to give public lectures.³⁴

Urban institutions, along with education and intermarriage have been seen as key constitutive elements of local middle-class society. Simon Gunn has shown the ways in which these elements were key to the identity formation of the middle class, uniting commercial and professional families in Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester.³⁵ Urban institutions, Gunn argued, represented a cultural space which transcended divisions of sect and party through which class consciousness could be reproduced.³⁶ Norwich's literary culture, in the shape of its museums, and associations were a facet of this society. These cultural associations were a fertile ground for the founding of an archaeological society in the 1840s. The development of the Society was part of a national boom in number of such societies in that decade, fostered by the British Archaeological Association (BAA) which had been founded in 1843.³⁷ The influence of this national network of archaeologists is evident in the founding of a Suffolk Archaeological Institute in the neighbouring county.³⁸ Its influence in Norfolk was less explicit, but in the case of the NNAS can be detected through the person of the banker Dawson Turner. Turner was a both member of the BAS, and also chaired the meeting at which it was resolved to form an archaeological society for Norfolk.³⁹ The membership of the NNAS more or less

³² Ibid., p198

³³ Ibid., pp198-200

³⁴ See for instance, Anon (16 March 1844), no title, *Norwich Mercury*, p3

³⁵ S. Gunn (2007), *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City 1840-1914*, Manchester: Manchester University Press pp22-23

³⁶ Ibid., p24

³⁷ L. Keen (1998), 'Preface' in V. Brand, (ed) (1998), *Study of the Past in the Victorian Age*, Oxford: Oxbow Books pv; D. Wetherall, 'The Growth of Archaeological Societies', V. Brand, (ed) (1998), *Study of the Past in the Victorian Age*, Oxford: Oxbow Books, p24-26

³⁸ Anon. (12 November 1845), 'Bury November 11', *Bury and Norwich Post*, p2

³⁹ Anon. (13 December, 1845), 'Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p2; Anon (1846), 'British Archaeological Association', *London Daily News*, p3

reflects Gunn's characterisation of such societies as non-sectarian in basis. Anglicans in the Society seem to have represented a majority, but non-conformists certainly held an interest. For instance Hudson Gurney, a Quaker, was an early financial supporter of the Society.⁴⁰ Interest in the Society also crossed party lines, with the Conservative politician Samuel Bignold and the Whig Sir William Ffolkes both present at early meetings.⁴¹ However, in contrast to the places studied by Gunn, Norfolk remained a largely rural county and a substantial part of the membership of the NNAS were drawn from this hinterland. Not least of these were the clergy who have been calculated as about a third of the Society's membership in 1849.⁴²

Associations in general have been seen by historians as key for space for the wealthy to assert their social status. R.J. Morris has suggested in connection with Edinburgh and elsewhere that there were two phases of associational culture. In the first, learned societies offered the opportunity of mixing between the aristocracy and their social inferiors.⁴³ In the second, societies of the 1830s represented a more concerted effort by the newly established merchants and their associates to establish their political and moral domination.⁴⁴ The NNAS continued to provide an interface between professionals and members of the landed classes. The high level of participation by the Anglican clergy was complemented by members of the gentry in influential positions reflective of the persistence of the squirearchy in the rural counties in the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ This is visible in the person of the second son of Sir J. T. Stanley, Bart., and Bishop of Norwich, Edward Stanley, who was President of the NNAS from

⁴⁰ Anon. (6 January 1849), 'Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p2

⁴¹ Anon. (10 August 1850), 'Archaeological Visit to Castle Rising', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p2; Anon. (27 March 1860), 'Died', *Bury and Norwich Post*, p3; Anon. (6 January 1849), 'Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p2; R. Blake (23 September 2004), 'Bignold, Sir Samuel (1791–1875), businessman and politician', *ODNB*

⁴² P. Levine, (1986), *The Amateur and the Professional*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p55 & p184

⁴³ R. J. Morris (1993), 'Clubs Societies and Associations', F.M.L Thompson (ed) (1993), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, Vol 3*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p400

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p410

⁴⁵ Wade-Martins, (2015), *The Conservation Movement in Norfolk*, p35; For the persistence of aristocratic power in British life more generally, see D. Cannadine (1990), *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, London: Picador, esp. p14; for a study in the power dynamics of the squirearchy in this period see Chadwick, (1960), *Victorian Miniature*

its inception to the time of his death.⁴⁶ His successor as president, Sir J. P. Boileau, Bart., the squire in Chadwick's *Victorian Miniature*, was drawn from a similar social milieu.⁴⁷ The society continued to draw legitimacy and a heightened public standing by the conference of vice-presidencies upon members of the squirearchy at various points.⁴⁸ The NNAS thus provided a forum in which solicitors such as Henry Harrod, who was Hon. Secretary to the Society, and often contributed several papers in the space of one meeting, could mix with Boileau, a baronet.⁴⁹ Therefore, the Society represented a sort of interface between the gentry, the moneyed, such as Bignold, and the professional classes.

The class background of the society coloured its interests and influenced its activities, although it did not wholly determine them. The development of both archaeological and geological research was clearly followed and contributed to by the group, but this work sits alongside a more traditionally antiquarian approach favoured by the Society's other members.⁵⁰ However, Norfolk's rurality seems to have contributed substantially to its members' interests and the NNAS developed the practice of visiting sites around the county corporately in yearly excursions.⁵¹ It is difficult not to see both the research of the society, and the places it chose to visit on its excursions, as reflecting both the influence of the clergy and the Society's connection with the gentry.⁵² Papers presented to the Society were generally focused on aristocratic or ecclesiastical history, with church brasses, castles, earthworks and individual churches providing popular topics.⁵³ As an association they seem to have developed a reputation for such an output to the extent that by the turn of the twentieth century the *Norfolk Chronicle* apparently felt the need to defend the NNAS against the charge that it was a

⁴⁶ B. Cozens-Hardy (1946), 'The Early Days of the Society', P. Millican (1946), *Norfolk Archaeology*, Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, p6; R. Prothero (2004), 'Stanley, Edward (1779–1849), bishop of Norwich', *ODNB*

⁴⁷ A. Bell (2004), 'Boileau, Sir John Peter (1794–1869)', *ODNB*

⁴⁸ Anon. (28 January 1854), 'Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society' *Norfolk Chronicle*, p2

⁴⁹ Ibid.; G. Boase, (2004), 'Harrod, Henry (1817–1871), antiquary', *ODNB*

⁵⁰ See for instance Anon. (19 November 1859), 'Archaeological', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p5

⁵¹ Anon. (29 September 1849), 'Archaeological Meeting at Thetford', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p2

⁵² See for instance Anon. (27 August 1859), 'Local Intelligence', *Norfolk News*, p5

⁵³ Anon. (3 September 1904), 'Topics of the Time', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p7

“churchaeological”, rather than archaeological society.⁵⁴ Despite these protestations, early on in their excursions the Society settled on a regular routine of visiting a series of churches, as well as a castle or an earthwork, and listening to a paper on the site in question, which was generally read by the incumbent in the case of the churches, and ending the day with a reception at a country house, where the members might take tea and peruse the landowner’s private collection.⁵⁵

Although, the NNAS was non-sectarian in membership, the preponderance of Anglican clergy amongst the membership and the Society’s connection with successive Bishops of Norwich ensured a continued Anglican influence. The stated aims of the NNAS included the compilation of “a perfect antiquarian History of the County”.⁵⁶ This drew on methods established locally by the Rector of Fersfield, Francis Blomefield, whose work they sought to expand and update.⁵⁷ In addition, in a number of cases, the clergy were continuing a family tradition of antiquarianism.⁵⁸ Chris Miele has argued that societies such as the NNAS were part of a concerted effort to promote church buildings as sites of national importance by the clergy.⁵⁹ Through the use of “periodicals, books, journals and mass produced images” the literate public were able to “understand the historical position of their local parish church and through it came to appreciate the linkage between it and wider currents in regional and national histories”.⁶⁰ The proprietors of Norwich’s local newspapers seem to have been receptive to this endeavour.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Anon. (13 September 1851), ‘Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society’, *Norfolk News*, p3; Anon. (14 July 1866), ‘Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society’, *Norfolk News*, p5; Anon. (5 September 1913), ‘Norfolk Archaeologists Visit’, *Diss Express*, p5

⁵⁶ Letter from R.G.P. Minty to Rev. G Mundford (1845), quoted by B. Cozens-Hardy (1946), ‘The Early Days of the Society’, P. Millican (1946), *Norfolk Archaeology*, p1

⁵⁷ S. Wade Martins (2015), *Conservation*, pp26-27 & 35

⁵⁸ For instance, Archdeacon Omerod’s father was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and author of a history of Cheshire, Anon. (16 October 1873), ‘Deaths of Note’, *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, p3; Rev. E.T. Yates was the son of Richard Yates author of a history of St Edmundsbury Abbey, Anon. (9 June 1836), ‘Marriage’, *London Evening Standard*, p4

⁵⁹ Miele (2011), ‘Heritage and its Communities,’ M. Hall (ed) (2011), *Heritage, Culture and Identity*, p159

⁶⁰ Ibid.

The Stevenson family who ran the *Norfolk Chronicle* seem to have been particularly interested in historical research. Both William Stevenson and his son Seth William Stevenson were members of antiquarian societies.⁶¹ However, enthusiasm for such things was not limited to them and all three of Norwich's newspapers generally printed the research papers given at the Society's meetings verbatim.⁶² In terms of content, these papers focused on both the aristocratic history of the sites they had visited, or their connection with religious institutions of the medieval period.⁶³ By the end of the century, archaeological research was thought sufficiently popular to fill regular columns in the local papers with antiquarian material, with the *Norwich Mercury's* 'Churches of Norfolk' column offering a regular outlet for such material.⁶⁴ It is arguable that this had the effect of fixing a conception of the county's history as centred on its historic places of worship in the minds of its readership.

As we have seen in previous chapters, a narrative of disengagement by urban elites in the early twentieth century is well established in the literature of urban history.⁶⁵ However, this has been challenged on by a number of authors, such as Barry Doyle and Laura Balderstone. Balderstone used evidence derived from voluntary societies of Leicester between 1950 and 1980 to show that the city's middle classes continued to travel into Leicester to attend meetings despite living outside the centre.⁶⁶ It is arguable that in Norwich this pattern was already in evidence at the time of the founding of the NNAS. Whilst the Society included members of Norwich's business and professional classes, from the start it drew members into the city

⁶¹ J. M. Blatchly (2004), 'Stevenson, Seth William (1784–1853)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press,

⁶² For instance, Anon. (21 September 1850), 'The Annual Meeting of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *Norwich Mercury*, p6; Anon. (17 April 1886), *Norfolk Chronicle*, p11

⁶³ See *ibid.*

⁶⁴ For instance, Anon. (25 November 1899), 'The Churches of Norfolk: No. XCVIII', *Norwich Mercury*, p5

⁶⁵ B. M. Doyle (1997), 'The structure of elite power in the early twentieth-century city: Norwich, 1900–35', *Urban History*, 24(2)

⁶⁶ L. Balderstone (2014), 'Semi-detached Britain? Reviewing suburban engagement in twentieth-century society', *Urban History*, 41(1), p149 & 154

from the surrounding countryside.⁶⁷ These included William Repton, a solicitor (and son of landscape gardener Humphry), whose estates lay in Aylsham.⁶⁸ Country squires also attended meetings of the society, such as Thomas Barton, who held an estate at some distance from Norwich at Watton, as well those with holdings closer to Norwich's orbit, such as at Wroxham, home of Robert Blake-Humfrey, and Ketteringham, where Sir J.P. Boileau resided.⁶⁹ In addition, the gradual phasing out of clerical non-residence in the period following legislation of 1838 and 1850 would suggest that the Society's ecclesiastical members mostly also lived outside the city.⁷⁰ Thus a pattern of engagement from those outside of the city was already in place in the early stages of the Society's formation.

As we saw in the last chapter, and will see again in the next section, by the end of the nineteenth century, members of the NNAS were engaging in activities related to conservation of historic sites. In line with Hewitt and Pendlebury's observations, there were clear continuities between these organisations. These included the Norwich Geological Society and the Photographic Society, with which the NNAS shared members.⁷¹ The Society formed part of an informal network of learned societies that met in the city and focused their research on the wider county. This engagement would continue throughout the century after the foundation of the NNAS. Associations dedicated to researching the county's past continued to meet in Norwich and other urban areas and to make excursions. These included a new society, the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia founded in 1908, as well as the creation of a coordinating panel to establish links between the existing groups, the Norfolk Research Committee, in

⁶⁷ Anon. (6 April 1895), 'The Death of Robert Fitch', *Norwich Mercury*, p5; Anon. (21 May 1851), 'Norwich', *Bury and Norwich Post*, p3; Anon. (20 October 1886), 'Death of Mr Blake Humfrey', *Norwich Mercury*, p3

⁶⁸ Anon. (9 January 1847), 'Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p2; Anon. (1 May 1858), 'Died', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p5

⁶⁹ Anon. (31 December 1879), 'The Late Thomas Barton', *Norwich Mercury*, p2

⁷⁰ For instance, Rev. John Gunn held the living at Irstead, Anon. (6 October 1849), 'Norfolk and West Suffolk Archaeological Associations', *Norfolk News*, p2; See F. Knight (1995), *The Nineteenth Century Church and English Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp3-4 on clerical non-residence

⁷¹ Anon. (9 May 1868), 'Norwich Geological Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p2; Anon. (12 July 1854), 'Home News', *Norwich Mercury*, p3

1934.⁷² The Norfolk Archaeological Trust was also established in the inter-war period and dedicated to preserving archaeological sites.⁷³ Therefore, by the mid-twentieth century there was a wide range of societies dedicated both to exploring and working to conserve evidence of the past within the county. These organisations continued to share members between them and were therefore mutually reinforcing. For instance, Basil Cozens-Hardy held a number of positions within the NNAS over the years and was a founder member of the Norwich Society.⁷⁴ Cozens-Hardy would also play a role in the founding of the Norfolk Branch of the CPRE in 1933.⁷⁵ This, like the Archaeological Trust, had a conservationist focus, but was focused on wider issues of rural amenity.⁷⁶

In the previous chapter, we briefly touched on the establishment of the Norwich Society in the city in 1923. This further complements the evidence of continued civic engagement in Norwich by the elites into the twentieth century provided by Doyle and pointed to by Balderstone. As we saw, Pendlebury and Hewitt have argued that such societies promoted a “topophilia” for urban spaces.⁷⁷ Hewitt has also outlined the development of such societies nationally.⁷⁸ This account emphasised the role of the planner Sir Patrick Abercrombie in the formation of such groups.⁷⁹ Abercrombie suggested that the membership of such societies should consist of councillors and aldermen, as well as a range of professionals such as planners and architects, a goal which Hewitt suggests was largely realised.⁸⁰ Civic engagement in urban areas by the middle class was therefore institutionalised by this association in the 1920s maintaining the

⁷² S. Wade Martins (2015), *Conservation*, pp57-58; Anon. (6 October 1934), ‘County Research Work’, *Yarmouth Independent*, p14

⁷³ S. Wade Martins (2015), *Conservation*, pp81-88

⁷⁴ B. Cozens-Hardy (1946), ‘The Early Days of the Society’, P. Millican (1946), *Norfolk Archaeology*, pp6-7; P. Hepworth (1983), ‘Preservation and Planning 1923-1939’, R. A. Dehn (ed) (1983), *Sixty Eventful Years*, Norwich: The Norwich Society, p9;

⁷⁵ E.W. Young, (1996), *Sixty Years of the Norfolk Society*, Fakenham: Larks Press, p10

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, *passim*

⁷⁷ Pendlebury and Hewitt (2018), ‘Place and voluntary activity in inter-war England: topophilia and Professionalization’, *Urban History*, 45, 3, p464

⁷⁸ L. Hewitt (2012), ‘Associational Culture and the Shaping of Urban Space: Civic Societies in Britain before 1960’, *Urban History*, 39, 12

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p590 and *passim*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p598

interest of the middle classes in urban areas. A comparable engagement by a similar range of actors with issues related to rural amenity was also to develop in the 1920s. Six years after providing the justification for a network of civic societies, Patrick Abercrombie published another article in which he called for the formation of a National League for the Preservation of Rural England.⁸¹ Subsequently, a network of affiliated organisations was founded under the banner of the CPRE.

As Hewitt argued, the civic societies provided an associational space in which elites could influence planning decisions within the urban space. In the same way, branches of the CPRE produced a network through which planning decisions could be influenced in rural areas. In 1933, as the result of a public meeting chaired by the mustard magnet, Russell J. Colman, and attended by various notables, the twenty-third organisation to be affiliated to the CPRE nationally would be set up.⁸² In his short history of the Norfolk Society, the title which the Branch would adopt in 1972 following a merger with the Norfolk Association of Amenity Societies (NAAS), E.W. Young cites the architect, Clough Williams Ellis concept of “beneficent busybodies” as foundational to the aims of the CPRE.⁸³ These “private individuals” would “help in resisting the sprawling ‘octopus’ of unregulated and desecrating development” such as ribbon developments and the “shacks and shanties” of “holiday places”.⁸⁴ The aims and interests of the CPRE were thus a result of increasing suburbanisation of the countryside. By 1900 some areas had seen a reversal of the population decline of the previous thirty years.⁸⁵

The values of the CPRE were arguably informed by then current ideas of going “back to the land”, as well as a more general romanticisation of rurality. This can be seen as contingent on the continuing spread of suburbia. Alun Howkins argued that prior to the First World War, a

⁸¹ J. Sheail (1981), *Rural Conservation in Inter-War Britain*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp63-64

⁸² Anon. (9 December 1933), ‘Lovers of the Countryside’, *Yarmouth Independent*, p8; E.W. Young (1996), *Sixty Years*, pp6-7

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p3

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p3

⁸⁵ J. Marsh (1982), *Back to the Land*, London: Quartet Books, p27

body of art and literature came to associate “Englishness” with the “south country”, a literary construction that equated Englishness with the southern rural counties and the Tudor era.⁸⁶ This clearly informed suburban architecture, with Arts and Crafts derived housing creating the much derided Mock-Tudor suburban style of architecture in the interwar period.⁸⁷ Thus an idealisation of rurality confronted material changes to the countryside in this period. In tandem, Jan Marsh has described the development of the ideas surrounding the slogan “back to the land”, over a similar time period.⁸⁸ This aesthetic extolled the virtues of the countryside, and Marsh argued that it was the children of the suburbs who most enthusiastically embraced these ideas.⁸⁹ These trends can be seen as generative in the formation of the CPRE, providing both ideal and antipathy. At the first meeting proper of the Norfolk Branch of the CPRE in 1934, R. H. Mottram, who was also a member of the Norwich Society, proclaimed that

[i]nstead of the model village too often today it was the muddle suburb, and whilst everyone hoped there would be a definite movement back to the land, it was for an organisation such as the C.P.R.E. to help in the planning and influence landowners and local authorities to keep the countryside as it should be, and regulate its use by the citizens by the means of peaceful persuasion⁹⁰

Thus, the Norfolk branch of the CPRE sought to respond to this spread of suburbia by influencing planning decisions in much the same way as the civic societies had, but taking on the goal of the preservation of an ideal of rurality, rather than civic pride.

Just as the proprietors of the Norfolk newspapers had taken an interest in the NNAS, they also proved to be supportive of the CPRE, not least Russell Colman’s *Eastern Daily Press*, which

⁸⁶ A. Howkins (1986), ‘The Discovery of Rural England’, R. Colls, and P. Dodd (eds) (1986), *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920*, London: Croom Helm, esp. pp64 & 70

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p73

⁸⁸ Marsh (1982), *Back to the Land*, p2

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p5

⁹⁰ Anon. (28 April 1934), ‘Preserving Rural Norfolk’, *Yarmouth Independent*, p14

averred that the branch had “come into being not a moment too soon” and printed the group’s annual report.⁹¹ Prior to the formation of the branch, articles can be found in the local papers drawing attention to the changes to rural society and the need for preservation.⁹² Similarly, just as the NNAS was able to strengthen itself by sharing members across a range of organisations, the CPRE members were also able to promote their cause through a number of already existing associations. Besides sharing members with the NNAS, like Cozens-Hardy, the CPRE also had members in the Women’s Institutes (WI), a movement which was coming into its own by the interwar period.⁹³ Norfolk’s WIs were heavily involved in the Norfolk branch of the CPRE, electing representatives to the conservation body, and hearing talks on the subjects related to its work.⁹⁴

The formation of the CPRE and its support within the WI would have long lasting ramifications for Norfolk’s conservation movement. Wilhelmine Cresswell, later Lady Harrod, began her conservation activities with the CPRE acting as Assistant Secretary of the North-West Norfolk Area Committee.⁹⁵ As part of these activities she gave talks to the WI.⁹⁶ Her involvement in the Council also linked the Norfolk Branch of the CPRE to a wider network of artists and writers with many then gaining national renown. As was noted in chapter two, Alexandra Harris has designated this group of literati, many of whom were in their twenties at the time of the founding of the CPRE, as ‘Romantic Moderns’. Cresswell, was part of this milieu and had briefly been engaged to Betjeman.⁹⁷ As a result, she was asked by Betjeman to jointly author the *Shell*

⁹¹ Quoted in Young (1996), *Sixty Years*, p8

⁹² For example, Anon. (11 December, 1926), ‘Rural England - how to preserve the beauty of the countryside’, *Yarmouth Independent*, p17

⁹³ Young (1996), *Sixty Years*, p10; M. Morgan (1996), ‘Jam Making, Cuthbert Rabbit and Cakes Redefining Domestic Labour in the Women’s Institute, 1915-60’, *Rural History*, 7, 2, p218

⁹⁴ Minerva (20 October, 1934), ‘Norfolk Women’s Institutes’, *Yarmouth Independent*, p17; Minerva (21 March, 1936), ‘Norfolk Women’s Institutes’, *Yarmouth Independent*, p19

⁹⁵ Young, E.W. (1996), *Sixty Years*, p8

⁹⁶ Minerva (21 March 1936), ‘Norfolk’s Women’s Institutes’, *Yarmouth Independent*, p19; Minerva (23 May 1936), ‘Norfolk’s Women’s Institutes’, *Yarmouth Independent*, p21

⁹⁷ A. Harris (2010), *Romantic Moderns*, London: Thames and Hudson; Anon. (2017), ‘Wilhelmine Margaret Eve [Billa] Harrod [Cresswell] Lady Harrod (1911–2005), architectural conservationist’, *ODNB*

Guide for Norfolk in 1957.⁹⁸ By then she was married to the economist, Roy Harrod.⁹⁹ Although having been born in London, Roy Harrod had Norfolk connections and was in fact the grandson of the NNAS secretary Henry Harrod.¹⁰⁰ Through her marriage to Harrod then, Cresswell maintained a familial link between the NNAS, the CPRE and eventually the Norfolk Churches Trust.

The Norfolk Branch of the CPRE was able to tap into the prevailing conservationist mood and utilise pre-existing networks, like the WI and the NNAS to expand its membership in the years leading up to the Second World War. According to E. W. Young's short history of the Branch, by the close of the 1930s there were 506 members, with 17 local authorities affiliated with the group.¹⁰¹ The practical work of the branch focused largely on advising rural district councils on housing schemes and sundry other matters.¹⁰² With the war intervening, membership numbers declined and did not reach similar levels until the 1960s.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, as the NNAS had before them, the Norfolk Branch of the CPRE were able to attract some high profile members from its inception. These included Viscount Bury, who served as chair and Russell Colman who was president through much of the 'thirties.¹⁰⁴ The brother of the Earl of Leicester succeeded Viscount Bury in 1938, whilst the Earl of Leicester himself succeeded Colman as president in 1947, with the landed historian, R. W. Ketton-Cremer becoming chair the same year.¹⁰⁵

Again, like the NNAS, beside members of the landed class, the organisation attracted the interest of the middle classes and professionals. In the post-war period the Branch attracted

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Anon. (2017), 'Harrod, Sir (Henry), Roy Forbes (1900–1978), economist', *ODNB*; The manuscript of Roy Harrod's unfinished autobiography begins with reminiscences of finding an interpretation based on the work of 'Harrod' at Binham church, p1, NRO,ACC2005/362 WH/RFH

¹⁰¹ E.W. Young, (1996), *Sixty Years*, p13

¹⁰² Ibid., pp11-13

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp13 & 27

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p100

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp10 & 100; P. Magnus, (2004), 'Cremer, Robert Wyndham Ketton- (1906–1969), biographer and county historian', *ODNB*

the membership of the journalist Eric Fowler and the National Trust's Director for East Anglia, Nicolas Corbin.¹⁰⁶ The Branch also attracted the building conservationist Norah Clogstoun who had formed the Blakeney Neighbourhood Housing Society in 1946, as well as the architect, David Mawson, who would later serve as Chair.¹⁰⁷ Membership of the Branch rose after 1966 following the controversy caused by Shell's application to bring newly discovered North Sea gas ashore between Bacton and Paston.¹⁰⁸ However, it would take a concerted effort by Lady Harrod, who had returned to live in Norfolk following her husband's retirement in 1962, to bring the membership of the Society up to previous levels.¹⁰⁹ Having become Chair in 1961, she, and others organised new area branches in order to attract new members and she also had cartoonist Osbert Lancaster produce an eye-catching recruitment leaflet.¹¹⁰ By 1977 the Branch had over 1,000 members, well exceeding pre-war levels.¹¹¹

As we have seen, the formation of the CPRE provided an association through which the middle and the landed classes could mix, based on a shared reaction to changes to the countryside in the interwar period, most notably the expansion of roads and suburban development. As D. N. Jeans put it, "[t]he idealised countryside, hitherto the recreational and aesthetic preserve of the gentry and middle class, was now being invaded by the urban masses".¹¹² It is clear from some of the examples Jeans provides, most notably the views of C.E.M. Joad, that cultural commentators allied with the CPRE displayed a large degree of condescension for those they considered to be beneath them.¹¹³ Conservationism has continued to have a class element and Brian Harrison has called "[l]ate twentieth century conservationism... a new manifestation of middle-class moralism".¹¹⁴ It does seem that in assuming a proprietary stance towards rural

¹⁰⁶ E.W. Young, (1996), *Sixty Years*, pp15-16

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp29-30 & 38

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp33-38

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp42-51

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp42-51 & 100

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p65

¹¹² D. N. Jeans (1990), 'Planning and the Myth of the English Countryside', *Rural History*, 1, 2, p259

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp259-260

¹¹⁴ B. Harrison (2010), *Finding a Role? The United Kingdom, 1970-1990*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p60

areas, the activities of the CPRE may have contributed to restrictions on access of the low-paid to the countryside, especially through their opposition to schemes for council housing and caravan parks.¹¹⁵ Although this opposition was not on the whole successful, it may have slowed the development of these schemes.¹¹⁶ It is not clear, however, the extent to which condescension was central to the motivations of the majority of the actors involved. As the Bacton gas terminal case makes clear, the Branch were confronted by tangible changes to the countryside from a variety of developments which they felt would diminish the quality of life of those living in the area.¹¹⁷ Moreover, as a group they were keen to inculcate respect for the environment and operated with an idealised image of a tidy village with the parish church at its centre.¹¹⁸

The annual of the Junior Branch of the Norfolk CPRE was produced between 1965 and 1982 and provides a simple guide to the interests and outlook of the Norfolk Branch as a whole.¹¹⁹ Issues of this publication printed contributions by the members of the Junior Branch, as well as short pieces by committee members.¹²⁰ The Countryside Code was generally included in each issue and often an essay prize was set, with the children in 1968's issue for instance being asked to imagine a conversation between a CPRE member and a "litter lout".¹²¹ Lady Harrod's contributions to the publication generally emphasised a commitment to planning as a force for good in the process of managing change.¹²² In her piece for the 1965 edition she also makes clear that she wanted to inculcate a sense of democratic engagement amongst the members of the Junior Branch, noting

¹¹⁵ See E.W. Young, (1996), *Sixty Years*, pp26-28

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp30-32

¹¹⁷ See *ibid.*, pp33-38

¹¹⁸ See *Ibid.*, pp40 & 62

¹¹⁹ MERL, SR DX1032

¹²⁰ See for instance Anon. (ed) (July 1965), *Council for Preservation of Rural England Norfolk Junior Branch*, MERL, SR DX1032

¹²¹ Anon. (ed) (May 1968), *Council for Preservation of Rural England Norfolk Junior Branch*, pp25-30 MERL, SR DX1032

¹²² W. Harrod (July 1965), Letter from the Chairman, *Council for Preservation of Rural England Norfolk Junior Branch*, p2 MERL, SR DX1032

The builders only do what the public wants, so we must learn about these things and demand only what is good... These are things to think and learn about so that you yourselves will be able to make a beautiful country when you grow up.¹²³

The centrality of the parish church to the countryside is also a theme of her missives. In the same piece she wrote, "Look at our wonderful Norfolk churches, famous all over the world. Notice how well they stand in villages and how mellow and lovely they look, and strong too, even after 500 hundred years or more."¹²⁴ An interest in the churches of the county echoed in the children's essays selected for publication.¹²⁵ Although prevalent in Norfolk, dissenters chapels are not mentioned, underlining the Anglican outlook of the Norfolk Branch as a whole.

Having established a role in rural governance, and with their clear identification of the parish church with rurality, it seems almost natural that members of the CPRE would take an interest in the Church of England's push for rationalisation. The prospect of the Pastoral Measure, with its possibility of demolition of churches for which no new use could be found appears to have affected Lady Harrod deeply. She had been instrumental in organising the public meetings for the founding of the Friends of Norwich Churches, bringing John Betjeman to Norwich to speak in favour of the cause.¹²⁶ In December of 1970, she wrote to A.F. Holford-Walker, the Secretary of the CPRE asking if the organisation had a national policy on "the future of churches made redundant under the Pastoral Measure 1968".¹²⁷ In response, Holford-Walker wrote to all branch secretaries, suggesting that they should write to their respective Diocesan Boards of Finance to find out which churches were to be declared redundant in their county.¹²⁸

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp12-13

¹²⁶ Anon. (29th October 1970), 'Friends' fight for churches praised', *Eastern Daily Press*, p7

¹²⁷ W. Harrod (5 December, 1970), Letter to A.F. Holford-Walker, MERL, SR CPRE C/1/128/1

¹²⁸ A.F. Holford-Walker, (26 February, 1971), Letter to all Branch Secretaries - 'Redundant Churches' MERL, SR CPRE C/1/128/1

By the end of the year Rev. John Fitch, a member of the Suffolk Preservation Society, had published *The Churches of Suffolk: Redundancy, and a Policy for Conservation* (1971).

Rev. Fitch's booklet offered a thoughtful discussion of the issues posed for historic places of worship by the Pastoral Measure, the "financial crisis" facing the Church of England and by the growing influence of the South Bank Theology.¹²⁹ Fitch summarised the situation in Suffolk according to financial issues, showing that it was improbable that the current situation would be manageable under the present arrangements, before turning a hopeful eye towards the possibility of state aid for places of worship.¹³⁰ A year later the Norfolk Society would produce its own booklet, *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future*, addressing the problems presented by the Measure. This was the work of a number of authors, and the Society were again able to take advantage of their social connections to figures of national renown, including Betjeman, who wrote the foreword, and the Harrods' son, Dominick, who was now a correspondent for the BBC.¹³¹

In order to focus on the threat of redundancy, the Norfolk Society formed a Committee for Country Churches.¹³² A membership list of this Committee was published at the end of *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future*. This reflected the membership of the Norfolk Society in its social make-up, including the architects Peter Codling and David Mawson (who acted as chair); academics, Prof Peter Lasko and Richard Fawcett; as well as Sir Edmund Neville, Bart. and gentleman farmer Richard Butler Stoney.¹³³ Clergy involvement was not extensive, but the committee did include Rev. David Ainsworth, the Vicar of Northrepps.¹³⁴ By 1976 the

¹²⁹ J. Fitch, (1971), *The Churches of Suffolk: Redundancy, and a Policy for Conservation*, Lavenham: Suffolk Preservation Society, pp6 & 8-10

¹³⁰ See *ibid.*, p15-17

¹³¹ W. Harrod (ed) (1972), *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future*, Norwich: The Norfolk Society

¹³² C. Roberts (2001), 'Cash, scrubbing brushes and unstoppable zeal', C. Roberts (ed), *Treasure for the Future*, Norwich: Norwich Churches Trust, p13

¹³³ Harrod (ed) (1972), *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future*, p44; Anon. (31 July 2003), 'Richard Butler-Stoney', *Telegraph*, Retrieved from:

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1437581/Richard-Butler-Stoney.html>

¹³⁴ Harrod (ed) (1972), *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future*, p44

committee had been reconstituted as a Trust.¹³⁵ As we have seen in the previous chapters, there remained some apprehension amongst the group that the Local Authority would step in as they had done in Norwich and thus a Trust was needed to preclude this possibility.¹³⁶ Thus, with this legal mechanism in place, the Trust was able to support church conservation in Norfolk.

It is clear from the foregoing that there existed clear continuities between voluntary societies like the NNAS and the CPRE over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The literary culture of Norwich had nursed a local interest in archaeology from the early nineteenth century onward. By the twentieth century this had established an image of rurality which was to influence a range of other societies, including the CPRE. The historical knowledge produced by the NNAS was centred on ecclesiastical and aristocratic history and disseminated across Norfolk's newspapers regardless of political outlook. Having established a role in the conservation of historic sites, the NNAS set a precedent that the CPRE and others would follow. They too sought to influence decisions taken regarding such places and found favour in newspaper coverage. Both the CPRE and the NNAS were drawn from similar social milieu to the extent that there were familial connections between the two societies over the two centuries. As we will see more in the next section, they each sought to protect the parish church as part of their conservation agenda.

Conservation Principles

In this section I want to specifically focus on the conservation work of the various societies in Norfolk just under discussion. Miele has argued that the first half of the nineteenth century saw a split between architectural societies and archaeological "societies which took a less ideological view of the antiquities".¹³⁷ These groups developed justifications for the

¹³⁵ C. Roberts (2001), 'Cash, scrubbing brushes and unstoppable zeal', Roberts (ed) (2001), *Treasure*, p13

¹³⁶ W. Harrod (4 March 1975), Letter to Jim [Presumably J. E. H. Neville], NRO, 2166/1/3

¹³⁷ Miele (2011), 'Heritage and its Communities', M. Hall (ed), *Heritage, Culture and Identity* p173

preservation of historic churches in the national interest, eventually leading to the formation of the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) later in the century. As Miele has also argued, the archaeological societies often differed in their outlook from architectural societies such as the Cambridge Camden Society.¹³⁸ Thus, through the NNAS there developed a building conservation movement in Norfolk.¹³⁹

Notwithstanding the foregoing, the conservation initiatives of the NNAS were not wholly focused on churches. Speaking to the annual meeting in January of 1859, the then Secretary of the Society, Rev. C. R. Manning began to round off his committee report, with a mission statement for the Society.¹⁴⁰ Although this spoke to their aims in furthering knowledge of sites and documents within the county, Manning also asserted that the society aimed to check “the wanton destruction of memorials of the past which appear to be no longer in use”, and secure “their preservation as documents and evidence of historical worth.”¹⁴¹ Members of the Society began conservation related activities in the year of the Society’s founding, with their opposition to plans for the new Halesworth to Norwich Railway line being driven through Caistor Roman Camp.¹⁴² Later in that year, Sir J. P. Boileau is reported to have bought Burgh Castle and the site would thus “be saved from the ruthless hand of the spoiler”.¹⁴³ This in turn gave Henry Harrod the opportunity to carry out excavations at the site.¹⁴⁴

The Society also undertook a small amount of architectural conservation work. For instance, in 1862 they unsuccessfully opposed the demolition of Great Hautbois church.¹⁴⁵ However, these sorts of activities appear to be more frequent towards the end of the nineteenth and into

¹³⁸ Miele (1996), ‘The First Conservation Militants’, M. Hunter (1996), *Preserving the Past: The Rise of Heritage in Modern Britain*, Stroud: Alan Sutton, p 20

¹³⁹ S. Wade Martins (2015), *Conservation Movement*, pp35-39 & 150-151

¹⁴⁰ Anon. (29 January 1859), ‘Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society’, *Norfolk Chronicle*, p5

¹⁴¹ Quoted in *ibid.*

¹⁴² Anon. (25 May 1846), ‘Threatened Destruction of an Antient Camp’, *London Daily News*, p5

¹⁴³ Anon. (17 September 1846), ‘Sale of an Ancient Garianorum’, *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, p3

¹⁴⁴ Anon. (7 September 1850), ‘Burgh Castle’ *The Ipswich Journal*, p4

¹⁴⁵ Anon. (1 February 1862), ‘Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society’, *Norfolk News*, p6; Anon. (28 May 1864), ‘Consecration of Great Hautbois New Church’, *Norfolk Chronicle*, p5;

the twentieth centuries. For instance, in conjunction with the SPAB, in the 1880s the NNAS successfully opposed sale and demolition of Yarmouth's Tolhouse.¹⁴⁶ Later, the Society was successful in petitioning Yarmouth Town Council to enclose and preserve the base of the cross on the North Denes.¹⁴⁷ In addition in 1899 the secretary of the Society, Leonard Bolingbroke purchased Strangers Hall, a medieval timber-framed building in Norwich with the intention of opening it to the public.¹⁴⁸ Such activities continued in the following century, and Cozens-Hardy looked to formalise them with the establishment of the Norfolk Archaeological Trust, which took on a number of buildings and sites in the county.¹⁴⁹

As a group, the archaeologists' work did not always tend towards conservation. For instance, in the course of at least one excursion, entertainment was found in the opening of some barrows, seemingly without provision for recording their contents.¹⁵⁰ Their effect on parish churches was sometimes comparable, and their enthusiasm for their research could have a deleterious effect on their object of study. At a 1904 meeting in the course of his paper on the Stapleton Brasses, Walter Rye produced the brasses in question and reported that he had been asked to restore them to Ingham church "by a gentleman who did not wish his name to be mentioned".¹⁵¹ In return General Bulwer, the president responded that some years previously, the parish register for Elmham had turned up in the personal effects of one of the members, prompting the then Secretary to replace it with the words, "[t]his volume, stolen by one archaeologist, was returned by another".¹⁵² The members of the NNAS on the whole, however, were concerned about the disappearance of brasses from churches, and there were suggestions that a register of such items in the county be started to deter their loss.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁶ Anon. (16 September 1882), 'Threatened Sale of Old Tolhouse Hall', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p6

¹⁴⁷ Anon. (15 July 1893), 'The Cross on the Denes', *Norwich Mercury*, p6

¹⁴⁸ Anon. (01 April 1899), 'City and Country Snapshots', *Norwich Mercury*, p4

¹⁴⁹ S. Wade Martins (2015), *Conservation Movement*, pp81-88

¹⁵⁰ Anon. (11 July 1863), 'Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *Norwich Mercury*, p3

¹⁵¹ Anon. (28 May 1904), 'Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p6

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Anon. (19 November 1859), 'Archaeology society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p5

As the NNAS' activities consisted largely of an interest in church buildings, their attention almost naturally turned to the great number of 'restorations' being undertaken in Norfolk. In the course of a sermon on behalf of the Association at Norwich Cathedral in 1879, Rev. G.R. Winter put the number of churches built or restored in the Diocese between 1840 and 1874 at 612, with the cost of the works totalling £710,000.¹⁵⁴ A good proportion of this building work would take place in the latter part of this period. Winter's total for the previous seven years was 250 churches to the cost of £254,260.¹⁵⁵ Edward Baty has linked this upswing to the activities of Bishop Edward Stanley, who as we saw was the president of the NNAS at its inception, arguing "that the sudden increase in the rate of church repairs and restorations of a medievalising character owed much to his advocacy".¹⁵⁶ However, according to Nicholas Groves' statistics on restorations in the Diocese, the high point for these activities was the 1860s, more than a decade after Stanley's death in 1849.¹⁵⁷ Rather than being a corporate initiative these activities appear to have instead been driven by private interest.¹⁵⁸ A Diocesan Church Building Association had been set up in the Diocese a year prior to Stanley's taking up the bishopric but it found limited success.¹⁵⁹ As with other such societies this aimed to raise money for the Diocese and to supply its parent organisation the Incorporated Church Building Society.¹⁶⁰ However, the society was unable to attract subscribers beyond the ranks of the clergy and there were constant complaints that its cause was being neglected.¹⁶¹ It was able to grant small amounts to aid free sittings, but even after receiving these, the parishes seem to have been reluctant to donate to the Association.¹⁶² By the 1860s it was being suggested that the Diocesan Church Building Association change its name, as the Diocese was well

¹⁵⁴ Anon. (18 October 1879), 'The Diocesan Church Building Society', *Norwich Mercury*, p4

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ E. Baty (1987), *Victorian church building and restoration in the Diocese of Norwich*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of East Anglia, uk.bl.ethos.378592, p24

¹⁵⁷ N. Groves (2010), 'Restoration of Popery', pp31 & 42-43

¹⁵⁸ See Anon. (26 October 1867), 'The Five Societies', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p9

¹⁵⁹ Anon. (22 October 1836), 'Church Building Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p2

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ For instance, Anon. (18 October 1851), 'Church Societies', *Norfolk Chronicle*, pp2-3; Anon. (20 October 1860), 'Church Societies', *Norfolk Chronicle*, pp6-7; Anon. (11 October 1884), 'Anniversary of the Five Societies', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p10

¹⁶² Anon. (21 April 1855), 'Church Building Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p4

supplied with churches, and turn its attention to supporting restorations instead.¹⁶³ However, the organisation continued to operate on the same small scale.¹⁶⁴

The NNAS appears to have had an ambivalent relationship with the renewal of parish churches in the nineteenth century. Restoration work led to a large number of medieval wall paintings being uncovered and therefore furnished the Society with new evidence for their researchers.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, through their excursions they were able to view the results of such changes to churches and were not always satisfied with what they found. For instance, in 1855 a flurry of letters was published in the Norwich press in relation to work at Tunstead, which Henry Harrod had criticised, along with other examples of careless restoration, at that year's annual meeting.¹⁶⁶ This criticism turned upon the alterations made to the church's windows in the course of their replacement and the lack of supervision of the mason completing the work by an architect.¹⁶⁷ In turn Harrod's antagonist, 'Justicia' poured scorn on Harrod's account, and full of classical allusion, asked who was to 'supervise the supervisor?'¹⁶⁸ As we have seen, however, by the late twentieth century a range of organisations existed to do just that.

Harrod's suggestions in relation to church restoration preempted some aspects of the modern management of places of worship. In the course of the exchange of letters, in addition to his insistence that an architect oversee changes to fabric, Harrod suggested that churches should be subject to yearly inspections by an architect a century before the Inspection of Churches Measure (1955) enshrined the necessity for quinquennial architectural inspections in law.¹⁶⁹ In his second paper on 'Church Restoration' of 1855, delivered after his first had caught the

¹⁶³ Anon. (19 October 1861), 'The Church Societies', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p3

¹⁶⁴ Anon. (11 November 1882), 'Motions and Resolutions - the Diocesan Church Building Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p9

¹⁶⁵ Anon. (9 February 1867), 'Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p2

¹⁶⁶ Anon. (17 March 1855), 'Archaeological Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p5

¹⁶⁷ Anon. (17 March 1855), 'Archaeological Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p5

¹⁶⁸ Justitia (31 March 1855), 'Tunstead Church', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p4

¹⁶⁹ Anon. (5 May 1855), 'Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p5

interest of Justicia, Harrod noted the inability of some parishes to raise a church rate and pay for repairs.¹⁷⁰ His suggested remedy for this was for all churches to be “declared national monuments”.¹⁷¹ Although his solution to funding was even more radical than the system in operation today, with his urging “that there should be a special commission as a central power to recover all church funds, and through Local Boards, maintain them in proper repair” with congregations renting the building from these boards.¹⁷² He thus pre-empted aspects of the present day heritage protection regime, and in some senses went further than the arrangements that exist at present.

Although Harrod was clearly unable to find widespread support for his suggestions, some control of church restoration was being attempted at a diocesan level. At the general meeting of the Diocesan Societies in 1856, following the report of the Church Building Association, the formation of an architectural society to promote “correct restorations” was mooted.¹⁷³ However, Rev. E.T. Yates seemed to suggest that this was unnecessary, noting that all the plans supported by the Association were “submitted to an architect before the grant was made”.¹⁷⁴ There is also evidence of increasing emphasis on central control of these works. The incoming Bishop of Norwich, J. T. Pelham, in his first visitation charge given in 1858, asked that proposals for restorations be submitted to the archdeacon for approval, telling his clergymen that “the clergy or parishioners... were only trustees and tenants of the buildings which were common property both of their fathers who preceded them and their children who should come after them”.¹⁷⁵ It is not clear however what effect the Bishop’s words had, and more than a decade later a member of the NNAS wrote to the *Norfolk Chronicle*, quoting the Bishop’s charge, suggesting that at present “a very different feeling” from those promoted by

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Anon. (18 October 1856), ‘Church Building Society’, *Norfolk Chronicle*, p3

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Anon. (12 June 1858), ‘Primary Visitation of the Lord Bishop’, *Norfolk Chronicle*, p7

the Bishop's words was at play in the Diocese.¹⁷⁶ The 'Archaeologist' suggested that "ecclesiastical art relics... are fast vanishing from the churches which possess them" arguing that inventories should be made in order to curtail this destruction.¹⁷⁷ Some effort was made centrally to forestall the loss of such relics and the Diocesan Church Building Society's statement of accounts for 1871 contained the following note,

The committee beg to suggest to those who are restoring Churches the careful preservation of remains of Ecclesiastical Art and Antiquities, even in cases where the remains cannot be used in restoration. In past days much that was interesting, as illustrating the history of Ecclesiastical Art in our country, has been recklessly destroyed; beautiful screens torn away and treated as mere lumber, poppy heads and other carvings of rich pattern, and ornamental iron work of elaborate design thrown aside, and antique fonts removed to some neighbouring rockery and replaced by new ones which have little to recommend them.¹⁷⁸

Taking into account the limited influence of the Church Building Society in the Diocese, it is not clear that this message had any particular effect. By the turn of the century the NNAS were considered to be amongst the guardians of church buildings, with a correspondent writing to the *Yarmouth Independent* in regards to the destruction of an "ancient fresco" at Yarmouth parish church arguing that, "Surely the vicar, a member of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, or the Churchwardens might have prevented such an act of vandalism".¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Archaeologist (19 June 1869), 'Archaeology', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p10

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Anon. (1871), *Report and Statement of Accounts*, Norwich: Norwich Diocesan Church Building Society NRO, DN/DAB 2

¹⁷⁹ Transpontine (7 April 1906), 'Vandalism at Great Yarmouth', *Yarmouth Independent*, p8

As we have seen, the clergy of the nineteenth century had the time and money to pursue learned activities aside from their parochial duties. However, the foregoing also suggests that a difficult relationship existed between some members of the clergy, their patrons, and conservationists of the nineteenth century. In some ways, the conflict of the twentieth century was little different, with contemporary theology and practice yet again posing problems for historic fabric. The strains being placed on clergy arguably also contributed to clergy attitudes towards historic buildings. The number of clergy declined in the early part of the twentieth century, as did the value of their livings.¹⁸⁰ These funding problems had been ongoing in Norfolk and in 1890, the Diocese established a Diocesan Fund to which the five societies in the Diocese, were to become affiliated.¹⁸¹ This offered the Diocese the opportunity to collect money on behalf of the Fund from the laity at church services and later to reappportion the money to the various committees as it chose.¹⁸² The Church Building Association continued to provide money on a small scale as it had done before, however, the bulk of the money raised was spent augmenting clergy livings.¹⁸³ Despite this, the Vicar of Snettisham was to write to the *Daily Mail* in 1902 to protest that his net income of £45 a year could not hope to cover the cost of dilapidations and the cost of his curate, and yet he was still denied support by the Diocesan Fund.¹⁸⁴ Thus, with their potential earnings falling, the attraction of the clerical life also appears to have declined. As we have seen, after gaining more than ten thousand clergy between 1841 and 1911, by 1960 clergy numbers were below the 1841 level.¹⁸⁵ By the end of the 1980s in Norfolk, the 550 of the parishes designated as rural by the diocese were served by around 150 members of the clergy.¹⁸⁶ The majority of these had between two and

¹⁸⁰ S. J. D. Green (2011), *The Passing of Protestant England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p67

¹⁸¹ Anon. (12 April 1890), 'The Establishment of a Diocesan Fund', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p8;

¹⁸² Anon. (8 April 1893), 'The Diocesan Fund', *Norfolk Chronicle*, p3

¹⁸³ Anon. (12 November 1901), 'Norwich Diocesan Fund', *Eastern Evening News*, p2

¹⁸⁴ Anon. (6 September 1902), 'A Norfolk Vicar and Clerical Incomes', *Norwich Mercury*, p11

¹⁸⁵ C. Brooks (1995), 'Introduction', C. Brooks and A. Saint (eds), (1995) *The Victorian Church*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p9; S. J. D. Green, (2011), *The Passing of Protestant England*, pp62-65

¹⁸⁶ Commission on Country Churches (1991), *Rural Church Buildings*, Norwich: Rigby Print, p4

six churches to minister to, whilst seven had between eight and ten parishes under their care.¹⁸⁷

Again, as noted in previous chapters, the ongoing effect of this decline in clergy number, as well as the development of the Southbank Theology meant that two opposing sides were developing in the attitudes towards parish churches. In his message at the start of *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future*, the Bishop of Norwich, Maurice Wood summarised the opposing stances that had developed as between “church-plant rationalisers” and the “village church preservationists”, arguing that the booklet, “will make a significant contribution to this urgent ongoing debate”.¹⁸⁸ Although the members of the Committee for Country Churches seem to have generally been Anglican laity, they were coming to see sections of the clergy as antagonists to their cause.¹⁸⁹ For instance, around the time of the publication of the Committee’s booklet, Penelope Betjeman wrote to Lady Harrod saying, “Is there any chance of you coming up then? I don’t expect so as you must have so many engagements from your noble work of PROTECTING YOUR CHURCHES FROM THE CLERGY, the great TEARERS DOWN.”¹⁹⁰ Whilst these words were probably meant in jest, we can assume that they represent an exaggeration of real attitudes Harrod had encountered. Privately, in fact Bishop Maurice Wood was supportive of the Committee.¹⁹¹ Nevertheless, in his message for the booklet, the bishop was articulating views current within the Church of England, as we have seen in previous chapters. According to Andrew Anderson these attitudes appear to have been present within the Diocesan bureaucracy. In his article for the publication celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Trust, Anderson noted that James Haddock, secretary of the Diocesan Board of Finance, and one of the authors whose report began this chapter, was “a

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ M. Wood (1972), ‘From the Bishop of Norwich’, Harrod (ed) (1972), *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future*, p5

¹⁸⁹ E. Neville, A. Hobson and W. Harrod (1972), ‘Tales of Three Churches’, Harrod (ed) (1972), *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future*, pp30-33

¹⁹⁰ P. Betjeman (19 April 1972), Letter to Lady Harrod, NRO, ACC2005/362 WH/RFH

¹⁹¹ M. Wood (30 March 1976), Letter to Lady Harrod, NRO, MC 2166/1/3

retired Sapper colonel” who “made no secret of his ambition to blow every church in the county to smithereens”.¹⁹² Again, this is probably an exaggeration, but speaks to attitudes present within the diocese driven by clergy shortages and declining congregation numbers.

With the clergy becoming overstretched, the laity began to develop ways in which church buildings could be managed. The Norfolk Society’s Committee for Country Churches has to be seen as part and parcel of this trend. In the concluding essay in *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future*, Lady Harrod argued that “[r]aising money should not be added to the many duties of the clergy; the laity ought to be concerned with this”.¹⁹³ In doing so she drew attention to the three case studies included in the booklet.¹⁹⁴ These not only included information on fundraising efforts through “collecting boxes, waste paper salvage, bingo, white elephant auction” and so on, they also included reference to a churchwarden taking services at a time of sequestration.¹⁹⁵ In doing so it was advised that “abandoned” churches could be “brought to life” by the appointment of churchwardens and the formation of a PCC.¹⁹⁶ The Trust continued to pursue this line. As Michael Sayer of the Trust put it in a letter to *The Times* in 1985, “[r]eduction in clergy numbers requires a choice between a ministry based entirely on an overstretched priest, in which many parishes must fade away, and a ministry... with a much higher degree of lay involvement”.¹⁹⁷ This did not stop some of the clergy joining in the work of the Trust and Anderson noted the work of a number of these in his reminiscences just mentioned.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹² A. Anderson (2001), ‘Characters in a Quiet Revolution’, Roberts (ed) (2001), *Treasure for the Future*

¹⁹³ W. Harrod (1972), ‘Conclusion’, Harrod (ed) (1972), *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future*, p39

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ E. Neville et al (1972), ‘Tales of Three Churches’, Harrod (ed) (1972), *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future*, p32

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p33

¹⁹⁷ M. Sayer (24 June 1985), ‘Rural Anglicanism’, *Times*, p13

¹⁹⁸ A. Anderson (2001), ‘Characters in a Quiet Revolution’, C. Robert (2001), *Treasure for the Future*, Norwich: Norfolk Churches Trust, p42

The need to promote greater lay involvement was shared by the Diocese. In fact, a year before Sayer had written to *The Times*, James Haddock and David Mitchell had produced a report for the Bishop of Norwich's Council entitled "Following Graham: Guidelines for Ministry".¹⁹⁹ This called for greater use of lay readers and concluded by arguing that "[t]he Church of England is in a state of revolution... clergy must now delegate responsibilities to lay people... Lay people must accept and undertake these responsibilities".²⁰⁰ In response, Sayer commented on the document saying that the Trust "wholeheartedly supports the memorandum" arguing that "the care of church buildings... often seems trivial compared to the problem of conserving congregations".²⁰¹ In doing so he also noted that "in far too many cases" grant applications and dealings with architects were not being done by the laity.²⁰² The Diocese itself also moved to ensure that this kind of work was delegated to PCCs. In 1988 Bishop Peter Nott organised a Commission to consider the issue of rural churches in the Diocese.²⁰³ The resulting report included instructions for PCCs in the management of church buildings saying "that this work should be done by the laity as a matter of course" and strongly encouraged the appointment of a Church Fabric Officer to support this.²⁰⁴ The report also welcomed the development of seminars for churchwardens on maintaining their churches.²⁰⁵ Thus the Trust and the Diocese were both working together to increase lay involvement in the management of places of worship in order to relieve overstretched clergy.

Rather than as a heritage organisation, we can see the activities of the Trust more as a way in which the laity began to take the lead in developing support structures for the Church in the parishes, in place of the diocesan organisations founded the century before. By the end of the century these structures appear to have been well-established. Writing to the magazine of the

¹⁹⁹ J. Haddock and D. Mitchell (1984), 'Following Graham: Guidelines for Ministry', Norwich: Diocese of Norwich NRO, ACC2011/176

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p2, emphasis in original

²⁰¹ M. Sayer, (26 July 1984), 'Comments on the future of the rural church', NRO, ACC2011/176

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Commission on Country Churches (1991), *Rural Church Buildings*, pv

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p29

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p32

Historic Churches Preservation Trust (HCPT) in 1998, the Archdeacon of Norfolk repudiated the assertions of an article in a previous edition, written by one of the HCPT supporters who had newly settled in East Anglia calling themselves 'Turriform'.²⁰⁶ Turriform had complained that "in an ideal world" direction would be forthcoming in church maintenance from the incumbent, but since the vicars were likely overstretched, and the churchwardens were untrained for "the problems today experienced for a rural PCC in maintaining their church fabric are quite mind bogglingly difficult".²⁰⁷ In response the Archdeacon noted the large number of lay ministers in Turriform's parish.²⁰⁸ These included one non-stipendiary minister, one local non-stipendiary minister and four readers. Alongside these were the annual churchwarden's conference, archidiaconal visits, as well as "an array of useful handouts" and a DAC secretary and chairman who would "steer people through the faculty process".²⁰⁹ Peter de Bunsen, then chair of the Norfolk Churches Trust, also contributed a response in which he praised the Bishop of Norfolk's championing of Norfolk's "great heritage of some 650 medieval Churches".²¹⁰ De Bunsen also drew attention to the support of the Trust to parishes "daunted by the magnitude of the challenge" of major repairs, in their visiting to discuss the matter with congregations, their architect "and perhaps a member of English Heritage".²¹¹ In a separate letter to the chair of the HCPT, de Bunsen noted that that the Norfolk Churches Trust had an arrangement with the DAC to monitor quinquennial inspections and to identify urgent repairs and support arrangements for effecting them.²¹² Thus, together, alongside English Heritage, we can see the Trust as having contributed to the support structures for PCCs within the parishes.

²⁰⁶ Turriform (Winter 1997), 'The Reality of Life at the Coal Face', *Historic Churches Review*, 17, p5 NRO, ACC2011/176

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ M. Handley (Spring 1998), 'We have no coal in Norfolk', *Historic Churches Review*, 18, p8, NRO, ACC2011/176

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ P. de Bunsen (Spring 1998), 'A Recipe for Disaster or a Prescription for Success', *Historic Churches Review*, Number 18, p9, NRO, ACC2011/176

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² P. de Bunsen (24 November 1997), Letter to Lord Nicholas Gordon Lennox, NRO, ACC2011/176

The formation of the Trust predated the award of state aid to churches by one year. As we have seen, English Heritage took over the administration of grant aid for churches following its creation in 1983. In taking on this grant aid, and coming to advise on planning matters, it is arguable that the activities established by the Council for the Protection of Rural England and its affiliates were given statutory basis in the formation of a new body. As Susanna Wade Martins has argued, by the start of the twenty-first century planning policy recognised “[t]he importance of a partnership between local authorities, private individuals and businesses, as well as conservation bodies”.²¹³ Within this complex, grant aid funding has been made available to support building conservation and archaeological management.²¹⁴ Around 130 of Norfolk’s churches received funding from English Heritage between 1984 and 1991, with grant aid ranging from a few thousand pounds to over a hundred thousand.²¹⁵ This money was typically paid at 40%, although could be as much as 70% of the cost of the works.²¹⁶

In 1992 English Heritage began to move to greater regionalisation.²¹⁷ In the following period, the organisation appears to have sought strengthened relations with the Trust. Thus in 1994 the Trust conducted a tour of churches with the newly appointed head of the Anglia Team, Paula Griffiths.²¹⁸ After the tour, Anthony Barnes of the Trust wrote to her noting that their meeting “gave me a strong feeling that what we are doing complements your activities”.²¹⁹ Besides, grant aid, English Heritage also looked at improving systems for condition monitoring and in 1995 commissioned a study examining the systems in place for the management of historic places of worship.²²⁰ The report recommended that a Church Heritage Management Database be set up to compile information on places of worship in the county and to keep a

²¹³ S. Wade Martins (2015), *The Conservation Movement in Norfolk*, Woodbridge: Boydell, p169

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Anon. (c.1993), *Grants 1984-92*, London: English Heritage, pp 48-52, ACC 2011/176

²¹⁶ Anon. (1989), ‘Sources of Financial Aid for Churches in Use’, Norfolk Churches Trust, NRO, ACC 2011/176

²¹⁷ M. McCarthy (2 July 1992), ‘Heritage goes on instant alert’, *Times*, p5

²¹⁸ P. Griffiths (23 September 1994), Letter to Anthony Barnes, NRO, ACC 2011/176

²¹⁹ A. Barnes (21 September 94), Letter to Paula Griffiths, NRO, ACC 2011/176

²²⁰ J. Reeve (November 1995), *Church Site Management and Evaluation Systems: A Norfolk Review*, London: English Heritage, NRO, ACC 2011/176

record of alterations made to them.²²¹ Although this does not appear to have been taken up, the organisation would eventually implement a Conservation Casework computer system in 2005, and began working on Asset Management Database in 2007.²²² Historic England now maintains a regional *Heritage at Risk Register* which includes sites in Norfolk.²²³ It has also sponsored the creation of the Church Heritage Record nationally.²²⁴

The work of the Trust has come to encompass both the objectives of Historic England and those of the Diocese, thus becoming an important link in the church-heritage assemblage. The Trust's practical work had begun with the leasing of three churches from the Diocese, those at Cockthorpe, Barmer and Dunton.²²⁵ These required emergency repairs, and the Trust organised working parties to clean the interior and exterior.²²⁶ They continued this practice and presently hold the leases on 13 churches (one of which is held from the Roman Catholic Diocese of East Anglia), and the Trust funds their maintenance.²²⁷ In addition the Trust has supported churches through these working parties to become suitable for vesting in the Redundant Churches Fund, as at Thurgarton and Coston.²²⁸ As with the other county societies, the Trust has given small grants to churches as part of larger grant aid funded repairs. For the financial year 2016/17 the Trust offered 35 new grants in this way, totalling £122,050.²²⁹ The Trust also raises money through annual events, such as the cycle ride which

²²¹ J. Reeve (November 1995), *Church Site Management and Evaluation Systems: A Norfolk Review*, London: English Heritage, p19, NRO, ACC 2011/176

²²² English Heritage (14 October 2010), *Grants for Historic Buildings, Monuments and Designed Landscapes*, London: English Heritage, retrieved from: <https://content.historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/archived/guide-hbmdl-grants-given.pdf>

²²³ See for instance Historic England (2017), *East of England Register 2017*, Cambridge: Historic England

²²⁴ Church Heritage Record (2018), 'About the Church Heritage Record', retrieved from: <https://facultyonline.churchofengland.org/about-the-church-heritage-record>

²²⁵ R. Butler-Stoney (2001), 'An ever greater glory', Roberts (ed) (2001), *Treasure for the Future*, p44

²²⁶ Ibid.; See also R. Butler-Stoney (2001), 'Joyful parties for the working day', Roberts (ed) (2001), *Treasure for the Future*, pp36-37

²²⁷ Norfolk Churches Trust Ltd (2017), *Annual Reports and Financial Statements for the year ended 31 March 2017*, pp8 & 10

²²⁸ Butler-Stoney (2001), 'An ever greater glory', Roberts (2001), *Treasure*, p44

²²⁹ Norfolk Churches Trust Ltd (2017), *Annual Reports and Financial Statements for the year ended 31 March 2017*, p5

raised over £100,000 in 2016, with half of the funds donated directly to 320 churches.²³⁰ That year the Trust also celebrated its 40th anniversary with a reception given for the Trust by Prince Charles, who had been patron of the Trust since 1988, at Sandringham House.²³¹

By the actions of its membership the NNAS established a role in the protection of historic sites, buying up places of archaeological interest to save them from destruction, and publicly opposing works which they saw as damaging to historic buildings. The extensive alterations to medieval churches in the county were central amongst this, and members such as Henry Harrod looked to establish greater architectural oversight for such changes. Thus, by the twentieth century the NNAS were being looked to by the public to protect churches from inappropriate alterations. Public concerns over the management of Anglican places of worship continued into the twentieth century, reaching their height in the 1970s. This resulted in what seems to have been a contest between the diocesan administration and the laity. Nevertheless, through the actions of Lady Harrod and her associates, a support network was put in place which the diocese came to accept as advantageous. This was then bolstered by the work of English Heritage, who like the NNAS before them sought to catalogue and monitor historic places in order to protect them for public enjoyment. Thus, a state agency was able to support the work established by voluntary action. This created a complex arrangement by which places of historic interest are now conserved for the benefit of the wider public.

Bridge

Bishop Nott's commission which examined the issue of rural churches in Norfolk reported in 1990, the year in which the Archbishops' Commission on Rural Areas (ACORA) produced *Faith in the Countryside*.²³² Nott provided evidence to the ACORA and criticised the centralisation of the church, calling for attention to be placed "firmly on the local community,

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid.; Butler-Stoney (2001), 'An ever greater glory', Roberts (2001), *Treasure*, p44

²³² Commission on Country Churches (1991), *Rural Church Buildings*; ACORA (1990), *Faith in the Countryside*, Stoneleigh Park: ACORA Publishing

the village, the neighbourhood, the parish, the congregation".²³³ These ideas were echoed in the *Rural Church Buildings* report which emphasised that the decision to close a church must come from the PCC.²³⁴ The report also identified church buildings as the parish's "prime resource" and looked at re-ordering, both in order to facilitate increased participation in services, and uses of the building by the community, noting that "in the coming decades it is inevitable that the urge to adapt and re-order the church building and to make it more flexible and more comfortable will affect an increasing number of country churches".²³⁵ Part of the reason for these changes might lie with demographic changes which have affected the countryside since the Second World War.

Since the 1950s the majority of rural areas in England have seen a growth in population.²³⁶ Between 1975 and 2000, East Anglia was one of the fastest growing areas of Britain in terms of population with many households moving from the Greater London area.²³⁷ Indeed, Binney and Burman had already noted the 10% increase in population in Norfolk between 1961 and 1971 in their report.²³⁸ Within the literature on rural life in Britain, these demographic changes were seen to have had a significant effect on life within the villages. Howard Newby writing in 1979 argued that "incomers" had brought with them an "urban, middle-class life-style which is largely alien to the remaining local agricultural population".²³⁹ In his *Death of Rural England* Alun Howkins evidenced the changing face of the village with disputes centred on housing.²⁴⁰

Lady Harrod herself appears to have keenly felt these changes. In an interview for the *Eastern Daily Press* in 1986, she remarked in relation to the changes in the county, "You know a young

²³³ ACORA (1990), *Faith in the Countryside*, p273

²³⁴ Commission on Country Churches (1991), *Rural Church Buildings*, p10

²³⁵ Commission on Country Churches (1991), *Rural Church Buildings*, p19

²³⁶ Howkins (2003), *Death of Rural England*, Abingdon: Oxford, p179

²³⁷ P. Townroe (2004), 'Norwich since 1945', C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (2005), *Norwich Since 1550*, London: Bloomsbury, p472

²³⁸ M. Binney and P. Burman (1977), *Chapels & Churches: Who Cares*, London: British Tourist Authority p174

²³⁹ H. Newby (1980), *Green and Pleasant Land*, London: Pelican, p165

²⁴⁰ Howkins (2003), *Death*, pp182-184

man in a shop said to me ‘What brought you to Norfolk?’ I said, you are looking at something very rare now; you are looking at a native of Norfolk” and noted her irritation, despite having spent a significant portion of her life in Oxfordshire.²⁴¹ The notion of the ‘new villager’ also entered into the thinking of the Diocese of Norwich in their *Rural Church Buildings* report. This noted their propensity to take up public roles in village life.²⁴² As the report put it, “[i]n this Diocese Newcomers have been responsible for a great proportion of the organisation and financial support involved in repairing and maintaining church buildings”.²⁴³ In the next chapter, we will examine the experiences of a number of these “new villagers”.

²⁴¹ C. Chinery (c.1986) ‘The Champion of Our Churches’, *Eastern Daily Press*, page number unknown, ACC 2011/176

²⁴² Commission on Country Churches (1991) *Rural Church Buildings*, p3

²⁴³ Commission on Country Churches (1991) *Rural Church Buildings*, p6

Chapter 7

Experiences

Introduction¹

In chapter three it was argued that the governmental organisations in the church-heritage assemblage operate in two modes. Heritage agencies were seen to adopt either supervisory or supportive stances towards those managing heritage assets. In the first mode, the process of managing change within and without places of worship is achieved through a permissions process which involves scrutiny of applications by Diocesan Advisory Councils (DAC), advised by statutory consultees, with permission granted by the diocesan chancellor.² In the second mode, funding is available for various projects related to church buildings, both for their repair, and to develop them as sites which meet modern expectations. This chapter seeks to examine the experiences of a small number of Parochial Church Council (PCC) members dealing with heritage agencies operating in both ways. As has been outlined already in this thesis, for buildings held by the Anglicans it is generally the activities of the PCCs that are central to the management of historic places of worship. Besides dealing with their experiences, the intention in this chapter is to set these experiences into the wider context of public policy.

It was noted in chapter one that limited attention has been paid to the activities of religious groups by researchers in the field of voluntary action research. In their *Studying Local Churches: A Handbook*, Cameron et al noted the dearth of research on congregations outside of work aimed at church leaders seeking to grow their fellowship.³ Some work is now being done in this field, perhaps most notably by the anthropologist Abby Day. Day's recent monograph *The Religious Lives of Older Lay Women* explored the role of a specific cohort of women, whom she calls "the last active generation", in providing the labour for the everyday

¹ An earlier version of this chapter has been accepted for publication as part of the forthcoming book *Heritage Communities | Les communautés patrimoniales*, to be published by Les Presses de l'Université du Québec.

² J. Halsall (2015), *Caring for your Church Building*, Buxhall: Kevin Mayhew. pp19, 31 & 121-128

³ H. Cameron, P. Richter, D. Davies and F. Ward (2005), *Studying Local Churches: A Handbook*, London: SCM Press

activities of congregations within the Anglican communion.⁴ Day's work represents an extensive engagement with the role of voluntary labour undertaken in support of Anglican worship. However, besides Day's work, as was outlined in chapter one, research in this field has been limited. Moreover, within this body of work, little attention has been paid to the role of congregations in maintaining their buildings under the heritage protection regime.⁵

Some research into the attitudes of congregations towards listing and the effect of grant aid has been undertaken outside of academia. Nevertheless, this has been relatively limited in extent and comprised of official reports produced on behalf of heritage agencies themselves. This has included research by Andrew Derrick who has produced two reports for the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) examining the impact of the various grant schemes operated by the HLF and English Heritage between 1996 and 2005.⁶ These outlined the various changes to the grant schemes which had taken place over that period and assessed their effectiveness at increasing use by congregations and wider groups.⁷ In addition, Living Stones undertaking research for English Heritage took in evidence from 67 congregations across a number of denominations on their experiences of managing a listed building.⁸ Information for their study was gathered through questionnaires and seminars and the resulting report expressed concern about ageing congregations and called for more support for those managing listed places of worship.⁹ The present chapter seeks to build on these studies by looking closely at the experiences of PCC members working within the heritage protection system, and dealing with agencies within this system.

⁴ A. Day (2017), *The Religious Lives of Older Laywomen: The Last Active Anglican Generation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p8 and *passim*

⁵ Day only briefly mentions heritage funding, *ibid.*, p195

⁶ A. Derrick (2005), *Assessment of the Impact of HLF/English Heritage Places of Worship Funding*, London: Heritage Lottery Fund, London: HLF

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Living Stones (2010), *Blessings or Burdens? Listed places of worship and their role in communities*, London: English Heritage

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp3 & 8

A prominent element within this chapter is the role of these groups in organising grant aid funding from the HLF. Academic attention to the activities of the HLF within the heritage studies corpus has also been relatively limited. For example, Smith's *Uses of Heritage* contained one single reference to a HLF grant aided project, whilst Emma Waterton's *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain* focused heavily on critiquing the justifications offered by English Heritage for its work, ignoring the HLF almost entirely.¹⁰ A greater focus on the operations of the HLF by academics would therefore improve academic understanding of the role of heritage agencies. A rough comparison of the budgets of English Heritage (now an independent charity) with the HLF provides some evidence, however imperfect, of the relative weight placed on the operation of these organisations by the government. The former when relaunching as a charity received £80 million in support of an eight-year licence from Historic England to manage the “national collection”.¹¹ In comparison, the HLF had a budget of £435 million to distribute in the financial year 2016 to 2017 alone, and is now promising to spend a minimum of £20 million a year on places of worship.¹² Thus, the operations of the HLF can be seen as key in the funding of the heritage sector in the United Kingdom and they are a key element of the funding of repairs to Anglican places of worship.

The next section will examine the recent history of grant aid funding for churches and set this within the communitarian turn in cultural policy, the delivery of which, it will be argued, the HLF has played a significant part. It begins with a discussion of the development of heritage policy in the last quarter of the twentieth century, and from the 1990s onward in particular, examining the use of grant aid to support voluntary action. In doing so the aim has been to outline the ways in which heritage policy has been targeted at communities, and at the same time has relied on these communities for its delivery. The second section of the chapter explores the

¹⁰ E. Waterton (2010), *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain*, Basingstoke: Palgrave

¹¹ English Heritage (2016), *Annual Report 2015/2016*, London: English Heritage, p9

¹² Heritage Lottery Fund (2017), *Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2017*, London: Heritage Lottery Fund, p6; S. Crofts (5 April 2017), ‘A new approach to supporting places of worship’, retrieved from: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/news-features/new-approach-supporting-places-worship>

dynamics of the Anglican PCCs interviewed for this thesis, looking at their make-up and their motivations. As we will see in the third section of this chapter these bodies are at the frontline of dealing with societal changes affecting historic places of worship. An important aspect of this has been a wider strategy to arrest the decline of public worship through the introduction of new facilities, such as WCs and kitchenettes into churches, and thus to ensure that these buildings are able to sustain extended use. Within this, as a consequence of planning and heritage legislation, PCC members have been asked to negotiate with a range of bodies in order to gain permission for their projects and are not always successful in these endeavours. However, through negotiations and compromise, voluntary bodies are often able to overcome objections to their schemes. In addition, as the fourth section of this chapter is intended to show, they are often able to direct professionals, rather than being directed by them. This section also deals with their management of grant aid and looks at the ways grant aid funding has been managed by PCCs.

Heritage Communities

As in previous chapters, the key theme in this chapter is voluntary action. As we have seen in those chapters, the promotion of voluntarism has come to be seen as an essential ingredient in ways in which historic places of worship are managed. Following the end of the compulsory church rates, church repair was funded from individual philanthropy, by community appeals, through subscription and through fundraising managed by associations. In the twentieth century a nationally coordinated mixed economy for church building repair developed which has then been supported and altered by successive governments. In supporting this mixed economy, government, its agencies and a number of campaign groups have often relied on a rhetoric of voluntarism in their public statements. For instance, in launching the Lincolnshire Old Churches Trust in 1952 Bulmer-Thomas was quoted to the effect that “[t]he county trusts would mobilize all that local enthusiasm, which had, for a thousand years, been the great glory

of our public life and the foundation of our democracy”.¹³ Thus, Bulmer-Thomas naturalised voluntary action at a local level, asserting this ethic to inhere within British national character, despite the Church of England’s relatively recent conversion to this cause. Similarly, in announcing state aid for churches in 1977, Labour’s Lady Birk argued that the state’s intervention was not a substitute for voluntary action, and made it clear that the money was only intended to go to “those who had done all they could to help themselves”.¹⁴ To this day voluntary action continues to be looked to as the organising principle behind the ways in which church buildings are managed.

As we saw in chapter three, the *Taylor Review*, like the Church Repair Commission before it, has deprecated the adoption of a form of centralised management of church repair found in other countries.¹⁵ Rather than adopt a system of centralised control, government agencies have chosen instead to direct voluntary action, first through stipulations attached to grant aid and secondly through the creation of support officers. As a result, PCCs and other bodies have been transformed into vehicles for public funds. Moreover, as a consequence of the provision of grant aid, PCCs have been interpolated into a wider system of social service and asked to become service providers.

Grant aid offers a point of entry through which grant giving bodies can seek to influence the conduct and affairs of their beneficiaries. In this sense, it represents a technique of governance which can redefine both the organisation and the purposes of the recipient body. This can extend as far as a recasting of the responsibilities of the members of the organisation in receipt of funds. As Guy Braithwaite, then Advice and Grants Manager at English Heritage, put it when discussing the drawbacks of English Heritage and the HLF’s second Joint Scheme, which ran from 1999-2002,

¹³ Anon. (11 Oct. 1952), ‘Preservation of Old Churches’, *Times*, p3

¹⁴ Quoted by a Staff Reporter (3 Apr. 1975), ‘Repair grants for churches ‘no panacea’’, *Times*, p16

¹⁵ B. Taylor (2017), *The Taylor Review: Sustainability of English Churches and Cathedrals*, London: DCMS, p22

it was complex for applicants and staff alike to navigate and did little to address the difficulties that recipients of grant offers faced. They were typically volunteers, working largely alone on their first heritage project. They struggled to cope with the competing demands of their roles as custodian of a historic building, informed client, fundraiser and project manager.¹⁶

Although Braithwaite necessarily represented subsequent changes to their grant-aid programmes in a positive light, these “competing demands” nevertheless remained in subsequent schemes. Following the changes made to the scheme when the HLF took full control of its administration in 2013, the role of community outreach officer was arguably added to this list. These changes were the result of a longer-term strategy adopted by Labour in relation to voluntary organisations.

As previously noted, the Brown government examined ways in which government might help faith groups strengthen their role as service providers.¹⁷ We can see this as directly related to a communitarian turn in public policy under the Labour government. As noted in the introductory chapter, 6 and Leat have argued that the voluntary sector has been constructed by successive governments in order to better manage voluntary action.¹⁸ This management continued under the Blair government which established a range of agencies to support and direct voluntary action.¹⁹ Thus in 2004, as Chancellor, Brown had hailed the “[t]ransformation of the third sector to rival the market and the state, with a quiet revolution in how voluntary

¹⁶ G. Braithwaite (2009), ‘Maintaining the legacy’, English Heritage (2009), *Conservation Bulletin*, 61, London: English Heritage, p22

¹⁷ A. Burnham et al (2008), *Churches and Faith Buildings: Realising the Potential*, London: Churches and Faith buildings working group

¹⁸ P. 6 and D. Leat (1997), ‘Inventing the British Voluntary Sector by committee: from Wolfenden to Deakin’, *Non Profit Studies*, 1, 2

¹⁹ P. Alcock (2011) ‘Voluntary Action, New Labour, and the ‘third sector’, M. Hilton and J. Mackay (eds) (2011), *The Ages of Voluntarism: How we got to the big society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

action and charitable work serves the community.”²⁰ This rhetoric drew on a longer tradition of communitarian thought, through which the purposes of the heritage sector were reimagined over the course of the Blair government.

A communitarian approach to public policy both on the left and the right developed in the late twentieth century. Nikolas Rose has argued that this can be seen as a consequence of the development of what we might call a sociological ‘mythos’ of community.²¹ In various ways, from the Chicago School to Willmott and Young, sociologists have used the concept of ‘community’ to critique modernity.²² Thus, community came to be seen in Rose’s words as “a cure to the ills that the social had not been able to address”.²³ In tandem, according to Rose, in the 1960s the authorities came to designate difficult groups as ‘communities’ in order to construct them as target populations and better manage their activities.²⁴ Thus, over the course of the final decades of the twentieth century, Rose argued, community went from being part of a language of critique of society, to being a sector for government to manage by employing professionals dedicated to this activity.²⁵ This language has fed into public policy concerned with heritage. However, rather than identify specific target communities, cultural policy currently constructs the whole country as a series of communities each with “its own culture – its own history, museums and traditions”.²⁶ This can be seen as directly related to changes in ways in which heritage was reconceived and managed under the Labour government.

²⁰ G. Brown (2004) quoted in P. Alcock (March 2010) *Partnership and mainstreaming: voluntary action under New Labour*, Birmingham: Third Sector Research Centre, p6

²¹ See N. Rose (1999), *Powers of Freedom: reframing political thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p172

²² *Ibid.*, p175

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp174-175

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p175

²⁶ Department for Culture Media and Sport (2016), *The Culture White Paper*, London: DCMS, p13

Hewison and Holden argued that Labour had an aversion to the concept of 'heritage', associating the term with the priorities of the previous Conservative administrations.²⁷ According to Patrick Wright, "[m]embers of the first Blair cabinet proved comically reluctant to be photographed near anything resembling an old building".²⁸ Labour thus sought a redefinition of the concept of 'heritage' through a number of policy documents and re-designated the material remains of the past as the "historic environment".²⁹ As a relatively new body at the time of Labour's coming to power, the HLF played a significant part in the government's transformation of the sector. The HLF had begun with an ambivalent approach to 'heritage' reflecting the historic approach of its parent body the National Heritage Memorial Fund.³⁰ In addition, the National Lottery Act (1993) had given the Secretary of State responsible the power to issue policy directions to distributors of Lottery money and to instruct these organisations to produce a strategic plan which complied with these directions.³¹ The HLF was therefore an apt vehicle through which to alter the priorities of the heritage sector. In 1998 the Labour Government issued a set of policy directions to the HLF which included assessing the scope of heritage projects to reduce "economic and social deprivation", to "promote access for people of all sections of society", as well as promoting the interest of children and young people, and sustainable development.³²

The refocusing of the heritage sector on social issues reflected the Labour government's wider thinking. Anthony Giddens, whose 'third way' provided the ideological justification for New Labour, had encouraged government "to act in partnership with agencies in civil society to foster community renewal and development".³³ Giddens' vision of "community renewal" was

²⁷ R. Hewison and J. Holden (2004), *Challenge and Change: HLF and Cultural Value: A report to the Heritage Lottery Fund*, London: HLF, p9

²⁸ P. Wright (2009), *On Living in an Old Country*, Oxford: O.U.P, pxvi

²⁹ Hewison and Holden (2004), *Challenge and Change*, p27

³⁰ Hewison and Holden (2004), *Challenge and Change*, p12

³¹ *Ibid.*, p14

³² *Ibid.*, p16

³³ A. Giddens (1998), *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity Press, p41

to take place within the public sphere. In his approach, the resuscitation of civil society, a goal typical of communitarian politics, had a very concrete dimension.³⁴ In his words, “[p]ublic’ here includes physical public space. The degeneration of local communities is usually marked not only by general dilapidation, but by the disappearance of safe public space – streets, squares, parks and other areas where people can feel secure”.³⁵ Thus with the ultimate aim of supporting both social inclusion and sustainability, the work of the heritage sector was redoubled in support of the public realm.

Giddens’s arguments had clear implications for heritage and regeneration projects in town planning. The HLF’s grant aid programmes have provided vast sums toward the public realm projects, with historic parks “emerging very early on as a priority for the HLF”.³⁶ A focus on community was also evident in the museums sector in particular, where according to Crooke, “[c]ommunity has become a way of thinking that is running through every level of a museum service shaping collecting, display and museum programming”.³⁷ Thus as a result of the directions given to the HLF by the Labour government, the aim of strengthening communities has become written into the objectives of the heritage sector. The HLF’s first strategic plan covered 1999 to 2002 and listed the organisation’s priorities as including “local heritage” with the plan stating “HLF defines heritage inclusively in order to make its work relevant to all sections of the community”.³⁸ Subsequently, Hewison and Holden were commissioned to assist the development of an evaluation framework in order to investigate what benefits the organization generates for the public.³⁹ The report that followed argued that one of the outputs which could be measured might be the extent to which grant aid ‘strengthened local

³⁴ G. Delanty (2003), *Community*, Abingdon: Routledge, pp81-83

³⁵ Ibid., p49

³⁶ K. Clark (2004), ‘Why Fund Heritage? The Role of Research in the Heritage Lottery Fund’, *Cultural Trends*, 13, no. 4, p77

³⁷ E. Crooke (2013), ‘The politics of community heritage: motivations, authority and control’, S. Watson and E. Waterton (eds) (2013), *Heritage and Community Engagement: collaboration or contestation?* London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, p25

³⁸ Hewison and Holden (2004), *Challenge and Change*, p15-17

³⁹ Hewison and Holden (2004), *Challenge and Change*, *passim*

communities'.⁴⁰ The HLF subsequently has commissioned research to understand the extent to which this was taking place.⁴¹ However, it remains unclear whether or not the grant aid is having the desired effect.⁴²

Although the political landscape in the UK has shifted significantly since the defeat of the Labour government in 2010, the public policy architecture put in place to direct the arts and heritage remains. Indeed, the continuities in this area seem clear and the Lib-Dem Conservative coalition that followed continued to utilise a rhetoric of community renewal. David Cameron offered, for a time at least, his own version of communitarianism using images of 'broken Britain' and called for a revived civil society, now labelled the 'Big Society'.⁴³ This rhetoric was taken on by the heritage sector with the 2011 edition of *Heritage Counts*, produced by English Heritage dedicated to the subject of 'Heritage and the Big Society'.⁴⁴

A focus on community was retained in subsequent cultural policy after the election of a Conservative government in 2015. In March of the following year, the Conservative administration published the *Culture White Paper*. Ed Vaizey, then Minister for Culture, Communications and Creative Industries, presented the policy document as "evolution not revolution" and the text affirmed a commitment to widening participation.⁴⁵ The focus on 'community' and 'communities' remained, and the document contained a total of sixty instances of these words over seventy pages. In places the approach taken retained a Labourite veneer, with the then Education Secretary, Nicky Morgan, even using the words

⁴⁰ Ibid., p3

⁴¹ K. Clark, and G. Maeer (2008), 'The cultural value of heritage: evidence from the Heritage Lottery Fund', *Cultural Trends*, 17(1), p47

⁴² Ibid., p48

⁴³ D. Sage (2012), 'A Challenge to Liberalism? The Communitarianism of the Big Society and Blue Labour', *Critical Social Policy*, 32, no. 3, p370-371

⁴⁴ English Heritage (2011), *Heritage Counts*, London: English Heritage

⁴⁵ DCMS (2016), *The Culture White Paper*, p6

“social justice” in her short contribution, although this concept was to be found nowhere else in the text.⁴⁶

As we saw in chapter three, this rhetoric of community has also entered into the Church of England’s thinking on the use of its buildings. The *Building Faith in Our Future* report encouraged the sustainable use of churches by the “wider community”.⁴⁷ Likewise, the more recent *Church Buildings Review* argued that adapting churches for community use had “breathed new life into them”.⁴⁸ Thus, the goals of the clergy hierarchy in this area have come to overlap with those of central government. Extended use has come to be seen as the most efficacious way of securing community involvement. The HLF has also come to support extended use of churches and the policy objective of “strengthening local communities” is now written into their objectives for grant aid.⁴⁹ Through grant aid, congregations have thus been incorporated into a wider public policy regime.

For the course of most of the history of state aid to churches keeping the buildings wind and watertight was the first and foremost priority of grant aid schemes.⁵⁰ However, at various times extended use has been promoted both through the provision of new facilities and through improved public access.⁵¹ This latter objective was achieved primarily by specifying that the building had to be open to the public for a certain number of days a year as a condition of grant.⁵² The HLF’s most recent innovation has been to specify that applicants complete a range of activities as part of their grant conditions.⁵³ GPOW applicants were asked to produce

⁴⁶ Ibid., p19

⁴⁷ Church Heritage Forum (2004), *Building Faith in our Future*, London: Church House Publishing, p24

⁴⁸ Church Buildings Review Group (2015), *Report of the Church Buildings Review Group*, London: General Synod, p27

⁴⁹ Clark, and Maeer (2008), ‘The cultural value of heritage’, p27

⁵⁰ B. Taylor (2017), *The Taylor Review: Sustainability of English Churches and Cathedrals*, London: DCMS, pp25 & 58

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² English Heritage (1992), *Grants 1984-1992*, London: English Heritage pp5-6 NRO, 2011/176; A. Derrick (2005), *A Review of Heritage Lottery Fund/English Heritage Funding to Places of Worship 1996-2005*, Guildford: AHP, p15

⁵³ Taylor (2017), *The Taylor Review*, p25

an activity plan in order to list all the “activities you will do in order to deliver your project objectives and achieve against our outcomes for people and communities.”⁵⁴ This brought funding for places of worship into line with other grant programmes run by the HLF, which also included requirements that applicants devise a range of activities in a form of community outreach.⁵⁵ By bringing the provision of new facilities and the need for activities into grant aid previously generally targeted only at major repair, the HLF has sought to encourage events that “bring communities together”.⁵⁶ As we will see in the sections that follow, PCC members have taken on this responsibility and adopted the concerns of the clergy hierarchy about the need to introduce new facilities to support extended use. Nevertheless, in acting as facilitators of this goal, a substantial amount of labour has often been taken on by small groups of people.

Church Care in the Community

In her study of Anglican congregations across the world, Abby Day suggested that we are now seeing “the last active generation of lay people in the Church of England”.⁵⁷ It is notoriously difficult to make predictions in the social sciences and only time will tell if she is correct, but nevertheless her analysis tends towards a wider point. As she put it herself, “the numbers attending mainstream Anglican churches are in decline and tend to be composed mostly of older people, with older women performing the bulk of voluntary work”.⁵⁸ As we have seen in previous chapters the Church of England has felt itself to be in decline in terms of attendance at least since the post-war period with the *Preservation* report identifying this as a significant issue then affecting financial arrangements.⁵⁹ In 1950, a year before that report was written, Anglican baptisms were recorded as 672 per thousand births, meaning that around 67 per

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ See for instance HLF (2017), *Sharing Heritage: Application Guidance*, London: HLF, p8

⁵⁶ Clark, and Maeer (2008), ‘The cultural value of heritage’, p27

⁵⁷ A. Day (2016), ‘Farewell to Generation A: The Final ‘Active Generation’ in the Anglican Communion’, A. Day (ed), *Contemporary Issues in the Worldwide Anglican Communion: Powers and Pieties*, Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, p16

⁵⁸ Ibid., p6

⁵⁹ Church Repair Commission (1951), *The Preservation of Our Churches*, London: Church Information Centre, p20

cent of children born in this year were baptised in an Anglican church.⁶⁰ In 2011 this figure had fallen to 12 per cent.⁶¹ At present around a third of the population are thought to be Anglican.⁶² However, only a small proportion actually attend acts of public worship each week.⁶³ Within this subgroup, the number giving time and energy to managing places of worship is even smaller. The labour of caring for historic places of worship therefore falls upon a small number of people.

The purpose of this section is to outline the general organisation of the PCCs to which the respondents interviewed in preparation for this chapter were a part, and to set their activities within a wider frame. All six of these respondents were younger than the women identified by Day as the 'last active generation'. Three were women and three were men. Each lived in a small village in either Suffolk or Norfolk. All were retired, with the youngest having taken early retirement for health reasons. Indeed, caring for the church was part of a range of activities taken on during their retirement. In addition, five of the six respondents had moved to their respective village as part of their retirement and of these, two had moved to places which were close to where they had grown-up. We can see these cases as part of a wider trend of "retirement migration".⁶⁴

Retirement migration of the kind adopted by the respondents interviewed here is part of a wider trend of what has been called "counterurbanisation" or more recently "pro-rural migration".⁶⁵ As we saw in the previous chapter there has been a continuing increase of population in rural areas for the majority of the second half of the twentieth century.⁶⁶ The East

⁶⁰ Figures cited by G. Davie (2015), *Religion in Britain: A Persistent Paradox*, Oxford: Wiley Blackwell p50

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² L. Woodhead (2013) cited by Davie (2015), *Religion in Britain*, p52

⁶³ Research and Statistics (2016), *Statistics for Mission*, London: Research and Statistics, p13

⁶⁴ H. Newby (1980), *Green and Pleasant Land? Social Change in Rural England*, London: Pelican, chap. 5

⁶⁵ J. Halliday and M. Coombes (1995), 'In search of counterurbanisation: Some evidence from Devon on the relationship between patterns of migration and motivation', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 11(4), p437

⁶⁶ A. Howkins (2003), *The Death of Rural England*, Abingdon: Oxford, p179

of England region of which Norfolk and Suffolk are a part, has, in recent years, been one of the fastest growing regions of the UK.⁶⁷ Although some of this growth is due to childbirth, migration is a more significant factor.⁶⁸ A third of migration related growth has been from other parts of the UK, with around 3,000 people relocating to the county of Norfolk in this way in 2011.⁶⁹ Although the bulk of internal migrations to Norfolk come from 45-64 year olds, the county's over 65 population continues to grow.⁷⁰ Rural England has been predicted to "grow faster and age more quickly than urban England".⁷¹ It has therefore been projected that by 2033 40% of the population of North Norfolk will be over 65.⁷² In 2012, for the county as a whole, the number of over 65s well exceeded the number of people who were 16 and under.⁷³

We saw at the end of the previous chapter, within the second half of the twentieth century demographic changes to rural areas have led scholars to identify a split between 'old' and 'new' villagers.⁷⁴ This analysis had also entered into the Diocese of Norwich's thinking about its church buildings and continues to be identified as a phenomenon in research on rural communities.⁷⁵ Halfacree and Rivera have noted that pro-rural migration may be motivated in part by "quality of life considerations", and can be founded on representations of the countryside driven by first-hand experience.⁷⁶ The motivations of the respondents interviewed here backed this up. As one respondent recounted

⁶⁷ D. Faulkner (7 January 2017), 'Norwich and Ipswich among fastest growing places in UK according to report', *Eastern Daily Press*, retrieved from: <http://www.edp24.co.uk/business/norwich-and-ipswich-among-fastest-growing-places-in-uk-according-to-report-1-4852075>

⁶⁸ S. Corke and J. Wood (2009), 'Portrait of the East of England', *Regional Trends*, Volume 41, Issue 1, p79

⁶⁹ Norfolk County Council (January 2012), *Norfolk demographic update 2011*, Norwich: Norfolk County Council, p10

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*,

⁷¹ T. Champion and J. Shepherd (2006), 'Demographic Change in Rural England', P. Lowe and L. Speakman (2006), *The Ageing Countryside*, London: Age Concern, p39

⁷² Norfolk County Council (January 2012), *Norfolk demographic update*, p14

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p2

⁷⁴ Newby (1980), *Green and Pleasant Land*, p165; Howkins (2003), *Death*, pp182-184; Halfacree and Rivera (2012) 'Moving to the Countryside', p104

⁷⁵ Commission on Country Churches (1991), *Rural Church Buildings*, Norwich: Rigby Print, p3

⁷⁶ K. H. Halfacree and M. J. Rivera (2012), 'Moving to the Countryside ... and Staying: Lives beyond Representations', *Sociologia Ruralis*, 52, p102

We settled here in Norfolk because my husband said ‘well where do you want to retire to?’ because Kent was getting a bit overcrowded, so I said ‘Well look, I left home from [a town on the north Norfolk coast] from the age of seventeen to join the army’, so I said ‘let’s go back to [the north Norfolk coast]’. It’s a lovely area of the country, north Norfolk, so that’s led us to [this village] (PCC_04)

PCC_04’s sentiment concerning Kent’s overcrowding was echoed by another respondent, who suggested they had moved to north Norfolk because “Cambridge was getting a bit noisy” (PCC_06). In the case of one respondent, despite having spent the majority of her adult life living away from the village in which she was born, she had continued to maintain a deep connection with the church. As she put it,

I was born in [the village] and lived in [the village] and so - you know, my first marriage was in [this] church and I’m going to be buried in [the] churchyard - you know - my parents are buried there (PCC_02).

Thus, despite the fact that the majority of the respondents had moved to the countryside as part of their retirement, they often had a longer term connection to the areas to which they had moved. As such, in certain cases, they had formed a deep attachment to their church building which had begun at baptism, was confirmed at marriage, and which they intended to reconfirm at the time of their death.

Although the parishes in question were not predominantly composed of persons over the retirement age, it was this demographic from which those managing church buildings were drawn. We can see this as clearly generational with the prevalence of Anglican baptism in the post-war period having furnished a cohort of individuals with an interest in caring for their parish church. This echoes Day’s findings, although I would suggest that the present situation perhaps less cataclysmic than Day has envisioned as Anglican infant baptism remained at

around 46% of live births in 1970.⁷⁷ It is likely that for at least another generation the labour for the management of historic places of worship in rural places will continue to be drawn from the retired populations of these places, who will generally have begun their commitment to the Church of England at an early age.

In regards to the demography of the parishes under discussion here, according to the *Parish Spotlights* produced by the Church of England in 2012, the parish with the highest percentage of persons over 65 had 42% of its population in this age group at the 2011 census, as against 29%, 22% and 20% in the other three.⁷⁸ Over 65s are over-represented in both of the Diocese's core congregations. The proportion of the congregation in St Edmundsbury and Ipswich who are over-65 is given as 57%, compared to 20% of the general population of the diocese. Similarly, 59% of the congregation in the Norwich diocese is in the same age range compared to 22% of the general population. Therefore, two of the parishes in question had a greater percentage of people likely to fit into the demographic profile of those who attend public worship. Each of the parishes had a higher percentage of persons professing Christianity for the purposes of the census in 2011, ranging from 62% to 70%, against the national average of 59%.⁷⁹ In terms of other characteristics of the places from which the interviews were taken, they were overwhelmingly composed of White British residents, with each village being comprised of a population with over 98% of the people describing their ethnicity in this way. Each of the parishes were also relatively well off, with lower managerial and small employers each occupying first and second position in terms of occupations held by the village's residents. The villages thus had a population of people who were more likely to be of an age group and a social background willing to give time to care for a church building.

⁷⁷ Research and Statistics (2011) *Statistics for Mission 2011*, London: Church of England, Table 14

⁷⁸ The specific Parish Spotlights are not referenced here for the sake of maintaining respondent anonymity. Nevertheless, the Parish Spotlights for Norwich are available here: <https://www.dioceseofnorwich.org/churches/mission/spotlight/> and for St Edmundsbury and Ipswich: <http://www.cofesuffolk.org/mission/parish-spotlights>

⁷⁹ E. White (2012), 'Religion in England and Wales 2011', London: ONS, retrieved from: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/religion/articles/religioninenglandandwales2011/2012-12-11>

In part, taking on a position on the PCC may have been related to a desire to become more involved in the lives of the villages to which they had moved or returned to. Halfacree and Rivera have drawn attention to incomer's role in organising

village festivals and children's activities. This may be interpreted as the migrants' attempt to (re)create a communitarian spirit and shape local social life to their images, as well as an effort to integrate in the community by taking an active part in social life.⁸⁰

Organising events offers a clear way to become involved in the life of a community, and to demonstrate commitment to that community. Of the respondents interviewed for this chapter, three had been involved in organising a festival for their village. In one case, this was a yearly event with steam engines, with a portion of the proceeds going towards the church. In addition, all the congregations organised regular social activities, such as coffee mornings in the church, in-line with activities nationally.⁸¹

Of the respondents, PCC_04 seems to have most keenly felt the divide between incomers and locals. As she noted, she was a "local girl come home... which is advantageous because it means I get accepted more by the local population" (PCC_04). Moreover, she emphasised a distinction between villagers and "people that come from cities" arguing that people who had been brought up in villages recognised the need to participate in village life, where everyone "mucks in" (PCC_04). This had been inculcated in her at an early age and care for the church building formed part of these activities. As she recounted, "when I was a young child I'd go to the church where I was baptised and help my nana clean the brasses" (PCC_04). Thus, the

⁸⁰ Halfacree and Rivera (2012) 'Moving to the Countryside', p104

⁸¹ National Churches Trust (2012), *The National Churches Trust Survey*, London: NCT, p5

respondents were generally operating with a set of expectations about what it means to live in a village, with participation in care for the village church a part of this.

It has already been noted in this thesis that there has been a greater call on the laity to provide spiritual, mental and physical labour by the Church of England in recent years and this has been seen as part of a longer-term trend. The respondents who took part in this study were all continuing participation as members of the Church of England and this had been a feature of their lives long prior to their taking up a position on the PCC. However, this participation had intensified in relation to their current roles. For instance, and perhaps coincidentally, two of the men had been drawn into playing a more active role in the congregation by the opportunity to play the organ in the church and had taken on other duties subsequently. One of the respondents also acted as a lay reader, whilst another had been asked to be a lay reader but declined, taking the position of PCC secretary as a trade-off. In the case of PCC_02, reconnecting with and caring for the church where she had been baptised and her parents were buried was strongly emphasised.

The respondents' motivations for joining the PCC were not a simple fact of their Christian faith or of their personal connections to the building. Chief amongst a range of reasons given for taking on this work be to act as steward of a historic building. In this, the age of the building was generally invoked. We might see this as in agreement with Smith's notion of an "Authorised Heritage Discourse" in which the needs of those in the present are subordinated to an imagined future generation.⁸² However, their conceptions of this stewardship were tinged with a religious or spiritual aspect not present in the literature produced by heritage agencies and thus presumably had a separate provenance.

⁸² L. Smith (2006), *Uses of Heritage*, New York: Routledge, *passim*

Each of the respondents had been asked to join the PCC either by an existing member of the PCC, or by the minister. The sentiment that the role had found them, rather than being one they were explicitly seeking, was generally expressed by the respondents, and it was clear that often the congregation had a small pool of people with either the skills or the interest to draw on to undertake such work. Although PCC_04 had previously been interested in the role of churchwarden, her experiences of the post appear to have been different to those she expected:

We had one elderly gentleman who was churchwarden. I think I'd been in the parish - about a year - and I was walking into the annual parish - annual vestry meeting - which is the AGM of the par- PCC and the vicar [...] walked up behind me linked arms and said '[PCC_04] how would you like to assist [redacted] as churchwarden?' And I didn't know what I was letting myself in for (PCC_04)

Once in position, the PCC members also brought others into post. PCC_04 had recruited a younger member of the congregation to be a churchwarden. Thus, although the PCC is ostensibly a democratic organisation from which those on the church's electoral roll might be drawn, in fact it acted as a relatively closed body, admission to which is managed through personal invitation.

Although the respondents had defined roles within the PCCs, when taking on work related to heritage projects they strayed outside the formal boundaries of their role. In managing their grant aided projects PCC_02 and PCC_03 had taken on the financial side of managing the grant rather than "load all this on" (PCC_03) a new treasurer who had just taken over. In addition, the demands of managing these projects necessitated the learning of new skills. PCC_04 also ran the account for the HLF grant and cited her experience of running two large fundraising events which raised money for church repairs when first becoming churchwarden as preparing her to take on this task. When she was asked whether anything in her working

life had prepared her for the post, she listed her administrative experience and her computer skills. However, in terms of project management, or fundraising, she described herself as ‘a complete newbie’ (PCC_04) at the start of the project.

The roles taken on by the respondents were marked by an intensification of their commitment. Respondents five and six had been involved with a church in Cambridge. However, they represented their new posts as being markedly different. Respondent six had been a member of the PCC in Cambridge, although he described his and his wife’s role in organising and funding an extension to that church building as being “only as members of the congregation” (PCC_06). Later in the interview he suggested that this difference in commitment was a function of the church’s rural setting. Simply put, the difference in population and the small number wishing to participate in the religious life of the church places a heavy burden on those in the congregation who do participate in this way. As he expressed it:

I would say two hundred is what you need to actually efficiently keep the thing going - certainly you can rotate the jobs and you don’t have to do so much. It happens in urban areas where we came from in Cambridge, didn’t it? We had - our parish in Cambridge was as big as [a town in Norfolk] is now and so it was a different set-up altogether (PCC_06)

With so few people undertaking the work, the responsibility for delivering the project also fell onto a small number of people and required intense commitment from them. As PCC_03 noted, “I think churchwardens in general get an awful lot more of this because they are so totally responsible”. Taking on the role of churchwarden thus has the potential to cause some stress. Over the course of spending five years arranging permissions and funding for an outside toilet, respondent one consulted a nutritionist and found she had no adrenaline in her saliva sample:

It wasn't a metaphor, I had run out of adrenaline and it was stress - you know - it was sheer stress, I mean it was the most stressful thing I've ever done in my entire life and I've done some stressful things... (PCC_02)

And since the main bulk of the labour devolved onto two people, respondent one also described the work as "very lonely" to which her co-respondent agreed. These stresses stem from the fact of that each church has a limited pool of people from which these project management roles can be filled.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, and despite the problems presented by small congregations, in all cases the respondents spoke about support in the village from residents willing to help with the church, whether or not they were active churchgoers themselves. These ranged from people with specific professional skills such as bookkeeping, able to offer assistance as treasurer, to those with project management experience, brought in to assist the PCC in the early stages of the grant "because he asked questions which we would have never have thought of" (PCC_04). The congregations could also benefit from people with craft skills, who in a time-honoured fashion might be able to provide decorations for the church. And they were also able to draw on people with building skills, who might be able to assist with maintenance work, such as clearing the gutters, or providing temporary repairs while the funding for a more lasting solution was secured. Nevertheless, it was clear that the central role of organising this goodwill fell on a small number of committed persons.

Also in existence were wider networks of support with institutional loci. The two cases covered by the Diocese of Norwich had been supported by the diocese's ambassadors, volunteers willing to offer help with applications. Respondent four found this assistance "very helpful" (PCC_04). However, in the case of respondents five and six this had proven to be false hope. Their ambassador, who had spent a long time helping with the application and had never had an application rejected before, however in this grant he was unsuccessful. Such a scheme

does not seem to be in operation in St Edmundsbury and Ipswich, although the set of respondents from this diocese did suggest, unprompted, that they would have benefitted from the advice of a mentor. However, problems are presented by the voluntary nature of this type of post, and although the respondents were now very knowledgeable about applying for grant aid, they suggested that due to the changing nature of the way that money is distributed, taking on such a role would be a full-time commitment and not something they were well disposed to after having already committed their time to major works. As we have seen, in some places English Heritage (now Historic England) have paid 50% towards a support officer role for three years, with 34 posts created in this way, yet a number of these were cut when the funding finished.⁸³ The *Taylor Review* has however recommended formalising these posts, and pilot areas are now in place.⁸⁴ From the evidence gathered here it is presumable that these new posts will be welcomed by PCC members.

Serious questions are now being raised about the continuing viability of Anglican congregations in various places. Whilst it has been argued here that the effects of the decline of public worship have not been so drastic as Abby Day has contended, the Church of England is experiencing generational change. This has been related to the decline of infant baptism in the later decades of the twentieth century. As this decline feeds through into smaller numbers of worshippers, there are decreasing numbers of people available to continue the management of historic places of worship. Rural areas are at the sharp end of these changes and here the management of historic places of worship falls to a small number of people who are generally of retirement age. Drawn from a small electoral roll, this cohort consists specifically of those with the time and inclination to attend PCC meetings and to provide their labour in the service of their church. These individuals are recruited through an interpersonal

⁸³ Church Buildings Review Group (2015), *Report of the Church Buildings Review Group*, London: General Synod, p35

⁸⁴ DCMS (31 March 2018), 'Pilot scheme launched to help build sustainable future for listed places of worship', retrieved from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/pilot-scheme-launched-to-help-build-sustainable-future-for-listed-places-of-worship>

network, and often appear to be composed of those who have felt the need to demonstrate their commitment to rural communities following in-migration. As a facet of the circumscribed nature of their membership, the PCCs in question have required the intensified commitment of their officers to the life of their churches. Although in some ways this has been transformative for the individuals involved, the demands placed on these volunteers has also been seen to have had deleterious effects on their wellbeing. As we will see in the next section, this in itself is greatly increased by the pressures arising from the perceived need to facilitate greater community involvement in historic places of worship.

Managing Change

In discussing ‘musealisation’ or ‘museumification’, Sharon MacDonald has cited the ideas of German thinkers Joachim Ritter and Herman Lübbe as key to understanding the phenomenon.⁸⁵ According to MacDonald, Ritter argued that “historical societies and museums” have taken “over roles of memory in functional compensation for the erosion of tradition”.⁸⁶ Following Ritter, Lübbe argued that the museum boom in the Western world had been the result of a rapid change to the everyday lives of people in these countries.⁸⁷ As Macdonald put it,

[n]ew technologies, rapidly changing city-scapes and the fact that fewer people live lives connected to the land, contribute to a relentless experience of change in which the past becomes markedly different from the present much more quickly than ever before.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ S. MacDonald (2013), *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*, Abingdon: Routledge p138

⁸⁶ Ibid., discussing Ritter (1974), *Subjektivität: Sechs Aufsätze*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ S. Macdonald (2013), *Memorylands*, p138 discussing H. Lübbe (1982) *Der Fortschritt Und Das Museum. Über den Grund Unseres Vergnügens an historischen Gegenständen*, London: Institute of Germanic Studies; and H. Lübbe (1983), *Zeit-Verhältnisse: Zur kulturphilosophie des Fortschritts*, Graz: Verlag Styria

Thus musealisation, and by extension, patrimonialisation, has been argued to be directly linked to social change. We have seen this principle at work in the foregoing. As we saw in chapter three, from the formation of the Historic Churches Trust, through to the establishment of the Redundant Churches Fund and the setting up of SAVE Britain's Heritage, each new innovation in the management of historic places of worship was driven by social change. The *Preservation of Our Churches* report cast the need for financial support as an issue stemming from urbanisation and the decline of public worship, whilst groups such as the Friends of Friendless Churches and the Friends of the City Churches, which was reactivated following the Templeman Commission in 1994, have been formed as a reaction to the Church of England's strategies for dealing with its perceived need for reorganisation.⁸⁹

The ideal of "managing change" has been written into the activities of Historic England. In the foreword to *Conservation Principles*, which encompassed the organisation's philosophical approach to its practices, Sandy Bruce-Lockhart, the chairman of what was then English Heritage, hoped that "the document would create a progressive framework for managing change in the historic environment".⁹⁰ As we have seen, it was on these principles that English Heritage produced its guidance documents *New Uses for Historic Places of Worship* and *New Work in Historic Places of Worship*. These documents form the basis of the organisation's negotiations with applicants. Although the change managed through the advice presented in this guidance is localised, specific and technical, it reflects necessities brought about by wider social changes. Thus, the latter document stated

English Heritage believes that this country's historic places of worship should retain their role as living buildings at the heart of communities. We want to help

⁸⁹ See chapter three; Friends of the City Churches, undated, retrieved from: <http://www.london-city-churches.org.uk/ourhistory.html>

⁹⁰ S. Bruce-Lockhart (2008), 'Foreword', English Heritage (2008), *Conservation Principles*, London: English Heritage, p1; See also J. Pendlebury (2013) 'Conservation values, the authorised heritage discourse and the conservation-planning assemblage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19:7

congregations accommodate changes that are needed to achieve this, in ways that will sustain and enhance the special qualities of their buildings.⁹¹

In this way, the document was levered into both the Church of England's and government's strategies for historic places of worship. As we saw in chapter three, the trope of the 'living church' had been utilised by the clergy of the Church of England in opposition to preservationists. We can see the adoption of a similar metaphor by the author of *New Work* as signalling sympathy for this idea of a living church, whilst trying to accommodate this to English Heritage's goal of "protecting and enhancing" the historic environment.⁹² As part of this ideal of the "sustainable management of the historic environment", English Heritage and now Historic England, have supported community use for historic places of worship.⁹³ However, there remains a delicate balance between managing change to historic buildings and conserving historic fabric. The text of *New Work* was devoted to minimising the effect of such works on archaeological and architectural evidence embodied in church buildings.⁹⁴

Each set of respondents interviewed for this chapter had worked on proposals to bring new facilities into their church. In all cases this meant the introduction of a WC and a kitchenette. In two of the cases these were internal insertions into the building, which necessitated faculty consent and the approval of English Heritage. In the case of PCC_02 and PCC_03, they had opted for an external WC, which meant that the local planning authority were ultimately responsible for the granting of permission for the projects, as the works were in a conservation area and affected the setting of a listed building (the church). PCC_01 had unsuccessfully sought a meeting room extension to the church, which also included consultation with the planning authority as it too affected the setting of the church. In making these alterations, the

⁹¹ English Heritage (2012), *New Work in Historic Places of Worship*, London: English Heritage, p1

⁹² English Heritage (2008), *Conservation Principles*, p18

⁹³ Ibid., p7; English Heritage (2012), *New Work*, p1

⁹⁴ Ibid.

decline of public worship was cited as one of the biggest motivations by the respondents.

PCC_02 expressed it,

Well, the congregation numbers were dwindling and you know I'm very fond of that building because, as I say I was christened there and it's sort of my church and I thought - you know - it will close (PCC_02)

There was also the sense that the building itself was a barrier to further participation. This was clearly felt by PCC_01. As he recounted,

one of the real motivations for getting the facilities correct in the church because getting people to come to church when there isn't a proper toilet, or there's no kitchenette - kitchen facilities - is very difficult and if you want the community to get involved (PCC_01)

Thus, the introduction of facilities was seen clearly as a strategy to arrest decline and to support community use. In the case of PCC_05 and PCC_06 the aim was simply to support extended use to facilitate the use of the church by children at the local Church of England primary schools, which was already taking place, as well as "raising the profile of the church" by holding concerts (PCC_05). In this they were clear that the building "has got to work for the twenty-first century" (PCC_05).

The role of the architect at each of the churches was key to the design process for the proposed facilities. In general, these were designs the architect had already prepared and were adapted for new contexts. In all cases the architect contracted to design the new facilities was the architect responsible for the quinquennial inspection (QI). As we saw in chapter three, under the Inspection of Churches Measure (1955) Anglican churches must be inspected by an architect once over a five-year period. The QI architects then, had a long running

attachment to the church buildings in question. Using their QI architect, however, did not necessarily mean that the PCC members were indiscriminating as clients. In the case of PCC_05 & PCC_06, the poor work a previous architect had done in the provision of new drains had led to their dismissing him from this role.

Having a good personal relationship with their architect seems to have been key to the respondents' satisfaction with his or her work. PCC_06 expressed disappointment at not being able to hire an individual as he had been "de-listed by the DAC which was some degree of a pity because he was a very nice bloke and he was local" (PCC_06). However, they were satisfied with their current appointment whom they described as "meticulous" and as having a "positive attitude" (PCC_06). In the case of PCC_01, who had been unsuccessful in gaining permission for a proposed extension, he reserved his criticism for English Heritage, and not the architect who had worked up the plans. In another sense, the architect seemed to shield the churchwarden from taking on further tasks. When respondent four was asked whether she had had sight of English Heritage guidance prior to settling on designs for the new facilities, she replied, "I left that to [the architect], that's what I'm paying her for" (PCC_04). In general, the respondents had very little knowledge of official guidance produced by heritage agencies, and when asked where they received their advice and guidance from, their diocese was generally their response.

As we have seen in the foregoing, the Church of England has supported the principle of the introduction of new facilities to promote extended use. The Diocese of Norwich provided guidance for interior reordering as part of its report *Rural Church Buildings* published in 1991.⁹⁵ In addition, James Halsall, the current DAC Secretary for St Edmundsbury and Ipswich has authored a guide to assist PCCs to understand how to go about making alterations to their place of worship.⁹⁶ As we saw above, this wider strategy has clearly fed through into the

⁹⁵ Commission on Country Churches (1991), *Rural Church Buildings*, pp23-24

⁹⁶ J. Halsall (2015), *Caring for Your Church Building*, Buxhall: Kevin Mayhew

consciousness of PCC members. PCC_04 situated the parish's desire for new facilities within this stating that the application for a new kitchen and WC was made at

the time that a report was brought out that - published I think in the *Telegraph* or *The Times* - that said that churches that didn't have facilities in them would die. Or would be forced to close (PCC_04)

Nevertheless, whilst the introduction of new facilities forms part of the wider strategy of the Church of England, the specifics of achieving the changes proposed by the PCC were often the result of long running negotiations with the DAC. Both PCC_04 and PCC_05 & 06 related the difficulties they had faced in convincing the DAC of the efficacy of their plans. PCC_05 described the DAC's reaction to the idea that the church might have an inside toilet as "absolute uproar". The siting of the WC was also mentioned as an issue by PCC_04. Here the DAC had visited and indicated a preference for the WC to be placed in the tower and not the nave as the PCC preferred. Nevertheless, in this case the PCC continued with their proposals in the face of objections from the DAC.

Proposals which required works external to the church required a greater level of negotiation for the respondents. Research conducted by Living Stones noted that, "[t]he delays caused by the need for consultation with, and the agreement of many or all of these bodies were seen as directly affecting the cost and viability of some projects."⁹⁷ This was evident in the experience of the respondents interviewed for this chapter. In securing permission for a toilet building in the churchyard, PCC_02 and PCC_03 had to consult with a number of different organisations, including the

⁹⁷ Living Stones (2010), *Blessings or Burdens?*, p12

Parish Council, the archdeacon, Diocesan Advisory Board, archaeological unit, Suffolk Preservation Society, Victorian Society, Environmental Health, Suffolk Coastal District Council, Head of Community and Economic Services - whoever they were - Conservation and Design, English Heritage and English Nature (PCC_02)

As part of the process, the archdeacon had visited and suggested a possible position for the building. However, the visit of the Conservation Officer had contradicted this, seeking the building to be placed out of sight behind some trees. This in itself had caused problems, as the church is in a conservation area, and therefore the tree work involved in the erection of the WC required the notification of the Tree Officer at the local planning authority.⁹⁸ This appeared to be incomprehensible to the respondents, who could not understand why a “self-set sycamore with honey fungus” was being protected (PCC_02). In addition, the work of the arboriculturalist added significant costs to the proposals. The difficulties the siting of the loo presented meant that they “had members of these bodies arguing in the churchyard” (PCC_02). Accordingly, the PCC members were forced to adopt the role of intermediary between the different organisations in a process which left them feeling powerless. As PCC_02 put it, “you know we didn’t have the architectural skills, or the siting skills, or the tree skills or any skills really except just plodding on didn’t we really. And we had to mediate through all this”.

In some cases, the effect of the PCC’s proposals on the historic fabric of the building meant that those in charge of the permissions process could not countenance them. At an early stage in the design process the planning department had provided advice to PCC_01 that a meeting room and WC in the form of an extension to the church would not be acceptable, but a separate building might be possible. However, he persisted in the project to extend the church, leading to “a very long back and forth with different plans with English Heritage” (PCC_01).

⁹⁸ C. Mynors (2006), *Listed Buildings, Conservation Areas and Monuments*, London: Thompson, Sweet and Maxwell, pp153-161

He was subsequently able to gain permission for a smaller extension which incorporated only a WC. Negotiation surrounding the project took a total of ten years. In the meantime, the cost of the project had increased substantially. Thus, in the case of extensive alterations, the desires of the congregation have been subordinated to the goal of maintaining historic fabric.

Whilst PCC_01 had been relatively unsuccessful in his negotiations, other PCCs achieved a greater measure of success. In the case of PCC_05 and PCC_06, the intervention of their rector was key to the process. After objections from the DAC he pursued the proposals through the diocesan hierarchy.

Talked to the bishop, to the general secretary, you know. Complained bitterly and eventually the person that pushed it for us was the archdeacon. The archdeacon is on the DAC and he, he really put forward the case and said quite rightly “if it’s a disaster, you could take the whole lot away and no one would know it had ever been there” (PCC_05)

Thus, through a combination of the design of the scheme and perseverance the applicants were able to achieve their preferred outcome. This was even more marked in the case of PCC_04 whose scheme went to consistory court with the diocesan chancellor eventually finding in favour of the PCC. As the permissions process for internal alterations is managed by the diocese, it is presumably easier to gain consent through a combination of persistence and negotiation than for external alterations.

It is clear that the interest of the clergy and their ability to negotiate can be significant in the success of a project. However, as we will see below, the respondents were mixed in their account of their minister’s involvement in their respective projects. John Tomlinson has conducted a survey of religious practitioners from five Christian denominations in the UK examining their attitudes towards history and historic places of worship. His survey elicited just

over 300 responses, 124 of which were from Anglican clergy.⁹⁹ The vast majority of respondents to the survey expressed a “regular” or “occasional” interest in history, with a large majority “watching historical programmes on TV”, and sizeable minorities engaged in reading academic history or historical novels.¹⁰⁰ Just over half of the Anglicans surveyed felt that history was important to their ‘mission and outreach’.¹⁰¹ This appears to have stemmed from divergent reactions to the management of a historic building. Tomlinson quoted one respondent to the effect that the building was a draw for a range of activities, whilst another voiced frustration at being called upon to aid in research activities of those tracing their family’s history.¹⁰² Tomlinson’s Anglican respondents were also divided on the value of their historic building, with around a half “using such descriptions as ‘treasure’, ‘the spiritual heart of the parish’” and so on.¹⁰³ The other half worried that the building limited their ability to carry out mission and there were frequent complaints that the building was a “millstone”.¹⁰⁴ Thus the attitudes of the clergy appear to remain divided over the extent to which a historic church is a ‘blessing or a burden’.

Reflecting Tomlinson’s findings, for the PCC members interviewed for this study, the input of the minister in charge varied from parish to parish. In all cases, the respondents had experienced some change in personnel over the period of worshipping at the church. It was clear from their response that each member of the clergy brought a different approach to care for the church. Respondent three described their recently retired vicar as ‘very hands off... Sometimes it was exasperating because you needed help but he just - you know - kept out of the way” (PCC_03). Part of this may have been related to the small number of clergy available, with the vicar in this case having care for eight parishes in the benefice with only lay assistance. Familiarity with heritage funding also seems to vary amongst the clergy.

⁹⁹ J. W. B. Tomlinson (2016), ‘Ministry and History’, *Theology and Ministry*, 4, p2.2

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p2.2-2.3

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p2.7

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp2.9-2.10

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

Respondent four described a recent vicar as “very supportive” but that “he didn’t seem to understand the complexities of a Heritage Lottery Bid” (PCC_04). However, his replacement had a different approach and was included in “every aspect of decision making” (PCC_04). In the case of the fourth set of respondents, their rector was very hands-on, and this was attributed to his experience of working in industry. However, this too had its drawbacks as they noted, “our new rector is one of these people that does have ideas. Some of which, one must be careful of [laughs] because, you know, you’re taking on something else sort of thing” (PCC_06). Nevertheless, it is clear that his involvement was key to their eventual success achieving the introduction of new facilities into their church.

In their research Living Stones found that their respondents were appreciative of the historic nature of their building, rather than the fact of listing itself.¹⁰⁵ That the building they use for worship is listed complicates the work of the PCC. By being brought within the listing system, PCCs have been asked to deal with the conflicting demands of conserving historic fabric and managing change. The respondents here keenly felt the need to change their buildings to accommodate modern expectations and had thus taken on-board the wider strategy of the Church of England hierarchy to ensure that churches can be used as community buildings. In taking on these duties, they had been expected to oversee the design process and to negotiate with and mediate between various stakeholders, investing both time and emotion in the process. As we will see in the next section, whilst the provision of grant aid has supported PCCs in their organisational goals, at the same time this has entailed their incorporation into wider public policy goals related to community cohesion.

Managing Your Grant

The cost of keeping churches in good repair has continued to increase over the last seventy years, whilst the purchasing power of the pound has declined. The 1951 *Preservation of Our*

¹⁰⁵ Living Stones (2010), *Blessings or Burdens?*, p10

Churches report estimated that £750,000 needed to be spent each year on repairing churches.¹⁰⁶ At today's costs, this represents an expenditure of £23.4m each year.¹⁰⁷ However, the *Taylor Review* calculated the present yearly spending on repairs at an average of £190m per annum, with £75m of this raised by the parishes themselves.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, building costs have increased disproportionately to the ability of congregations to raise funds for them. Tied to this has been the decline of major donors which has been an ongoing problem for the clergy hierarchy for the past century. We saw this issue cited in the work of Sarah Flew who has argued that into the Edwardian period the Church had sought funding from a wider range of sources with larger numbers of donors giving smaller amounts.¹⁰⁹ Concern related to this was expressed by the evidence of the Pilgrim Trust given to the Church Repair Commission. "Surplus wealth has now been transferred into the hands of a wholly different section of the community. It has also been broken up into smaller units".¹¹⁰ This ongoing decline of major donors interested in repairing places of worship has meant that grant aid has become increasingly important in securing major repairs to church buildings.

Within the responses gathered for this chapter there remained a feeling that significant changes to the way that fundraising was achieved had taken place within living memory. Respondents two and three clearly differentiated the way that fundraising was done in the past from the present, arguing that there had been a 'step-change' (PCC_02). Thus, in order to raise the £33,000 they had needed for a new outside toilet, they were conscious that church fetes and cake baking would not be sufficient. As PCC_02 put it

¹⁰⁶ Church Repair Commission (1951), *Preservation*, p28

¹⁰⁷ Total calculated with the National Archives online calculator. Retrieved from: <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter>

¹⁰⁸ Taylor (2017), *The Taylor Review*, p12

¹⁰⁹ S. Flew (2015), *Philanthropy and the Funding of the Church of England, 1856-1914*, Abingdon: Routledge, chapter four

¹¹⁰ Church Repair Commission (1951), *Preservation*, p20

I was not going to bake cakes for years and years and so you know, one knew there was a different way of doing it. But that's the step change I think from forty - thirty, forty years ago now you know - you do it in front of the computer (PCC_02).

Thus, the decline in purchasing power has necessitated the reliance on larger funds. Where in the past central funding for major projects might be matched by local giving, increasingly the contribution through grant aid outstrips that provided by the congregation itself, and particularly under the recent HLF schemes, PCC members now more often contribute their time rather than fundraise *per se*.¹¹¹

It has been argued in this chapter that the labour provided by PCC members has been incorporated into a regime within which 'community' has come to be conceived of as a territory of government towards which public policy can be directed. As noted, the Brown government had examined ways in which to support faith groups in delivering services. The subsequent report *Churches and Faith Buildings: Realising the Potential* drew attention to the work of the Big Lottery Fund (BLF) which, at the time of the report was "committed to delivering 60-70% of its funding through voluntary and community sector organisations".¹¹² Through its Community Buildings scheme the BLF provided capital grants for projects up to £50,000.¹¹³ By applying to this grant scheme, PCC_02 and PCC_3 raised a significant amount for their outside toilet. Thus, in pursuing the objective of introducing new public facilities the PCC members were levered into a wider policy regime, the goal of which was to support community cohesion.

¹¹¹ In the 1980s grant aid typically paid 40% of the costs, see Anon. (1989), 'Sources of Financial Aid for Churches in Use', Norfolk Churches Trust, NRO, ACC 2011/176; Under one the most recent grant aid scheme available to churches, Sharing Heritage, grant can be paid up to 100% of costs, HLF (2017), *Sharing Heritage: Guidance for Applicants*, London: HLF

¹¹² Burnham, et al (2008), *Churches and Faith Buildings: Realising the Potential*, p19

¹¹³ Ibid.

The respondents were conscious of the instrumental value of the concept of 'community'. "Heritage funding - to church and community - that was a good word to put into Google" (PCC_03). The advice and support offered by the BLF made it clear that supporting community use of the church was part of the organisation's wider strategy. At the prompting of the Fund, PCC_02 organised a survey of villagers asking whether they would like the church to remain open and whether they would like to attend community events in the building. This received a positive response and this activity may have made clear to the residents that the church was a resource open to the village as a whole.

As we have seen this new focus of the grant on community was reflective of the way in which the HLF had been directed by the Labour government. A focus on "the community" continues to be integral to the work of the HLF with the current strategic framework (2013-2018) promising a "lasting difference" for "heritage, people and communities".¹¹⁴ The HLF's current strategic framework was written at the time when the organisation was taking charge of the administration of the grant aid programme for places of worship. In her introduction to the document, then chief executive Carole Souter suggested the organisation was "taking a renewed approach to places of worship, with funding to enable increased community use, as well as continuing our support for urgent repairs."¹¹⁵ The Grants for Places of Worship Scheme ran from 2013 to 2017 and its application guidance invited congregations of listed places of worship of any grade to apply for grant aid for between £10,000 and £250,000.¹¹⁶ The priority of the programme was to "support structural repairs urgently required within two years" which had been identified by a condition survey.¹¹⁷ In addition, the guidance listed the aim of the programme as "to encourage more people and a wider range of people to take an interest in your place of worship and to help care for it in the future."¹¹⁸ Within this the grant stream

¹¹⁴ HLF (2013), *A Lasting Difference for Heritage and People*, London: HLF, p10

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p2

¹¹⁶ HLF (2016), *Grants for Places of Worship, England: Application Guidance*, London: HLF, p3

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p4

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p37

incorporated the goal of facilitating use by the wider community, “beyond the primary function of worship”.¹¹⁹ For this reason, new facilities, such as a WC or a kitchenette, or works to improve energy efficiency were eligible for funding.¹²⁰ As we have seen, this grant stream was the first to introduce a requirement for the recipient to include an activity plan in their application. Applicants were asked to “describe the activity or activities you will do, when you will do them, the resources you will need and the difference they will make”.¹²¹ According to their guidance these “differences” worked at the level of both “people and communities”.¹²²

In some ways the requirement for the congregations to devise activities formalises for the purpose of the grant the sorts of things congregations of historic places of worship often already do. As part of their activities respondents two, three and four used grant money to update a pre-existing guidebook. They also planned events with a historical connection at their church. Respondents one and two arranged events related to the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War, including an exhibition and a music and poetry recital. Respondent three fulfilled the grant requirements by devising a trail for children, an exhibition in the church about the building, as well as a visit from school children from a neighbouring village. Although the opportunity to revise and reprint the guidebooks and the organisation of events at the churches appeared to be gratifying for the respondents, there is a sense that these are the sorts of activities they might organise anyway given the time, the money, and the energy.

Respondents four and five were not successful in securing a grant from the HLF but had also undertaken a range of activities in the course of their fundraising. The historical connection of their place of worship to the Battle of Agincourt, and the six hundredth anniversary of the battle in 2015, gave the congregation cause to organise a medieval fair in the churchyard with archers demonstrating longbows and with members of the village dressed in costume. In

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p4

¹²⁰ Taylor (2017), *The Taylor Review*, p25

¹²¹ HLF (2012), *Activity Plan Guidance*, London: Heritage Lottery Fund, p3

¹²² Ibid.

addition, the Women's Institute (WI) in the village undertook to produce a piece of embroidery which visualised the connection between the village and the battle and is now displayed in the church. With the money raised from this, and with grant from a charitable trust, the congregation were able to install a disabled toilet and a kitchenette in the church. This has supported extended use of the building with part of the nave now being used by the village school. In this way, the HLF grant, rather than being the inspiration for such activities, transforms existing practices into measurable outcomes.

As we saw in chapter one, Laurajane Smith has argued that the AHD disempowers people in the present from altering "the meaning or value of heritage sites or places... unless under professional guidance".¹²³ However, it is arguable that there exists a more complex interrelation between members of the public and those with expertise. As we have seen in the foregoing, PCC members were pleased to be supported in their endeavours by the HLF. Whilst the role of the HLF is to direct community groups to promote engagement with heritage, in supporting opportunities for association, as well as the production of historical knowledge, we may be inclined to see the effect of this as generally positive, albeit recognising the stresses which the labour involved places on those willing to donate their time. Moreover, as the HLF's guiding principles are not to define heritage but to leave this question open, and it would appear that the organisation at least has the intention of working in the spirit of partnership with grant recipients rather than to stifle their ambitions.

It is clear that the PCC members were engaged in historical research on their own terms and used the historic associations of their place of worship to support activities centred on it. Thus, both on their own initiative and with the support of the HLF, the respondents had engaged in the production of historical knowledge and arranged events in commemoration of the past. Rather than being disempowered by experts, members of the congregations actively sought

¹²³ Smith (2006), *Uses*, p29

the assistance of experts, both professional and amateur in researching their building's past. For instance, PCC_04 was keen to show me a piece of wood which had been found in the process of lifting a grave cover which had been found in a "perfectly round hole", which had been dated to the sixteenth century. She had had a plastic case made up to display it, and this had been lined with "special tissue" provided by the archaeologist who had uncovered it. In front of the box was a description written by a conservator explaining the significance of the grave covers. Thus, she was pleased to be assisted by those with expertise in the display of an object with historic significance. Besides these professionals, PCC members also benefited from local people with an interest in history. In producing their guidebook PCC_03 had had use of the work of the local history recorder who had gathered information from the county archives, the British Library and Kew. This scheme, run by the charity the Suffolk Local History Council has been in existence since 1950 to "establish and maintain a network of people across the county to ensure the survival of valuable material for future local historians".¹²⁴ Rather than being disempowered by experts, PCC members had sought assistance from them in the sharing of their heritage.

Without the assistance of experts, amateur or professional, the PCC members interviewed here had worked to conserve and curate the objects of historic interest in their places of worship. It perhaps goes without saying that historic churches function as storehouses for objects and artefacts unlikely to be found in other places. These include ornately carved medieval tomb chests and bench ends, as well as memorial boards and occasionally modern art, and other objects besides.¹²⁵ For instance, PCC_05 and PCC_06's church included an escutcheon bearing Elizabeth II's coat of arms which had been hung outside of the John Lewis store in Norwich at the time of the coronation. In addition, one of the windows of the building was of painted glass which had originally been in a country house. Both PCC_04, PCC_05

¹²⁴ Suffolk Local History Council (June 2015), *Suffolk Local History Council Recorders Scheme: Information Pack*, Suffolk: SLHC

¹²⁵ See S. Friar (1998), *A Companion to the English Parish Church*, Stroud: Sutton, pp46-48, 449 &488; M. Day (1984), *Modern Art in English Churches*, London & Oxford: Mowbray [add to bib]

and PCC_06 churches maintained a set of display boards at the back of the church containing information related to their church's history. When questioned, each of the respondents seemed genuinely to be interested in history and the history of their church in particular. For instance, it appeared to give PCC_04 much satisfaction that the building she maintained was one of the stops on the ACE Cultural Tours of Norfolk. Within this, there was a sense that the present work undertaken by the PCCs formed part of a longer tradition of care for their building, grant aided repair perhaps forming the latest event in this long history. PCC_04's church even included a kneeler with the HLF logo stitched on to it in celebration of their grant.

As we have seen in this section and in chapter three, wider social and economic changes have meant that grant aid has become a necessity for funding major works to the majority of historic places of worship. Grant aid in all forms offers the ability of the grant aiding body to direct the conduct of grant recipients. In this sense it is a tool of governance which can be used to direct these recipients and to lever them into the wider aims of the grant giving body. With the development of a more communitarian focused heritage policy during the Labour years, money derived from the National Lottery has been used to co-opt PCCs into the provision of public facilities and community events. Whereas previously PCCs were responsible for maintaining historic fabric, they have now been asked to deliver a service with the ultimate aim of not just maintaining a historic building, but also promoting community cohesion. Whilst the provision of such facilities and the encouragement of these bodies and the Church's hierarchy to promote opportunities for association arguably provide a public benefit for those living in the localities, there is a sense that a level of bureaucracy is being added to something which congregations already undertake without grant aid.

Conclusion

It is clear from the *Taylor Review* that current thinking on the management of historic places of worship is seeking to continue the present decentralised arrangements for their management. Yet, it has been argued here that the personnel necessary to sustain this system

at a local level will soon be insufficient. The present system relies on existing participation drawn from those who devote their time on the basis on religion, in order to draw in others on the basis of participation in heritage. In doing so it places increasing burden on a small number of volunteers calling upon them to provide community outreach services. Whilst it is clear that the respondents here welcomed the chance to bring new facilities into their churches, by the HLF's own admission there is presently little convincing evidence that their work "strengthens communities".¹²⁶ Clark and Maeer have argued that this is because research commissioned by the organisation had a short time frame, and their data was not available to test this outcome.¹²⁷ However, the problem of measuring a community's strength is not simply logistical and derives from issues with the concept itself. As Anthony Cohen long ago pointed out, communities are defined by borders and are constituted as much by those they exclude as by those they include.¹²⁸ Basing public policy on the twin aims of community cohesion and inclusion perhaps presents something of a paradox.

Despite the foregoing there are some reasons to suggest that the heritage work of the PCCs does strengthen communities. Neal and Walters have argued for a local focus on the rural organisations offering "bonding social capital" when studying community.¹²⁹ Their attention was partly on the WI, which as we have seen played a part in raising money for one of the case studies above. Neal and Walter's study of community hinged on exploring the "material activities and everyday labour" that take place in the "routine practices of community-making".¹³⁰ Organising phases of church repair potentially contribute to a sense of community in the ways that Neal and Walters discussed. Like the Young Farmers and the WI of Neal and Walters article, PCCs can use heritage to "define, shape, reproduce and organize local

¹²⁶ K. Clark, and G. Maeer (2008). 'The cultural value of heritage: evidence from the Heritage Lottery Fund', *Cultural Trends*, 17(1), p47

¹²⁷ Ibid., p49

¹²⁸ A. Cohen (1985), *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, London and New York: Routledge, pp115-118

¹²⁹ S. Neal and S. Walters (2008), 'Rural Be/longing and rural social organizations: Conviviality and community-making in the English countryside', *Sociology*, 42(2) pp283 & 286

¹³⁰ Ibid., p282

ceremonies, events, occasions, activities and traditions”.¹³¹ In using grant aid money to these ends congregations are, of course, operating a new configuration of processes which have been centred on the church building for some time.

As we saw in chapter one, Waterton and Watson have argued that “there is no distinct role for the ‘public’ within the management” of public heritage, suggesting that community involvement in heritage is often largely an afterthought following the work of professionals.¹³² At the same time, they argued that in exceptional circumstances, certain communities were able to “empower themselves”.¹³³ As they put it,

[i]n such communities there is typically a high level of organisational ability, know-how and a capacity for getting things done by talking to the right people. These are, essentially, articulate, middle-class communities who share the same professional and social status as the experts they ‘bring in’ to help them.¹³⁴

However, it is clear from the foregoing that something of another order is taking place. The sheer number of PCCs in England caring for listed places of worship means that their activity is by no means “exceptional”. But it is true that these groups must have the social capital to work with their architect, to convince members of the clergy, and to encourage the participation of the residents of their respective localities. The present system of management of historic places of worship is reliant on the ability of those managing such buildings to cultivate a wider network of volunteers and to have the skills to bring in outside support, as well as being to be able to negotiate and mediate between a range of professionals. The management of these heritage assets is thus contingent on the willingness of “middle class

¹³¹ Ibid., p291

¹³² E. Waterton and S. Watson (2013), ‘Heritage and community engagement: finding a new agenda’, S. Watson and E. Waterton (eds) (2013), *Heritage and community engagement: collaboration or contestation?*, London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, p4

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

communities” to devote their time and energy to the future uses of such buildings. This labour given free by volunteers is arguably more important in this process than the work of those with a professional interest and without it, new uses for these buildings would need to be found.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

History is perhaps one of the Church of England's greatest assets.¹³⁵ As an organisation, the Church has local connection with thousands of places across England, arrangements perhaps unrivalled by any other institution. In some cases, such as at Escomb in County Durham and Bradwell-on-Sea in Essex, this connection has stretched back over a thousand years.¹³⁶ Over this time, churches have acted as key sites of association for villages, neighbourhoods, and towns. If we follow Neal and Walters' argument that community is created and reinforced by jointly undertaken social activities, in providing these opportunities for association, church buildings have been the foundation stone for community-building across the country for centuries.¹³⁷ Within the churches there remains the physical evidence of these activities painted on the walls, carved into the bench-ends, and embroidered on the kneelers. Although as sites of community, churches have at times been exclusive or exclusionary, and they have clearly been sites of conflict, there is no doubting that Anglican places of worship have connected their parishes to the events in a national history. This has not always been meritorious and the slave ownership of one section of the clergy should be remembered as much as the work for abolition by another.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, the Church is inescapably connected to this past. However, rather than seeking to capitalise on these resources, the clergy hierarchy have consistently preferred to focus on mission rather than conservation.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ A similar point is made by T. Bridges et al (2015), 'Church Buildings: Burden, Blessing and an Asset for Mission', retrieved from: <https://www.theheritagealliance.org.uk/hrba/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/15.02.19-Church-Buildings-Blessing-Burden-and-a-Asset-for-Mission-FINAL.pdf>, p2

¹³⁶ R. Morris (1986), *Churches in the Landscape*, London: J.M. Dent and Sons, pp120-121

¹³⁷ S. Neal and S. Walters (2008), 'Rural Be/longing and rural social organizations: Conviviality and community-making in the English countryside', *Sociology*, 42(2) esp. p290

¹³⁸ See C. Hall et al (2014), *Legacies of British Slave Ownership*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp56-57

¹³⁹ See for instance A. Chandler (2009), *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century: The Church Commissioners and the Politics of Reform, 1948-1998*, Woodbridge: Boydell, p102

Whilst historians may be rightly wary of the notion that “history tells us who we are”, this notion has popular currency, and is arguably of some value to the Church.¹⁴⁰ As Brown and Woodhead have contended, the key to wider appeal for a national religious body is to assist a society to “comprehend itself”.¹⁴¹ Amid concerns about falling religious literacy, it seems clear that a greater knowledge of the Church’s history would assist the people of England to do just that.¹⁴² Yet, the Church appears to have no national strategy to make the case for this ongoing relevance to the history of England. The Cathedral and Church Buildings Division is the most likely body within the Church’s Institutions to be tasked with making this case. However, this section of the Archbishops’ Council remains comparatively underfunded and the drive to share church heritage has largely been devolved on to other organisations. As we have seen, most important in these have been the Parochial Church Councils (PCCs), supported by Lottery funding. These groups remain at the front-end in the drive to communicate history of the Church publicly. Although the promotion of churches for the purposes of tourism does take place, this is done at a diocesan level and is by no means consistent across the dioceses.¹⁴³ Even here, as Watson has shown, promotion has been reliant on the cooperation of individual parishes.¹⁴⁴ As he also outlined, outside of the church, Local Authorities operate tourist initiatives incorporating historic places of worship, but as one of his respondents noted, it is not always possible to guarantee that churches promoted in this way will be open to visitors at the time of their choosing.¹⁴⁵ A national charity, the Churches Visitor and Tourism Association, operates to promote church tourism, but has an income of just £5,000 a year.¹⁴⁶ As we have seen, beyond tourism, a variety of other organisations have

¹⁴⁰ See P. Mandler (2002), *History and National Life*, London: Profile Books, pp5-7

¹⁴¹ A. Brown and L. Woodhead (2016), *That Was the Church That Was*, London: Bloomsbury, pp68-70

¹⁴² All Party Parliamentary Group on Religious Education (2016), *Improving Religious Literacy: A Contribution to the Debate*, London: HoC, p4

¹⁴³ S. Watson (2007), *Church Tourism: Representation and Cultural Practice*, (Unpublished doctoral thesis), University of York, uk.bl.ethos.490313, pp191- 211

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p273

¹⁴⁶ Churches Visitor and Tourism Association, Registered charity number: 1101254

grown up to protect church heritage, but these remain small in terms of membership and their activities appear to have a limited appeal.

This situation has been seen to have arisen from two trends, the voluntarisation of the church and its structures, ongoing since the mid-nineteenth century, and the desire by sections of the clergy to resist patrimonialisation in the twentieth. In terms of the former, as we saw, the public row over the church rates forced the Church to adopt more voluntaristic approaches to funding. Although a conception of the Church as voluntary society was thus being claimed by the late-nineteenth century, it has been argued here that the creation of the PCC in 1921 was a decisive moment in this process, and by the launch of the Historic Churches Preservation Trust in 1953 voluntarism was being claimed by members of the Church to inhere within the national character. Nevertheless, the clergy hierarchy continued to feel the need to push for lay involvement in the period that followed. It did so by increasingly seeking to raise operational costs from the parish share and to ensure that physical, mental and spiritual labour was supplied by members of the congregation. At the same time, those reviewing the governance of church buildings have sought to resist the nationalisation of repair for historic places of worship and instead argued for support of volunteers at a local level. This position, first found in the *Preservation* report, was reproduced in the *Taylor Review*. It is presumable that in doing so, their goal has been to relieve central government of the burden of the repair of medieval churches. However, this has led to complex arrangements with a range of different non-governmental organisations and non-departmental public bodies working with PCCs and others to conserve historic fabric. It was these arrangements which were labelled ‘the church-heritage assemblage’ and surveyed in chapter three.

By beginning with an investigation of the ways in which churches are protected within planning law, this thesis has added a nuanced perspective to the development of heritage protection in the twentieth century. Building on the work of Hewitt and Pendlebury, it has evidenced

continuities between the centuries within heritage campaigning.¹⁴⁷ These were seen most clearly between the Harrods, from Henry, secretary of the Norwich and Norfolk Archaeological Society (NNAS), to Lady Harrod, church conservation campaigner and wife of his grandson. However, it was the NNAS itself, with its meetings and excursions that promoted a love of the county and of the historic buildings of Norwich, which was seen to have been key in this history. As Pendlebury and Hewitt noted, they were instrumental in promoting topophilia for Norwich (and Norfolk) and as we have seen there were clear linkages between their work and the later work of the CPRE.¹⁴⁸ Thus, whilst the work of Rosemary Sweet and of Philippa Levine established continuities between eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century antiquarians, this thesis has emphasised the ongoing relevance of these activities between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁴⁹ In doing so it drew on the work of Susanna Wade Martins, Chris Miele, and Christopher Brooks and developed their accounts in various ways.¹⁵⁰ This included a development of Wade Martin's account of the Norwich Churches Trust and a detailed examination of the social construction of churches as heritage into the twentieth century.¹⁵¹ This thesis has thus developed academic understandings of the ways in which heritage experts, those working outside of professional organisations – the citizen experts – have contributed to the social construction of heritage over the long term. In doing so it sought to counter understandings of heritage which saw the community and the expert as two opposing forces, privileging the role of the professional. Rather, the picture presented was one which saw the development and daily administration of heritage as deeply linked to voluntary action,

¹⁴⁷ L. E. Hewitt and J. Pendlebury (2014), 'Local associations and participation in place: change and continuity in the relationship between state and civil society in twentieth-century Britain', *Planning Perspectives*, 29:1

¹⁴⁸ Pendlebury and Hewitt (2018), 'Place and voluntary activity in inter-war England: topophilia and Professionalization', *Urban History*, 45, 3,

¹⁴⁹ R. Sweet (2004), *Antiquaries*, London: Hambledon and London; P. Levine (1986), *The Amateur and the Professional*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

¹⁵⁰ S. Wade Martins (2015), *A History of the Conservation Movement in Norfolk*, Woodbridge: Boydell; C. Miele (2011), 'Heritage and its Communities: Reflections on the English Experience in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' Melanie Hall (ed) (2011), *Heritage, Culture and Identity: Towards World Heritage*, Farnham: Ashgate; and C. Brooks (1995), 'Building the rural church: money, power and the country parish', C. Brooks and A. Saint (eds) (1995), *The Victorian Church*, Manchester: Manchester University Press

¹⁵¹ Wade Martins (2015), *History of the Conservation Movement*

with the delivery of funding reliant on the work of voluntary groups, and heritage agencies established to formalise the work of campaigning bodies such as the CPRE.

This social construction of heritage, labelled here as patrimonialisation, clearly had some religious roots, or at least the notion of patrimony was current in the ways Victorian clergy understood their duty to conserve church fabric.¹⁵² However, in the period covered by this thesis it has been seen that elements of the Church of England have struggled with the implications of this. Thus, Although the defenders of the church rate had sought to argue that the church was the “inheritance of the poor”,¹⁵³ in the twentieth century the notion that churches were public property came with the corollary that any changes to them should thus be subject to external oversight. As was seen, this raised issues for some sections of the clergy to the extent that the award of state aid was deferred whilst they argued to retain Ecclesiastical Exemption. The tension, which Weinstein noted between conservation and mission in relation to Wren’s city churches in the 1860s was seen to have been present in early twentieth century Norwich, and nationally in relation to the Pastoral Measure (1968).¹⁵⁴ This was exemplified in Ivor Bulmer-Thomas’ reaction to the fate of St Mary’s, Sandwich, and his angry exchanges with Bishop John Robinson in the Church Assembly. In turn, the clergy worried that with the establishment of the Redundant Churches Fund (RCF) money would be spent on “dead churches” and sought to retain a separate system of valuation for historic places of worship than that which applied to historic buildings nationally.

Despite the concern of the clergy that money was being spent on the wrong buildings, by the time of the establishment of the RCF, raising money by talking up a building’s historic significance had long been a viable fundraising strategy in the parishes. When this failed to gain traction locally, by the turn of the twentieth century it was possible that conservationists

¹⁵² Anon. (12 June 1858), ‘Primary Visitation of the Lord Bishop’, *Norfolk Chronicle*, p7

¹⁵³ Quoted in Anon. (5 November 1859), ‘The Archdeacons in Battle Array!’, *Norfolk News*, p5

¹⁵⁴ B. Weinstein (2014), ‘Questioning a Late Victorian “Dyad”: Preservationism, Demolitionism, and the City of London Churches, 1860-1904’, *Journal of British Studies*, Volume 53, Iss. 02

nationally might step in. In establishing the Historic Churches Preservation Trust and its national network of county trusts, Bulmer-Thomas and others who shared a love of historic churches hoped to draw on this goodwill and began to put in place structures to support parishes in repair of their buildings. The historic value of medieval churches, rather than their use for worship, then became the justification of state aid when this was eventually agreed to. In granting this support, government ministers were keen to reconfirm the need for parishes to be seen to be helping themselves before resorting to public funds. However, it is clear from the work of Tomlinson that the clergy remain conflicted over the value of their buildings as heritage.¹⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the development of this funding has been able to support religious worship and respond to issues with the financing of major repair works set in train since the voluntarisation of the church rate in 1868. Thus, a picture of heritage funding as the latest iteration of a long history of the social arrangements for the repair of church buildings has been presented. By providing this context, the existing history – and especially the work of Delafons - on this subject has been deepened, and a longer term perspective developed.¹⁵⁶ In doing so, this thesis looked beyond the work of government departments and non-departmental public bodies, which was central to Delafons' account, and incorporated the work of voluntary organisations.

Where Watson's PhD thesis concentrated on church heritage and tourism, by privileging the planning side of heritage, this thesis has provided an extra dimension to the study of churches and the heritage sector. In doing so it drew on evidence from a range of connected organisations in a way that built on Pendlebury's idea of a conservation-planning assemblage.¹⁵⁷ The range of organisations discussed in chapter three were thus seen as a church-heritage assemblage, connected to (and arguably part of) the wider heritage-planning assemblage. Taking this approach allowed the thesis to depart from existing academic

¹⁵⁵ J. W. B. Tomlinson (2016), 'Ministry and History', *Theology and Ministry*, 4

¹⁵⁶ J. Delafons (1997), *Politics and Preservation*, London: Spon Press

¹⁵⁷ J. Pendlebury (2013), 'Conservation values, the authorised heritage discourse and the conservation-planning assemblage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19:7

understandings of heritage in a number of ways. For instance, where the work of Smith and others has concentrated on the operation of a rhetorical justification for the conservation of historic buildings, this thesis has seen the heritage sector as a range of interacting organisations with different goals, affected by changing political philosophies. In doing so attention has been paid to the activities and consequences of these organisations and of public policy. This has widened-out the picture of heritage presented in academia and departed from a discussion focused on tourism or the popular understanding of the past. It has also provided a space for an examination of the work of the Heritage Lottery Fund (now the National Lottery Heritage Fund), which has generally received little attention from heritage studies. By ignoring the HLF much of this work has neglected to account for the more liberalised aspects of heritage sector.

Far from seeing heritage as a “hegemonic discourse” this thesis has outlined the ways in which a powerful organisation was able to resist heritage protection legislation and to maintain its own system of consent, with this regime subject to internal negotiation and decision. Moreover, rather than purely directed from above, through grant aid the heritage sector in general has been seen to be subject to a more dynamic operation of power, in which heritage agencies rely on the labour of volunteers, who would otherwise be engaged in non-heritage related activities, and co-opts them into the heritage protection regime. In this sense, this thesis has challenged the conception of a monolithic “Authorised Heritage Discourse” which privileged the views of the circumscribed body of professional experts at the expense of other understandings of the past, and has instead seen the heritage sector as incorporating the activities of a range of non-professional or citizen experts, such as members of local history societies, campaign groups and PCC members, each of whom are engaged in the production of historical knowledge and each with the power to direct and shape conservation work and changes to historic buildings. Thus in contradistinction to Smith’s position that there is an AHD

which “disempowers” others in their articulation of “the meaning of the past”¹⁵⁸ it is argued here that the power relationships within the heritage sector are more complex than this. Members of voluntary organisations have been seen to have developed expertise which is complementary to the work of professional bodies; to have been independently active in the production of historical knowledge; and (at times) to have been empowered by heritage agencies.

As has been seen, it has been the voluntary sector which has often set the agenda for the state. Voluntary action established practices in which the state subsequently took an interest. Rather than supersede these practices, the state sought to bolster them through the support of external agencies. Thus, the picture which is formed looks much more like Finlayson’s mixed economy, rather than Owen’s three stage process. As a consequence of the “‘shifting boundaries’ between voluntarism and the state”,¹⁵⁹ organisations like the HLF have come to direct the activities of PCCs rather than to assume their functions. This was seen as a consequence of grant aid, which was first used to ensure public access, and now encourages community outreach as well as extended use. In some senses this has relieved congregations from an eternity of cake baking and jumble sales. However, heritage protection places other burdens on PCCs, raising the cost of repair work, introducing the need for mediation between external bodies and generally requiring greater levels of administrative labour. Nevertheless, congregations appear to be grateful for the availability of grant aid, and the introduction of new facilities into their buildings. Grant aid and external support also appears to have obviated the need for redundancy in some cases. As we saw, there appear to have been no cases of redundancy in rural Norfolk since the mid-1990s. In fact, in Norfolk, and in other parts of the country, churches have been brought back into use for worship, as at Forncett St Mary and

¹⁵⁸ L. Smith (2006), *The Uses of Heritage*, Routledge: New York, p29

¹⁵⁹ G. Finlayson (1990), *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p18

Toxteth St James in Liverpool.¹⁶⁰ It has been argued here that this has been the result of a combination of local support networks and the availability of national funding. Although these buildings are nationally listed, their return to their primary use has been based on the willingness of volunteers locally to contribute their time to this end.

By looking at the role of voluntary action in church conservation, this study has added to a growing body of literature seeking to understand the role of volunteers in the heritage sector. In doing so, it has added another case study to a growing body of literature, which includes the work of Naomi Harflett, Kirsten Holmes and Bridget Yates.¹⁶¹ By focusing on the role of the PCC in building conservation this study has provided another institutional setting within which voluntary labour forms part of the heritage sector. In the course of this, the work has developed academic understandings of the relationship between religion and voluntary action in England. As we saw, Alan Gilbert and Frances Knight drew the connection between the “denominalisation” of the Church of England and its “voluntarisation”.¹⁶² This observation was developed in this thesis in the discussion of the church rate refusal in Norwich. It was seen that the Church of England was forced into more voluntaristic funding arrangements as a consequence of its declining political power. Indeed, over the course of the nineteenth century a liberal conception of the primacy of voluntary action over state provision became normalised, with the church rates acting as a test case for the establishment of this political stance. Consequently, the Church of England was obliged to reinvent itself as a voluntary society, with the PCC coming to embody this change. As the century progressed, with clergy numbers diminishing and inflationary pressures eroding incomes of the parishes and the dioceses,

¹⁶⁰ A. Gretton (18 May 2010), ‘Historic church brought back to life after 30 years’, *Eastern Daily Press*, retrieved from: <https://www.edp24.co.uk/news/historic-church-brought-back-to-life-after-30-years-1-480776>; Anon. (2017) *St James in the City 2017 Annual Report*, Liverpool: St James in the City

¹⁶¹ N. Harflett (2014), *For ever, for everyone? : patterns of volunteering : the case of the National Trust*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Southampton, retrieved from: <https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/id/eprint/374696>; K. Holmes (2002), *Volunteer and visitor interaction in the UK heritage sector: motives and benefits*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Leeds, uk.bl.ethos.250870; B. Yates (2010), *Volunteer-run museums in English market towns and villages*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Gloucestershire, uk.bl.ethos.540075

¹⁶² A. D. Gilbert (1976), *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, London: Longman; ¹⁶² F. Knight (1995), *The Nineteenth Century Church and English Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

these latter bodies were forced to seek greater financial contribution and spiritual labour from the laity and to rationalise their “plant”. In evidencing these changes, then, this thesis has developed Knight and Gilbert’s accounts, looking at the effect of these changes into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Alongside a discussion of the historical relationship between voluntary action and the Church of England, this work has also added to the existing literature on religion and voluntary action, including that of Margaret Harris and Abby Day. It has developed their work by adding an understanding of the impact of heritage on the work of congregations, in a way which has not been an extensive part of this literature previously. It is clear that heritage, as funding and as legislation, has deeply affected the day-to-day arrangements of a great many congregations in a way in which has been little understood within academia. As this thesis has shown, the implications of heritage protection legislation have meant that PCC members have had to take on new work, develop new skills and to contribute time, energy and emotion to the management of listed places of worship.

The management of historic places of worship has been seen to have been contingent on local factors. An interest in these matters were engendered by William Whyte’s injunction to understand redundancy “as the product of a series of choices” rather than blanket decline.¹⁶³ It was for this reason that this thesis examined the histories of church construction and repair, as well reasons for the closure in Huddersfield, Norwich and rural Norfolk. In Huddersfield and Norwich, the decline of individual churches was often precipitated by demographic changes, as well as the cost implication of keeping buildings in good repair. This localised perspective was inspired by the work of Madgin and Rodger on Edinburgh, as well as Hewitt and Pendlebury, and the thesis looked to develop accounts of the ways in which voluntary action

¹⁶³ W. Whyte (2006), ‘The Architecture of Belief’, J. Garnett, M. Grimley, A. Harris, W. Whyte and S. Williams (eds.), *Redefining Christian Britain: Post-1945 Perspectives*, London: SCM Press, p191-192

has contributed to planning decisions.¹⁶⁴ As we saw, in Norwich issues related to demographic change had presented themselves in the late nineteenth century, and over the same period of time, a conservation movement developed within the city, interested in preserving public space for the purposes of civic amenity. In comparison, in Huddersfield it was seen that the problems had presented themselves in the post-war period, and hit crisis point amid economic inflation of the 1970s. Without a similar movement to invest the town's churches with historic value, private solutions were found for redundant churches. Thus, while McLeod, Brown and others have seen the 1960s as the key decade of religious decline in Britain, at least in terms of the Church of England, this thesis has argued that it was the decade that followed which really marked the flashpoint for these changes, and it was in this decade in which the Church of England increasingly found it difficult to maintain its existing structures and carried through a process of rationalisation.

As against the changes in urban areas, conversely, in rural Norfolk, despite issues with demographic change a different picture emerged. It was argued that the long running development of organisations concerned with rural governance had led to the creation of the Norfolk Churches Trust in the latter half of the twentieth century. This had, it was argued had the effect of slowing rates of redundancy in these areas. Although these eventualities were contingent on the work of elites, in the sense that they developed organically, this work has sought to cast the history of church conservation as bottom-up. They therefore developed without direction from the state, and perhaps in spite of the wishes of some of the diocesan administration. At the same time, organisations such as the CPRE sought to encourage greater democratic involvement in the planning process. Lady Harrod was thus keen to ensure that members of the Junior Branch of the Norfolk Society knew that they would be able to involve themselves in planning proposals which affected them.

¹⁶⁴ R. Madgin and R. Rodger, 'Inspiring Capital? Deconstructing myths and reconstructing urban environments, Edinburgh, 1860-2010', *Urban History*, Vol 40, Iss 03; Hewitt and Pendlebury (2014), 'Local associations and participation in place', *Planning Perspectives*, 29:1

Although there have clearly been divergent influences and effects on the management of historic places of worship in the twentieth century, the case studies offered here have been argued to have been part of a messy process of secularisation. This conception of secularisation has been a very literal one, one in which public buildings, originally built for religious purposes have been given over to secular purposes. However, in places, such as at St Gregory's and St Clement's in Norwich, or across rural Norfolk, these changes have been contested by members of the public and the laity, who sought to retain the religious meanings and purposes of these buildings. Within this, heritage was used as a strategy through which to resist decline. In a similar manner to Samuel's steam engines, through the work of volunteers, churches continued to be used for their original purposes.¹⁶⁵ Rather than seeing heritage as a stultifying influence then, this thesis has shown heritage as part of a process of revitalisation.

It is perhaps the issues thrown up by the localised nature of church conservation within which there remains the greatest scope for further investigation. For reasons of space it has not been feasible to explore rates of redundancy, nor the arrangements for the management of listed places of worship in other areas. Thus, the establishment of the other civic trusts in operation in Ipswich and London have not been touched upon, nor have the arrangements arrived at in other places with a high concentration of Anglican churches, like the city of York. It may also prove beneficial to explore the history of other places with a similar building stock as Huddersfield to examine reasons for redundancy at a micro level there too. Likewise, other rural areas, like Cumbria or the South West, would make interesting comparisons with Norfolk. Do these places have lower rates of redundancy than the national average too? What role have the county trusts played in these places? Expanding the study in these ways would thus add greater weight to the claims that a combination of voluntary action and heritage

¹⁶⁵ R. Samuel (1994), *Theatres of Memory*, London: Verso, p248 -9

funding has slowed the rate at which Church of England redundancies have taken place. Within this, the question of middle-class disengagement in between the Edwardian period and the interwar period remains somewhat elusive. Comparative studies, looking at the funding of church building and repair both more intensively and elsewhere would better illustrate the extent to which the phenomena uncovered by Sarah Flew have broader applicability. Within this it would be necessary to understand the ways in which funding arrangements changed in this period, as we have seen, in Norwich at least, fundraising based on historic significance developed alongside donations for mission. It is possible that similar parallels exist elsewhere. Another limitation of this study has been the concentration on a single denomination. Whyte noted that between 1940 and 1980 the Methodists in England had closed 5,000 places of worship.¹⁶⁶ Anglicans on the other hand have been able to close buildings at a much slower rate than other denominations.¹⁶⁷ It is not clear what role listing has had in this, as throughout this period these buildings would not have been eligible for grant aid. Nevertheless, as we saw in the introduction to this thesis, the whole of the Methodist building stock contains 541 listed buildings, as against the Church of England's estimated 13,000. This presumably has some practical implications for building repair. Investigating the effects of this disparity would have shed light on the ways in which the heritage protection regime has affected places of worship across denominations.

As should be clear from the foregoing, this work has taken an optimistic approach to heritage. The judgments which professionals had made was not always appreciated by the respondents interviewed here, and some were clearly frustrated by decisions which had been taken. However, outside of planning decisions, the respondents were generally appreciative of the support they had received, especially in terms of grant aid, and disappointed in those cases where a grant had not been forthcoming. Conversely, it is clearly the case that heritage agencies rely on congregations to conserve historic fabric and "strengthen local communities".

¹⁶⁶ W. Whyte (2006), 'The Architecture of Belief', p190

¹⁶⁷ R. Gill (2003), *The Empty Church Revisited*, Abingdon: Ashgate, p28

These arrangements are often mutually beneficial, and the respondents were pleased with the assistance provided in the presentation of historic artefacts, or in the production of a new guidebook rather than being disempowered. In addition, the line between professional and lay person within pessimistic accounts of heritage appears to be overdrawn. Thus, by the end of their grant aided project, PCC members have accrued vast amounts of experience and knowledge. Nor are these “exceptional circumstances”.¹⁶⁸ Rather, through the HLF a range of community groups, not just PCCs, have been supported to produce historical knowledge and to share this with others. In the process they have become citizen-experts. This is not to say that we should not be attentive to the inequalities which exist within heritage funding, but equally, criticism of the heritage sector remains relatively absent from public discourse, seemingly confined largely to the academy and those inconvenienced by it. This is arguably not the result of a hegemonic discourse which precludes the voicing of dissent. In fact, the respondents here knew little of the guidance produced by heritage agencies despite their having taken on a role in conserving historic buildings. Moreover, whilst acknowledging the prevalence of a rhetorical construction in which the needs of those in the present are subordinated to an imagined future generation evident in public statements related to historic places of worship, as well as an invocation of the judgement of ‘posterity’,¹⁶⁹ the practical consequences of disavowing the value of the conservation of these buildings is their ruination. Whilst it is possible to find public statements in favour of this in the pages of *The Times* from the 1970s,¹⁷⁰ it is the position of this author that this would entail not only the loss of artistically and architecturally important structures, but also the loss of buildings of use to their communities. This would appear to be both anti-intellectual and lacking in social conscience.

¹⁶⁸ E. Waterton and S. Watson (2010), ‘Heritage and community engagement: finding a new agenda’, E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) (2010), *Heritage and Community Engagement: Collaboration or Contestation?*, Abingdon: Routledge, p4

¹⁶⁹ See for instance Archbishop Fisher quoted in Anon (22 Mar. 1954), ‘Historic Churches Fund’, *Times*, p2

¹⁷⁰ See for instance R. Morris (21 Sept 1976), “Neglected and redundant churches”, *Times*, p13

Nevertheless, whilst supporting the ongoing management of historic places of worship it is necessary to recognise that the liberalised arrangements which have been put into place require the ongoing contribution of volunteers. The present system relies on those who participate on the basis of their religion to conserve historic buildings. However, as Gill noted in 2003, “[w]ithin two generations we can expect... that only 31 per cent of the elderly... will report that they had been ‘brought up religiously at home’”.¹⁷² As we have seen, it has been those with a lifelong commitment to Anglicanism in retirement who have taken on the management of historic places of worship. As their number declines this raises serious issues for the ways in which the conservation of this asset type is achieved. Recent modifications to the stipulations of grant aid have however begun to subtly shift this settlement. The Grants for Places of Worship scheme included the requirement that the building be “used for worship at least six times a year”.¹⁷³ By folding grant aid for places of worship into the Our Heritage and Heritage Grants streams, the HLF has technically broken this link, although money continues to be allocated to places of worship in use as such.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, these administrative changes appear to mean that in the absence of a congregation, grant aid funding may be available to a buildings trust or a friends group. We thus appear to be inching towards Sir Roy Strong’s proposals of transferring the responsibility for historic places of worship to “the community”.¹⁷⁵ Along similar lines, cultural commentator Simon Jenkins has called for parish or town councils to be tasked with the responsibility for these buildings.¹⁷⁶ However, it is not clear what would happen to the complex of organisations that has been built up around church conservation if this were to take place. What is more, it seems clear from the foregoing that there is the potential for conflict to arise when individuals or groups are excluded from the

¹⁷² Gill (2003), *Empty Church*, p211

¹⁷³ HLF (2016), *Grants for Places of Worship, England: Application Guidance*, London: HLF, p4

¹⁷⁴ S. Crofts (5 April 2017), ‘A new approach to supporting places of worship’, *Heritage Lottery Fund*, retrieved from: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/news-features/new-approach-supporting-places-worship>

¹⁷⁵ Church Buildings Review Group (2015), *Report of the Church Buildings Review Group*, London: General Synod, p32

¹⁷⁶ S. Jenkins (30 March 2018), ‘Happy Easter to you. Now let’s nationalise our churches’, *Guardian*, retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/mar/30/happy-easter-nationalise-churches-church-of-england>

decision-making process affecting buildings which have significance to them. At the same time, there needs to be broadly-based participation in their management. This popular involvement can only reasonably be expected if those being called upon to safeguard these buildings both understand and value their historic significance. Thus, if the management of historic places of worship is to be taken on by community groups other than their congregations, this may be dependent on an effort to raise the recognition of the role of the Church of England in English history.

References and Sources

Museum of English Rural Life

MERL, SR DX1032, Norfolk Branch of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England

MERL, SR CPRE C/1/128/1, Council for the Protection of Rural England: Graveyard Monuments and the Care of Churches

MERL, SR CPRE B/1/25 to 37, Annual reports 1967-1979

Norfolk Records office

NRO, ACC 2006/351 Box 13, Norwich Historic Churches Trust records

NRO ACC 2011/176, Records of Norfolk Churches Trust

NRO, DN/DAB 2, Diocesan Archives, Church Building Association, 1844-1899, Report and Statement of Accounts

NRO, MC 2166/1/3, Correspondence with Lady 'Billa' Harrod of the Old Rectory, Holt, Vice-President of The Norfolk Society (CPRE) and Chairman of its Committee for Country Churches, and with others re the formation of the Norfolk Churches Trust Ltd

NRO, WMH 2005/362 WH/RFH, Personal and Family Papers of Wilhelmine, Lady Harrod

West Yorkshire Archive Services

WYAS, WYK1084/1/1, Huddersfield Civic Society Records, Minute Book

WYAS, WDP32/ Box 14, Huddersfield St Peter, parish records, parish magazines

WYAS, WDP83/ additional boxes 10-13, Longwood St Mark, parish records, parish magazines

WYAS, WDP105/8/9, *Golcar Parish Magazine*, 1923-1926

WYAS, WDP105/8/12, *Golcar Parish Magazine*, 1930-1931

WYAS, WYW1467/13, Bradley St Thomas

WYAS, WYW1467/40, Huddersfield St Andrew and Huddersfield St Paul, Magazines for St Andrew 1965-1973, St Paul 1955

WYAS, WYW1467/52, Lockwood Emmanuel and Lockwood Methodist, Magazines for Lockwood Emmanuel 1967-1971

Newspapers, Journals and Magazines

Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette.

Bury and Norwich Post.
Chelmsford Chronicle.
Church Times.
Colne Valley Chronicle.
Country Life.
Daily Mail.
Daily Telegraph.
Eastern Daily Press.
Eastern Evening News.
Guardian
Financial Times.
Huddersfield Chronicle.
Huddersfield Daily Examiner.
Huddersfield Examiner.
Hull Packet and Humber Mercury.
Independent.
Ipswich Journal.
John Bull.
Leeds Intelligencer.
Leeds Mercury.
London Daily News.
London Evening Standard.
Morning Post.
Norfolk Chronicle.
Norfolk News.
Norwich Mercury.
Sheffield Daily Telegraph.
The Observer.
The Times.

Western Times.

Wrexham Weekly Advertiser.

Yarmouth Independent.

York Herald, and General Advertiser.

Yorkshire Evening Post.

Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer.

Hansard

Ecclesiastical Committee, Ninetieth Report, 1944 HL15 HC45

HL Deb 13 May 1968

HL Deb 18 April 1972, vol 330, cc18-52

Printed Primary Sources

ACORA (1990) *Faith in the Countryside: Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Rural Areas* (Churchman Publishing).

All Party Parliamentary Group on Religious Education (2016), *Improving Religious Literacy: A Contribution to the Debate*, (London: House of Commons)

Ancient Monuments Society (2017) *Report of the Trustees and Financial Statements for the Year Ended 31 December 2016* (London: AMS).

Anon. (n.d.) *S. Paul's* (Huddersfield: Swindlehurst & Nicholson).

Archbishops' Council (2013), *Summary Information Return*, London: Charity Commission

Archbishops' Council (2014) *Annual Report and Financial Statements for the year ended 31 December 2013* (London: Archbishops' Council).

Archbishops' Council (2015) *Annual Report and Financial Statements for the year ended 31 December 2014* (London: Archbishops' Council).

Archbishops' Council (2017) *Annual Report and Financial Statements for the year ended 31 December 2016* (London: Archbishops' Council).

Bibby, P. and Brindley, P. (2013) *Urban and Rural Area Definitions for Policy Purposes in England and Wales: Methodology (v1.0)* (London: Government Statistical Service).

Binney, M. and Burman, P. (1977) *Chapels & Churches: Who Cares* (London: British Tourist Authority for Country Life).

Braithwaite, G. (2009) Maintaining the Legacy. English Heritage (ed.) *Conservation Bulletin*, (61).

- Brierley, P. (1989) *A century of British Christianity: historical statistics 1900-1985, with projections to 2000*. (London: MARC).
- Brierley, P. (2013) *London's Churches are Growing!: what the London Church Census Reveals* (Tonbridge: ADBC Publishers).
- Brierley, P. and Bible Society. (1980) *Prospects for the Eighties : from a census of the churches in 1979*. (London: Bible Society).
- Burstrom, M. (2016), More than a Sensitive Ear: What to Expect from a Professional Expert, in: Schofield, J. (ed.) (2016), *Who Needs Experts? Counter-mapping Cultural Heritage*, London: Routledge.
- Butler-Stoney, R. (2001a) An ever greater glory, in: C. V. Roberts (ed.), *Treasure for the future : a celebration : the Norfolk Churches Trust, 1976-2001* (Norwich: Norfolk Churches Trust).
- Butler-Stoney, R. (2001b) Joyful parties for the working day, in: C. V. Roberts (ed.), *Treasure for the future : a celebration : the Norfolk Churches Trust, 1976-2001* (Norwich: Norfolk Churches Trust).
- Cantaur, G. (1953) A Godly Heritage, in: I. Bulmer-Thomas (ed.), *Historic Churches*, The Golden Cross Publishing Company (Southend-on-Sea).
- Church Buildings Review Group (n.d.) *Church Buildings Review* (London: Archbishops' Council).
- Church Buildings Review Group (2015) *Report of the Church Buildings Review Group* (London: General Synod).
- Church Commissioners for England (2018) *Annual Report 2017* (London: Church Commissioners for England).
- Church Heritage Forum (2004) *Building Faith in our Future, London:* (London: Church House Publishing).
- Church of England (2012) *Diocese of Norwich* (London: Church of England).
- Church of England (2012) *Diocese of St Edmundsbury and Ipswich* (London: Church of England).
- Church of England (2011) *Diocese of Wakefield* (London: Church of England).
- Church of England (2012) *Parish Spotlight: Huddersfield: Holy Trinity Parish Code: 400064* (London: Church of England).
- Church of England (2012) *Parish Spotlight: Huddersfield: St Peter Parish Code: 400069* (London: Church of England).
- Church of England (2012) *Parish Spotlight: Parish of: Rashcliffe: St Stephen Parish Code: 400073* (London: Church of England).
- ChurchCare (2014) *Annual Review 2014* (London: Cathedral and Church Buildings Division).
- Churches Conservation Trust (2013) *Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2013* (London: The Stationery Office).

- Churches Conservation Trust (2014) *Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2014* (London: The Stationery Office).
- Churches Conservation Trust (2017) *Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2017* (London: The Stationery Office).
- Clark, B. (2016) *'Introduction', Cathedral & Church Buildings Division Grants Report*, (London: Archbishops' Council).
- Comedia (1995) *Spirit of Place: Redundant Churches as Urban Resources* (Stroud: Comedia).
- Commission on Country Churches (1991) *Rural Church Buildings* (Norwich: Rigby Print).
- Cormack, P. (1976) *Heritage in Danger* (London: New English Library).
- Department for Culture Media and Sport (2010) *The Operation of the Ecclesiastical Exemption and related planning matters for places of worship in England* (London: DCMS).
- Department for Culture Media and Sport (2010) *Principles of Selection*, London: DCMS (London: DCMS).
- Department for Culture Media and Sport (2016) *The Culture White Paper* (London: DCMS).
- Department of the Environment (1977) *New life for old churches* (London: H.M.S.O.).
- Derrick, A. (2005) *A Review of Heritage Lottery Fund/English Heritage Funding to Places of Worship 1996-2005* (London: Heritage Lottery Fund).
- Derrick, A. (2005) *Assessment of the Impact of HLF/English Heritage Places of Worship Funding* (London: Heritage Lottery Fund).
- Corke, S. and Wood, J. (2009) Portrait of the East of England. *Regional Trends*, 41(1), 78–92.
- Council for the Preservation of Rural England (1976) *Annual Report* (London: CPRE).
- Dorset Historic Churches Trust (2017) *Financial Statements for the year to 31 December 2016* (Poole: DHCT).
- English Heritage (1992) *Grants 1984-1992* (London: English Heritage).
- English Heritage (1998) *Conservation Bulletin* (London: English Heritage).
- English Heritage (2006) *Inspired!* (London: English Heritage).
- English Heritage (2008) *Conservation Principles* (London: English Heritage).
- English Heritage (2008), *Heritage Counts*, (London: English Heritage).
- English Heritage (2010) *Caring for Places of Worship* (London: English Heritage)
- English Heritage (2010) *Grants for Historic Buildings, Monuments and Designed Landscapes* (London: English Heritage)

- English Heritage (2010) *New Uses for Former Places of Worship* (London: English Heritage)
- English Heritage (2010) *Synagogues at Risk* (London: English Heritage)
- English Heritage (2011) *Heritage Counts*, (London: English Heritage)
- English Heritage (2011) *Listing Selection Guide: Places of Worship* (London: English Heritage)
- English Heritage (2012) *New Work in Historic Places of Worship* (London: English Heritage).
- English Heritage (2016) *Annual Report 2015/2016* (English Heritage)
- English Heritage (2017) *East of England Register 2017* (Cambridge: Historic England)
- ERS (2017) *National Heritage Memorial Fund: Listed Places of Worship Roof Repair Fund Evaluation* (Bristol: ERS).
- Fitch, J. (1971) *The Churches of Suffolk: Redundancy, and a Policy for Conservation* (Polstead: Suffolk Preservation Society).
- Friends of Friendless Churches (2017) *Report of the Trustees and Financial Statements for year ended 31st March 2017* (London: FFC).
- Halliday, J., & Coombes, M. (1995) In search of counterurbanisation: Some evidence from Devon on the relationship between patterns of migration and motivation, in; *Journal of Rural Studies*, 11(4), 433–446.
- Harrod, W. M. E. C. (1972) Conclusion, in: W. M. E. C. Harrod (ed.), *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future* (Norwich: The Norfolk Society).
- Harrod, W. M. E. C. (ed.) (1972) *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future* (Norwich: The Norfolk Society).
- Hepworth, P. (1983) Post-War Reconstruction and Reorganisation, in: R. A. Dehn (ed.), *Sixty eventful years : the diamond jubilee of the Norwich Society, 1923-1983* (Norwich: Norwich Society).
- Hepworth, P., and Ogden, J. 1897-1974. (1983) *Sixty Eventful Years : the diamond jubilee of the Norwich Society, 1923-1983* Dehn, R. A. (ed.) (Norwich: Norwich Society).
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2012) *Activity Plan Guidance* (London: HLF).
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2013) *A Lasting Difference for Heritage and People* (London: HLF).
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2015) *National Heritage Memorial Fund Lottery Distribution Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2015* (London: HLF).
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2016) *Grants for Places of Worship, England: Application guidance* (London: HLF).
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2017) *Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2017* (London: HLF).

- Heritage Lottery Fund (2017) *Sharing Heritage: Guidance for Applicants* (London: HLF).
- Huddersfield Local History Society (2018) Edward Law History Prize. *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, (29).
- Huddersfield Local History Society (2018) Journal. *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, (29). Historic Churches Preservation Trust (1997) *Annual Report*, London: HCPT (London: Historic Churches Preservation Trust).
- Historic England (2017) *Heritage at Risk: Yorkshire Register* (London: Historic England).
- March, L. (2017) 'introduction, in.; National Churches Trust, *Annual Report and Financial Statements 2016* (London: NCT).
- Monckton, L. (2010) *Churches and Closure in the Church of England* (London: English Heritage).
- National Churches Trust (2014) *A Friends (or similar) Group for your church: using our model constitution* (London: NCT).
- National Churches Trust (2013) *Keeping Churches Alive* (London: National Churches Trust).
- National Churches Trust (2012) *The National Churches Trust Survey* (London: NCT).
- Neville, E., Hobson, A., and Harrod, W. M. E. C. (1972) Tales of Three Churches, in; W. M. E. C. Harrod (ed.), *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future* (Norwich: The Norfolk Society).
- Norfolk Churches Trust (2014) *Annual Report and Financial Statements for the year ended 31 March 2014* (Tibenham: Norfolk Churches Trust).
- Norfolk Churches Trust (2017) *Annual Report and Financial Statements for the year ended 31 March 2017* (Tibenham: Norfolk Churches Trust).
- Norfolk County Council (2012) *Norfolk demographic update 2011*, (Norwich: Norfolk County Council).
- Norwich City Commission (1970) *Norwich City Commission Report* (Norwich: Norwich City Commission).
- Norwich Historic Churches Trust (2010) *Trustees' Report and Financial Statements* (Norwich: NHCT).
- Norwich Historic Churches Trust (2012) *Trustees' Report and Financial Statements* (Norwich: NHCT).
- Norwich Historic Churches Trust (2017) *Trustee's Report and Financial Statements for Year Ended March 2017* (Norwich: NHCT).
- Payne, B. (n.d.) *Crossing the Threshold* (Hereford: Historic Religious Buildings Alliance in collaboration with the Diocese of Hereford).
- Powell, K. and De la Hey, C. (1987) *Churches: a question of conversion* (London: Save Britain's Heritage).

- Redundant Churches Fund and Carr, J. L. (1990) *Churches in retirement: a gazetteer* (London: H.M.S.O.).
- Repair of Churches Commission (1952) *The Preservation of Our Churches* (London: Church Information Board).
- Roberts, C. V. (2001a) Cash, scrubbing brushes and unstoppable zeal, in: *Treasure for the future : a celebration : the Norfolk Churches Trust, 1976-2001* (Norwich: Norfolk Churches Trust).
- Roberts, C. V. (ed.) (2001b) *Treasure for the Future: A Celebration: the Norfolk Churches Trust, 1976-2001* (Norwich: Norfolk Churches Trust).
- Strong, R., Binney, M., Harris, J., Bedford, J. R. R. D. (1974) *The Destruction of the Country House, 1875-1975* (London: Thames and Hudson).
- Taylor, B. (2017) *The Taylor Review: Sustainability of English Churches and Cathedrals* (London: DCMS).
- Wilding, R. (1990) *The Care of Redundant Churches* (London: Department of the Environment).
- Yates, R. (1817) *The Basis of National Welfare, considered in reference chiefly to the prosperity of Britain, and safety of the Church of England* (London: Printed for F.C. and J. Rivington)
- Yates, R. (1815) *The Church in danger: a statement of the cause, and of the probable means of averting that danger attempted; in a letter.* (London: Nichols, Son and Bentley).
- Young, E. W. (1996) *Sixty years of the Norfolk Society: the Norfolk Branch of the Council for the Protection of Rural England* (Dereham: Larks Press).

Secondary Sources

- 6, P. and Leat, D. (1997) Inventing the British Voluntary Sector by committee: from Wolfenden to Deakin Non Profit Studies, 1, 2, *Non Profit Studies*, 1(2).
- Addy, J. (1992) The Church in Huddersfield, 600-1743, in: E. A. H. Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield: a most handsome town: aspects of the history and culture of a West Yorkshire town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Service).
- Adorno, T. W. and Horkheimer, M. (1997) *The Dialectic of the Enlightenment* (London: Verso).
- Alcock, P. (2010) *Partnership and mainstreaming: voluntary action under New Labour* (Birmingham: Third Sector Research Centre).
- Alcock, P. (2011) Voluntary Action, New Labour, and the 'third sector', in: M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds.), *The Ages of Voluntarism: How We Got to the Big Society* (Oxford ; New York: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press).
- Allthorpe-Guyton, M. (1984) The Artistic and Literary Life, in: J. C. Barringer (ed.), *Norwich in the Nineteenth Century* (Norwich: Gliddon Books).
- Amery, C. and Cruickshank, D. (1975) *The Rape of Britain* (London: P. Elek).

- Anderson, A. (2001) Characters in a Quiet Revolution, in: C. V. Roberts (ed.), *Treasure for the future : a celebration : the Norfolk Churches Trust, 1976-2001* (Norwich: Norfolk Churches Trust)
- Anon. (2011), 'Robinson, John Arthur Thomas (1919–1983), bishop of Woolwich and biblical scholar', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
- Andraea, S. (1996) From Comprehensive Development to Conservation Areas, in: M. C. W. Hunter (ed.), *Preserving the Past: the Rise of Heritage in Modern Britain* (Stroud: Alan Sutton).
- Andrew, D. T. (1989) *Philanthropy and Police: London charity in the eighteenth century* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press).
- Anon. (2017a) Harrod, Sir (Henry), Roy Forbes (1900–1978), economist. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Anon. (2017b) Wilhelmine Margaret Eve [Billa] Harrod [Cresswell] Lady Harrod (1911–2005), architectural conservationist. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Atkinson, R. and Moon, G. (1994) *Urban Policy in Britain: the city, the state and the market* (Basingstoke: Macmillan)
- Ayers, B. (2004) The Urban Landscape, in: C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Medieval Norwich* (London: Hambledon and London).
- Balderstone, L. (2014) Semi-detached Britain? Reviewing suburban engagement in twentieth-century society. *Urban History*, 41(1), 141–160.
- Bell, A. (2004) Boileau, Sir John Peter (1794–1869). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Bennett, T. (1995) *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London ; New York: Routledge).
- Berger, P. L. (1967) *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. (New York: Anchor Books).
- Betty, J. H. (1987) *Church and Parish: An introduction for local historians* (London: B.T. Batsford).
- Binfield, C. (2004) Church and Chapel, in: C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Norwich since 1550* (London; New York: Hambledon & London).
- Blake, R. (2004) Bignold, Sir Samuel (1791–1875), businessman and politician. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Blatchly, J. M. (2004) Stevenson, Seth William (1784–1853). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Boase, G. (2004) Harrod, Henry (1817–1871), antiquary. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Boulting, N. (1976) The Law's Delays: conservation legislation in the British Isles, in: J. Fawcett (ed.), *The Future of the Past: attitudes to conservation 1147-1974* (London: Thames and Hudson).

- Bridges, T, Every, P., Mottram, A., and Williamson, K. (2015), 'Church Buildings: Burden, Blessing and an Asset for Mission', retrieved from: <https://www.theheritagealliance.org.uk/hrba/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/15.02.19-Church-Buildings-Blessing-Burden-and-a-Asset-for-Mission-FINAL.pdf>
- Brook, R. (1968) *The Story of Huddersfield* (London: MacGibbon & Kee).
- Brooke, A., Kipling, L. (2012) *Liberty or Death: Radicals, Republicans and Luddites, 1793 to 1823* (Huddersfield: Huddersfield Local History Society).
- Brooks, C. (1995) Building the rural church: money, power and the country parish, in:, C. Brooks and A. Saint (eds.), *The Victorian Church: architecture and society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Brooks, C. (1995) Introduction, in:, C. Brooks and A. Saint (eds.), *The Victorian Church: architecture and society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Brooks, C. and Saint, A. (eds.) (1995) *The Victorian Church: architecture and society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Brown, A. and Woodhead, L. (2017) *That Was the Church That Was: How the Church of England lost the English people* (London: Bloomsbury).
- Brown, C. G. (1988) Did urbanization secularize Britain? *Urban History*, 15, 1–14.
- Brown, C. G. (2009) *The Death of Christian Britain : understanding secularisation 1800-2000* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge).
- Brown, C. G. (2012) *Religion and the Demographic Revolution: Women and Secularisation in Canada, Ireland, UK and USA since the 1960s* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press).
- Bruce, S. (2002) *God is Dead: Secularization in the West* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Bruce, S. (2011) *Secularization : in defence of an unfashionable theory* (Oxford: OUP Oxford).
- Burns, A. (2006) Authority and the Church, in:, P. Mandler (ed.), *Liberty and Authority in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Burns, A. (1999) *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England, c.1800-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Cameron, H., Richter, P., Davies, D., and Ward, F. (eds.) (2005) *Studying Local Churches: a Handbook* (London: SCM Press).
- Cannadine, D. (1992) *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (London: Picador).
- Caplow, T. (1983) *All Faithful People: Change and Continuity in Middletown's Religion* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Casanova, J. (1994) *Public religions in the modern world* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Chadwick, O. (1970) *The Victorian Church* (London: Adam and Charles Black).
- Chadwick, O. (1991) *Victorian Miniature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Champion, T. and Shepherd, J. (2006) Demographic Change in Rural England, in: P. Lowe and L. Speakman (eds.), *The Ageing Countryside: the Growing Older Population of Rural England* (London: Age Concern England).
- Chandler, A. (2006) *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century: the Church Commissioners and the Politics of Reform, 1948-1998* (Woodbridge, Suffolk ; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press).
- Chandler, D. (2010) "The Athens of England": Norwich as a Literary Center in the Late Eighteenth Century. *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 43(2), 171–192.
- Chapman, M. (2007) The Theology of the Public Arena: The Case of the South Bank Religion, in: J. Garnett, M. Grimley, A. Harris, W. Whyte, and S. Williams (eds.), *Redefining Christian Britain: post-1945 perspectives* (London: SCM Press).
- Chatfield, M. (1989) *Churches the Victorians Forgot* Rev 2nd ed. (Ashbourne: Moorland).
- Church, R. (2004) Colman family (per. 1814–1898), mustard and starch manufacturers. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Clark, J. C. D. (1985) *English society, 1688-1832: ideology, social structure and political practice during the ancien regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Clark, K. (2004) Why fund heritage? The role of research in the Heritage Lottery Fund. *Cultural Trends*, 13(4), 65–85.
- Clark, K. and Maeer, G. (2008) The cultural value of heritage: evidence from the Heritage Lottery Fund. *Cultural Trends*, 17(1), 23–56.
- Clarke, B. F. L. (1969) *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: a Study of the Gothic Revival in England* 1st ed. (Newton Abbot: David & Charles).
- Clarke, E. (2004) Yates, Richard (1769–1834), Church of England clergyman and antiquary. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Cookson, J. E. (1982) *The Friends of Peace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Cox, J. (1982) *The English Churches in a Secular Society : Lambeth 1870-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Cozens-Hardy, B. (1946) *Norfolk archæology*. P. Millican (ed.) (Norwich: Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society).
- Cranmer, F. (2016) Paying the Piper? Public Funding and Supervision of Religion in a Secularized Society (United Kingdom), in: F. Messner (ed.), *Public Funding of Religions in Europe* (London: Routledge).
- Crooke, E. (2013) The politics of community heritage: motivations, authority and control, in: E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds.), *Heritage and community engagement : collaboration or contestation?* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group).
- Crosby, A. G. (2004) Baines, Edward (1774–1848). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Dain, A. (1984) An Enlightened and Polite Society, in: J. C. Barringer (ed.), *Norwich in the Nineteenth Century* (Norwich: Gliddon Books).

- Daunton, M. J. (2007) *Just Taxes: the politics of taxation in Britain*. (Place of publication not identified: Cambridge Univ Press).
- Daunton, M. J. (2007) *Trusting Leviathan: the politics of taxation in Britain, 1799-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press).
- Davie, G. (1994) *Believing Without Belonging: is this the future of religion in Britain?* (London: Wiley-Blackwell).
- Davie, G. (2015) *Religion in Britain: a Persistent Paradox* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell).
- Davie, G., Woodhead, L., and Heelas, P. (2003) *Predicting religion: Christian, secular and alternative futures* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Davies, D., Watkins, C., and Winter, M. (1991) *Church and Religion in Rural England* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T&T Clark).
- Day, A. (2016) Farewell to Generation A: The Final 'Active Generation' in the Anglican Communion, in: *Contemporary issues in the worldwide Anglican communion: powers and pieties* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate).
- Day, A. (2017) *The Religious Lives of Older Laywomen: the last active Anglican generation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Dean, M. (1999) *Governmentality: power and rule in modern society* (London: SAGE).
- Delafons, J. (1997) *Politics and preservation: a policy history of the built heritage, 1882-1996* (London: E & FN Spon).
- Delanty, G. (2003) *Community* (London: Routledge).
- Dennis, R. (1984) *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: a Social Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Devereux, M. and Littlefield, D. (2017) *A literature review on the privatisation of public space* (University of West England) Available online at: <http://eprints.uwe.ac.uk/31529>.
- Dickinson, H. T. (1979) *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Methuen).
- Doyle, B. M. (2004) Politics, in: C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Norwich since 1550* (London; New York: Hambledon & London).
- Doyle, B. M. (1997) The structure of elite power in the early twentieth-century city: Norwich, 1900–35. *Urban History*, 24(2), 179–199.
- Doyle, B. M. (1996) "Through the windows of a Baptist Meeting House": Religion, politics and the Nonconformist Conscience in the life of Sir George White, M.P. *Baptist Quarterly*, (Journal Article).
- Eastwood, D. (1997) *Government and Community in the English Provinces, 1700-1870* (London: Macmillan).
- Ede, J. and Virgoe, N. (eds.) (1998) *Religious worship in Norfolk: the 1851 census of accommodation and attendance at worship* (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society).

- Ellens, J. P. (1994) *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism: the church rate conflict in England and Wales, 1832-1868* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press).
- English Heritage (1993) *Metals, English Heritage research transactions: research and case studies in architectural conservation* (Aldershot: Gower Technical Press).
- English Heritage (2011b) *Practical Building Conservation: Mortars, Renders and Plasters* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- English Heritage (1988) *Stone Masonry, English Heritage research transactions: research and case studies in architectural conservation* (Aldershot: Gower Technical Press).
- Erdozain, D. (2010) *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion* (Woodbridge: Boydell)
- Finch, J. (2004) The Churches, in: C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Medieval Norwich* (London: Hambledon and London).
- Finke, R. and Stark, R. (1992) *The Churching of America, 1776-1990 : Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press).
- Finlayson, G. B. A. M. (1994) *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Firman, R. (2004) Parratt, Sir Walter (1841–1924), organist. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Flew, S. (2015) *Philanthropy and the funding of the Church of England, 1856-1914* (London: Pickering & Chatto).
- Foucault, M. (1992) *The History of Sexuality. Vol. 2: The Use of Pleasure* (London: Penguin Books).
- Fry, S. (2014) *A History of the National Collection: Volume 5: 1931-1945* (London: English Heritage).
- Furlong, M. (2000) *Church of England: The State it's In* (London: Hodder & Stoughton).
- Gard'ner, J. M. (2004) Heritage Protection and Social Inclusion: A Case Study from the Bangladeshi Community of East London. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 10(1), 75–92.
- Gibson, K. and Booth, A. (2009) *The Buildings of Huddersfield: an illustrated architectural history* (Stroud: History Press).
- Giddens, A. (1999) *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
- Gilbert, A. D. (1976) *Religion and Society in Industrial England: church, chapel, and social change, 1740-1914* (London ; New York: Longman).
- Gill, R. (2003) *The Empty Church Revisited* 2nd ed. (Abingdon: Ashgate).
- Glasner, Peter E. (1977) *The Sociology of Secularisation: a Critique of a Concept* (London ; Boston: Routledge & K. Paul).

- Glennester, H. (2012) Why Was a Wealth Tax for the UK Abandoned? Lessons for the Policy Process and Tackling Wealth Inequality. *Journal of Social Policy*, 41(12).
- Grant, P. (2011) Voluntarism and the impact of the First World War, in: M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds.), *The Ages of Voluntarism: How We Got to the Big Society* (Oxford; New York: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press).
- Greeley, A. M. (1989) *Religious Change in America* (Cambridge, Mass; London: Harvard University Press).
- Green, S. J. D. (2011) *The Passing of Protestant England: secularisation and social change, c.1920-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Groves, N. (ed.) (2016a) *Redundancy and renewal: maintaining and using historic churches: selected papers from the Norwich Historic Churches Trust conferences 2014 and 2015* (Norwich, UK: Lasse Press).
- Groves, N. (2016) 'With Concern, but not without hope': An Overview of the Norwich Historic Churches Trust, in: N. Groves (ed.), *Redundancy and renewal: maintaining and using historic churches: selected papers from the Norwich Historic Churches Trust conferences 2014 and 2015* (Norwich, UK: Lasse Press).
- Gunn, S. (2004) Class, identity and the urban: the middle class in England, c. 1790-1950. *Urban History*, 31(1), 29–47.
- Gunn, S. (2007) *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: ritual and authority and the English industrial city; 1840 - 1914* 1. digital paperback ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Haigh, E. A. H. (ed.) (1992) *Huddersfield: a most handsome town : aspects of the history and culture of a West Yorkshire town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Service)
- Halfacree, K. H. and Rivera, M. J. (2012) Moving to the Countryside. and Staying: Lives beyond Representations. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 52(1), 92–114.
- Hall, C, Draper, N., McClelland, K., Donnington, K. and Lang, R. (2014), *Legacies of British Slave Ownership*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J., et al. (1978) *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Halsall, J. (2015) *Caring for your Church Building* (Buxhall: Kevin Mayhew).
- Hardill, I. (1987) *The Regional Implications of Restructuring in the Wool Textile Industry* (Aldershot: Gower).
- Hargreaves, J. A. (1992) Metropolis of Discontent, in: E. A. H. Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield: a most handsome town : aspects of the history and culture of a West Yorkshire town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Service).
- Hargreaves, J. A. (ed.) (2012) *Slavery in Yorkshire: Richard Oastler and the campaign against child labour in the Industrial revolution* (Queensgate, Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield Press).
- Hargreaves, J. A. (ed.) (2018) *The Charter Our Right!: Huddersfield Chartism Re-considered*.

- Harris, A. (2010) *Romantic Moderns* (London: Thames and Hudson).
- Harris, J. (1994) *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914* (London: Penguin)
- Harris, M. (1998) *Organizing God's Work: challenges for churches and synagogues* (New York, N.Y: St. Martin's Press).
- Harrison, B. (2009), *Seeking a Role: The United Kingdom 1951-1970*, Oxford: O.U.P
- Harrison, B. H. (2010) *Finding a Role? The United Kingdom, 1970-1990* (Oxford : Oxford ; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press).
- Harrod, W. M. E. C. (1988) *The Norfolk guide* (Bury St Edmunds: Alistair Press).
- Hastings, A. (2001) *A History of English Christianity 1920 - 2000* 4. ed. (London: SCM Press).
- Hayes, N. and Doyle, B. M. (2013) Eggs, rags and whist drives: popular munificence and the development of provincial medical voluntarism between the wars: Popular munificence and provincial medical voluntarism between the wars. *Historical Research*, 86(234), 712–740.
- Heelas, P. and Woodhead, L. (2005) *The spiritual revolution : why religion is giving way to spirituality* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub)
- Hewison, R. (1997) *Culture and Consensus: England, art and politics since 1940* Rev.ed. (London: Methuen).
- Hewison, R. (1987) *The Heritage Industry : Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen).
- Hewison, R. and Holden, J. (2004) *Challenge and Change: HLF and Cultural Value: A report to the Heritage Lottery Fund* (London: Heritage Lottery Fund).
- Hewitt, L. E. (2012) Associational culture and the shaping of urban space: civic societies in Britain before 1960. *Urban History*, 39(4), 590–606.
- Hewitt, L. E. and Pendlebury, J. (2014) Local associations and participation in place: change and continuity in the relationship between state and civil society in twentieth-century Britain. *Planning Perspectives*, 29(1), 25–44.
- Hill, R. (2007) *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (London: Allen Lane).
- Hilton, M. and McKay, J. (eds.) (2011) *The Ages of Voluntarism: How We Got to the Big Society* British Academy original paperback. (Oxford ; New York: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press)
- Hodges, A. and Watson, S. (2000) Community-based Heritage Management: a case study and agenda for research. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 6(3), 231–243.
- Hoggart, R. (2009) *The Uses of Literacy : aspects of working-class life* (London: Penguin).

- Howard, P. (2009) Historic Landscapes and the Recent Past: Whose History?, in: L. Gibson and J. R. Pendlebury (eds.), *Valuing historic environments* (Farnham, Surrey ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate).
- Howkins, A. (2003) *The Death of Rural England: a Social History of the Countryside since 1900* (London: Routledge).
- Howkins, A. (1987) The Discovery of Rural England, in: R. Colls and P. Dodd (eds.), *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880 - 1920* (London: Croom Helm).
- Hulme, T. (2017). 'A nation of town criers': Civic publicity and historical pageantry in inter-war Britain. *Urban History*, 44(2)
- Inglis, K. S. (1963) *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul).
- Ipswich Historic Churches Trust (2017) *Report of the Trustees for Year Ending 31st December 2016* (Ipswich: IHCT).
- Ishkanian, A. and Szreter, S. (eds.) (2012) *The Big Society Debate: a New Agenda for Social Policy?* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar).
- Ishmael, G. (2016) Heavenly Gardens, in: N. Groves (ed.), *Redundancy and renewal: maintaining and using historic churches: selected papers from the Norwich Historic Churches Trust conferences 2014 and 2015* (Norwich, UK: Lasse Press).
- Jackson, B. (1972) *Working-Class Community: some general notions raised by a series of studies in northern England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books).
- Jackson, S. (2016) Working co-operatively with closed churches: the Holland Coastal Group, in: N. Groves (ed.), *Redundancy and renewal: maintaining and using historic churches: selected papers from the Norwich Historic Churches Trust conferences 2014 and 2015* (Norwich, UK: Lasse Press).
- Jackson, S. (2016), Contesting the expert at the former Bradford Odeon, in: Schofield, J. (ed.) (2016), *Who Needs Experts? Counter-mapping Cultural Heritage*, London: Routledge
- Jacob, W. M. (1996) *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Jeans, D. N. (1990) Planning and the Myth of the English Countryside, in the Interwar Period. *Rural History*, 1(2), 249–264.
- Jeffery, R. (1998) *The Twentieth Century church* (London: Twentieth Century Society)
- Jones, A. (1985) *Britain's Heritage: the Creation of the National Heritage Memorial Fund* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson).
- Keen, L. (1998) Preface, in: V. Brand (ed.), *The Study of the Past in the Victorian Age*, Oxbow monograph (Oxford: Oxbow for the British Archaeological Association and the Royal Archaeological Institute).
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1995), Theorizing Heritage', *Ethnomusicology*, 39(3)
- Knight, F. (1996) *The Nineteenth Century Church and English Society* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press).

- Law, A. (2004) *The Built Heritage Conservation Movement: Landscapes of Englishness and Social Class*. University of Newcastle.
- Larkham, P. (1996) *Conservation and the City*, (London: Routledge)
- Law, E. J. (1992) Markets, Fairs and Tolls in Huddersfield, in: E. A. H. Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield: a most handsome town: aspects of the history and culture of a West Yorkshire town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Service).
- Lee, R. (2006) *Rural Society and the Anglican clergy, 1815-1914: encountering and managing the poor* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press).
- Levine, P. (1986) *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, historians and archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Living Stones (2010) *Blessings or Burdens? Listed places of worship and their role in communities* (London: English Heritage).
- Lowerson, J. R. (2004) Baines, Sir Edward (1800–1890). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Luckman, T. (1967) *The Invisible Religion: the Problem of Religion in Modern Society* (Collier-Macmillan).
- Macdonald, S. (2013) *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (London ; New York: Routledge).
- Machin, G. I. T. (1977) *Politics and the churches in Great Britain, 1832-68* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Macmorran, K. M. and Briden, T. (2006) *A Handbook for Churchwardens and Parochial Church Councillors* (London: Continuum).
- Madanipour, A. (2003) *Public and Private Spaces of the City* (London; New York: Routledge).
- Madgin, R. (2009) *Heritage, Culture and Conservation* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag).
- Madgin, R. and Rodger, R. (2013) Inspiring capital? Deconstructing myths and reconstructing urban environments, Edinburgh, 1860-2010. *Urban History*, 40(3), 507–529.
- Magnus, P. (2017) Cremer, Robert Wyndham Ketton- (1906–1969), biographer and county historian. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Mandler, P. (1997) *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven, [CT]: Yale University Press).
- Mandler, P. (2002), *History and National Life*, (London: Profile Books)
- Mandler, P. (ed.) (2006) *Liberty and Authority in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Marsh, J. (1982) *Back to the Land: the Pastoral Impulse in England, from 1880 to 1914* (London; New York: Quartet Books)

- Martin, D. (1969) *The Religious and the Secular: Studies in Secularization* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul).
- McLeod, H. (1986) New Perspectives on Victorian Class Religion: The Oral Evidence. *Oral History*, 14(1), 31–49.
- McLeod, H. (1996) *Religion and society in England, 1850-1914* (Basingstoke: Macmillan).
- McLeod, H. (2007) *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* Pbk. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Meeres, F. (1998) *A History of Norwich* (Chichester: Phillimore).
- Meller, H. E. (1997) *Towns, plans and society in modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Miele, C. (2010) Heritage and its Communities: Reflections on the English Experience in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, in: M. Hall (ed.), *Towards World Heritage: international origins of the preservation movement, 1870-1930* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Miele, C. (2000) Re-Presenting the Church Militant: the Camden Society, Church Restoration and the Gothic Sign, in: C. Webster and J. Elliott (eds.), *"A Church as it Should Be": the Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence* (Stamford, Lincs: Shaun Tyas).
- Miele, C. (1996) The First Conservation Militants, in: M. C. W. Hunter (ed.), *Preserving the past: the rise of heritage in modern Britain* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton).
- Morgan, M. (1996) Jam Making, Cuthbert Rabbit and Cakes: Redefining Domestic Labour in the Women's Institute, 1915–60. *Rural History*, 7(2), 207–219.
- Morris, R. (1989) *Churches in the Landscape* (London: J.M. Dent).
- Morris, R. J. (1996) Clubs Societies and Associations, in: F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge social History of Britain 1750 - 1950: Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press).
- Morris, R. J. (1983) Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780–1850: An Analysis. *The Historical Journal*, 26(1), 95–118.
- Mortlock, D. P. and Roberts, C. V. (2017) *The Guide to Norfolk churches*.
- Mortlock, D. P. and Roberts, C. V. (1985) *The Popular Guide to Norfolk churches* (Cambridge: Acorn Editions).
- Muthesius, S. (2004) Architecture since 1800, in: C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Norwich since 1550* (London; New York: Hambledon & London).
- Mynors, C. (2006) *Listed Buildings, Conservation Areas and Monuments* 4th ed. (London: Sweet & Maxwell).
- Neal S. and Walters S. (2008) Rural Be/longing and rural social organizations: Conviviality and community-making in the English countryside. *Sociology*, 42(2)

- Newby, H. (1980) *Green and Pleasant Land?: Social Change in Rural England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin).
- Newman, A. and McLean, F. (1998) Heritage builds communities: The application of heritage resources to the problems of social exclusion. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 4(3–4), 143–153.
- Nockles, P. B. (2004) *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Nora, P. (1997) *Realms of Memory: the Construction of the French past*. English language ed. (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Owen, D. (1965) *English Philanthropy, 1660-1960*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press).
- Pearce, C. (2001) *Comrades in Conscience: the Story of an English Community's Opposition to the Great War* (London: Francis Boutle).
- Pendlebury, J. (2013) Conservation values, the authorised heritage discourse and the conservation-planning assemblage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(7), 709–727.
- Pendlebury, J. and Hewitt, L. E. (2018) Place and voluntary activity in inter-war England: topophilia and professionalization. *Urban History*, 45(3), 453–470.
- Pendlebury, J. R. (2009) *Conservation in the Age of Consensus* (London: Routledge).
- Pendlebury, J., Townshend, T., and Gilroy, R. (2004) The Conservation of English Cultural Built Heritage: A Force for Social Inclusion? *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 10(1), 11–31.
- Perkin, H. (1990), *The Rise of Professional Society: England Since 1880*, London: Routledge
- Perks, R. (1992) Late Victorian and Edwardian Politics in Huddersfield, in: E. A. H. Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield: a most handsome town : aspects of the history and culture of a West Yorkshire town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Service).
- Piggott, R. (2016), Historic Churches, Heritage and Voluntary Action, in: N. Groves (ed.), *Redundancy and renewal: maintaining and using historic churches: selected papers from the Norwich Historic Churches Trust conferences 2014 and 2015* (Norwich, UK: Lasse Press).
- Piggott, R. (2017) The Great War and the Vicar of Huddersfield: Huddersfield's Parish Church and the war effort. *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, (28).
- Platt, J. (2015) *Subscribing to Faith: The Anglican Parish Magazine 1850-1929*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)
- Port, M. H. (2006) *600 New Churches: the Church Building Commission, 1818-1856* 2nd ed. (Reading: Spire Books).
- Prest, J. M. (1990) *Liberty and locality: Parliament, permissive legislation, and ratepayers' democracies in the nineteenth century* (Oxford [England] : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press).

- Prochaska, F. K. (1988) *The Voluntary Impulse : Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: Faber and Faber).
- Prochaska, F. K. (1980) *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Prochaska, F. K. (2006), *Christianity and Social Service: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Proctor, R. (2014) *Building the Modern Church: Roman Catholic Church Architecture in Britain, 1955 to 1975* (Abingdon: Ashgate Publishing Company).
- Prothero, R. (2004) Stanley, Edward (1779–1849), bishop of Norwich. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Quinn, R. (2016) The Norwich Historic Churches Trust, returning churches to the community, in: N. Groves (ed.), *Redundancy and renewal: maintaining and using historic churches: selected papers from the Norwich Historic Churches Trust conferences 2014 and 2015* (Norwich, UK: Lasse Press).
- Redmonds, G. (1992) Settlement in Huddersfield before 1800, in: E. A. H. Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield : a most handsome town : aspects of the history and culture of a West Yorkshire town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Service).
- Richardson, M. (2017) 'Oh just think of Huddersfield, that's Christmas enough!': The Sex Pistols at Ivanhoe's, 25 December 1977. *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, (28).
- Roberts, M. J. D. (2008) *Making English Morals: Voluntary association and moral reform in England, 1787-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Robertson, I. J. M. 2012) *Heritage from Below* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Rochester, C. (2006) *Making Sense of Volunteering: a literature review* (London: Volunteering England on behalf of The Commission on the Future of Volunteering).
- Rochester, C. (2013) *Rediscovering Voluntary Action: The Beat of a Different Drum* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Rochester, C., Campbell Gosling, G., Penn, A., and Zimmeck, M. (eds.) (2011) *Understanding the Roots of Voluntary Action: Historical Perspectives on Current Social Policy* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press).
- Rodwell, W. (2012) *The Archaeology of Churches* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Amberley).
- Rodwell, W. and Bentley, J. (1984) *Our Christian Heritage* (London: Philip).
- Rose, N. S. (1999) *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (New York, NY; Cambridge, United Kingdom; Cambridge University Press).
- Royle, E. (1992a) Religion in Huddersfield since the mid-Eighteenth Century, in: E. A. H. Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield: a most handsome town: aspects of the history and culture of a West Yorkshire town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Service).
- Royle, E. (1974) *Victorian infidels: the origins of the British Secularist movement, 1791 - 1866* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

- Russell, D. (2005) *Popular music in England, 1840 - 1914: a social history* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press).
- Sage, D. (2012) A challenge to liberalism? The communitarianism of the Big Society and Blue Labour. *Critical Social Policy*, 32(3), 365–382.
- Samuel, R. (1994) *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso).
- Sheail, J. (1981) *Rural Conservation in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford: New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press).
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Snell, K. D. M. and Ell, P. S. (2000) *Rival Jerusalems : the Geography of Victorian religion* (New York: Cambridge University Press)
- Southworth, J. R. (2005) 'Religion' in the 2001 Census for England and Wales. *Population, Space and Place*, 11(2), 75–88.
- Spencer, N. and Court, A. (1990) *The Old Churches of Norwich* (Norwich: Jarrold).
- Squire, W. (2004) Bexfield, William Richard (1824–1853), composer. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Stamp, G. (1996) Twentieth Century Conservation Societies, in: M. C. W. Hunter (ed.), *Preserving the Past: the Rise of Heritage in Modern Britain* (Stroud: Alan Sutton).
- Strange, I. and Whitney, D. (2003) The changing roles and purposes of heritage conservation in the UK. *Planning Practice & Research*, 18(2–3), 219–229.
- Strong, R. (2008) *A Little History of the English Country Church* (London: Vintage).
- Sweet, R. (2004) *Antiquaries: the discovery of the past in eighteenth-century Britain* (London ; New York: Hambledon and London).
- Szreter, S. (2012) Britain's Social Welfare Provision in the Long Run: The Importance of Accountable, Well-financed Local Government, in: A. Ishkanian and S. Szreter (eds.), *The Big Society Debate: a New Agenda for Social Policy?* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar).
- Thompson, F. M. L. (1993) The Rise of Suburbia, in: R. J. Morris and R. Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City : a reader in British urban history, 1820-1914* (London ; New York: Longman).
- Thompson, I. A. (1992) The Development of Huddersfield's Town Centre from 1870 onwards, in: E. A. H. Haigh (ed.), *Huddersfield : a most handsome town : aspects of the history and culture of a West Yorkshire town* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Service).
- Thurley, S. (2013) *Men from the Ministry: How Britain saved its Heritage* (New Haven: Yale University Press)
- Tombs, R. (2015) *The English and Their History* (London: Penguin).
- Tomlinson, J. W. B. (2016) Ministry and History. *Theology and Ministry*, (4).

- Tomlinson, M. (2001) The Oxford Movement in Huddersfield. *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, (12).
- Townroe, P. (2004) Norwich Since 1945, in: C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Norwich since 1550* (London; New York: Hambledon & London).
- Victorian Society (2008) *Saving a Century: the Victorian Society, 1958-2008* (London: Victorian Society).
- Voas, D. and Crockett, A. (2005) Religion in Britain: Neither Believing nor Belonging. *Sociology*, 39(1).
- Wade Martins, S. (2018) *A Vicar in Victorian Norfolk: The Life and Times of Benjamin Armstrong (1817-1890)* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press).
- Wade Martins, S. (2015) *The Conservation Movement in Norfolk: A History* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press).
- Wade Martins, S. (1984) *A History of Norfolk* (Chichester: Phillimore).
- Wade Martins, S. and Williamson, T. (2008) *The Countryside of East Anglia: changing landscapes, 1870-1950* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press).
- Warner, R. (2010) *Secularization and its Discontents* (London: Continuum).
- Warrack, J. (2004) Bacon, Richard Mackenzie (1776–1844). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- Waterton, E. (2010) *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Waterton, E. and Smith, L. (2010) The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16(1–2), 4–15.
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds.) (2013) *Heritage and community engagement : collaboration or contestation?* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group).
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (2015) Introduction, in: E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds.), *Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Waterton, E., Watson, S., Waterton, E., and Watson, S. (2013) Heritage and community engagement: finding a new agenda, in: *Heritage and community engagement : collaboration or contestation?* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group).
- Weber, M. (1958) Science as a Vocation. *Daedalus*, 87(1).
- Webster, C. (2000) “Absolutely Wretched” Camdenian Attitudes to the Georgian Church, in: C. Webster and J. Elliott (eds.), *“A Church as it Should Be”: the Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence* (Stamford, Lincs: Shaun Tyas).
- Webster, C. and Elliott, J. (eds.) (2000) *“A Church as it Should Be”: the Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence* (Stamford, Lincs: Shaun Tyas).
- Weinstein, B. (2014) Questioning a Late Victorian “Dyad”: Preservationism, Demolitionism, and the City of London Churches, 1860-1904. *Journal of British Studies*, 53(2), 400.

- Welsby, P. A. (1984) *A History of the Church of England 1945-80* (Oxford: OUP).
- Wetherall, D. (1998) The Growth of Archaeological Societies, in: V. Brand (ed.), *The Study of the Past in the Victorian Age*, Oxbow monograph (Oxford: Oxbow for the British Archaeological Association and the Royal Archaeological Institute).
- White, J. F. (2004) *The Cambridge Movement: the ecclesiologists and the Gothic revival* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers).
- Whitehand, J. W. R. and Carr, C. M. H. (2001) *Twentieth-century Suburbs: a morphological approach* (London: Routledge).
- Whyte, W. (2007) The Architecture of Belief, in: J. Garnett, M. Grimley, A. Harris, W. Whyte, and S. Williams (eds.), *Redefining Christian Britain: post-1945 perspectives* (London: SCM Press).
- Wickham, E. R. B. of M. (1957) *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London: Lutterworth Press).
- Williamson, P. (2013) National days of prayer: The churches, the state and public worship in Britain, 1899-1957. *English Historical Review*, 128(531), 323–366.
- Wilson, B. R. (1966) *Religion in Secular Society: a Sociological Comment* (London: C.A Watts).
- Wolffe, J. (ed.) (2005) *Yorkshire Returns of the 1851 census of Religious Worship. Vol. 3: West Riding (south)* (York: Borthwick Publications).
- S. Wolferstan (2016), Ethnography of a 'Humble Expert': Experiencing Faro, in: Schofield, J. (ed.) (2016), *Who Needs Experts? Counter-mapping Cultural Heritage*, London: Routledge
- Wood, M. (1972) From the Bishop of Norwich, in: W. M. E. C. Harrod (ed.), *Norfolk Country Churches and the Future* (Norwich: The Norfolk Society).
- Woolf, V. (2000) *Between the Acts* Annotated ed. (London: Penguin).
- Wright, P. (2009) *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* Updated ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Yeo, S. (1976) *Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis* (London: Croom Helm).

Unpublished doctoral theses

- Baty, E. (1987) Victorian Church Building and Restoration in the Diocese of Norwich. University of East Anglia. Available online at: uk.bl.ethos.378592.
- Bradley, S. (1996), *The Gothic Revival and the Church of England 1790-1840*, (Courtauld Institute of Art, uk.bl.ethos.363044)
- Bullett, M. (2016), *Post-Reformation preaching in the Pennines: space, identity and affectivity*, University of Huddersfield, uk.bl.ethos.688341
- N. Groves (2010), *'The Restoration of Popery': the impact of Ritualism on the Diocese of Norwich, 1857-1910*, University of Wales, Lampeter

Holmes, K. (2002), *Volunteer and visitor interaction in the UK heritage sector: motives and benefits*, University of Leeds, uk.bl.ethos.250870

Law, A. (2004), *The Built Heritage Conservation Movement: Landscapes of Englishness and Social Class*, Newcastle University.

Moriarty, E. (2010) *The Great Famine : an Irish tragedy and its impact on the English town of Huddersfield from 1845-1861*. University of Huddersfield.

Watson, S. (2007), *Church Tourism: Representation and Cultural Practice*, University of York, uk.bl.ethos.490313 .

Yates, B. (2010), *Volunteer-run museums in English market towns and villages*, University of Gloucestershire, uk.bl.ethos.540075