

THE RESTORATION OF THE ROUND CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE

*Anthony Salvin's Work for the Cambridge
Camden Society, 1841–43*

by

Chris Miele

Historical Analysis & Research Team
Reports and Papers (First Series, 5)
1996



ENGLISH HERITAGE

Paul Edwards of the Anglia Team asked the Historical Analysis and Recording Team for an assessment of the restoration and refurnishing of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (the Round Church), Cambridge. This work was carried out between September 1841 and October 1843 to the designs of the architect Anthony Salvin who was himself working under the close supervision of the influential Cambridge Camden Society.

In particular Mr. Edwards wished to know whether the present open benches in the chancel aisles and in the chancel could be firmly attributed to Salvin, or whether they were added in 1845 when the then incumbent, the Rev. Faulkner, is known to have changed some features of Salvin's scheme, primarily replacing a controversial stone altar table butting against the east wall with a freestanding wooden holy table.

This request for research was triggered by recent discussions concerning the refurnishing of the Church, in which it was asserted that the oak benches were in fact not the work of Salvin instructed by the Camden Society but of a lesser-known designer instructed by Faulkner, and that, therefore, they were far less historically significant than has traditionally been assumed.

The principal aim of this research has been to establish which parts of the fabric can be firmly attributed to Salvin and which to Faulkner, and at the same time to outline the importance of the Camden Society in the history of nineteenth-century British architecture.

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Summary

- *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre (the Round Church), Cambridge was restored and refurnished by the architect Anthony Salvin under the direction of the influential Cambridge Camden Society. Work commenced in September 1841 and by the time of the Royal Visit on 23 October 1843 was largely completed.*

- *The Camden Society was eager that this project should be seen as a practical demonstration of its principles, particularly with regard to the use of medieval style and the furnishing of churches.*

- *Accordingly the nave of Holy Sepulchre was cleared of its late Georgian box pews. The upper stages of the tower, which had been rebuilt in the late Gothic period, were restored in a style sympathetic to the earlier Romanesque original. An entirely new south chancel aisle in a late Gothic style was constructed in order to provide increased accommodation for worshippers. Soon after this work was completed, it was discovered that the fabric of the chancel and north aisle were failing. Both were rebuilt in facsimile.*

- *It was the intention of the Restoration Subcommittee to accommodate worshippers in long open benches in 'the whole area of the north and south aisles', to quote from the faculty issued retrospectively in May 1843. Accounts of 1843 and 1844 describe the new bench ends as being carved in the manner of medieval 'poppy heads', exactly the manner recommended by the Camden Society. The benches which survive are ornamented in just such a fashion.*

- *Two features of the Salvin-Camden scheme led to a widely publicised controversy, the provision of a stone altar and credence tables. In November 1843 the incumbent of the parish, who had showed little interest in the progress of the works to this point, condemned them as contrary to Canon Law and demanded their removal. His legal challenge in the Consistory Court of Ely failed but the ruling was overturned on appeal to the Court of Arches in January 1845. Between April and August of that year he altered several features of Salvin's scheme: the stone altar and credence tables were replaced by wooden ones: low wooden altar rails enclosing the sanctuary were added; a reading and clerk's bench was formed in the choir area; a roof to match the authentic one to the north was installed in the south chancel aisle; a low wall was built around the churchyard.*

- *There is no evidence to suggest that Faulkner went to the expense of replacing the open benches installed under the Camden Society's direction. Their design and arrangement were certainly advanced but by no means contentious in the way that the stone altar table was.*

- *The crisis generated by the stone altar table led to the dissolution of the Camden Society and its re-establishment in London over the winter of 1845-46 as the Ecclesiological Society.*

I The Cambridge Camden Society and the Gothic Revival

In spring 1839 a group of Cambridge undergraduates who had been meeting for informal discussions on church architecture and archaeology undertook to put their association on a more permanent footing. The initiative came from three men in particular, John Mason Neale, Benjamin Webb and E. J. Boyce. In May they approached the Archdeacon of Bristol, the Ven. Thomas Thorp, a fellow at Trinity College and their tutor, in order to seek his approval and offer him the position of President in the new organisation, which he accepted. Soon after a public meeting was held in one of the lecture rooms at Trinity (most the young amateurs were Trinity men), and the Cambridge Camden Society (CCS) was born.¹ Just a few months before a similar group had been established at Oxford under the much more ungainly title of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study and Appreciation of Gothic Architecture (later shortened to the Oxford Architectural Society), though whether the Neale and his colleagues of Trinity were aware of this has yet to be established.²

The two groups differed on points of principle, but their overarching aim was to persuade architects and patrons wishing to build something in Gothic style to reproduce the ancient forms accurately. Both groups also contributed to the growth of architectural criticism and journalism, taking part in some of the most interesting and influential architectural debates of the nineteenth century. All major surveys of Victorian architecture discuss the contribution of the Cambridge 'ecclesiologists', as they were known, and excerpts from the Society's widely read house journal, *The Ecclesiologist* feature in university syllabi, particularly in departments concerned with building conservation.³

Even more than its sister society at Oxford, the CCS was a complete Gothic academy, offering hints on the details of medieval archaeology, critiquing new designs as well as restorations, and taking particular care to derive precise laws governing liturgical furnishings and arrangements. At bottom they were attempting to provide the architectural setting for the innovations of the Oxford Movement theologians, Froude, Keble, Newman, Pusey and others. This was in pointed contrast to Broad Church attempts to rationalise

¹ The standard historical account is to be found in James White, *The Cambridge Movement. The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1962). For founding see pp. 38-42 and *passim*.

² W. A. Pantin, 'The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, 1839-1939', *Oxoniensa*, vol. 4 (1939), 174-94. See also Chris Miele, 'The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture. The Restoration of Medieval Churches in Victorian Britain', Ph.D. Thesis (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University: 1992). pp. 487-530.

³ See, for example, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, 2 vols. (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), *passim*.; Stefan Muthesius, *The High Victorian Movement in Architecture, 1850-1870* (London: Routledge, 1972), *passim*.; Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Neoclassical and Nineteenth-Century Architecture* (New York: Abrams, 1980), *passim*.; and James Stevens Curl, *Victorian Architecture* (London: David and Charles, 1990), *passim*.

and modernise the traditional structure of the Church of England, attempts which had been spearheaded in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars by two parliamentary acts (1818 and 1825) and an accompanying Commission charged with the distribution of a lavish parliamentary grant for the purpose of Anglican church extension. The convening of the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1835 advanced the modernising tendency to which the Tractarians and Camdenians were strongly opposed. Both groups believed that the Church of England could only thrive through individual initiative, through a growth in zeal and piety. The Camdenians were convinced that medieval architecture and careful church arrangements were powerful inducements to faith. To them archaeological and architectural study were nothing less than missionary activities. The CCS set about defining a new sort of church archaeology, 'ecclesiology', a blend of conventional archaeology and art history with the study of church liturgy and furnishing.⁴ So important was this hybrid to the ethos of the CCS, that, after its relocation to London in 1845, it incorporated the word 'Ecclesiological' into its title.⁵

In church architecture the CCS initially followed the gospel of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852) whose *Contrasts, or a Parallel between the architecture of Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day* (1836) was a key text in the development of Camdenian thinking. Like Pugin the Camdenians loathed renaissance and neoclassical art, seeing all forms of classicism as the epitome of modern secular society and modern rationalism, the enemies of faith and piety, or so the argument went. This hatred of classicism was matched in intensity only by the Society's position on the Reformation, which it, again following Pugin (and, of course, the Tractarians), blamed for the decline of both religious architecture and religion. It had been fatal, the Camdenians maintained, to link religion to the state, and their mission was to decouple them. It is hardly surprising then, in view of these positions, that the Camdenian message was opposed by the Evangelical and Broad Church factions within the Church of England. (The Round Church was at the centre of just such a struggle.) Indeed, many High Churchmen were uneasy with such pronouncements, which might be interpreted as tending to Rome. It is true that the Camdenians offered crucial support to the fledgling Anglo-Catholic Movement, and in this sense its contribution to Anglican practice is still with us.

In its later manifestation, the Ecclesiological Society kept step with new architectural thinking, contributing to the emergence of the High Victorian ethos and even anticipating certain features of the Aesthetic Movement. At every stage in its long and tumultuous history (it ceased in December 1868⁶), the Society showed keen critical judgment, lending support to most of the figures who are now accepted as design innovators in the nineteenth century -- Butterfield, Bodley, Burges, Street, White, among others. These, in

⁴ White, pp. 48-79.

⁵ White, pp. 117-55, 198. Initially, it was 'Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society'. This was shortened to 'Ecclesiological Society' in 1852.

⁶ White, pp. 222-4. It was resurrected in 1879 as the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, with its activities centring around the Cathedral. Its brief was expanded to include all London in a final reorganisation of 1937, when the name was changed back to Ecclesiological Society, under which name it continues to operate to this day.

their turn, were eager contributors to the *Ecclesiologist*. So while it is certainly true that the Society's view were not representative, as recent scholarship has demonstrated, they were at least widely discussed. Like many extremists the Camdenians shifted the terms of debate in their direction.

The Camden Society publicised its views through its house journal, *The Ecclesiologist* (published from 1841) which contains reviews and detailed articles, written mostly by the two most active Camden committeemen, Neale and Webb, on every imaginable aspect of Anglican worship, from the relative merits of hymns over plainsong (which the CCS was seeking to revive) to medieval symbolism. As much attention was paid to the artistic and theoretical side of architecture as to the practical. Heating systems were discussed (the Camdenians were against them) as were the caustic concoctions and tools best suited to the removal of Georgian whitewash.

II. The Camden Society and the Restoration of Medieval Churches

The Society's most successful early publications touched on the question of medieval church restoration. The first, *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities ...* (1839) was an easy-to-use manual on church archaeology, offering a basic outline of the major periods and styles and 'Hints' on how to record them during the course of a church visit. By directing readers to imagine away post-Reformation accretions, it set them to thinking about how exactly one might set about restoring a medieval church. A series directed at churchwardens on *Churches and Church Ornaments* (1841) went further, advising those parishioners traditionally charged with the care of church fabrics to consider a comprehensive programme of repair and reinstatement, preferably according to the plans of a professional architect with a specialism in church work. Finally came *Church Enlargements and Church Arrangements* of 1843 which offered detailed advice on repair, restoration and reseating.⁷ The Society's motto, *Donec templum refeceris*, shows the importance it placed on church restoration.

During these years the Society also acted as an architectural adviser, reviewing plans for new churches and for church restorations submitted to them by clergymen-members. Roving correspondents were soon sending notices of churches and church restorations to the editors of *The Ecclesiologist*, which was renowned for its trenchant, acid reviews. Architects, for their part, quickly saw the professional opportunities and pitfalls presented by this group of self-appointed tastemakers, since by conforming to its principles they might tap a very deep well of Anglican patronage. (The Society had a high proportion of clergymen as members.) At times this led to hostile exchanges. On one occasion the journal's editors even went so far as to publish a list of architects 'Approved' and 'Condemned', though the resulting outcry prevented this from becoming a regular feature.⁸ The combative style put professionals on their guard. George Gilbert Scott went

⁷ Pp. 4-6, 11 and ff. Published at the University Press.

⁸ White, pp. 124-30.

out of his way to seek the approval of the Camdenians following an unfavourable review.⁹ He also took steps to ensure that future designs would conform to Puginian-Camdenian ideals as nearly as possible.¹⁰

III. The Reform of Church Seating and Seating Arrangements: John Mason Neale's History of Pews (December 1841)

In all of this the Camden Society paid as much attention to the purely architectural side of church restoration as it did to the fitting out of restored interiors, and no one showed more interest in this subject than John Mason Neale, easily one of the Society's most prolific contributors. In that same autumn of 1841 which saw Salvin clearing the nave of Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge of its Georgian fittings, Neale was busily composing *The History of Pews*, which was read to 7 December and published later that month. A second edition followed in 1842 and a much enlarged third edition the following year.

Neale's object was to tell 'a painful tale of our downward progress', of how the modern 'love of comfort and ease, and a pharisaical desire of separating themselves from their neighbours', had led the English to subdivide their churches into tiny fiefdoms of comfort. Through exhaustive documentary analysis he showed that pews had been introduced in the seventeenth century, had in fact only rarely been used in medieval interiors. Motivating this scholarship was a desire to purge all church interiors of bulky box pews, which, by reducing the seating capacity of church naves, had forced the poor, who could not afford pew rents, away from religion or into Nonconformist chapels, at least in Neale's estimation. In this way a seemingly innocent piece of joinery had alienated the working classes from the Established Church, laying the foundation for the social unrest which, in the early 1840s in particular, seemed to threaten armed insurrection.

Ancient architecture had also suffered in the process, since pews spoiled the proportions of church interiors -- the Camdenians believed that medieval architects had employed carefully considered proportions, many of them of mystical or symbolic significance -- and in some instances actually defaced historic fabrics. Their inefficiency as forms of seating -- always much too large for their requirements, according to Neale -- had very often led to the construction of galleries which obscured the ancient architecture still further.

Neale argued that his medieval forebears had for the most part stood during church services. Some interiors might well have had a few simple chairs in a manner still found in French churches. In a few instances long benches designed along the model of open choir stalls had survived. Neale assiduously tracked down examples, making careful notes on their design, dimensions, and placement (Appendix I). Since his Victorian audience was unlikely to want to stand in church or even to sit in Continental style, Neale advised

⁹ Letter to E. J. Boyce, 30 November 1841, ScGGS, British Architectural Library, Royal Institute of British Architects, London.

¹⁰ David Cole, *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott* (London: The Architectural Press, 1980), pp. 22-3 and ff.

long benches closely modelled on the surviving examples. He presented these conclusions as if he had arrived at them on his own, when in fact this form of seating had been gaining ground steadily during the 1830s and had by 1841 even come to be recommended by the moderateive the Incorporated Church Building Society.

Neale advised that the overall form of the ancient examples should be followed in the main, but thought the old dimensions might be improved according to notions of liturgical propriety and what today might be called 'ergonomic efficiency'. His results were set out in the lengthy appendix to the *History*, the 'Statistics of Pews' which demonstrated how it was possible to increase the seating potential of an 'average church' (a nave of 42 x 7 1/2 feet; aisles of approximately 7 feet wide) by some 20% simply by replacing bulky pews with lean, efficient benches.¹¹ First Neale assumed that each worshipper took up no more than 18 inches on the bench; he reckoned that no more than 2 1/2 feet was needed back to front, so long as the bench was not higher than a yard. Such narrow dimensions would only work assuming that worshippers would 'overhang' the seat in front when kneeling.¹² These calculations were refined over the next two years, in subsequent editions, and then revised in *Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement* (1843), where Neale stated that benches made according to his dimensions saved 30% to 50% over conventional pews.

From the very first edition of *The History of Pews* Neale had a clear idea of what these benches ought to look like. First, they should be made of oak, not the softwood used for box pews. The cost *per* yard of material would be dearer, but since the ancient methods of construction were more efficient than those of the eighteenth century, the final cost *per* worshipper would be less. He published cost estimates obtained from a local builder, Messrs Bradwell.

He called for ornament to be restricted to the bench ends, which ought to be carved as poppy heads. This would bring the cost of an average bench to 16s. If the ends were left plain in the interest of economy, then the carpenter should be instructed to finish them in the 'general form' of a poppy and parishioners encouraged to pay for ornamental carving.¹³ Through the 1840s the Society recommended poppy heads as the most appropriate ornament for a bench end, and it is surely significant, therefore, that the bench ends at Holy Sepulchre are treated in this way, with the most common pattern resembling an example illustrated in an article titled 'On Poppy Heads' and published in *The Ecclesiologist* for June 1846 (opposite page 209; see fig. 8).

¹¹ His *History of Pews* was published with an appendix titled 'A Report presented to the Society on the Statistics of Pews'. It was revised in later editions. An tabular extract of his results was published separately in *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 2 (1842), p. 125.

¹² Neale, *History*, 53-9.

¹³ Neale, *History*, pp. 59-60.

IV. The Collapse of the Round Church in August 1841 and the Involvement of the Camden Society

The Camden Society sought the opportunity to put their high-minded theories into practice. Early attempts were of necessity modest: the restoration of a font at Coton Church outside Cambridge; the removal of roughcast from St. Benet's Church in Cambridge; and, later, the restoration of a font cover at St. Edward's.¹⁴ Early in 1841 Neale managed to persuade the Fellows of Magdalene College to allow him to assist the architect John Chessel Buckler in the restoration of St. Nicholas, Old Shoreham.¹⁵ It was good experience for Neale but not very effective publicity, since few people were likely to travel to this remote corner of Sussex. What the Society needed was a building both well known and prominently placed. Before the end of the year the right opportunity would present itself.

In mid August 1841 the south nave aisle of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge, also known as, the Round Church, collapsed. It was a most venerable and unusual piece of architecture, then thought to be the earliest of four surviving churches built with round areas at their west ends.¹⁶ Thomas Thorp's research showed it to have been built just after 1100, well before the Knights Templars made their spirited defence of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.¹⁷ Recent research has since shown it to be somewhat later, with the site being granted to an otherwise unknown 'fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre' sometime between 1114 and 1130. Pevsner observed that the details of the church suggest a date at the end of this period.¹⁸

Architecturally distinctive and situated in one of the busiest parts of the town, the Round Church was part of the standard tourist itinerary, despite being enclosed by a very high wall.¹⁹ It would have had special significance for the Camdenians, for its unusual shape, harkening back to the site of the first Christian sacrifice, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, symbolised the Camden Society's heartfelt desire to locate the Anglican Church firmly in the larger Christian tradition. Thomas Thorp would say only that the Society took an interest in the Church because it reproduced a series of venerable

¹⁴ White, pp. 160-1.

¹⁵ Noted in *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 1 (1841), pp. 12-3. Neale's collaboration is described in greater detail in the first and only volume of *Society Transactions, 1839-41*.

¹⁶ The other three being the churches at Little Maplestead, Essex, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Northampton, and the Temple Church, City of London.

¹⁷ Thomas Thorp, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1844), pp. 3-10.

¹⁸ *The Buildings of England. Cambridgeshire*, ed. N. Pevsner (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970 ed.), p. 230.

¹⁹ As illustrated in the Rev. J. J. Smith's *The Cambridge Portfolio*, vol. 1 (London and Cambridge: Parker's and Deighton's, 1840). Loose print in Cambridge Central Library, Cambridgeshire Collection, M.Sep.J40*3632.

prototypes stretching back in time, ultimately, to the Pantheon, whose circular form and details were thought to 'symbolise the natural heavens'.²⁰ It is no wonder that when the work of restoration was finished in 1844 the Society incorporated an image of the Church into the seal which they commissioned from Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (fig. 5 and cover detail).

Soon after the collapse the parish vestry initiated basic repairs -- rebuilding the wall and some underpinning²¹ -- but these did little to solve the fabric's long-term problems. Nothing had been done to prevent the loss of the solid gravel on which the bases of the nave piers and outer walls rested. The gravel had been sapped by successive generations of burials too near the slight Romanesque foundations.²² Ominous bulges in other places of the south wall suggested further damage was likely.²³

At this point, in late August or the early part of September, 'some members of the University approached the parish vestry' with a proposal²⁴: the Camden Society would undertake to provide most of the funds for a more thorough restoration if the parish agreed to a special Restoration Subcommittee consisting of key Society members in addition to the two vestrymen and the curate, the Rev. Dalton. The incumbent and Rector, the Rev. Richard Rowland Faulkner²⁵, had the opportunity to attend but declined. Although he had been installed to the living of Holy Sepulchre in 1825, he had spent most of his time at his other living at Havering-atte-Bower in Essex, or so it was reported.²⁶

²⁰ *Holy Sepulchre*, pp. 6-7.

²¹ Bill for £17.0.7 presented to the vestry by one James Peacock, builder, on 23 August. Cambridge County Record Office, Shire Hall, Castle Hill, Cambridge (hereafter CCRO), P21/5/15.

²² Statistics collected by the local authority in 1842 showed that its tiny churchyard was full to bursting and could accept no more interments. List of Cambridge Parishes regarding the State and Extent of Burials in Churchyards, CCRO, P21/6/5. A new city-wide burial ground at Mill Road was begun in the early 1850s. CCRO, P21/6/6; Holy Sepulchre was officially closed to interments by Order of the Privy Council Office on 26 April 1855, CCRO, P21/6/7.

²³ Anon. [Cambridge Camden Society, Subcommittee for the Restoration of the Round Church], *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre or the Round Church, Cambridge* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1842), p. 4.

²⁴ (CCS, Subcommittee for the Restoration), *Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1842), p. 4.

²⁵ Admitted to St. John's in 1818, he was the son of the Rev. E. L. Faulkner, Rector of St. John's Clerkenwell. He was vicar of Holy Sepulchre from 1825 until his death in 1873. He was installed at Havering in 1834. *Alumni Cantabrigiensis, 1753-1900* (1954).

²⁶ Thomas Thorp, *A Statement of Particulars connected with the Restoration of the Round Church by the Chairman of the Restoration Committee* (Cambridge and London: Deighton's and Rivington, 1845, p.4.

The parish, being both small and poor, accepted the Camden Society terms. It promised £300 towards the initial estimate of £1000; however, as things turned out they had to borrow even this from the President of the Camden Society, the Archdeacon Thorp, who was also a member of the Restoration Subcommittee.²⁷

V. Anthony Salvin and the Plans for the Restoration: Structural Repairs and Archaeological Reconstruction

Almost at once the Subcommittee retained the architect Anthony Salvin for the work. The precise details of how the commission came to him have not been recorded; however, it is most likely that he was recommended by Alexander Beresford Hope who was a member of the Camden Society and would later go on to champion the Gothic Revival and High Church Toryism. Salvin had come to Hope's attention through work at a church in his patronage, Christ Church, Kilndown, in Kent. This preaching box of a building was kitted out with all the latest ecclesiastical furnishings from 1839, with Salvin contributing designs for painted glass and a stone altar.²⁸ Here his work could be compared favourably with the two darlings of the Camden Society, the architects Richard Cromwell Carpenter and William Butterfield, whom Hope would later promote for the restoration of St. Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury and still later for the design of All Saints's Margaret Street in London.

Prior to being appointed to the Cambridge job, Salvin's only brush with restoration had come in 1830, when he was charged with restoring the south transept at Norwich Cathedral and coming up with a major refurnishing scheme for the choir. With such a relatively slight background in church architecture Hope's support must have been crucial, since Salvin's ecclesiastical works of the 1830s do not betray the sort of scholarly tendencies which the Camden Society advocated.²⁹

Salvin concluded that the entire church would have to be underpinned with concrete in order to avoid further collapse. The Romanesque groin vaulting in the round aisle was in very poor condition, the result, he surmised, of the vibrations set up by bell ringing, so this too would have to be rebuilt. Then there was the round tower, which seemed to him on the verge of total collapse, its masonry shattered by the bells. The late Gothic belfry recorded in early nineteenth-century views (fig. 2) had to be taken down to the nave

²⁷ The parish paid the money back in instalments between 1844 and 1850. Vestry Minutes, P21/8/1, 1844, 1845, 25 April 1848, and Easter 1850.

²⁸ Jill Allibone, *Anthony Salvin, Pioneer of Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1988), pp. 115-6. See also White, pp. 156-7. Thomas Willement designed the stained glass at Kilndown and at the Round Church.

²⁹ Holy Trinity, Ulveston, 1828-32; St. Paul's, North Sunderland, 1830-33; Holy Trinity Church, South Shields, 1832-4; St. John's Church, Shilden, Durham, 1833-4; St. and John the Evangelist, Keswick, 1836-8. From Allibone, *ibid.*

corbel table.³⁰ (The old bells were sold in 1845.³¹) The present bell tower at the west end of the north aisle was not initially planned and does not appear in the lithographic view of the Church which the Society published in 1842 (fig. 4). It was added by Salvin in autumn 1842 when the north aisle was also being rebuilt.³²

The removal of the late Gothic bell stages provided the opportunity to restore the Norman tower to its 'original' appearance. The evidence informing his reconstruction was slim in the extreme, precisely one clerestory window on the north side of the round.³³ The level of conjecture is apparent if one compares his design of 1842 with the paper reconstruction published by the Cambridge antiquary James Essex in 1782 (fig. 3).³⁴ Although the overall forms are roughly similar, the details are quite different. This is most noticeable in the treatment of the eaves, which in Salvin's design are rudely formed from exposed rafter ends but in Essex's are covered over neatly by a handsome and very Georgian-looking parapet.

There is no mention of new furnishings in any of the earliest documentation relating to the project, but we can be sure that Salvin intended to clear the round of its clutter of box pews. An interim report published in 1842 describes a new south chancel aisle, built to match a late Gothic one to the north, and necessary only to provide a place for benches lost in the clearing of the nave.³⁵ The exact form this new seating would take, its overall disposition as well as the details of its design, was not decided upon until spring 1843, as we shall see. Nevertheless we can be absolutely sure that the Subcommittee, packed as it was with Camden Society members, wanted something conforming to the ideals which Neale had set out so forcefully in his *History of Pews* of 1841- 1842.

The progress of the works can be followed in the Society's influential journal, *The Ecclesiologist*. By November 1841, the month Salvin was made an honorary member of the CCS, the late Gothic tower had been taken down to the nave corbel table (Vol. 1, 1841-2, pp. 5-6). The new drum of masonry was raised and the timber frame of the conical cap raised by December (pp. 29-30). On the inside of the church whitewash was removed. By January 1842, the nave was ready to receive encaustic paving; a pattern based on ancient examples was being discussed (pp. 51-2) but action was deferred until the building work was completed. That spring the workmen were building the tower groining; the decision was taken to replace the ancient arch into the chancel with a

³⁰ [CCS, Subcommittee for the Restoration], *Holy Sepulchre* (1842), p. 4. See also Thorp, *Holy Sepulchre* (1844), pp. 1-5.

³¹ P21/24/12a, CCRO. To the Rev. H. Winsor of St. Paul's Armitage Bridge, Huddersfield.

³² Thorp, *Holy Sepulchre* (1844), pp. 19-20.

³³ [CCS, Subcommittee for the Restoration], *Holy Sepulchre* (1842), p. 4.

³⁴ James Essex, 'The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge', *Archaeologia*, vol. 6 (1782), pp. 163-78, interleaved fold-out plate.

³⁵ [CCS, Subcommittee for the Restoration], *Holy Sepulchre* (1842), p. 5.

modern design in the late Gothic style (p. 115). At about this time the south aisle was completed.

By May 1842 (pp. 143-4) works were proceeding in the east end. Here the architect had made a terrific blunder. At first it had been assumed that the north chancel aisle could be retained, but on closer examination it became clear that it would have to be rebuilt entirely, since the red brick core and masonry facing were 'much decayed, and pierced by square-headed windows divided by wooden mullions, presenting altogether a painfully offensive contrast to the rest of the fabric [the new south aisle and newly rebuilt round], now restored in appropriate architectural character'.³⁶ The north aisle was rebuilt in facsimile, with the addition of a polygonal bell turret at its west end. The east wall of the chancel turned out to need rebuilding as well, so that by the close of 1842 the east end of the Church was left with three equal gable ends.³⁷

This was all slightly embarrassing to the Subcommittee, first because it demonstrated that Salvin's initial plans had not been based on a very detailed fabric survey and second because had the Society known that the north aisle was in such poor condition it would have decided to restore the east end in a Romanesque style to match the round. Excavations showed that there had been some Romanesque work to the east of the round; some carved fragments were even discovered which could have been used to inform a reconstruction (May pp143-4). As things stood, with the south chancel aisle was roofed over, binding them to the initial plan of having a building with two distinct phases, Romanesque and Perpendicular. These new circumstances also drove the project even further over budget. By the close of 1842 the initial estimate of £1,000 had already been exceeded by £1,400, and this before any money had been spent on the furnishing of the church.³⁸ (Final costs set out in Appendix II.)

By November 1842 the rebuilding of the east end was 'proceeding rapidly' (Vol 2 pp. 58-9) with the walls being completed up the window sills. The roofs were on by the end of March 1843, by which point the Society's funds were exhausted (p. 130). The last piece of architectural work was the design of a pierced screen between the clerestory gallery of the round and the chancel. As the scaffolding came down, it would have clear to all that something like 60% or 70% of the once medieval church was new, and even those areas of masonry which had been left standing had been scraped down in order to remove Georgian whitewash in the interest of producing a uniform finish.

³⁶ [CCS, Subcommittee for the Restoration], *Holy Sepulchre* (1842), pp. 5-6.

³⁷ [CCS, Subcommittee for the Restoration], *Holy Sepulchre* (1842), pp. 5-6.

³⁸ [CCS, Subcommittee for the Restoration], *Holy Sepulchre* (1842), pp. 6-7.

VI. *The Interior Furnishings*

By August 1842 the Restoration Subcommittee was beginning to consider plans for the interior and its furnishings, according to *The Ecclesiologist* (pp. 202-3). At this early stage the members of the Subcommittee would say only that they

... earnestly desire to pave the whole building with encaustic tile; to fill the five remaining clerestory windows [three ancient windows were in place by August] with stained glass, and all those in the circular aisle and Chancel, with stained glass; to provide a Font worthy of the church, and **oak poppy-head benches** ... [No emphasis in original.]

The quality of this work was to be high so that the interior arrangements would meet the standards set by the architectural work. 'The Committee will not be satisfied without its being furnished with (to say the least) a suitable provision for the celebration of either sacrament'. The lack of funds was not to stand in the way. Until enough money could be raised the works would proceed 'on the personal security of those engaged in conducting it'. There would be no application to the Incorporated Church Building Society, which for the Camdenians epitomised a soulless bureaucracy imposed by the state. Their actions would 'set an example in this as well as other particulars, of the duty incumbent upon all church restorers, of doing every one of his own works as well, and as far, as he can'.³⁹

A Subcommittee meeting to consider Salvin's detailed proposals for the interior was held in March 1843: the 'style and position of the font ... the dimensions and arrangements of the seats; the character and position of the reading desk and pulpit; the encaustic pavement; and so on'.⁴⁰ The Subcommittee was concerned that the incumbent, the Rev. Faulkner, approve the final arrangements. So a special meeting with him was scheduled for 4 May 1843, when Salvin's estimates would be ready. Since Faulkner could not attend, it was rescheduled for 5 May.⁴¹ Then

*[t]he whole projected arrangement of the interior, as described in the proposed estimates of Mr. Salvin, which were then read [sic], was deliberately and inquisitively talked over [sic], with the express object of obviating all chance of future difference ...*⁴²

Faulkner was pleased with the way the work was going, writing to Thorp on 8 May to express his gratitude to the Society: 'It is certainly a matter of much moment that now all

³⁹ [CCS, Subcommittee for the Restoration], *Holy Sepulchre* (1842), p. 7-9.

⁴⁰ Thorp, *A Statement of Particulars* (1845), p. 7.

⁴¹ Elliot Rose, 'The Stone Table in the Round Church and the Crisis of the Cambridge Camden Society', *Victorian Studies*, vol. 10 (September-June, 1966-67), pp. 119-44, at pp. 127-8.

⁴² Thorp, *A Statement of Particulars* (1845), p. 8. See also note 5 on page 86, in which the seating arrangements are explicitly mentioned.

parties concerned in the internal arrangements be of one mind, and after your remarks of the happy and friendly meeting the other day there cannot, I think, be much doubt respecting it. I am sure that I shall be delighted with the restoration'.⁴³

Unfortunately, Faulkner had not been told about two very important furnishings, probably less by accident than design, although the truth may never be known. On 4 May, the day before he had come down to Cambridge for the rescheduled meeting, the Subcommittee had decided to ask Salvin to provide a design for a stone altar table and a credence table in response to an anonymous donation of £50.⁴⁴ Salvin's simple design and altar arrangement was published in *The Ecclesiologist* for 1845 (fig. 6). The Camdenians seem not to have anticipated that to make these two features of stone would lead them into difficulty, generating the controversy that eventually forced the Society's dissolution. *The Ecclesiologist* for September 1843 blithely reported that the furnishings were nearing completion. There is no mention of the stone features, though there is a brief description of the benches:

fittings of the choir and aisles will be low open sittings with carved poppy heads, exactly in the ancient style, and not a single pue [sic] will be reserved in any part of the Church. The new work is now in a forward state ... (p. 21)

The interior was complete by 25 October 1843, the date of a Royal visit. After this only minor points remained, principally the provision of an oak roof to the new south chancel aisle. (This was provided between April and August 1845 and paid for by Faulkner himself. The design copies a surviving medieval roof in the north aisle.)

VII. Thorp's Description of the Church, 30 March 1844

The most detailed description of the Church in its finished state is to be found in Thomas Thorp's 1844 pamphlet which is dated 30 March.⁴⁵ By this date the eight clerestory windows in the nave and the corresponding ones in the round aisle were filled with stained glass. Four of the former were the work of Thomas Willement, and the rest were composed of fragments of ancient glass. Willement also provided the original east window and one window in the nave aisle. The others in the nave aisle were the work of William Wailes of Newcastle. The walls were plastered to accept fresco, although the only surface decoration that seems to have been undertaken was the east face of the wall separating nave from chancel (see fig. 11).

The encaustic pavement in the nave (the gift of an 'individual') was by Chamberlain's and consists of 'interlacing circles'; lest the pattern seem too monotonous Salvin relieved the device with plain glazed red tiles. There were 'flowered tiles' around the font in the aisle passages. The new font was placed on the site of the old one, between two piers on the northwest side of the nave. It is made of Caen stone. There is no mention of the present

⁴³ Thorp, *A Statement of Particulars*, (1845), p. 13, as quoted in Rose, p. 128.

⁴⁴ Rose, p. 128.

⁴⁵ Thorp, *Holy Sepulchre* (1844), pp. 12-3, 15, 20, 25-6.

font cover, which may be later. An early twentieth-century photograph (fig. 11) shows a simple stencil pattern in the chancel which may have been Salvin's as well. These decorations were removed c1920.⁴⁶

The chancel and its aisles, 'which have been entirely rebuilt in the late Perpendicular style of the former fabric' are

fitted with uniform open oak sittings, with carved poppy heads. The pulpit, of carved oak, on a low base of stone, and with stone steps, stands at the southeast [it was moved in 1920s to its present position; see below]. The reading desk is also oak, in the form of two lecterns, facing each the west and the south. The Altar and Credence are of Caen stone. The whole of the pavement is encaustic tiles; the aisles of plain red, the Altar platform and central passage of flowered tiles arranged in patterns, with tablets of evangelical symbols, the Royal Arms, and others. The two Altar-steps have an inscription ... The East window, of three lights, is of very fine painted glass by Mr. Willement ... Above the chancel arch, which has been entirely rebuilt, and has yet to be furnished with a screen [never provided], is rich and beautiful pierced stonework of four-centred Tudor tracery which shows the dark of the round nave with the finest effect ...

The roof of the new south aisle is at present only the outer high-pitched covering of plain work: it was intended, if possible, to finish it uniformly with the rest. The vestry is formed by the lower stage of the octagonal bell-turret placed at the northwest angle of the north aisle ... The whole of the interior is plastered with a peculiar cement, capable of receiving fresco paintings at a future time.

VIII. The Controversy over the Stone Altar Table and the Dissolution of the Cambridge Camden Society

The Rev. Faulkner attended the Royal Visit to the newly completed church on 25 October 1843 and, according to Thomas Thorp, had nothing particular to say about the finished work. However, a week later Faulkner wrote Thorp a letter (dated 1 November) in which he expressed shock at the presence of a stone altar in the chancel. This feature, he asserted, was completely contrary to the rubrics of the Church of England. 'I allude to the *Stone Altar-Table, fixed to the wall* [sic], which I do consider to be an innovation at variance with the Canon Law ... I hope you will use your influence with the Society to remove it forthwith'.⁴⁷ News of the dispute spread and had the effect of encouraging those who had been hostile to the Society since its founding to come out against it. Suddenly, in that winter of 1843-44, the entire Camdenian cause came under threat.

Meanwhile Thorp tried to persuade Faulkner that the table was not 'at variance with Canon Law'. The Restoration Subcommittee met on 21 November to diffuse the situation

⁴⁶ W. Trelice Adams, *The Round Church of Cambridge. A Short History* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1930), p. 11.

⁴⁷ Rose, p. 130.

and to persuade Faulkner that it had not meant to deceive him. It was pointed out to him in a letter that this table had received the sanction of the Bishop, who had issued a faculty licence for the works retrospectively in May 1843.⁴⁸ Faulkner grew belligerent, threatening legal action against his churchwardens. He attended a vestry meeting on 29 February 1844 to talk the matter through, but he was outvoted and left. On 17 April Faulkner brought suit in the Consistory Court of Ely to overturn the faculty.⁴⁹ As this progressed the dispute mushroomed, providing the focal point for the Society's critics. Thorp's May 1844 address to the Society hinted that it might soon have to be dissolved.⁵⁰

In July the Chancellor of Ely upheld the earlier faculty and issued a special licence sanctioning the stone altar and credence tables. Faulkner, undeterred, appealed to the Court of Arches. Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, Dean of Arches, delivered his judgment in *Faulkner v. Litchfield and Stearn* on 31 January. He found for the appellant, Faulkner, and refused the special faculty granted by the Chancellor of the Diocese five months before. The Subcommittee considered an appeal to the Privy Council but decided against it, as the Society's patrons began to waver in their support, particularly in the wake of Newman's Tract XC and increased fears that neo-medievalism was the first step on the path to Rome. The CCS committee began seriously to consider whether or not to end its association with the University. It survived a vote of confidence that spring.⁵¹ However, by the winter it had been dissolved, only to be reconstituted as the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society in London in May 1846.

IX. Faulkner's Alterations to Salvin's Scheme

The Archdeacon of Ely ordered the churchwardens to remove the offending items in a letter dated 8 April 1845 and make the fabric ready for reopening as soon as possible. Faulkner oversaw the changes. *The Cambridge Chronicle* for 14 June reported that the communion table, altar rails, and other unspecified decorations would be completed shortly.⁵² The new woodwork was made by one J. Wentworth.⁵³ Predictably *The Ecclesiologist* did not approve, describing the altar table as having 'flimsy buttresses for

⁴⁸ The phrase 'a new communion and credence table of stone' is to be found in the Faculty, stamped 20 May 1843, P21/24/3a, CCRO. The resolutions of the 21 November 1843 Subcommittee meeting are recorded in P21/24/5-7.

⁴⁹ Judgment of the Rt. Hon. Herbert Jenner Fust, Kt., Dean of the Arches, *The Stone Altar Case*, ed. from the Judge's notes by J. E. P. Robertson, DCC Advocate (London: W. Benning and Co., 1845), p. 2. See also *English Reports*, vol. 143 (1845).

⁵⁰ Rose, p. 132.

⁵¹ Rose, pp. 135-7.

⁵² As quoted in *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 4 (July 1845), pp. 194-5.

⁵³ Photocopy of clipping from *The Cambridge Chronicle* (?), Miscellaneous items from an exhibition, P21, CCRO. The clipping is dated 10 August 1845.

legs, and cockniy [sic] spandrels'.⁵⁴ In a sense they were right to criticise, because Wentworth's work, while competent and attractive, is a decidedly old fashioned design for its date, seeming more Regency than Victorian. The medieval details are delightful but not scholarly in the way that the Camden Society demanded. By comparison the surviving poppy head carvings are more convincing reproductions of medieval originals.

Not all of what Faulkner did was contrary to the Camden Society's intentions; his altar rail for example, the retrospective faculty of May 1843 records the churchwardens's desire to provide an altar rail 'so long as the present arrangement of the interior chancel remains, namely undivided by screens from the chancel aisles and the nave'.⁵⁵ The roof to the south chancel aisle paid for by Faulkner, which is based closely on the surviving medieval roof to the north aisle, would also certainly have pleased the CCS. On balance though the Society strongly disapproved. A correspondent to *The Ecclesiologist* (1845, pp. 194-5) noted that Faulkner had also reinstated some of the memorial tablets removed by the Camdenians in the south chancel aisle. The correspondent judged the commandment boards to either side of the east window (fig. 7) a desecration. What would follow next? Would Faulkner turn the benches into 'pues' or place the clerk's desk before the altar'?

We can be sure that any major alterations to Salvin's open benches would have been reported by the Society in its journal. *The Ecclesiologist* kicked up a fuss over a relatively minor alteration to the choir seating, where Faulkner formed what the journal referred to as 'reading and clerk's pue' in the choir seats.⁵⁶ Instead there is no mention, either in *The Ecclesiologist* or in any of the newspaper clippings in the local history collection, of changes to the benches. The high wall formerly enclosing the churchyard had by this time been taken down. Faulkner had a low one built crested with a cast-iron railing.⁵⁷ All this was done by August 1845, when the church reopened. In the following year Faulkner installed a barrel organ by Dawson of Castle Street, Cambridge.⁵⁸ This was installed at the west end of the south aisle, which necessitated the removal of three or possibly four of Salvin's benches (fig. 10).

X. Conclusions about the Present Furnishings

Did Faulkner remove or radically alter Salvin's poppy head benches? The evidence presented above can only suggest that he did not.

The features which he introduced were

⁵⁴ Vol. 4 (1845), p. 217.

⁵⁵ P21/24/3a, CCRO.

⁵⁶ *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 4 (1845), p. 217.

⁵⁷ Newspaper clipping dated 10 August 1845, P21 Miscellaneous items for an exhibition, CCRO.

⁵⁸ Newspaper clipping dated 29 August 1846. P21, Miscellaneous items for an exhibition, CCRO.

- the removal of the stone altar and credence tables, and their replacement with wooden altar furniture
- the remounting of memorial tablets in the south chancel aisle
- the erection of Commandment Boards
- the removal of three or possibly four of Salvin's benches at the west end of the south chancel aisle in order to make room for an organ installed in 1846
- the removal of two lecterns placed by the Society -- almost certainly not fixtures -- and their replacement with a 'reading and clerk's bench'
- the completion of a low stone wall enclosing the churchyard with a railing of cast iron
- the provision of a carved wooden roof to the new south aisle, the design based on the surviving roof to the north.

The absence of evidence to the contrary does not categorically prove the present benches and seating arrangements are Salvin's. However, when this negative evidence is taken together with a few other facts the case for attributing the benches to Salvin becomes compelling, namely:

- although Neale emphasised the originality of his 'Statistics of Pews', open benches roughly similar to what he was recommending in the early 1840s were first introduced in the previous decade and were even being recommended by the Incorporated Church Building Society, of whose aims the Camdenians generally disapproved. In short, open benches were an uncontroversial feature in the first half of the 1840s.
- given the importance of this project as a practical demonstration of the Society's principles, we can be sure some mention would have been made of any major alterations to the benches; instead there is no mention of any such work in the Society's house journal, *The Ecclesiologist*.
- wholesale replacement of Salvin's benches would have required considerable expenditure; there is no trace of any such expenditure in the Vestry Minutes or related parish documents. The parish was a poor one and Faulkner was rarely in attendance.
- a new seating arrangement would have required a faculty; none for a new seating arrangement has come down to us.
- the decision handed down by the Court of the Arches in January 1845 mentions only the altar furniture not the seating.

This amalgam of Salvin-Faulkner survived until the early years of this century and is recorded in a seating plan of c1900 (figs. 10 and 11). In 1919 a parishioner offered £60 for 'beautifying the east end as a memorial' to the war dead. The vestry obtained designs from an architect, a 'Mr. Atkinson', for wall decorations and carved panels of oak. His plans were ready in April 1920. The east end was subsequently cleaned and some stenciling (fig. 11), almost certainly designed by Salvin, painted out. Small changes were made to the furnishings, the most substantial of which was the positioning of Salvin's pulpit in its present location at the foot of the east wall in the south chancel aisle (See figs. 10 and 11).⁵⁹ One of Salvin's benches was removed to make way for the pulpit.

Other Nineteenth-Century Works

In 1864 some minor repairs to the roof of the Round Church were required.⁶⁰ The next year brought equally slight works to certain areas of the round aisle and talk of installing heating. A modest system was installed over the winter.⁶¹ In 1891-92 came a small vestry entered off the north chancel aisle, with a leaded roof and cathedral glass. The estimate drawn up by Bell and Sons, Builders, Cambridge, came to £300.⁶²

Dr. Christopher Miele
Architectural Historian
Historical Analysis and Research Team
English Heritage

May/June 1996

⁵⁹ Vestry Minute Book, 1845-1920, entries for 20 August 1919 and 9 April 1920, P21/8/1, CCRO. See also W. T. Adams (1930), p. 11.

⁶⁰ P21/6/2, CCRO.

⁶¹ P21/24/13-15, CCRO.

⁶² P21/6/3, CCRO.

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3. James Essex's reconstruction of Holy Sepulchre as published in 'The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge', *Archaeologia* vol. 6 (1782), pp. 163-78. Source: Society of Antiquaries, London.
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12. Contemporary view of the bench ends.

Appendices

I. Statistical table compiled by John Mason Neale showing dimensions of surviving medieval benches. Published in *The Ecclesiologist*, 1842, p. 125. Source: Society of Antiquaries, London.

Appendix I

Name of Place.	Apart.	Total Height of Standards.	Width of Standards.	Width of Seat.	Height of Seat.	Height of Back.	Height of Kneeling Board.	Width of ditto.
	r. in.	r. in.	ft. in.	r. in.	r. in.	r. in.	r. in.	in.
KETTON, RUTL.	3 7 2 11}	4 0	1 6	1 3	1 3	2 9	1 9	5
BASTON, LINC.	2 6	2 7½	1 3	10-11 in.	1 4	2 6		
CRESTERTON,	3 0 3 6}	3 3	1 5	11-12-13 in.	1 4	2 4	1 6-7	6
IMPINGTON....	2 5	3 6	1 6½	1 0	1 4	2 3	0 9	7
HISTON	3 5 3 2}	3 2	1 4-5	12-14 in.	1 6	2 5		
FLETON, HUNTS.	3 7	3 6	1 2	0 11	1 5	2 6	1 5	9
STANGROUND, HUNTS.	3 6	3 7	1 2	0 11	1 4	2 7		
DROOMFIELD, SOM.	2 10	2 9	1 4	1 0	1 6½	3 1½	0 5	5½
BISHOP'S LYD, SOM.	2 6-2 8	2 7	1 4	0 11	1 5	3 0½	0 8	8
COTHELSTONE, SOM.	2 11	2 9	1 4	1 0	1 5½	2 10	0 2	7
BAGBOROUGH, SOM.	2 2½	3 10	1 4	0 11½	1 8	3 1	0 10	6½
FULBOURN	2 4	3 10	1 2½	0 11	1 5	2 7	1 9	4½
LANDSEACH ..	3 9 3 2}	3 2	2 1	1 0	1 4 1 6}	3 2	1 10	9½
COMBERTON ..	4 0 3 10 3 8}	3 3	2 0	1 1	1 4 1 9}	3 3	1 6 1 10}	7
TOFT.....	4 0 3 6}	3 5	1 7	1 1-2	1 3 1 6}	2 4-6	1 7	7
HARLTON	3 4 3 6-7}	2 6½ 3 0}	1 9 2 0}	0 10 1 0	1 4 1 7	3 4 3 6-7}	1 7 2 0}	7

Appendix II

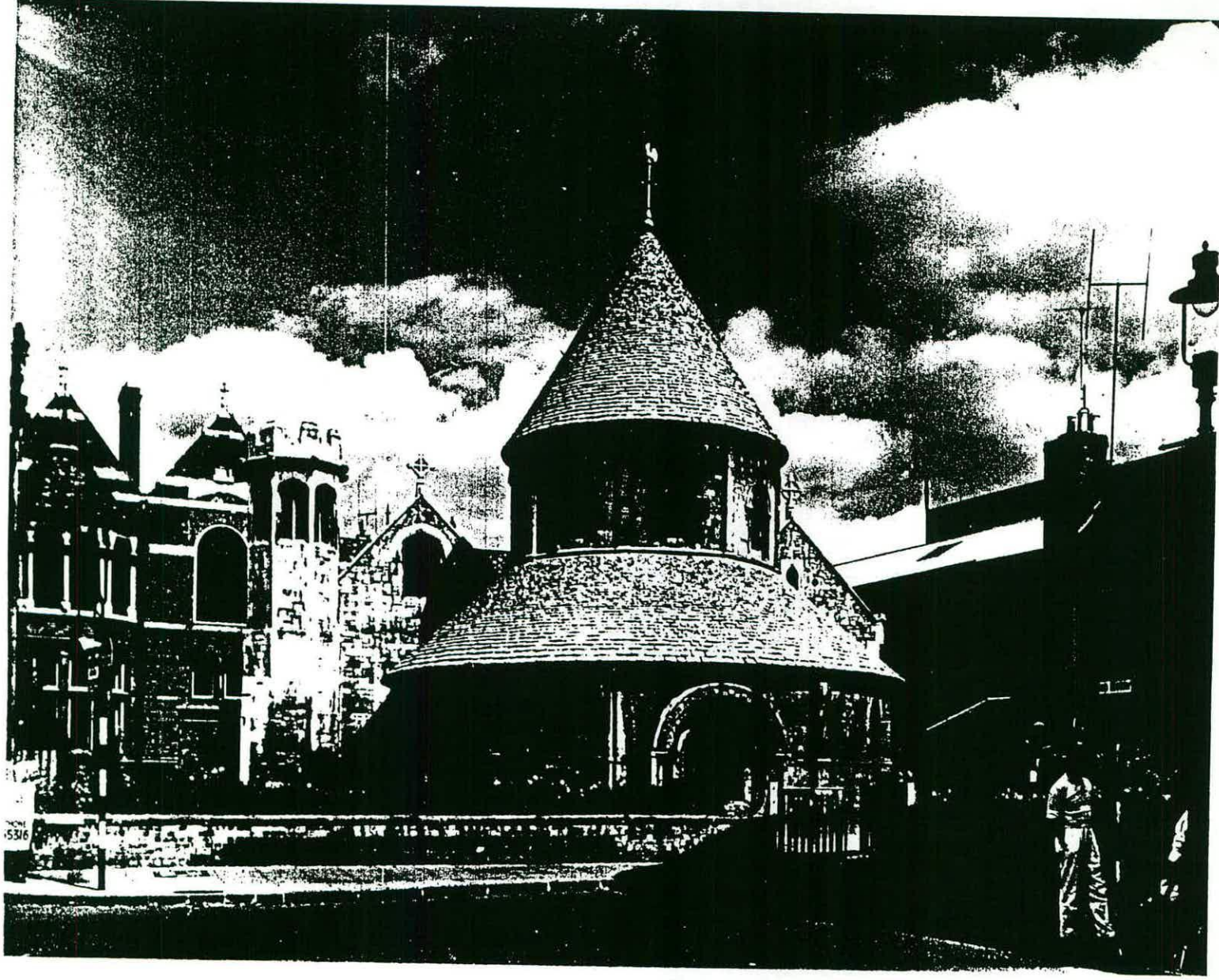
II. Record of expenditure incurred by the Cambridge Camden Society in the restoration and refurnishing of Holy Sepulchre. Source: Thomas Thorp, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1844), pp. 25-6.

Contractor's Account (Peck's)	3093.17.1
Encaustic Tiles, Chamberlain's including laying	292.7.0
East Window, Th. Willement	160.8.3
Clerk of Works	236.0.3
Stained Glass misc.	30.0.0
Sundry	109.3.0
Total:	3921.16.5
plus 5% for architect and travelling expenses. The architect has foregone his commission.	
Subscriptions received	2634.5.3
Outstanding	1287.11.2

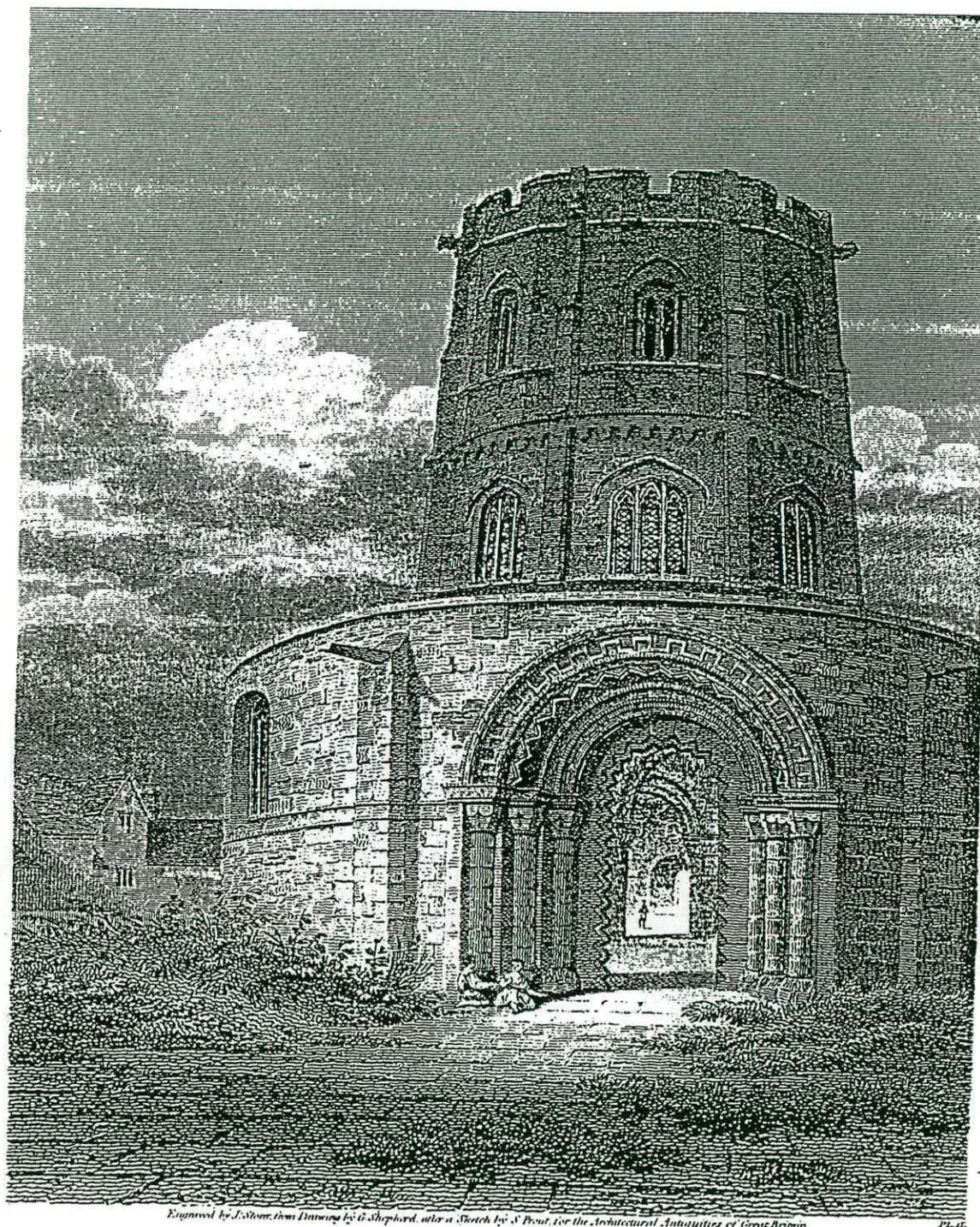
Breakdown of Salvin's Account, paid to Peck, the Contractor.

Eight clerestory windows	50.8.0
Four windows in the aisle of the round.	19.0.0
New South Aisle	355.0.0
Chancel and North Aisle	458.0.0
Stone screen over Chancel	65.0.0
Oak Benches	154.13
Font	25.0.0
Oak Pulpit with stone steps	34.16
Lecterns	14.19

Source: Thomas Thorp, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge*, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1844), pp. 25-6.



1. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge, as photographed in 1952. Source: National Monuments Record, RCHME.



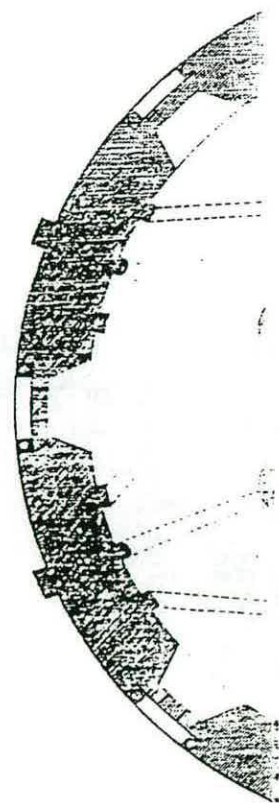
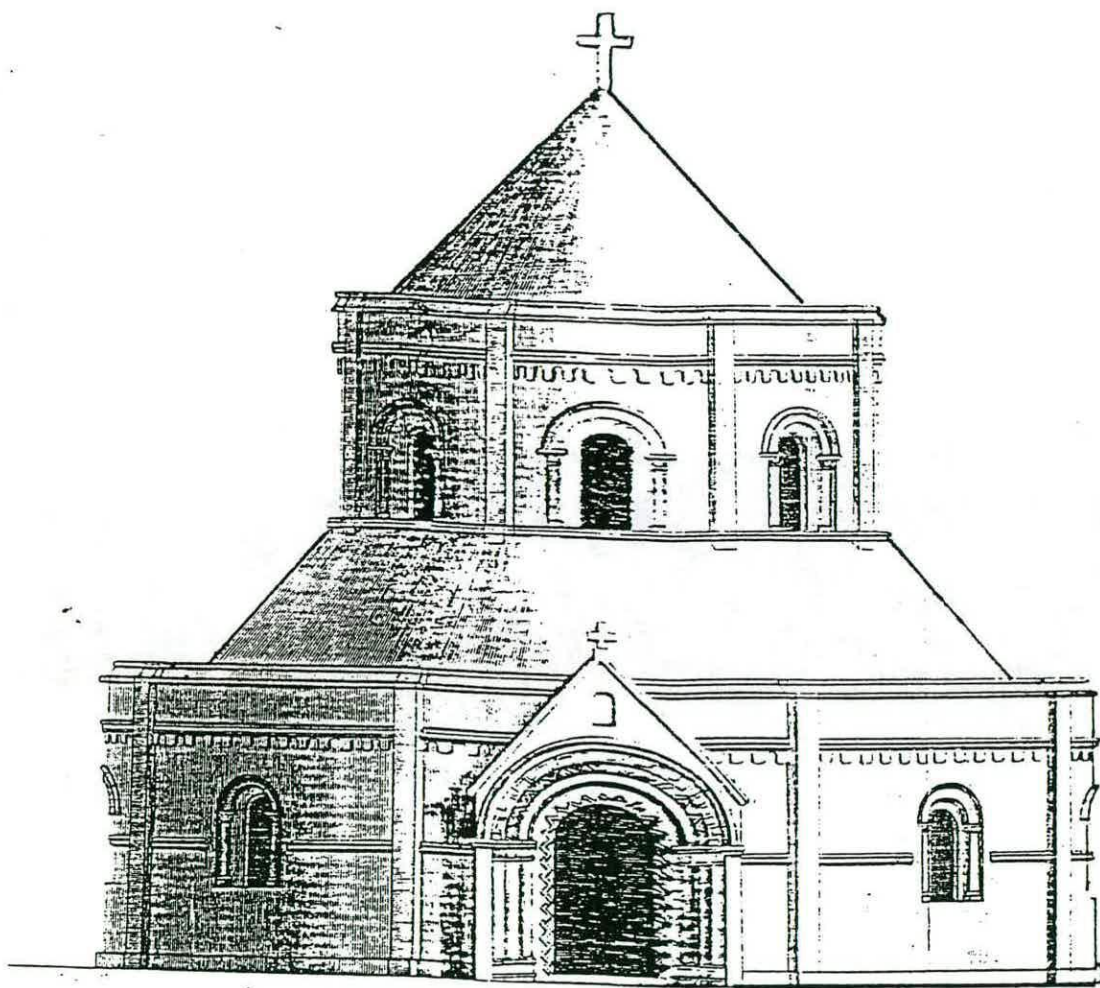
Engraved by J. Stone, from Drawings by G. Shepherd, after a Sketch by S. Prout, for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain.

**ST SEPULCHRE'S CHURCH,
(Western Entrance.)
Cambridge.**

To the Rev.^d DR. LEECH, F.R.S., Editor of the New Cyclopaedia &c. this plate is inscribed as a memento of the Author's respect & esteem.

London, Published Dec^r 22. 1805, by Longman, Hurst, Bosc & Co. Printers for J. Taylor High Holborn, J. Britton, Tavistock Place.

2. Holy Sepulchre as drawn by S. Prout in 1805 and published in John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* ... Source: Cambridge Central Library, Cambridgeshire Collection.

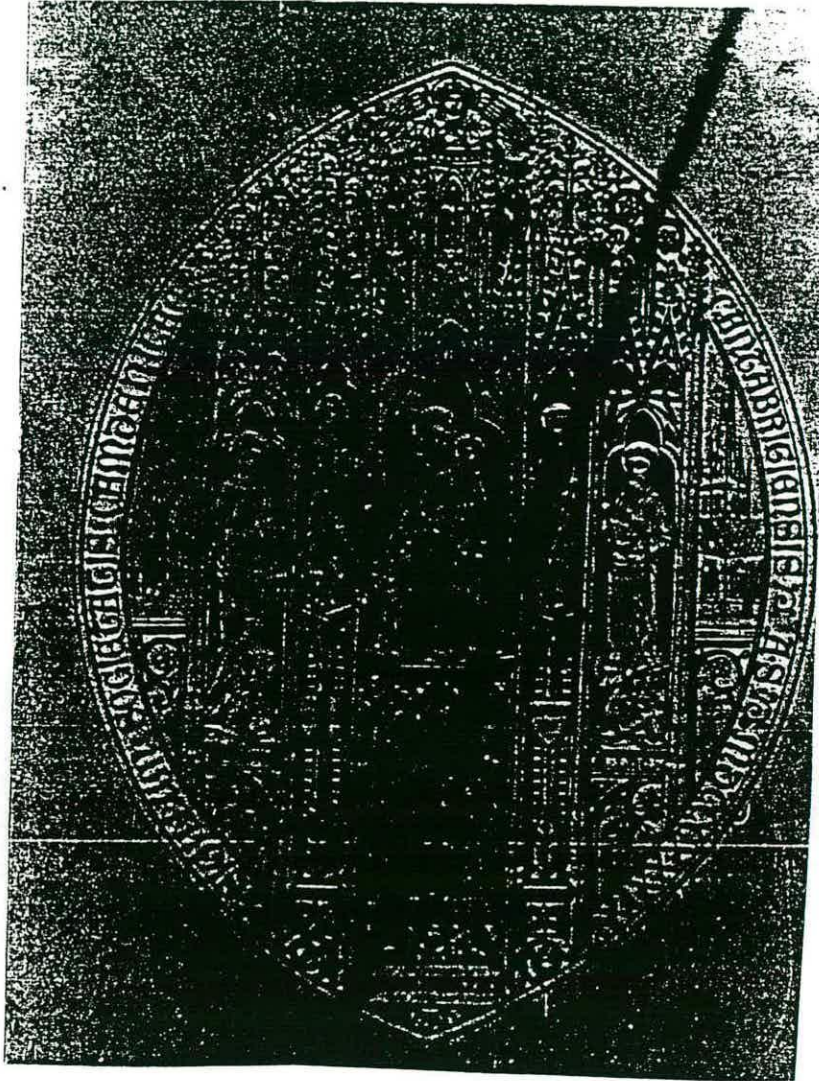


The Church of the

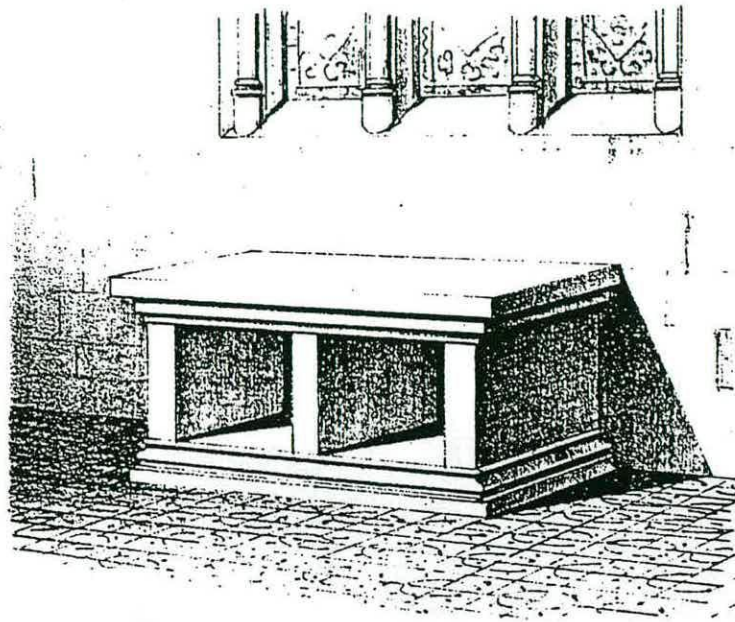
3. James Essex's reconstruction of Holy Sepulchre as published in 'The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge', *Archaeologia* vol. 6 (17date), pp. 163-78. Source: Society of Antiquaries, London.



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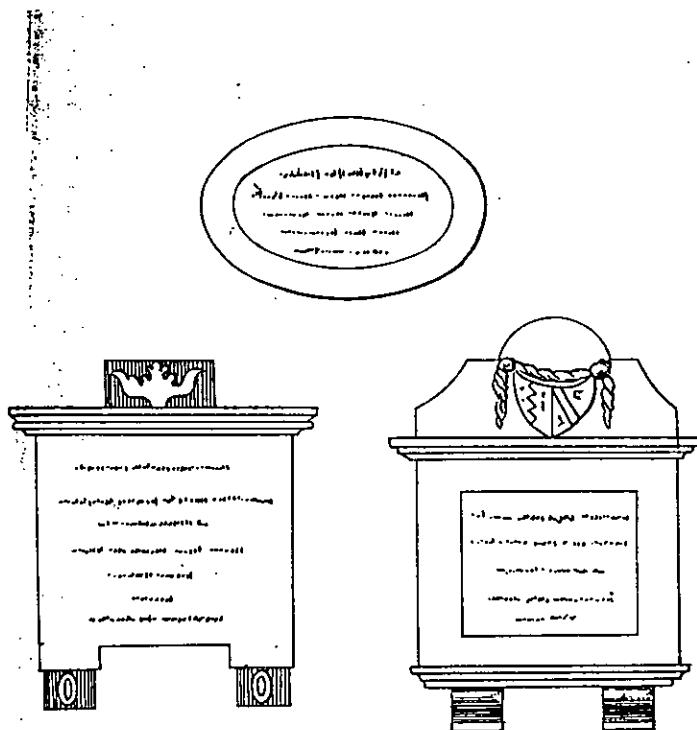
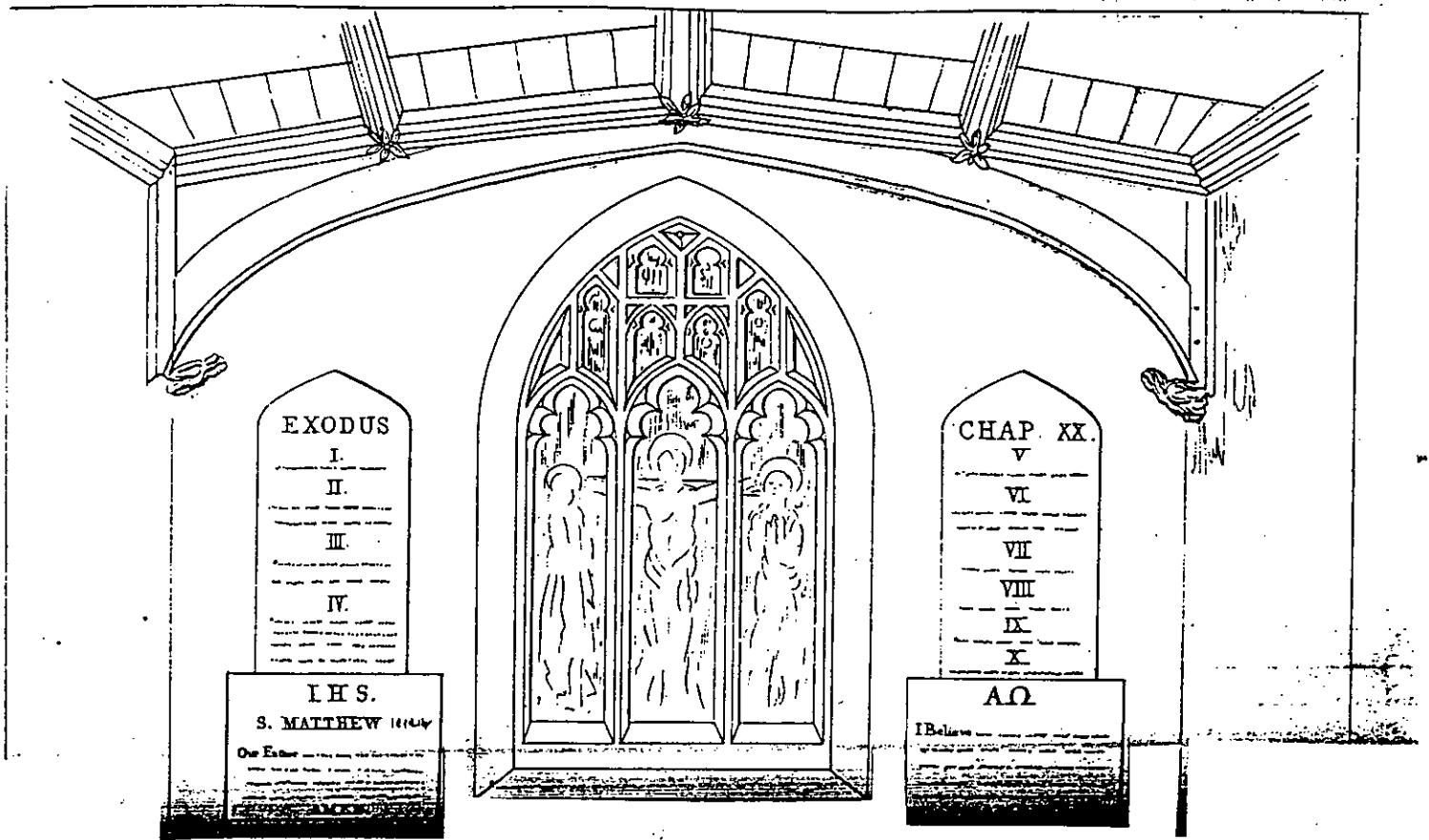


5. Engraving of the Cambridge Camden Society seal, designed by A. W. N. Pugin in 1844, and published in *The Ecclesiologist* for that year. Source: Society of Antiquaries, London.

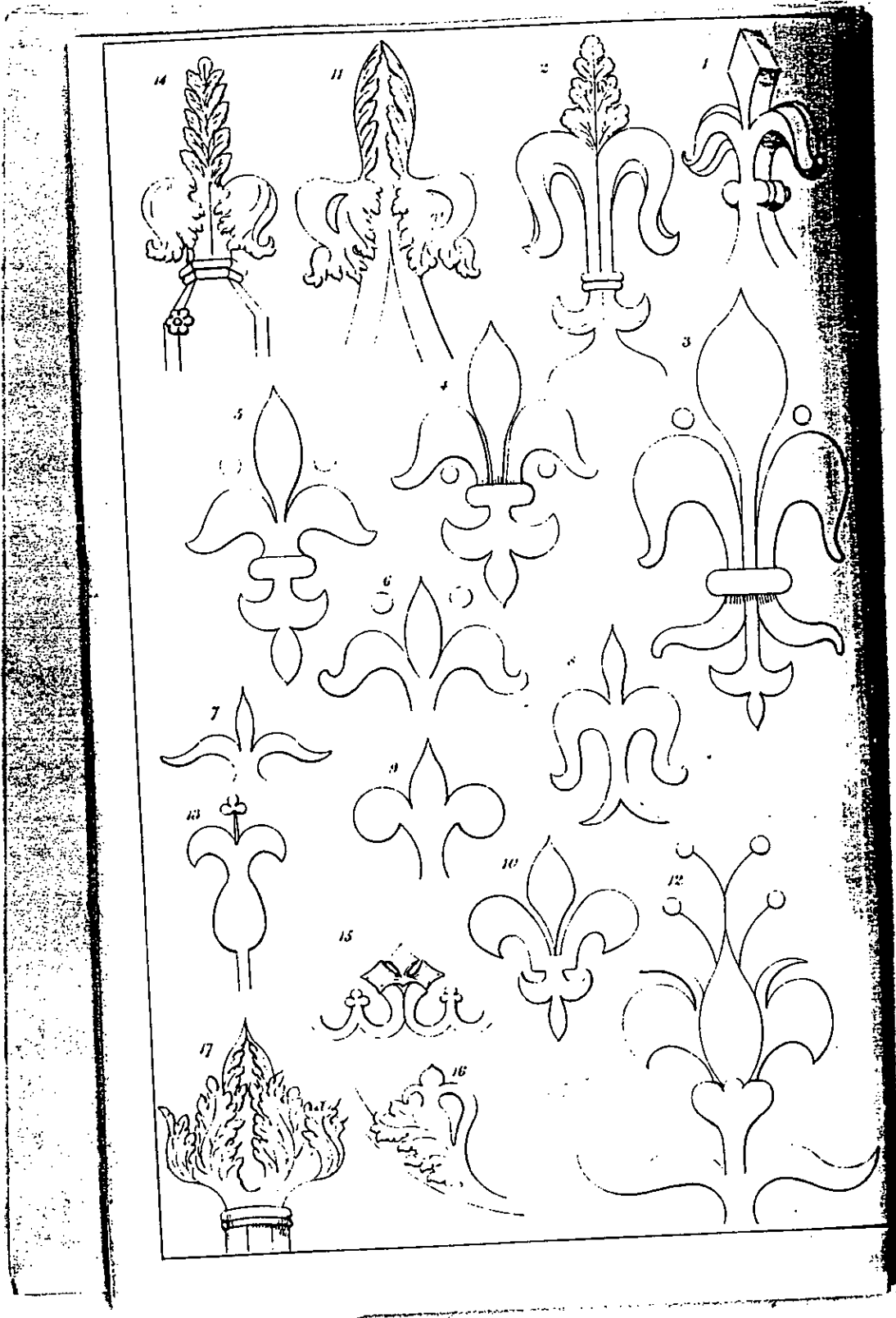


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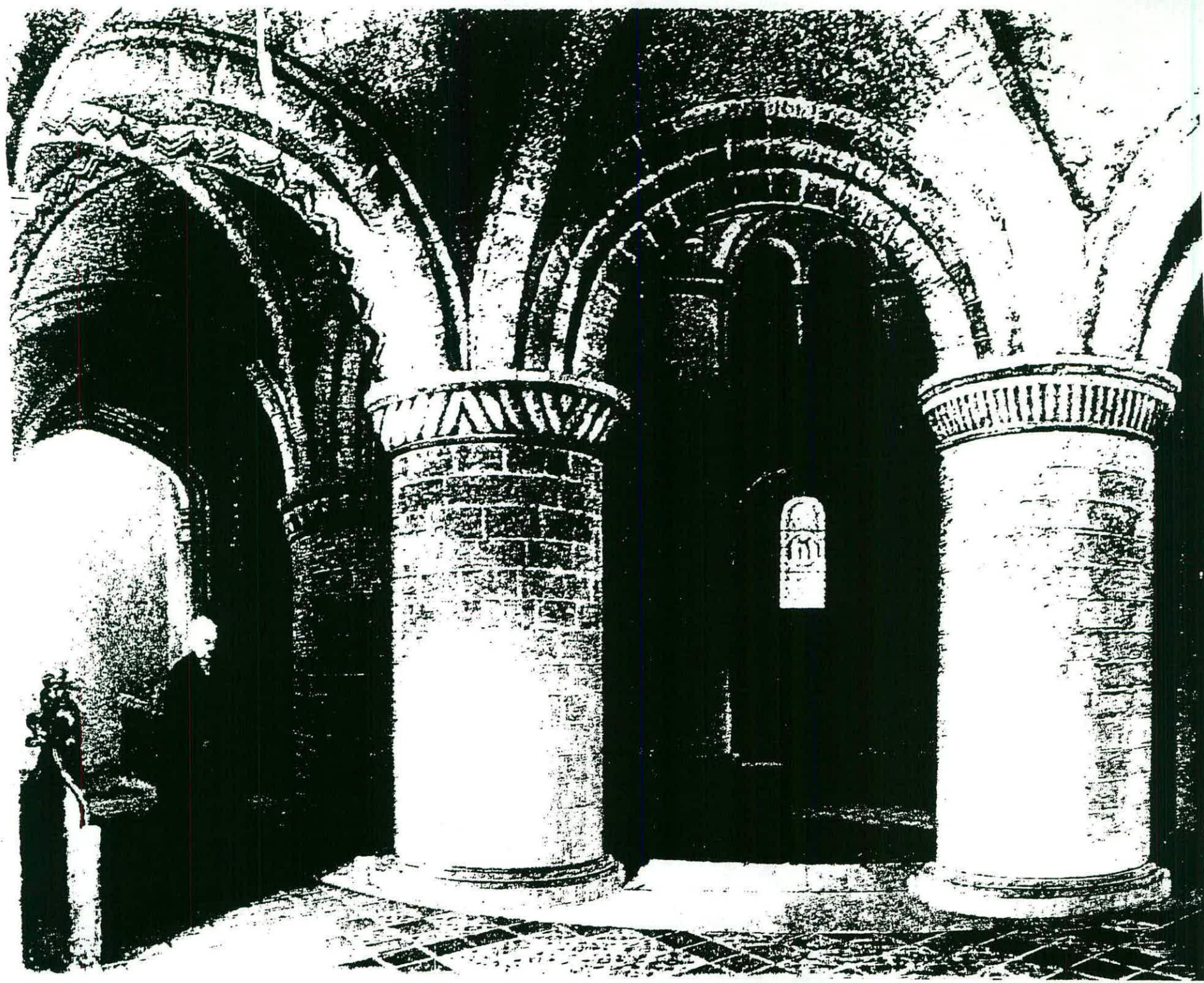
6. Plate from *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 4 (1845), interleaved pp. 84-6, showing the stone altar table installed in Holy Sepulchre in 1843 and later removed by the Rev. Faulkner. Source: Society of Antiquaries, London.



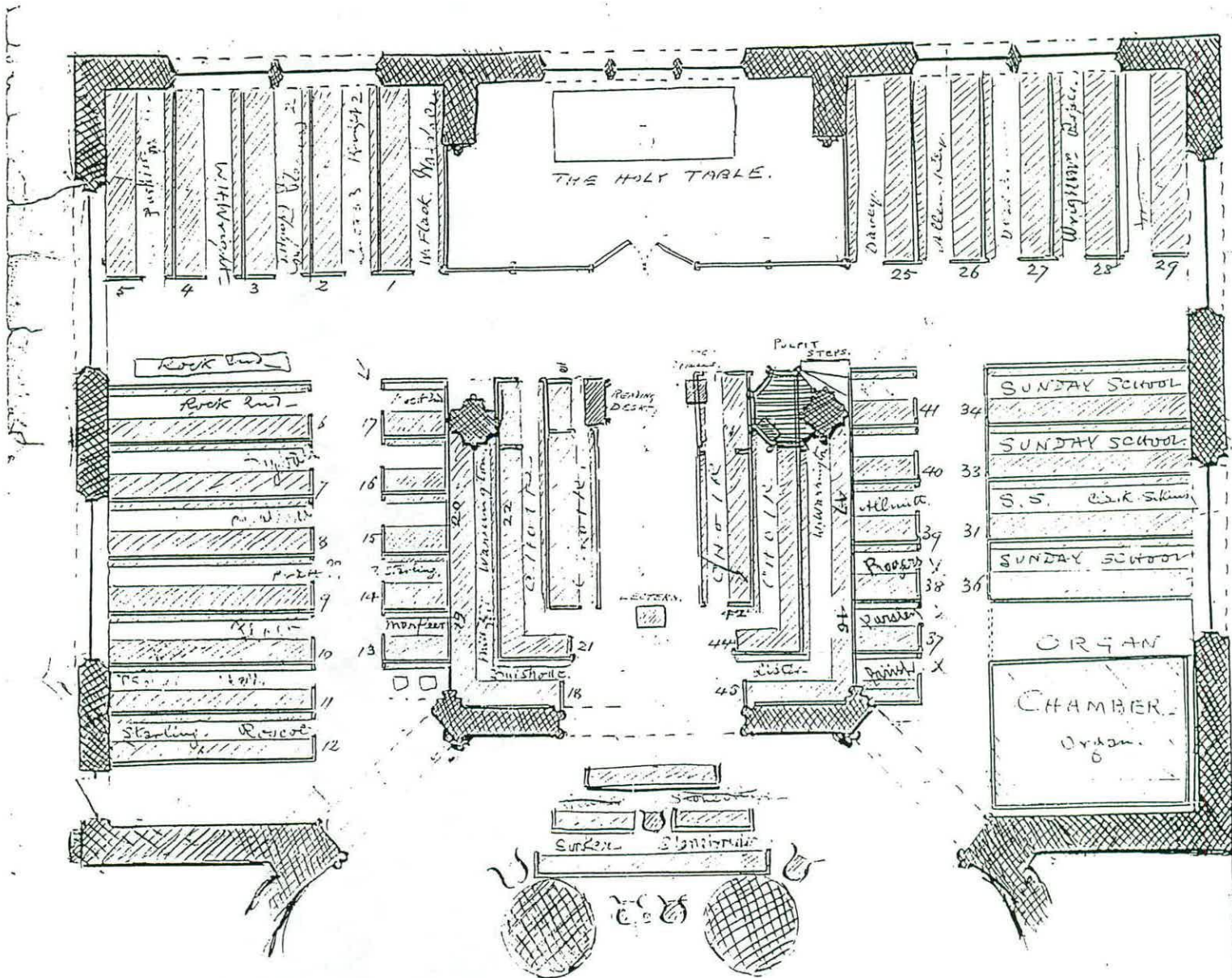
7. Plate from *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 4 (1845), interleaved pp. 194-5, showing the Commandment Boards installed by Faulkner and the memorials reinstalled in the south chancel aisle. Source: Society of Antiquaries, London.



8. Plate from *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 5 (1846), interleaved pp. 208-9, serving as the frontispiece to 'On Poppy Heads'. Source: Society of Antiquaries, London.



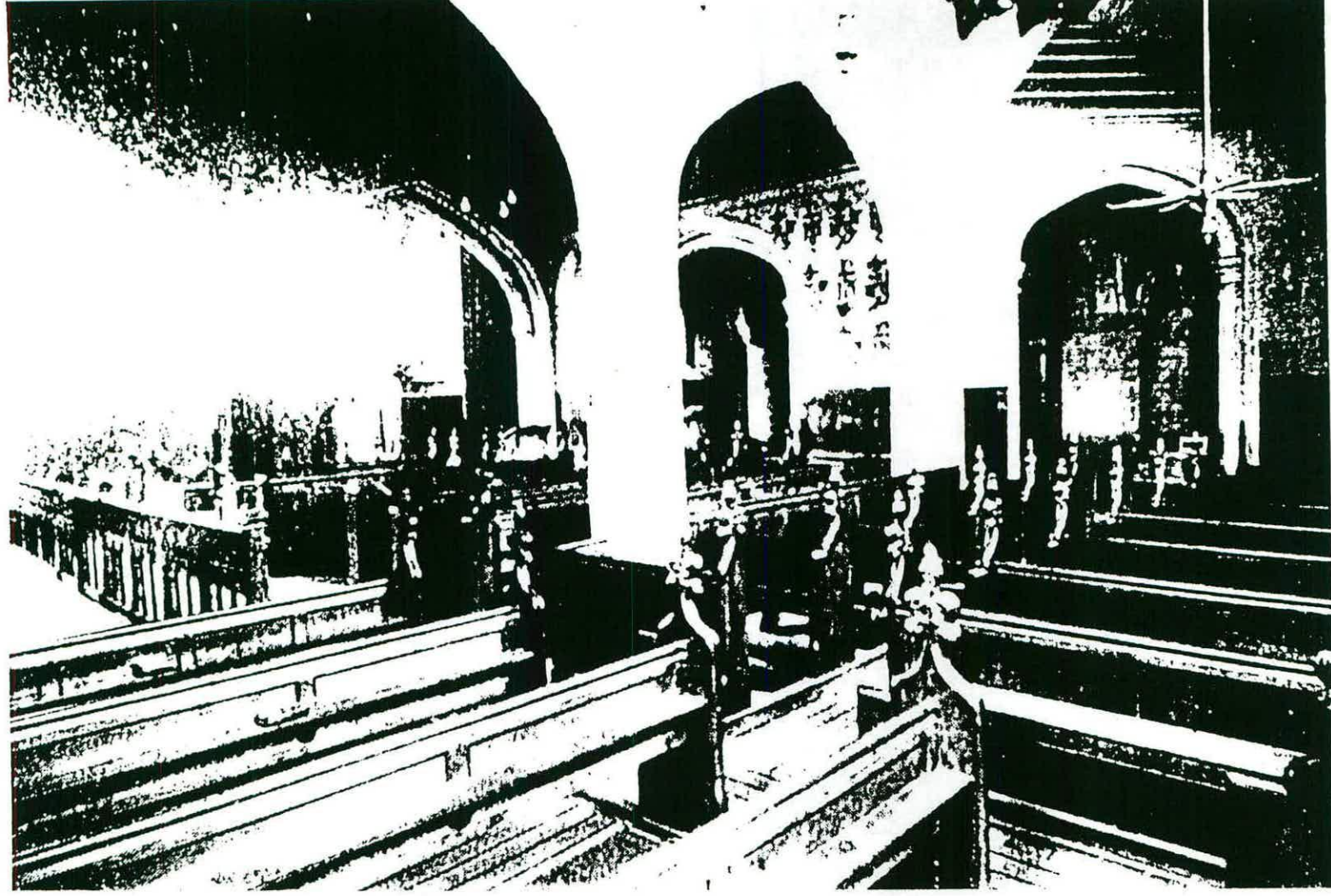
9. Engraving of the restored interior, Holy Sepulchre, published in the 1847 edition of *The Cambridge University Almanac*. Source: Cambridgeshire County Record Office, Shire Hall, Cambridge.



= MOVED AND EXTANT

= ALTERED OR REMOVED. WHEREABOUTS MAY BE UNCERTAIN 1899-1950

10. Seating plan of the chancel and chancel aisles, Holy Sepulchre, drawn up c.1900.
 Source: Cambridgeshire County Record Office, Shire Hall, Cambridge.



11. Postcard showing Salvin's seating plan at Holy Sepulchre from the northeast corner of the rebuilt north aisle. Postmark on rear '1906'. Source: Cambridge Central Library, Cambridgeshire Collection.

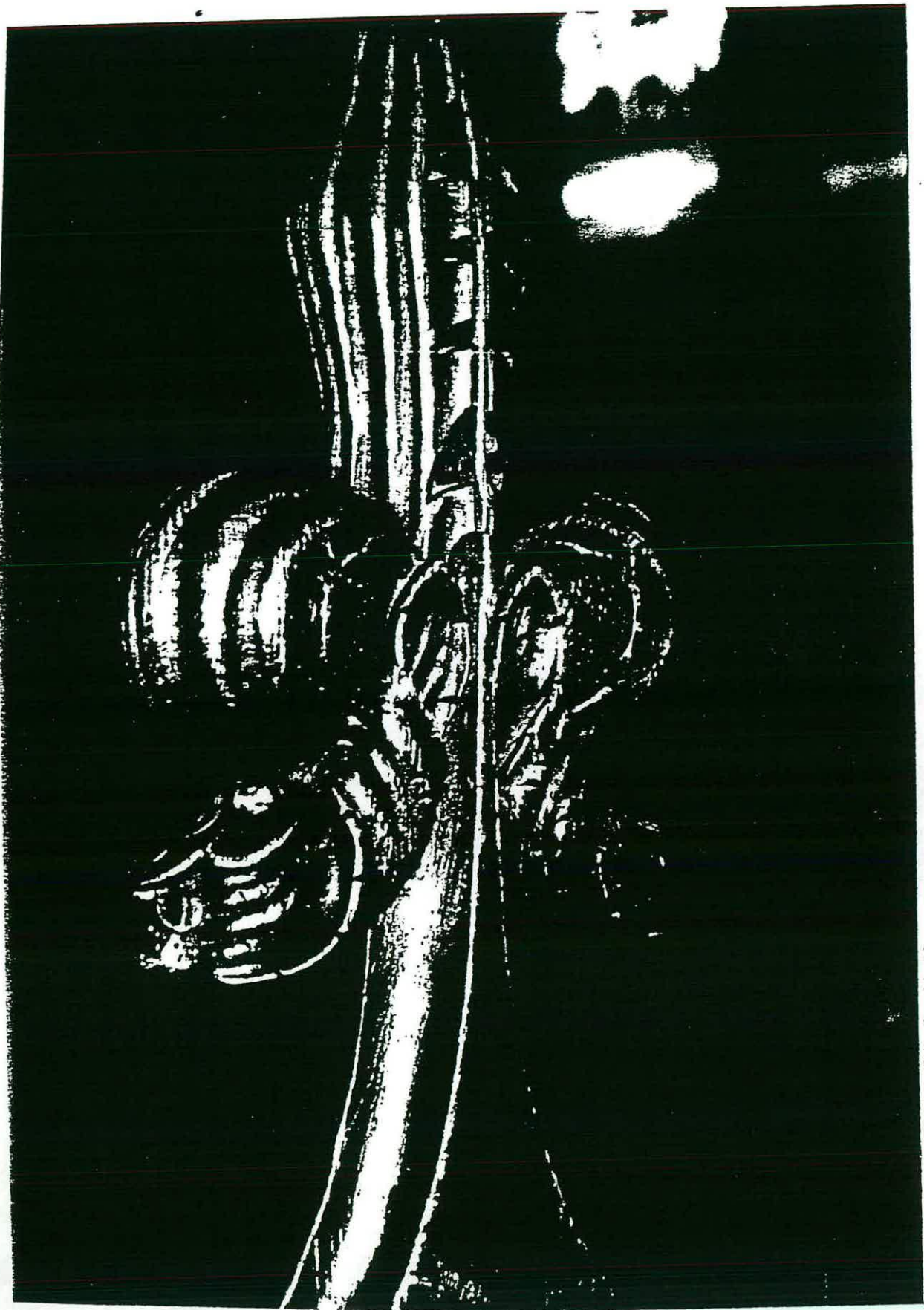


fig. 12.