Sir Stephen Glynne – A Pioneer Church Recorder

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Editors' note: This article was received from Lawrence Butler prior to his death, and was reviewed and accepted for publication. However, he was unfortunately too unwell to respond to the reviewers' comments himself. The editors have judiciously responded to minor reviewer comments and prepared the article through copy editing and formatting, but we have left the article content 'as is' in most cases, in order to most accurately reflect Lawrence's own research and writing. We hope it will serve as a suitable legacy.

Sir Stephen Glynne (1807–74) was a respected Victorian antiquary whose reputation rests upon his preparation of over a hundred volumes of Church Notes, based upon fifty years of assiduous visiting and note-taking. He visited some 5,500 structures in every part of England and Wales between 1824 and 1874, and noted every size and period of medieval church, providing for each church a dispassionate description, which was sometimes accompanied by thumb-nail sketches of distinctive or unusual details. This article offers a critical overview of Glynne's research and notes, and argues for the value of their publication and the potential of the records to aid church archaeology. The value of his notes is that they give a concise description of each church he visited, and unparalleled insight for archaeologists into many now-lost structures. Where churches have been heavily restored or even destroyed, they can be envisaged as they were at the actual date when Glynne inspected them.

A short biography

Stephen Glynne was born on 22nd September 1807, to Sir Stephen Richard Glynne, eighth baronet of Hawarden Castle and Mary (née Aldworth-Neville), daughter of Richard, second Lord Braybrooke (Veysey 1981–2, 151–170; Veysey 2004, 529–30; McGarvie 1994, vii–xiv). He was the eldest of their four children. The family circumstances changed with the premature death of their father from tuberculosis in 1815 and they stayed more frequently with their mother's relatives at Audley End in Essex or at Billingbear, near Wokingham, Berkshire. He then entered Eton in 1817, where he was considered one of the cleverest boys in the college and was noted for his considerable memory, but he was described as *'quiet and slow, retaining a singular indisposition to mix or associate even with his school fellows'*. He had no interest in hunting, shooting or other sporting activities. He was, however, interested in travel and medieval antiquities. The family went on three tours in 1824 that gave Glynne the opportunity to pursue his interests: first to Kent (from their London house), and then along the north Wales coast in August, and finally to the Marches and south Wales (from Hawarden castle, a few miles west of Chester) for 46 days in September and October (NLW, Glynne of Hawarden MSS 56 and 57).

Later that year Sir Stephen entered Christ Church, Oxford to read Classics. However, he spent more time playing the piano, attending concerts and visiting old churches than studying, and he graduated with a Third. Although he had succeeded to the title on his father's death, he did not inherit the estates until the age of 21 in 1828, when he gained the financial freedom to pursue his own interests of church visiting, concert attendance and continental travel. However, Glynne also reluctantly assumed the traditional role of the county gentleman, serving in Parliament (1832–47), unconvincingly commanding the militia, and sitting as a magistrate. Glynne never spoke in the Commons and

for some sessions he was entirely absent on continental excursions to Italy, Germany or Scandinavia. Eventually he left the House of Commons and took the less onerous post of Lord Lieutenant for Flintshire in 1845, which gave him plenty of deference without too much personal exertion.

Another aspect of Sir Stephen's behaviour which initially affected his enjoyment of a quiet life was a total lack of discrimination and drive in his business affairs. The income which he had inherited on his father's death was gradually being depleted. In part this was through his generosity in building schools and churches, partly it was his considerable expenditure in undertaking extended continental holidays, and partly by his poor estate management. It needed the intervention of his elder sister Catherine's husband, William E Gladstone, who put his brother-in-law's finances on a sound footing between 1847 and 1853 by a mixture of land sales, shrewd investments and a stringent regime of domestic economy. In the latter year the Gladstones moved into Hawarden castle, and the family have continued to live there until the present time.

Glynne found his interests in music and church affairs far more congenial than Parliament or land management. He was involved with new church building and active in the revival of Anglican worship in the early years of the 19th century. He took an informed interest in church matters, attending congresses and corresponding with like-minded supporters, and was a strong supporter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was one of the initiators of the clergy training college in Chester, and served on the cathedral restoration committees at Chester and St Asaph. He attended the re-dedication of Chichester cathedral in 1862, and the laying of foundation stones and the services of consecration at Broughton, Buckley, Pentrobin and Sealand (three of these churches were on his estates). He also paid for the rebuilding of Hawarden church by Sir George Gilbert Scott after a disastrous fire in 1857.

However, his interests in church architecture were given an academic direction by his membership of three societies: the Ecclesiological Society, of which he was a founder member in 1841, the Cambrian Archaeological Association, of which he was the first President (1847–9), and the Royal Archaeological Institute, where he was chairman of the Architectural Section (1852–74). All of these activities gave him considerable pleasure and provided an excellent outlet for his antiquarian interests. The development of those interests will be discussed later, but the persistence with which Glynne pursued his church visiting in every part of England and Wales made him a most respected figure among Victorian antiquaries. It was, however, a very private pursuit. Though he might call on clergy or might discuss recent visits at archaeological gatherings, he did not launch confidently into print. Seventy-two of his Church Notes were published anonymously in *The Ecclesiologist* (1845–8), and the anonymity was entirely typical of his reticence and self-effacing nature. Otherwise, either out of procrastination or more probably modesty, he never allowed his observations to be printed. Only his association with The Ecclesiological Society's *The Hand-Book of English Ecclesiology*, published in 1847, brought his name to a wider audience. Glynne served on the editorial sub-committee, but was not one of the authors. Although Glynne may have been consulted on many of the county introductions, all of the text was by JM Neale and BJ Webb. Glynne was one of the three Joint Secretaries in 1847–9. As an Oxford man and an MP, he was apparently selected to widen the appeal of the essentially Cambridge-based Society; he was also 12 years senior to Neale and Webb. He had served on the committee from 1845, became a Vice-President in 1850, and then attended their meetings less regularly (White 1975; Webster and Elliott 2000).

He continued his church visiting without slackening through illness or age. However, after visiting some East Anglian churches, he collapsed in Bishopsgate Street, London, and died there on 17th June 1874. At his funeral in Hawarden he had what Gladstone recorded as '*a most soothing, most Christian funeral, such as he deserved, such as he would have loved*' (Matthew 1982, 505). His own sister replied to Queen Victoria's telegram of condolence by assuring Her Majesty that her brother was *'no ordinary person [but one] with considerable gifts and with kindness and affection unbounded'* (CRO, MS 1016). Many other mourners bore witness to the high regard in which Sir Stephen was held locally in Flintshire and Chester, and how his modesty had ensured that his various acts of kindness and Christian comfort were performed unobtrusively. For many antiquarian societies they mourned for one *'whose sudden death has deprived us of a warm friend of all archaeological pursuits'* (YAS 1874, 415; CRO MS 1016).

His close friends were full of admiration for his extensive knowledge. In editing Glynne's Church Notes for Wales, Archdeacon Thomas wrote:

> *Those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance will remember how complete and accurate were the details that he could so readily call to mind, and*

> *that an extraordinary memory underlay his quiet and unassuming manner*
> (Thomas 1884, 82).

In Sir Stephen's obituary, The Daily Telegraph recalled that:

> *…his memory in his own orbit was so tenacious that, at the mention of some little parish church and even in the most out-of-the way corner of Westmoreland, Cornwall, or some other little visited shire, he would at once describe the architecture of the fabric, rehearse the name of the incumbent and add any special details of interest as regards any peculiar features of the structure, or exceptional monuments that building or its churchyard contained*
> (CRO, MS 1016).

In Sir Stephen's obituary, his fellow students of ecclesiology thought so highly of his Church Notes that they urged their full publication as soon as possible. The Rev Benjamin Webb, a co-founder of both the Cambridge Camden Society and the Ecclesiological Society, and editor of *The Ecclesiologist*, was of the opinion that the Notes were '*of lasting value and interest which would become a standard work of reference as to the state of our churches in the middle of the 19th century*'. For Webb it was:

> *…indeed a happy thing (and truly characteristic of his ordered and exemplary life) that the rough notes of the observations of so many years are so fully and so intelligently written up [that] no alteration seems needed, and no curtailment possible*
> (HGL, vol 107).

Glynne's Church Notes

The results of his many visits are contained in over 100 notebooks filled with architectural observations, while 20 surviving diaries and four pocket-books record some details of his tours. With one exception, the notebooks and two index volumes (nos 63 and 107) are in Gladstone's Library, Hawarden (Flints), formerly known as St Deiniol's Library, and are available at Clwyd County Record Office nearby. The diaries, pocket-books and one notebook (MS 57) of a six-week tour in 1824 are in The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. His notes are easy to read, despite being full of abbreviations; his handwriting only deteriorates in the last few years of his life (Fig 1).

Fig 1
An example of Glynne's notes and sketches from Stanton Church, Surrey (Courtesy of the Gladstone Library, Hawarden)

Despite his reputation for visiting most of England's medieval churches, there is no certainty about how many Sir Stephen did visit. Glynne's own index gives 5,521 churches. He certainly visited slightly more than half the surviving medieval churches in England and well over half in Wales. He was comprehensive on his visits to the Isle of Wight (28), Jersey (12) and Guernsey (9), but far more selective in Scotland (14) and Ireland (21), being limited to cathedrals and larger town churches. One problem still needing to be resolved is how much time elapsed between a church visit recorded by rough notes in a pocket-book and its later transposition into the appropriate county notebook. In most cases, except in the decade 1830–40, it is likely that they were written up at the end of each brief tour. Another problem is the correct date for the undated notes added on the opposite (left-hand) page of the notebook; some may be contemporaneous, while others were inserted as a result of later visits. Sometimes notes upon a group of four or five churches which he had inspected on a recent visit had become mislaid and, when found, were inserted out of chronological

order. At other times, Glynne is apparently trying to save space and inserts short accounts of less interesting churches in empty spaces within nearly completed notebooks. Three of his volumes (HGL, nos 63–65) are devoted to listing church plans. Glynne felt he was contributing to a better understanding of how church plans evolved; there was a Darwinian interest in the progressive elaboration of church plans and in these volumes he lists the different types of plan, hoping thereby to identify stages in chronological development (NLW, MS 187; Thompson 1910).

As an ecclesiologist he was largely self-taught, but he gradually refined his terminology under the influence of the Cambridge Camden Society and sharpened his critical observations. It has been claimed that his knowledge of church architecture became *'so extensive and exact that he could take in at a glance the features of a building and his descriptions are remarkable for their accuracy'* (Atkinson 1893, iii). Certainly Glynne approached his recording task methodically, a decade before the Cambridge Camden Society was advocating the compilation of 'church schemes'. Indeed, in some ways he was the precursor of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in terms of ordering his descriptions. Yet perhaps it is too ambitious to claim, as his nephew did, that upon visiting a church, Glynne *'would at once, as if by instinct, read its architectural history'* (Gladstone 1877, v).

The usefulness of Glynne's notes can be assessed in a number of ways. As a committed medievalist he concentrated on churches of that date. His notes may be the primary record where a church has been completely destroyed, as at Holy Trinity [also Christ Church], King's Square in York, Ingleton (Yorks), Llandyssil (Monts), Treudddyn (Flints), Egremont, Lamplugh, and Lazonby (all Cumb), South Wheatley (Notts), Newmarket All Saints (Cambs) and its neighbour Newmarket St Mary (Suffolk). Indeed, there are examples of destroyed or totally replaced churches in every county notebook (Fig 2). The interesting Norman church of Malpas (Monmouths) was undergoing destruction during his visit in 1847. Similarly, at Church Gresley (Derbys) he recorded in 1870 that the chancel had just been demolished to permit its total rebuilding. The notes also at times provide valuable details where there has been a drastic restoration, such as at Spofforth (Yorks), where only the tower and two arcades survive of a once fine Norman and Decorated church, or at Llantrisant (Glam), where the original Norman arcade was destroyed to be replaced by a more fashionable Gothic one. At Edensor (Derbys), his first visit in 1857 records a modest but interesting medieval church. On his later visit in 1870 he describes the church wholly rebuilt by Gilbert Scott as retaining some portions of the arcade, although he did not mention that the south porch was also retained. Although he criticised the design of the new clerestory, *'added as an afterthought'*, he regarded the new church as *'a very handsome and satisfactory structure'*. Sometimes the restoration was replacing a post-Reformation church in which a few token fragments had been retained from the medieval church. Glynne would describe the medieval pieces but not the replacement church, as at Capel Nant Ddu (Brecon). At Penrith (Cumb), he described the medieval tower but not the 'pseudo-Grecian' church built to its east.

Fig 2
Holy Trinity, King's Square, York, before the restoration of the church in 1861 (Lithograph by Edward Brown)

Churches of medieval origin that had been totally replaced by an 18th or 19th-century structure would seldom receive any comment from Glynne. This particularly applies to ostentatious urban churches rebuilt in Classical style as a fashion statement of

mercantile wealth. Similarly, those isolated churches rebuilt by noblemen in their parkland as a Gothick eye-catcher or as an enhancement to the Classical style of the mansion were ignored.

At some decades in his visiting he was more inclined to provide miniscule architectural sketches, as of the east façade at Grasmere (Westm), the spire at St Clement, Jersey, or the partially blocked chancel window at Catel, Guernsey. Where a relationship was difficult to describe he would add a sketch plan, as at Crediton (Devon), Kingston-upon-Soar (Notts) and Trinity church, Jersey. Usually his sketches give details of window tracery, doorways, pier sections, and bellcotes, where a sketch could give a description with greater precision than the current architectural terminology (Fig 3).

Although his preference was to describe rather than to analyse, Glynne did often assess the standing fabric. He drew attention to blocked doorways, arcades and windows, and sometimes attempted to disentangle the architectural development of a church, such as at Kirk Hammerton and North Newbald (both Yorks). He would comment on steeper roof-lines against the east face of a tower as evidence for a lowered late medieval roof, or would notice differences in wall surfaces that indicated repairs to or the removal of a vestry or chantry chapel. He was alert to the possibility that a more recent chancel or renewed crossing piers could signify a collapsed central tower. Any anomalies that puzzled him were often mentioned as items needing explanation. Examples could be drawn from most counties in England and Wales. He was also critical of recent treatment that had obscured the medieval fabric, such as foliage sculpture *`clogged with whitewash'* and plaster ceilings that hid the apexes of Gothic windows or concealed the full height of the chancel arch. Plaster ceilings might also conceal the fine craftsmanship of medieval timber roofs.

He commented perceptively upon local architectural styles, materials or features in nearly every county in England and Wales, long before modern scholars wrote about them (Atkinson 1947; Clifton-Taylor 1962). He could also call upon his retentive memory in drawing attention to wider parallels eg the similarities between the Anglo-Saxon west tower of Clapham (Beds) and the tower of St Michael's, Oxford, the comparable pierced parapets of Selby abbey choir (Yorks) and St Mary Magdalene's, Oxford, and the flying buttresses at the base of the spire at West Retford (Notts) and Laughton-en-le-Morthen (Yorks).

Fig 3
Glynne's architectural sketches of unknown churches (Courtesy of the Gladstone Library, Hawarden).

There are some limitations in his descriptions: he was not very accurate in reading or understanding Gothic lettering, but was far better on Lombardic script. His recording of monumental brasses was often imperfect and his observations upon plainer floor-stones was very selective. Although he devotes a complete volume (HGL, no 61) to them, Glynne did not provide a very full coverage of cathedrals; probably they were too time-consuming to describe and far too complicated to analyse. Perhaps he was aware that his fellow RAI member, Professor Robert Willis, had a far better knowledge of historical sources and a deeper grasp of architectural details. Willis' monographs on fifteen cathedrals, including Canterbury, York and Winchester (1842-64), were far more cogently argued than anything Glynne could hope to produce. However, even if the cathedrals escaped detailed attention, Sir Stephen would nevertheless visit and make notes on all the medieval parish churches in a cathedral city, as at Exeter, Lincoln or Worcester.

His descriptions of interiors need to be read at two levels: first, as a medievalist, is his accurate, almost pedantic, recording of doorways, pillars, windows, brackets, piscinae and fonts. His concern about 'debased' features meant that he deplored the local developments of Perpendicular architecture in the period 1540–1660. Secondly, as an enthusiastic Ecclesiologist and active committee member of that Society from 1845–50, he adopted its stylistic divisions of First, Second and Third Pointed Gothic as promoted by Pugin. Between 1846 and 1852 he used those terms in his church recording, and for internal features he also relied upon a number of concocted Latin terms that have now become archaic. During 1852 he reverted to the stylistic terms used by Rickman (1819) and Parker and favoured by the Royal Archaeological Institute. It has been claimed that *'his lack of the interpretative urge can be seen to lend his descriptions objectivity. Hence their continued usefulness as a record of each church at a particular moment in its history'* (Cox 1997, xviii).

The other main strand is his concern for the fittings and, after 1840, how well they satisfied the Ecclesiological agenda. His condemnation of pews and galleries is unwavering and often scathing. He was particularly anxious about galleries which faced north to south, lining the aisles, as in Southwell Minster (Notts) or which, facing west, obscured the altar, as at Holy Trinity, Hull and Bradford (both Yorks) (Fig 4). Of equal concern were those churches where the integrity of the nave had been sacrificed to make a two storeyed 'conventicle', as at Egremont (Cumb), Kirkheaton and Thornhill (Yorks); all were later restored in approved Gothic fashion by Victorian architects. Glynne deplored plaster ceilings, the liberal use of stucco and whitewash, and unpaved earth floors. The inappropriate position of the altar, the absence of a chancel arch, the overlarge domineering pulpit and the filling of the central aisle with seating were also invariably criticised as showing disrespect for the holy space. Any partitioning off in a medieval building, such as to use a transept or chapel as a school or to create a storeroom or coal store in the base of the tower, was regarded as a misuse of a sacred consecrated building. Too often where a structural restoration or a total reseating had taken place, Glynne would grudgingly

Fig 4
The interior of Bradford Cathedral prior to restoration, including the gallery across the east end. Drawing by James Mallison, 1845 (Fawcett 1845)

admit that '*it was done with the best of intentions, but seems to have been done too soon.*' Such comments refer to work conducted thirty or more years before his visits. After 1850–60 there is a much greater likelihood that the restorations or the reseating would satisfy his Ecclesiological views; then he praised its suitability to enhance worship and provide a good atmosphere. Usually what he was condemning were introductions or repairs of the period 1660–1840. Their removal pleased the Ecclesiologists as making great improvements to a holy building. Sometimes Glynne's notes are the only record of this phase of church furnishing, unless local poverty, disinterest by the landholders and patrons, or hostility from Nonconformists meant that no restoration ever took place (Chatfield 1989).

The other side of the coin was a thorough restoration of decaying fabric and a make-over of the church interior to satisfy the desires of the Oxford Movement. However, all the new items of which Glynne approved might have their reverse side in the loss of earlier fabric and fittings – throwing out the medieval baby with the Georgian bathwater. Where he knew that a church had been newly restored, Glynne would often pay an approving second visit to see the extent of changes to fittings and fabric, such as St Paul's, Bedford. The priory church of St Bees (Cumb) was revisited twice (1858, 1864) in the course of its restoration by Butterfield (1858–73). St Mary's, Nottingham was first recorded in March 1825 and revisited four more times to record structural restoration or internal refitting in September 1825, *c*1830, 1846 and 1872. All the parish churches in York were visited in 1825 and most were revisited in 1846; a few were visited a third time in 1870–1.

Glynne's concern with ecclesiologically-approved furniture is a reminder to church archaeologists to look for repairs to pillars where galleries have been removed (and the associated removal of external stairs and dormer windows), and also to look for nail holes in pillars and walls where tall box-pews were formerly attached. It is instructive to look for smoke blackening on roof beams where heating stoves have previously stood and their chimney pipes passed through the (now repaired) rafters.

Sometimes architects unused to the weathering qualities of the new stone they had chosen could unintentionally deceive archaeologists and architectural historians about the antiquity of a doorway or an external recess. The best example of this has been the discussion of the presumed Anglo-Saxon south doorway to the tower at Ledsham (Yorks), where Glynne in 1862 drew a doorway of an entirely different character to the surround provided by Curzon in 1871 (Butler 1987). At nearby Wakefield Bridge Chapel, Gilbert Scott's use of Caen stone to replace weather-worn limestone panels in 1847-8 was ill-judged. A new restoration had to be undertaken by Sir Charles Nicholson in 1938 when it was realised that the original panels, re-erected as the façade of a boathouse by the park lake of Kettlethorpe Hall, were in a better state of preservation than their replacements, newly-carved only 90 years earlier.

Supporting evidence

It is essential not to place complete reliance upon Glynne's Church Notes. His information for a particular church needs to be supplemented by comparable church notes prepared by local enthusiasts on a county basis or, for major churches, by the national writers (eg Thomas Rickman (1819), Matthew Bloxham or the Brandons). It is also desirable to consult the illustrations prepared by national figures such as John Carter, John Buckler, the Lysons and, for Wales, Moses Griffith (Barley 1974). For each county there is likely to be a reliable antiquarian illustrator, such as Thomas Bland for Cumbria, John Fisher for Bedfordshire and William Walter Wheatley for Somerset. Another valuable source of illustrations are the portfolios of paintings and drawings probably commissioned by incoming bishops in Ripon (1836) and Hereford (1849–51), or certainly assembled as a memento for the widow of bishop Waldegrave of Carlisle (1870) (Butler 2007, xviii–xix; Leonard 2006, x–xi; Butler 2011, xiii–xiv).

In order to obtain a fuller sequence of events in a church's architectural history during the 19th century it is essential to consult official ecclesiastical records. The two most important ones are the faculties issued on behalf of the diocesan bishop and the visitations undertaken regularly by the archdeacons (and less regularly by the bishops). For both categories of record there may be a complete sequence of events, supported by plans and architectural drawings. On the other hand, if the patron was a nobleman and the church stood within an estate village or in his parkland, then there may be no information at all. Gilbert Scott, for example, restored the churches of Harewood and Goldsborough for the earl of Harewood without any faculty being sought or issued. Similarly, visitations were not always a guarantee of an immediate correction of the observed faults. The archdeacon of Richmond

regularly presented Claughton (Lancs) as having broken windows and a cracked bell, but it took 20 years before such minor inconveniences to worship were mended. Another alternative source of information supplementing faculties is the requests for financial support from the Incorporated Church Building Society (from 1827). These may include architects' plans or design proposals showing the intended appearance of the completed church (Figs 5 and 6). Unfortunately, it is rare that faculty material or ICBS requests include illustrations of the previous building or its plan.

A further contribution to the archaeology of a particular church and reconstructing its architectural history depends on knowing the track record of individual architects. In the period 1820–50 it was normal for architects to correct the 'pagan' Italianate style or to replace the incorrect 'churchwarden' Gothic. The latter was often characterised by cheap repairs to windows, doors and columns in timber, as the training and skill of local stonemasons in repairing medieval architecture was deficient. As the influence of Pugin increased, there were from 1840 onwards more restorations that sought to eradicate the variety of styles and the jumble of furniture and replace both fabric and fittings with unified and approved Gothic designs, though for a brief period around 1836–1844 there was a preference for overblown neo-Norman designs (usually deplored by Glynne).

Some architects, notably Thomas H Wyatt, shunned the time-consuming task of restoring a decayed medieval structure, and instead recommended total rebuilding, often on a new site with part of the previous church left to serve as a mortuary chapel within the existing churchyard. If the patron or parishioners hesitated in their decision to have an entirely new church built for them, the architect would offer an inducement by donating a new font or a new pulpit in Caen stone with marble details, as occurred at Llandyssil (Monts) (Butler 2012, 458). It wasn't until 1877, with the founding of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) that sensitive and sympathetic restorations were undertaken, particularly by WD Caroe. He sought to maintain the existing architectural character of a medieval structure, rather than to convert it to an ideal, single-period structure based on a few indications of the style already chosen by the architect for his intended restoration.

Many diocesan architectural societies were founded from 1842 onwards. These were intended to promote the better education of clergy into restoration principles, with the hope that the bishops and archdeacons, who became patrons, presidents or vice-presidents, would also be persuaded to adopt better ecclesiological practice. Gradually these societies (the 'Associated Architectural Societies') lost their campaigning zeal and became more historical in nature or limited themselves to recording local church fabrics and fittings. Some metamorphosed into local archaeological societies during the 1930s, but they had fulfilled an important role in recording features uncovered in restorations such as early wall foundations, blocked windows and ejected effigies.

Throughout Glynne's 50 years of church visiting, there is no sense of a master plan to visit a particular county in a two month-long campaign. Instead his totals by diocese or by county were amassed in an enormous number of short forays, usually three or four days spent in one county based at a convenient market town before moving on to another venue. As a result, one never has an overall impression of a county and its churches in a single year or a single decade, but instead there are new visits mixed in with revisits to important churches where ritual reorganisation had taken place or where the restoration of the decayed fabric had been undertaken.

Publishing the Church Notes

The high esteem in which Glynne's notes were held meant that in Kent, Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire, the enthusiastic clergy and archaeologists soon embarked on printing his notes. His nephew WH Gladstone published the notes on Kent as a separate volume in 1877 and presumably destroyed the notes after publication (Gladstone 1877). This book may be seen as an act of filial piety in that young Gladstone inherited the Glynne estate when Sir Stephen died unmarried and childless.

The Church Notes for Wales were published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* and then issued in a separate book (Thomas 1884–1902; Thomas 1903). This was a token of admiration by Archdeacon DR Thomas, who had worked closely with Sir Stephen on committees in St Asaph diocese and who valued his scholarship in matters of medieval church building. However, Thomas and his co-editor Dean John Allen did not examine the travel diary of 1824 (NLW, MS 57), nor did they include churches located in Wales but ecclesiastically in the diocese of Hereford. This more comprehensive survey would have added a further 118 churches to make a total of 521 Welsh churches (Butler 2012).

The Rev JA Atkinson prepared volumes for Lancashire (1893) and Cheshire (1894), partly to

Fig 5
Floor plan of St Mary, Wombwell, South Yorkshire, 1835, illustrating the addition of a new south aisle to the medieval church (Courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library, ICBS)

Fig 6
St Martin, Fangfoss, East Yorkshire. Illustrations of the church before (1848) and after (1850) restoration, by RD Chantrell (Courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library, ICBS)

put on record Glynne's descriptions of the churches in the mid-19th century, but also to add comments on those antiquarian aspects Glynne had overlooked and to bring his record up to date by stating what enlargements and improvements had been made in late Victorian restorations (Atkinson 1893; Atkinson 1894). The notes on Yorkshire were published intermittently in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal over 30 years, beginning in 1893 and ending in 1922, by three different editors. They followed roughly in chronological order of visits, but it needed a separate index (1922) to enable scholars to find in which volume a specific church was recorded.

This same initial phase of publications by individuals who had known Glynne was completed by the publication of Gloucestershire, perhaps inspired by the work of Archdeacon Thomas in Monmouthshire (Phillimore and Hall 1902). The more meagre notes on Durham and Northumberland were edited by Stephen Liberty, though TM Fallow, editor of *The Antiquary,* published some notes for these counties and for a tour in Lincolnshire in 1825 (Fallow 1898; Liberty 1897–8; Liberty 1907; McCall 1912). Apart from Cheshire and Lancashire, all these editions printed the notes exactly as they found them. They did not note any distinctions between the main right-hand page and the additional comments on the facing left-hand page, unless they were specifically dated by Glynne. The editors did not note the existence of his architectural sketches.

Between the two World Wars publication was made of the Church Notes on four counties in south-west England: Wiltshire (Fletcher 1923–4) and Dorset (Fletcher 1923, 1924), then Devon (Hughes 1932–4) and Cornwall (Hughes 1934–5). These Church Notes were arranged alphabetically and there was an exchange of information between their two editors. They also examined the early volumes (called 'Miscellaneous Counties') which Glynne had prepared in narrative diary form for his various tours in 1824–27. These included full accounts of the cathedrals at Exeter and Salisbury, and the volumes were often used to record Glynne's subsequent visits, particularly rebuilding, restoration or ritual re-ordering.

Then after a 20-year gap came Surrey (Sherlock 1958). This was the first edition which paid attention to the composition of the actual volumes and mentioned the sketches and additional notes. The editor, Robert Sherlock, also hoped that their publication *'will simplify research on the history of the fabric of the churches, and prove an incentive to search for some of the lost fittings mentioned and lead to their restoration to the churches that possessed them'*. He was particularly concerned with lost fonts. After a 30-year gap, Michael McGarvie edited the Somerset volume (McGarvie 1994). This was a substantial work with a full biographical introduction and far more context provided for Glynne's notes. It also offered extensive illustrations for every church drawn from antiquarian sources, often previously unpublished, which were held in the county archaeological society's library.

There soon followed Bedfordshire (Pickford 1994, 1998, 2000). This was edited by Christopher Pickford, an archivist, and published in a county record series. It was an altogether more ambitious project covering every medieval church in the county whether visited by Glynne or not. Every church description was supported by contemporary illustrations and accompanied by archdeacon Bonney's visitation reports up to 1840, and notes from Bonney (1842) and another later church visitor (1845–54). Where available, Glynne's descriptions (51 out of 125 churches) were also printed. In this approach, Sir Stephen's work was placed in its context far more thoroughly and the architectural value of his work can be more easily assessed. For the church archaeologist, this is the most comprehensive approach so far published. Another archivist, David Cox, edited the Shropshire Church Notes and gave rather brief biographical and contextual information (Cox 1997).

The momentum has been maintained in the present century with publications for Derbyshire (2004), Herefordshire (2006) and Cumbria (2011), together with a revised edition of Yorkshire (2007) in a single volume. The volumes for Cumbria, Herefordshire and Yorkshire were also fully illustrated with previously unpublished contemporary paintings and engravings (Leonard 2006; Butler 2011). In the Yorkshire volume all the relevant faculties were consulted and any subsequent changes to the fabric and fittings were noted (Butler 2007). The Derbyshire volume had only a modest introduction, and was more concerned with the text of the notes than with the church fabric, perhaps because the prolific antiquary JC Cox has published a thorough survey of Derbyshire churches (1875–79 in 4 vols), quoting extensively from Glynne's notes (Hopkinson, Hopkinson and Bateman 2004). A record series volume on Nottinghamshire is in preparation for publication (Butler, forthcoming).

This means that 17 English counties and Wales have been published with a total of 2,950 churches out of the 5,500 total. Even in these publications there are still gaps, in that 118 churches in Wales from NLW Glynne of Hawarden MS 57 have yet to be published. This

same volume of 1824 also includes visits to Shropshire, Herefordshire, and Gloucestershire, particularly the medieval churches in cathedral cities and larger market towns, with subsequent additional notes from later visits.

Nearly all of the churches which Glynne visited had medieval origins and visible fabric, although sometimes it was only the tower which had survived, while the nave had been enlarged to give more seating and the chancel extended to enhance the ritual. If Glynne's notes for each county are assessed against the potential total, it can be seen that there are wide variations in the percentage visited (Table 1).

Country	Churches Surveyed	Percentage published
England	2,547	
Bedfordshire	51/125	40%
Cheshire	76	
Cornwall	93	
Cumbria	52/208	25% (but 42% of medieval church sites)
Derbyshire	119/153	78%
Devon	222	
Dorset	88	
Durham	30/65	46%
Gloucestershire	181	
Herefordshire	138/202	68%
Kent	312	
Lancashire	63	
Northumberland	28	
Nottinghamshire	126/210	60%
Shropshire	129/168	77%
Somerset	256/*c*500	50%
Surrey	81/140	58%
Wiltshire	121	
Yorkshire	381/812	47%
Wales	403	
Anglesey		56%
Breconshire		57%
Caernarvonshire		64%
Cardiganshire		32%
Carmarthenshire		30%
Denbighshire		77%
Flintshire		85%
Glamorgan		62%
Merionethshire		77%
Monmouthshire		59%
Montgomeryshire		61%
Pembrokeshire		56%
Radnorshire		36%

Table 1
List of Glynne's Church Notes published in county surveys, totals by county. Where statistics of the number of churches Glynne visited have been provided by the author, they have been included in this tabulation.

In both England and Wales, the totals reflect the accessibility of the churches, the availability of good hotels or congenial friends to provide hospitality, and the perceived intrinsic interest of the churches. In the early years Glynne was entirely dependent upon horse-drawn transport, but after 1850 he could increasingly use the expanding railway network. In nearly every county there are surprising omissions, such as Birkin, Kirkdale and Skirlaugh in Yorkshire, Sawley and Steetley in Derbyshire, and Bottisham, Burwell, Sutton and Swavesey in Cambridgeshire. In Wales, a large number of interesting churches in upland Carmarthenshire were never visited. Glynne was exhilarated by the attractive Gothic churches he found in Lincolnshire and he visited that county at regular intervals. However, his coverage was comprehensive in the Isle of Wight, where he visited 28 out of the 30 surviving medieval churches (93%), most of them before 1840 and therefore prior to Queen Victoria's residence at Osborne which impelled many clergymen and patrons to restore their churches in the more suitable ecclesiastical fashion. Glynne's notes, therefore, do not provide evidence of much more than half of the medieval churches in England and Wales, but where they do survive they can be an invaluable source of information.

Conclusion

The reason for publishing Glynne's notes owes much to the growing interest in Victorian buildings and restorations. Glynne's volumes often give a clear insight into the appearance of a parish church before the major restorations, and in a few instances he is describing a church that has completely gone. The volumes are also useful as an indicator of developing antiquarian attitudes and scholarship.

On the need for restoration before total decay or collapse, it is valuable to study Glynne's comments upon the churches of Holderness in east Yorkshire. Clearly, the Victorians came at an opportune time. In a few cases, Glynne's visit may even have been the catalyst for restoration, as his condemnation of 'pues' was unwavering. For Glynne, the term restoration embraced ritual re-organisation just as much as or even more than fabric repair.

Some commentators, notably Nigel Yates, have used the notes to examine the sometimes erratic progress

of ritual improvement to the medieval fabrics (Yates 1983a; 1983b; 2000, 59–67). My own approach to Glynne's notes has been to use them, along with faculties and contemporary illustrations, as an avenue into a more critical analysis of Victorian restorations. By this means one can determine what medieval or later fabric and fittings had been removed in the process. Sometimes Glynne is the only source available for the more remote country churches, but more usually his evidence can to be assessed alongside other available sources. It is important to keep separate the painstaking antiquarian record of the church fabric from the virulent ecclesiological criticism of the post-Reformation fittings.

The enduring value of these Church Notes is that they were compiled by a pioneer architectural recorder, who toured the British Isles as an enthusiastic and appraising observer in an extraordinarily opportune time period. Glynne's notes are often our only glimpse into the central 50 years of the 19th century, before the full tide of Victorian restoration, fuelled by the Oxford Movement, swept aside decayed medieval fabric or corrected the 'debased' work of post-Reformation centuries.

Lawrence Butler was Professor of Archaeology at the University York until his retirement in 2001. He continued as an independent scholar after his retirement, publishing The Yorkshire Church Notes of Sir Stephen Glynne in 2007. From July 2012 to December 2014, he served as the Honorary President of the Society for Church Archaeology.

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