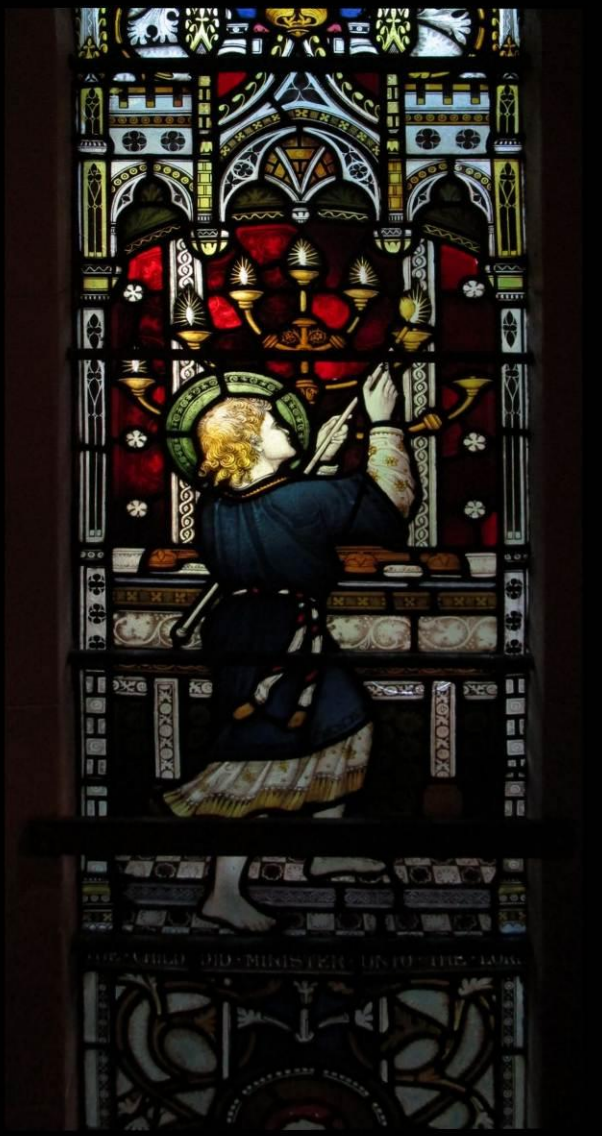
Lighting the Candles

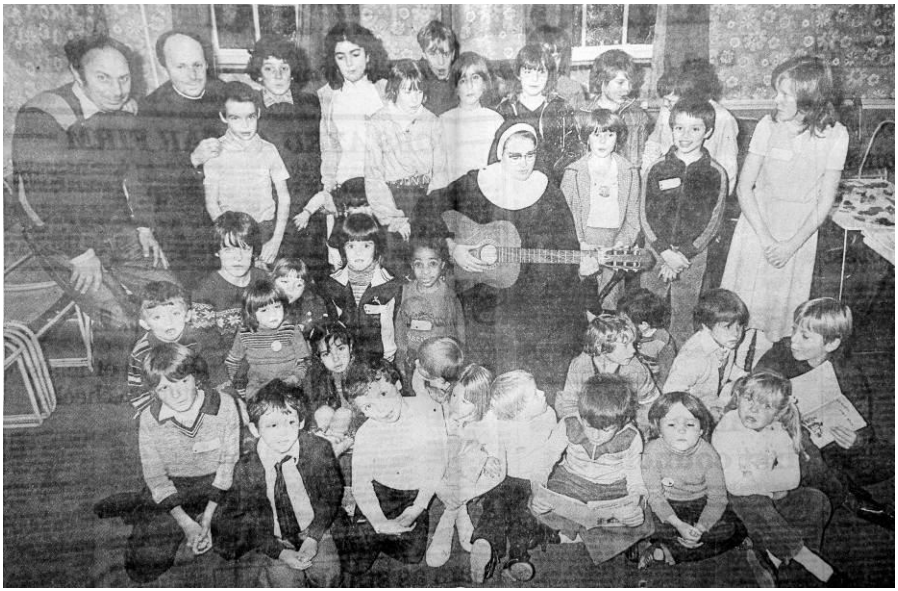
The Catholic Movement in the Diocese of Guildford



James Rattue

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Front cover: The Boy Samuel in the Temple, window at Christ Church, Ottershaw

Frontispiece: The St Barnabas's Epsom Children's Mission, 1982, from Canon Michael Godwin's scrapbook

Back cover: 1926 Warham Guild reredos at Christ Church, Woking

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Introduction

Years and years ago, long before I ever thought of being ordained, a member of the congregation at the church where I worshipped admitted 'I don't know why we say that bit about believing in the Catholic Church in the Creed. I don't believe in the Catholic Church.' Someone else told me that the Catholic Church was founded by the Roman Emperor Constantine and that the word 'Catholic' means 'Imperial'. These people definitely didn't know that much about the history either of Christianity generally, or the Church of England in particular. For the benefit of those readers who might not be very familiar with what Anglo-Catholicism means (and risking the annoyance of those who do), here is a very, very brief account of the movement which will hopefully help avoid too much contextualising later on.

When the Provinces of Canterbury and York separated from the rest of the Western Church and from communion with its Patriarch, the Pope, in the 16th century, it opened up the possibility that members of the English Church might think about its nature and destiny in different ways. There were naturally people who took more radical or more conservative approaches to Church life – whether they thought the settlement the English Church had reached in the wake of the Reformation was complete, or whether it needed to go further – and these factions struggled for influence before and after the further religious upheavals of the Civil War and Commonwealth. That settlement was inevitably a compromise, and the Church of England retained, in a way that no other church body that emerged from the Reformation did, signs and remnants of its medieval identity as merely one part of the Western Church. They were buildings, words, liturgies, even music. They remained embedded into English Church life, a sort of powder keg waiting for someone to rediscover and ignite.

The meanings of 'High Church' and 'Low Church' changed and shifted according to time and circumstances, but that Catholic identity buried inside the Anglican Church was not much consciously referred to even by those who inhabited it most thoroughly and were drawn to it most strongly. It took the events of the 1820s and 1830s to bring it out. This time of great political and constitutional upheaval, culminating in the passage of the Great Reform Act in 1832, broke down old certainties in Church and State. Out of the turmoil came the Church Temporalities Act of 1833 by which the Government reorganised the heavily overstaffed Anglican Church of Ireland, in which four archbishops and 22 bishops looked after fewer than a million Anglicans: in that reform, ten dioceses were abolished and merged with others. This was the

spark for John Keble, Professor of Poetry at Oxford University, to preach the Assize Sermon in the University Church on 14th July that year, denouncing the Act – not its provisions, but its assumptions – and calling for the Church to be thought of, and to think of itself, as more than just a department of State.

In response, first, a small group of clergy at the University began to try to construct an argument for the independence of the Church of England from government, and to do it they reached back into the past. They thought about the words in the Creed – 'I believe in one holy catholic and apostolic Church' – and what that meant for Anglicans. They began reading the words of the Church Fathers (the writers and thinkers of the first few Christian centuries, before the Church separated into East and West). They were led to place more and more emphasis on the sacraments, insisting that the Holy Spirit was really at work in them, and therefore on worship which gave more prominence to the sacraments than the kind of slipshod approach Anglicans had often become used to. They published their beliefs in a series of Tracts, hence the mocking name that was given them: 'Tractarian'.

A few years after that, a group of enthusiasts at Cambridge University began to study and promote medieval architecture as a way of restoring dignity and beauty to a Church they believed had lost it. Named after the 16th & 17th-century antiquarian William Camden, this 'Cambridge Camden Society' – later, the *Ecclesiological* Society – encouraged the restoration of tumbledown and inadequate church buildings, and often the removal or reorganisation of post-Reformation fittings and decorations such as box pews and galleries. They tended not to talk about theology as much as their Oxford counterparts, but were coming from the same place: Francis Close, the evangelical rector of Cheltenham, wrote a book in 1844 entitled *The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery*, and although there were plenty of Low Church clergy who restored their own churches, he wasn't entirely off the mark. Medieval-looking churches were a better fit for medieval assumptions.

These two movements, the practical and the theological, flowed in and out of each other and built up into what became the Catholic revival in the Church of England. More and more clergy and laypeople were captivated by its ideas and, when they got the chance, pushed them further and further, resulting in churches and services that sometimes scandalised more conservative souls not used to vestments, incense and processions. There was much opposition which tended to drive Anglo-Catholics to marginal places such as poor city districts, seaside towns, and the Imperial colonies, or areas with powerful lay support such as the South Yorkshire coalfield; but gradually they gained toeholds in the Establishment, including St Paul's Cathedral thanks to Prime Minister Gladstone nominating the Tractarian Richard Church as Dean in 1871: that

led eventually to Anglo-Catholicism becoming widely entrenched in the Diocese of London. By the early 1900s only extreme Protestant organisations, outside the Church of England, were making any great effort actually to get rid of its Catholic wing.

Success gives any group an opportunity to divide, and by the 1890s the Catholic movement in the Church of England was fracturing along four lines – liturgical, theological, ecclesiological and political. *Liturgically*, the separation was between parties that favoured medieval styles of worship and church decoration and those who looked to contemporary baroque-style Roman Catholicism for their models; *theologically*, between tendencies to resist the insights of modern science and Biblical research, or to accept them; *ecclesiologically*, between a party which felt that the proper outcome of the Catholic movement was to reunite the Church of England with Roman Catholicism – a position described as Anglo-Papalism – and one that believed Anglicanism had its own valid contribution to make to Christianity; and *politically*, as what was originally a backward-looking, instinctively Tory movement encountered social need in the deprived parts of the country which forced at least some clergy to re-examine their opinions. These divisions didn't precisely map onto each other, but as time went on it was clear that a medieval-styled, liberal, and politically-moderate sort of Anglican Catholicism that *didn't* believe the Pope should be head of the Church of England was clearly more acceptable to the Establishment than the opposite. You can find traces of that brand of Anglo-Catholicism in many churches.

By the 1920s the Anglo-Catholic movement, in all its varieties, was thoroughly in the ascendant. The first Anglo-Catholic Congress in London began with a procession of 1,200 priests and twenty-two bishops, though all but two (one from Scotland and an English suffragan bishop) represented colonial or foreign dioceses. The culmination, perhaps, was the accession of Michael Ramsey as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1961; he preferred wearing a medieval-style Canterbury cap to a Roman-style biretta, but he was still a product of the Catholic movement and in 1936 had written *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*, a thoroughgoing attempt to prove from first principles the worth of things the movement was most concerned about – the sacraments, episcopacy, and liturgy.

And almost at that moment it all started to disintegrate. Western society in the late 1950s and early 1960s was starting to shift in an individualist, rationalist direction which Christianity would generally find it hard to respond to; and, from around then, within the Church of England evangelicalism was rising within the universities and eventually the hierarchy, until by the 2020s it became hard to find bishops and archdeacons who *weren't* at least moderate

evangelicals. Evangelicalism was individualist, but, by rejecting rationalism, represented one way of dealing with the individualism of secular society. Most strikingly, the Second Vatican Council, called in 1962, reformulated Roman Catholicism in ways that seemed to reverse many of the things Anglo-Catholics had been teaching for decades, even the ones who didn't look to Rome for their lead. It was perfectly possible to be a Vatican Two-style 'Modern Catholic' and many Anglo-Catholic churches went enthusiastically down that route, but the idea that Rome was an eternal, unchanging bulwark against the modern world was gone; and the passing years demonstrated that Rome shared more and more the same fractures and disagreements as Anglicanism. 'Modernism is the problem, Rome is the remedy', the hard-line Anglo-Papalists said in the 1930s: it no longer looked like it.

In the same way that all movements are victims of their own success, the fact that Anglo-Catholicism had managed to make the Church of England a far more Catholic-minded and sacramentally-based church than it had been blurred the boundaries between it and every other brand of Anglicanism. As the supply of Anglo-Catholic clergy diminished and understanding about what made Anglo-Catholicism distinctive dwindled even within Catholic-minded churches, it became easy, and common, for liberal clergy who were perfectly happy to wear vestments and celebrate the Eucharist every Sunday to take over traditionally Anglo-Catholic churches. Without necessarily having a programme to do so, they often moved those communities away from their old identity. The harder edge of Catholic spirituality – eucharistic adoration, prayer for the dead, devotion to the saints including the Virgin Mary, the religious orders, and the discipline of confession – tended to drop away.

The decision to ordain women to the Anglican priesthood in 1992 and then, in 2014, to consecrate women bishops (the measure passed General Synod rather symbolically on 14th July, the anniversary of John Keble's Assize Sermon) crystallised the divisions but to a certain extent settled things down by providing a way for churches of different traditions to carry on side-by-side within the Anglican system. It was an untidy compromise relying on a lot of mutual charity, but it was something positive after years of bickering about the subject. Pope Benedict XIV had set up a structure allowing Anglican priests opposed to the ordination of women to move over fairly seamlessly into the Roman Catholic Church, but not very many took up the opportunity, and some who did returned quite quickly, having found the waters of the Tiber chillier than they anticipated.

Anglican Catholicism is a weaker beast than it once was. Its two major wings, one recognising the ordination of women and one not doing so, mirror each other with their own structures, societies, events and organisations. Although

the Church of England doesn't seem to think of itself as 'Protestant' in any meaningful way anymore, as it did in the 1830s, knowledge about what 'Catholic' Anglicanism means is hazy.

That's the chronological scope of our study, and the overarching story is pretty well-established. Geographically, the questions are more complex. 'Surrey' is unusually complicated from an ecclesiological point of view, mainly due to the expansion of London into its northeast corner which has had such an impact on the county. Through most of its history, Surrey was part of the Diocese of Winchester, and had its own Archdeaconry, and this situation persisted even though, from the end of the eighteenth century onwards, the growth of London transformed the areas of the county closest to it (it's worth remembering that the biggest town in Surrey until 1889 was not Guildford, nor even Kingston, but *Southwark*). In terms of secular local government the change was recognised by the creation of the London County Council in 1889 and the progressive transfer of bits of Surrey to it, and its successor authorities. More complications followed the dismemberment of the county of Middlesex in 1965.

Surrey's position in Church terms was therefore tricky. In some ways ecclesiastical arrangements were in advance of the civil ones. The whole eastern third of the county, including the outer London suburbs, was transferred to the Diocese of Rochester in 1877 (Rochester already comprised some of the southeastern parts of London), and then in 1905 to the new Diocese of Southwark, which from that point forward became an extremely mixed jurisdiction stretching from the south bank of the Thames, with its cathedral yards from it, all the way to the rural and quite remote Sussex-Surrey border. The rest of the county, along with a few parishes in Hampshire and the single Sussex parish of Loxwood, remained in Winchester until it became part of the new Diocese of Guildford in 1927. When Greater London was established in 1965, Surrey gained the District of Runnymede whose parishes were passed to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Guildford; Guildford also retained oversight of the parishes of Chessington and Howell Hill even though in civil terms they were reassigned to Greater London. One final odd amendment was the transfer of Long Ditton parish from Southwark to Guildford in 2000.

Given this complicated situation, I propose to examine all the churches of the modern Diocese of Guildford, including the Runnymede churches gained by Guildford in 1965 (mainly as they include a number of interesting parishes which are now firmly thought of as 'Surrey'). However, because the growth of London had had such an impact on the inner London belt even by the time the Catholic revival began in the 1840s, it seems sensible to *ex*clude all the

parishes which became part of the LCC or Borough of Croydon in 1889, but to *in*clude the Hampshire parishes which joined Guildford, as there are many links between those churches and the rest of the diocese.

Much of the narrative we will be telling is drawn together from scraps and fragments, parish histories and stray online references, so I will not be referencing everything fully. But some texts and sources are worth properly referencing, especially where quotations are involved. I will also refer frequently to the *Church Traveller's Directory* by Fr Peter Blagdon-Gamlen, a successor to the early *Church Tourist's Guide* published by the English Church Union, which was intended to help the Anglo-Catholic traveller identify where they might find a church which met their needs. Both publications picked out helpful markers of Catholic identity, and the full four was most coveted: 'D' (a Daily mass – at least five weekdays), 'S' (a Sung eucharist the main service every Sunday), 'C' (the sacrament of Confession available at advertised times), and 'R' (the consecrated Host being continuously Reserved). To be a 'four-star' or even a 'three-star' church was to be at the heart of the Catholic movement. The surveys do miss relevant churches every now and again, and they aren't foolproof; for instance, in the 1960s the *Directory* rates St Paul's Tongham as a four-star church, but its service registers make it clear that it didn't qualify, only having a communion service on two weekdays. As a result, then, I have a list of 80 churches in the Guildford Diocese which, at one time or another, had a clearly Catholic identity. Those are the ones we will concentrate on, occasionally referring to others when need arises.

Over several years I've visited most of the churches in the diocese, looking at their fixtures and arrangements for clues to their history and 'churchmanship' in the past. A church may not have been at the centre of the Catholic movement, but it may still have been touched by it, and even churches which were not Catholic in allegiance at all are very worth looking at to compare with those that were, or indeed still are. Over time, fashions in church decoration and fixtures shifts, so that things which might seem wildly Anglo-Catholic and *outré* in one era become unobjectionable in another, so when we cast our eye around a church we need to keep our wits about us.

A non-Catholic church can help to provide us with a bit of a baseline. Christ Church, Coldharbour, located in a beautiful hilltop setting in one of the most remote parts of Surrey round the back of the wild Hurtwood near Leith Hill ('unlike anywhere else in the county', says Pevsner in the Surrey volume of *The Buildings of England*), was founded in 1848 by the banker John Labouchère, who lived locally. The well-known Gothic Revivalist architect Benjamin Ferrey designed the building, an Ecclesiologically-accurate, 13th-century style structure, no different from anything a Tractarian vicar or

patron might have ordered at the time; but Labouchère's faith was definitely Evangelical. The best clue to this would have been the painted boards of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer which stood behind the communion table. Then in 1904 another group of landowners employed W.D. Caröe to revamp Christ Church. He banished the painted boards, put in choir stalls, and provided a new, spiky wooden Gothic reredos. *For the most part* wooden reredoses are more common in Low Church settings, though sometimes they are just there because they were cheaper than stone! By the 1900s, too, windows depicting saints were uncontroversial, especially certain saints. Christ Church has a post-World War One double window of St Martin and St George, who, as soldier-saints, were favoured in memorials to fallen service personnel, and we find them cropping up in many churches. There is also a post-World War Two window of St Francis of Assisi, who was very 'safe' by that stage as well. And there Christ Church stayed unchanged, until a reordering in 2000 put in a curving dais beneath the altar, paved in brick-red tiles, and a balcony covering a new meeting-room at the west end. Here, then, we see the kind of thing we can expect at particular times in the context of a church which was not pushing very hard in either a Catholic or an Evangelical direction.

Church service registers are naturally among the most important sources of information for what happened in worship, but they are not unproblematic. There has never been a standard pattern for register books, nor for what to put in them. Even one person can refer to the same services in different terms from year to year (I'm sure I've done it), or to different services in the same terms. Whether a service is called 'mass', 'communion', or 'eucharist' may tell you something about the attitude of the person who wrote it down, but nothing necessarily about the event itself. Sometimes it's the incumbent of a church who fills out the register, and sometimes someone else, which introduces another level of uncertainty. Sometimes – as in the volume of St Michael's Aldershot's service register covering the middle of the 1930s – the listing gives you the times of the services, but fails to inform you what they were. Until clergy began to get defensive about the numbers of people coming to church, hardly any of them bothered to record attendances at non-eucharistic services, and most pre-printed register books didn't give them the option anyway, providing only a column for communicant figures.

When I first began digging into service registers, I expected to be frustrated at the Surrey History Centre's rule that only ten documents can be called up at any one time (in fact they will let you request more, but that's the maximum number you can order in advance). However I soon discovered that ten service registers were plenty both to fill the time available and to reduce me to a numbed and shaking state, as they are not the most interesting texts to deal

with. Some came up in their archive boxes nibbled by rodents (I hope), stained with tea cup rings, or redolent with mouldy aroma. I was probably the first person to consult them since they were deposited. I certainly didn't look at every register for every church: rather, for each of my core list of churches, I selected a group of registers covering what I thought would be revealing periods from those available. So, hopefully, the information I have is representative, but it's not comprehensive by any means.

I tried to trace the biographies of all the incumbents of the core churches from the late 1800s onwards. *As a rule*, where a priest trained for the ministry, their title parish (where they serve their first curacy), and their appointments, should be a helpful guide to their churchmanship and approach. This is particularly so during the golden age of the theological colleges between about 1910 and 2000: if someone tells you their priestly ministry was 'formed' at St Stephen's House in Oxford, or if you looked them up in *Crockford's* and saw that they were trained at Oak Hill College, London, that would in the normal run of events tell you different things about them. Each of those contexts would imply very distinct streams of parishes or ministry settings. But it doesn't always work like that. A person may have various reasons for choosing to go to this college to train, or that parish to serve their title. Or they might find themselves rebelling against either context. They might even *change their mind* as time goes on. All of these factors have to be taken into account when putting the story together.

Finally, a word on my historiographical approach for this project. One of my key techniques for other books has been to try to identify the various stages in the development of an institution or a place, and structure the work around those phases, perhaps, where possible, looking for a symbolic moment when something shifted or that can summarise each stage in the story, to build up a narrative that makes sense to read. This story, though, is made up of a multitude of smaller ones, most obviously those of the churches themselves which have developed at different paces and to different degrees. Apart from the overarching scope of the task, there is very little that connects them, and so it becomes hard to bind them into a tidy chronological narrative. What has happened, rather against my normal inclinations which are not to focus on *people* so much as on what you might describe as 'the tides of history', is that I've found myself thinking about the various modes in which the souls who shaped the Catholic Movement in the Guildford area operated over time. This produces distinct separate phases, indeed, but ones which overlap with one another to an unusual extent. The story is very broadly chronological, but not in a neat way. I'll say more about each category as we go through, but for now here is the scheme I will follow.

We start with *Restorers*. The first wave of Anglo-Catholics in the parishes felt that they were engaged in a rescue operation, not so much shifting the Church of England in a new direction as recovering what it ought always to have been but had lost sight of. The physical 'restoration' of church buildings, as well as a theological and spiritual one in the life of the Church, was the characteristic activity of this era.

In the chapter *Founders* we look at how new church communities, basically focused on new buildings, came into being and how the Catholic movement affected this most typical activity of Victorian and Edwardian Church life. We'll examine the enormous variety of experiences and stories involved in the creation of new churches in a period which overlaps with the time of 'restoration' but extends beyond it into the 20th century.

Once your church was restored or founded new, the question arose of what sort of spiritual life the community that used it should be living. Clergy and lay leaders followed a long programme of introducing Catholic models of worship, spiritual discipline, assumptions and ideals: sometimes they succeeded in taking their congregations with them, and sometimes they met resistance or failed entirely. They were the *Enthusiasts* whose work spanned much of the period we're considering, but had largely achieved all they could by the 1960s, and this chapter is about the *expansion* of Anglican Catholicism.

When the Catholic programme had reached a degree of completion – when, to measure it one way, a church had attained four- or three-star status in the directories, according to what it could manage practically – a different sensibility took over. The mission became less about pushing against the run-of-the-mill normality of the Church of England as a whole, and more about defending what had been achieved, intensifying the life of the individual church communities and developing their sense of identity. This I have called the *Guardian* phase, and you might say this chapter concerns the *maintenance* of their brand of faith.

The religious changes of the 1960s had their origin much earlier, and although those initial years after Vatican 2 were a whirlwind, they extended beyond them too. At the time they were compared with the 16th-century Reformation – not completely fancifully – and so it makes sense to characterise the people who advocated them as *Reformers*, and that period as one of Reform with a capital 'R'.

In the last two decades of the 20th century and the first years of the 21st, the Catholic Movement in the Church of England has undergone convulsions and difficulties which to an extent it shares with the Christian Churches in general, but also faced those of its own. Of course we are still in the midst of

this era, but there has been a developing sense that Catholic Anglicanism's assumptions and habits need to be explained and applied with renewed imagination in a world of very changed circumstances, and I think of those who have tried to begin this process – including me – as *Interpreters*.

I hope that this analysis, despite its untidiness, provides a means of grappling with the long and diverse story of how Surrey Anglicans who looked to the Catholic tradition for their inspiration have managed their sense of mission over nearly two hundred years.

1. Restorers

In August, 1862, Vernon Musgrave, son of the Archdeacon of Halifax and nephew of the Archbishop of York, arrived as the incumbent of Hascombe, nestled in the hills south of Godalming. He found his new church anything but welcoming to contemplate:

> The churchyard dark and gloomy … abounding in tall weeds and rank grass, with high mounds of graves piled up and carelessly kept … And the state of the church itself was worse … great gaping cracks and rents in the walls; the unseemly west gallery, with its barrel organ, stretching across the nave … high pews further disfiguring it, and barricading each man from his neighbour …; an unseemly stove with its pipe frequently sending out dark smoke into the church, running through one of the windows; other windows robbed of glass …; the pulpit with its great sounding-board the main and prominent object; while the little, insignificant, uncared for Altar with its shabby covering was all but hidden from sight. The question of rebuilding, or of thorough restoration, was one of sheer necessity, if we desired not to see the whole fabric in ruins on the ground.[1]

My initial instinct was to call my first chapter 'Pioneers', but the first generation of self-conscious Catholic Anglicans in what would become the Diocese of Guildford didn't think of themselves that way. As far as they were concerned, they were all 'restorers': their mission was to reclaim the English Church from its ruinous torpor and recall it to what, in their imaginations, it once had been. Vernon Musgrave wasn't the first of them – we have to retrace our steps a generation for that – but his rhetorical account of his first impressions of Hascombe summed up their whole adventure. For Hascombe Church 'in ruins on the ground', read the whole state of Christ's Church in England.

It wasn't just that, in the eyes of the Tractarians and their sympathisers, church buildings might be ruinous and in need of restoration: it was that they could also be profoundly *unspiritual*. A bad, irregular, hotch-potch church with galleries, box pews and intrusive fittings added higgledy-piggledy, anything to do with the sacramental nature of the Christian Faith overshadowed by monuments and aristocratic hatchments, could hardly fail to encourage irreligion in those who tried to worship in such a space. *Restoration* was not just a matter of tidying up, but of rediscovering the true heart of the Anglican Church. Many churches would undergo repeated changes in the 19th and into the early 20th century, and it's common to see all such waves of redevelopment

described as 'restorations'. I am not convinced this is accurate; later changes were usually reflections of altering church fashions and expectations, rather than what the Tractarian-Ecclesiologists saw as an absolutely necessary reform of the kind of neglect they found, or believed they found, in their parishes. At Hascombe, Vernon Musgrave encouraged his parishioners to complete the programme of decoration he had in mind, to provide 'many things, we will not say *wanting*, but will add to the beauty and completeness of our church'. Embellishments like that, even quite radical ones, were not part of a rescue mission: they were a raising of the stakes. We will look at some examples of this escalating change in Chapter 3.

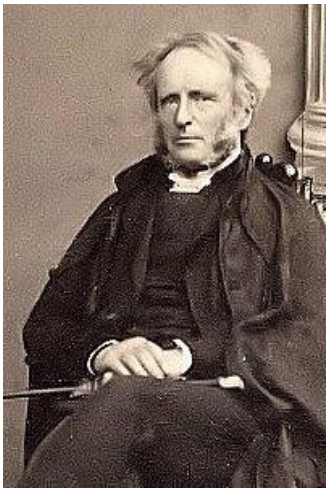
Let us step back that generation from Revd Musgrave and see what we find in the mid-1830s.

The parish of Witley is reduced from what it once was. Thursley used to be a chapelry of Witley; Milford was part of the parish too; another chunk, along with bits of Chiddingfold and Haslemere, was carved off to form the parish of Grayswood in 1900. The Chandler family had lived in Witley since at least the 1670s, and in 1775 bought the right to appoint the incumbent, the vicarage, and some of the lands. Their new owner, John Chandler, managed to have his son, John *Flutter* Chandler (you need to keep track of the John Chandlers) placed as curate in 1784 to the vicar, Thomas Myers, who'd already been in post for thirty years; John Flutter Chandler succeeded as vicar in 1815, adding Witley to his other incumbency of Woking. Witley became a family living for a while: John Flutter's son John followed him in 1837, and, after a gap, that John's son John *Brownlow* Chandler took over in 1882.[2]

The Chandlers of Witley were a clerical, and Anglo-Catholic, family. John Flutter's younger cousin George (1780-1859) became Dean of Chichester, an associate of Archdeacon (later Cardinal) Henry Manning, instrumental in the establishment of Chichester Theological College, and a member of the Ecclesiological Society. Arthur Chandler (1859-1939), fourth son of the John who became vicar of Witley in 1837,[3] was Rector of Poplar and eventually Bishop of Bloemfontein, in which capacity he served as President of the Anglo-Catholic Congress Movement in the 1920s and 30s: there are pleasing photos of him wearing a biretta and looking fierce. But it is the middle John, Arthur's father and George's cousin, we are concerned with here. He was one of the very first priests to begin translating the ideals of the *Tracts for the Times* into a parish setting, not just in Surrey but anywhere.

This John studied at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, graduated in 1827, and was ordained in 1831, becoming curate – where else? – at Witley. But he was also elected a Fellow of his college, meaning he would have been going to and

fro between Oxford and Surrey during the first stage of the Tractarian upheaval. Installed as vicar at Witley after John Flutter Chandler's death, John brought to his incumbency all the enthusiasm of the new movement.



John Chandler in 1861

John Chandler's contribution to the universal Church began in his first year as Witley's incumbent, when he published *Hymns of the Primitive Church*, a book which tells you everything about his outlook. He wanted hymns of a similar vintage to the ancient prayers of the Anglican Church, he wrote in its Introduction, and was frustrated that he couldn't find any. Then he read some translations of old hymns from the *Parisian Breviary* by Isaac Watts and, buying a copy of the *Breviary* itself and 'one or two other old books of Latin hymns', set himself to translate them. The book made Mr Chandler the precursor of Edward Caswall, John Mason Neale, Percy Dearmer, and others who helped to build up the corpus of Anglican hymnody from the materials of the past: he was the first great Anglo-Catholic hymn-writer. As is the manner of these things, the vast majority of his lyrics are no longer sung, but 'Christ is our cornerstone', 'On Jordan's bank the Baptist's cry', and a number of others still find their place in modern hymnbooks. Mr Chandler's other works included a biography of the medieval bishop William Wykeham, and *Horae Sacrae*, a compilation of devotional writings and prayers by Anglican luminaries of the past. In 1871 he was listed as one of the contacts for J.M. Neale's order of nuns, the Society of St Margaret, based at East Grinstead.

But we are most interested in his effect on Surrey. Within a year he had founded Witley's daughter church at Milford, and in 1844 paid for a permanent stone building himself – though he was later reimbursed for his expense by Lord Midleton of Peper Harrow. He'd also begun working on Witley church itself, reforming it in 1844 in an Ecclesiological direction by removing the old galleries and inserting a new east window; in 1860 he had Thursley church, where he was patron, rebuilt, apart from its medieval belfry. In his capacity as Rural Dean of Godalming, Mr Chandler had a hand in the creation of additional new churches in the sprawling Frensham parish, at Churt (1838) and Shottermill (1841). Many years later he recalled what Witley had been like before the restoration:

> There was a door then open at the west end, which is now built up; you went down four steps into the church, for the floor of it was about three feet beneath the level of the ground outside; you may easily conceive how damp and mouldy it must have felt. The beautiful old Norman door, now the principal entrance, was blocked up, and the porch used by the sexton for holding his grave-digging implements. There were no less than three galleries in the church, blocking it up and deforming it in a most painful way … Three inside staircases were, of course, required to get up into these galleries. The west window was blocked up, and in the splay of it was an old organ, which was never used in my time. The head of the south-west window was knocked out and a large square top with a wooden frame was inserted, in order to throw a flood of light upon the singers … In the nave were remains of very old oak seats, but far from perfect, which, instead of being repaired as they would be now, were ruthlessly swept away and replaced by yellow deal pews, closed with doors. The bells were then rung not in the belfry above, but on the ground floor in the centre of the church … Near the pulpit were a number of large pews; one, adorned with brass rods and a curtain, belonged to the squire at Milford House. In [the manor chapel] was a curious pew for the Milford House servants, made, of all things in the world, out of an old billiard table.[4]

John Chandler may have been a vigorous Tractarian, but he would not have become Rural Dean had his colleagues not had confidence in him, and he maintained a good friendship with his Evangelical bishop, Charles Sumner. In 1870 Dr Sumner (who had resigned as bishop by then, but remained resident in Farnham Castle) sent Chandler a haunch of venison to share at a Deanery Christmas dinner. The Vicar of Witley returned his gratitude in verse:

> Thanks, my Lord, for your venison, for finer or fatter
> Ne'er ranged in a forest or smoked in a platter.
> I at once ascertained from the basket and label
> That 'twas none but your Lordship who furnished my table.

While John Chandler was founding and restoring churches in the southern part of the county, someone else was active further north. John Samuel Bewdley Monsell – one of the guests sharing Bishop Sumner's venison at Christmas 1870, in fact! – came from a prominent Irish family: his father had been Archdeacon of Dublin, and he had already had a sound career in the Irish Church before relocating to England. Monsell had studied at Trinity College, Dublin, but his brother Charles was at Oxford at the height of the Tractarian controversy. Charles and his wife Harriet, whose family were Irish gentry and whose father had been MP for County Clare, were captivated by the arguments they read in the Tracts and heard from the pulpits of the Tractarian leaders; once ordained, Charles held a series of posts in the Irish

Church, though his poor health meant that in practice he spent a lot of that time abroad. He died aged just 40 in 1850, whereon Harriet decided to devote the rest of her life to God, eventually moving to Clewer near Windsor. She worked in the House of Mercy there run by the Tractarian rector, Thomas Carter, and finally became the founding Mother Superior of the Community of St John the Baptist at Clewer, the Church of England's first religious order. It was through Charles and Harriet that John Monsell was exposed to the Catholic movement: he came to take it seriously, and to admire particularly the scholarship and teaching of Dr Pusey.



John Monsell in Guildford days

The definitely Low-Church St John's Egham was stony ground for Mr Monsell's brand of Anglicanism, but he nevertheless took up the incumbency there in 1853. The motto placed over its doorway when it was rebuilt in 1820 – *'Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit'*, 'The Anglican Church shall be free' – was one the Tractarians might have agreed with, had its real meaning not been, 'free' of any hint of Papist influence. As a clergyman heading definitely in a Catholic direction, Mr Monsell regarded the building's box pews, galleries and columns with suspicion and, it seems, virtually wrote it off which makes one wonder why he agreed to serve there in the first place. 'My parish church', he wrote, 'is so bad in form and feature that its influence must be, no matter how people struggle against it, to unsolemnise'.[5] This was the link the Ecclesiologists were making between the style of a church building and the kind of spirituality it formed: a Classical church was just a few steps away from an atheistic lecture-hall as far as they were concerned.

Yet Mr Monsell never attempted to alter St John's in all his 17 years there: instead, he turned his attention to an outlying part of his parish, Englefield Green, where the Vestry had long planned to build a church. Not that the structure that E.B. Lamb designed was in any way Ecclesiologically correct: St Jude's Church ended up mid-14th-century in style, but only vaguely, and the interior was decorated in bands of brick and ragstone in a bewildering variety of bonds. It looked like streaky bacon, some sniffed, but clearly Mr Monsell felt this place closer to his heart than stern St John's. After their eldest son Thomas was drowned in a shipwreck on his way to fight in the Crimean War in 1855, he and his wife Anne placed a (now long-vanished) light over the altar at St Jude's in the young man's memory.

By 1870 Mr Monsell had clearly had enough of Egham, and took up the living of St Nicolas in Guildford. Standing by the river, this medieval church had been constantly under threat of flood damage, and was rebuilt in 1797 and again in 1836. Monsell either inherited an existing scheme for yet another reconstruction or initiated one very soon after he arrived, employing Ewan Christian to carry out a design drawn up by Samuel Teulon; the result 'ugly but good and urban', according to Nikolaus Pevsner in the *Buildings of England* volume for Surrey. The only fragment of the old church that was retained was a 15th-century side chapel. However the vicar lived a tragically short time to enjoy his new church: he wasn't killed falling off the tower, as some versions have it, but after tripping onto a stone while supervising some repair works, a nasty cut then becoming fatally infected.

Mr Chandler and Mr Monsell were among the Catholic Movement's early pioneers in Surrey, but despite the universal enthusiasm for church restoration in which the county shared, the evidence suggests that the Movement – especially its farthest wing – was poorly represented locally. If we take as an index of advanced Catholicism membership of an organisation such as the priestly Society of the Holy Cross (the 'SSC') whose 1877 roll is available on Project Canterbury[6], we find one sole Surrey member, Revd T.W. Allen, who was living in Guildford and had no parochial position. We can look elsewhere, though, and we find a number of important Catholic-minded clergy who were perhaps a bit less hardline than the SSC members. The 1871 list of clergy who acted as contact points for J.M. Neale's Society of St Margaret included, for instance, the Vicar of Ash, Gilbert Wall Heathcote (and, in fact, his curate, J.H. Cancellor). Heathcote was an exact contemporary of John Chandler at Witley, born in 1806, and, like him, had been curate to his own father at Hursley in Hampshire and then inherited that living at the exceptionally early age of 23. In 1835 he resigned, moving to Ash, while his brother, as Lord of the Manor, presented to the vicarage of Hursley none other than John Keble. Mr Heathcote remained incumbent of Ash all the way until 1884, though he left the village in 1863 when he became Bursar of Winchester College, leaving a curate in charge. That didn't stop him largely paying for a restoration and extension of Ash church the following year.

Also in the 1871 list we find Revd A.C. Lefroy. Anthony Cottrell Lefroy was yet another scion of a gentry-clerical family, the son of Revd G. Lefroy of Ewshott House in Crondall, over the county boundary in Hampshire but still within that bit of Winchester Diocese which was later hived off to form Guildford (although census returns give Ash as his birthplace). Like G.W. Heathcote, it was Revd Lefroy's elder brother who was Lord of the Manor of Crondall, where the vicar was a distant absentee. Mr Lefroy championed the building of a church in the village of Crookham which, after the church was

opened in 1841, became *Church* Crookham; he was deputed to look after it as curate-in-charge. Unlike John Chandler and Gilbert Wall Heathcote, though, Anthony Lefroy didn't remain connected to Crookham for the rest of his life, as it wasn't a comfortable family living, but moved to Longdon in Worcestershire in 1864. The Lefroy family maintained the link with the vicinity, though, as we will describe later.

One of Anthony Lefroy's aunts, Anna – 'Jane Austen's favourite niece' – published stories and other material in *The Magazine for the Young*, a journal which promoted Tractarian ideas to a youthful readership;[7] one of its founders was Charles Dyson, who'd been Revd Lefroy's incumbent at Dogmersfield[8] before he moved to Crookham, and who *in turn* was the man who persuaded John Keble to publish his astonishingly successful book of poems, *The Christian Year*. This is quite an intensive set of Tractarian connections. In his later years, when taking a break from his duties at Hursley, Keble would worship at Church Crookham; the liturgy there was not advanced, but there was still a daily service (which except on holy days would have been Matins and Evensong), and Mr Lefroy took great satisfaction in the maintenance of that discipline from the day the church was established.

The year 1871 also saw a galvanising event in the Catholic Movement, the Purchas Judgement. The unfortunate John Purchas, priest of St James's Church in Brighton, had been arraigned over his ritual practices in a case which reached the final court, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in February that year. The Committee decided firmly against Mr Purchas on a variety of points. One response was a memorial issued in the name of hundreds of clergy – including some 179 Rural Deans, 23 Archdeacons, and two bishops – urging the bishops not to enforce its decision rigorously on the ground that many of the practices condemned had long been tolerated in the Church of England and should not be restrained now. It was *possible* for Low Churchmen to hold such an opinion, of course, but it is no surprise that most of the names we would expect in Surrey appear in support of the memorial, 'although many of us are not personally affected by the judgment', the petition made clear; they include Chandler of Witley, Sapte of Cranleigh, Monsell of Guildford, Hoste of Dorking, and Rose of Weybridge, as well as a couple of dozen others. (The full list is in an appendix.)

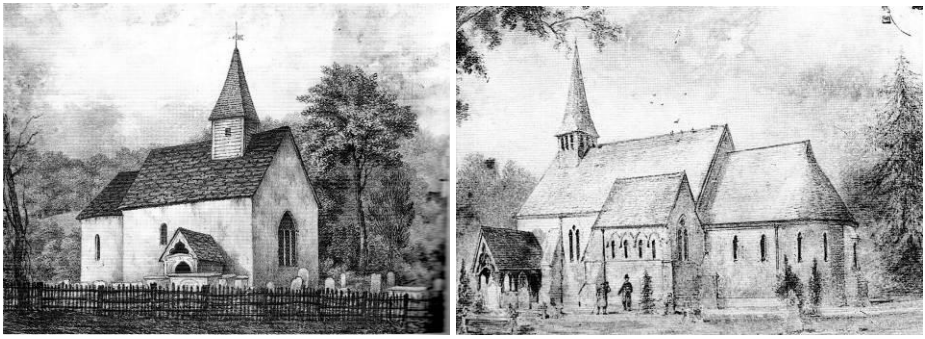
One of the crucial figures in the early stages of the Catholic Revival in Surrey wasn't a priest, but an architect. Henry Woodyer[9] had more influence over the Movement's fabric in the county, its built manifestations, than any other single person, from his first commission building a church at Wyke in 1845, to his final work on St Nicolas, Guildford, in 1891. Woodyer epitomised the idea of the 'gentleman architect', never advertising nor promoting his services,

relying entirely on networks of friends, family and connections to gain the work which he didn't actually need in order to keep body and soul together. He was also an inveterate non-joiner, involved neither with professional architectural bodies nor the organisations that expressed the Catholic Revival, though many of his clients, clerical and lay, were. Plenty of his letters have survived, but they mostly concern particular projects and his occasional clashes with clients, rather than expressing his opinions on either buildings or religion, so it's to the buildings themselves, and the details of his life, that we have to look to discern Woodyer's true influence.

In 1944, architect Harry Redfern remembered all the way back to 1876 when he had trained in Woodyer's office, and recalled 'a most picturesque figure, often smoking a fragrant cigar', but Woodyer doesn't seem to have been quite as singular as his former pupil made him out. Educated at Eton, he kept in touch with his house master, the Tractarian Edward Coleridge, the drawing master William Evans who numbered the Gothic Revivalists Ruskin and Pugin among his friends, and Thomas Gambier Parry, a close friend and later client. He eventually settled on architecture as a career in preference to being ordained as a way of doing some good. He met and gained the approval of J.M. Neale while designing fittings for St Nicolas, Guildford, in 1842, and his name appears in Pugin's diary for 1845 – he worked for Pugin's client Lord Midleton at Peper Harrow for some time, perhaps due to the connection. Woodyer soon became one of the go-to architects for clergy and laypeople who wanted to use someone in sympathy with Catholic principles; one of the Movement's early pioneers, Revd W.J. Butler of Wantage, commissioned him to build a girls' school in 1849, and he worked with Canon Carter of Clewer for thirty years free of charge on the House of Mercy – where Harriet Monsell served – in that parish. This applied to his lay clients too: the Marchioness of Bath, for whom he built Muntham Court in Sussex, was the patron of the Somerset parish of Frome and put in as Vicar there that doughty Tractarian W.J.E. Bennett after he was driven out of St George's-in-the-East in London by riots. But most of Woodyer's work was less far-flung: more than a quarter of all his commissions were in Surrey, and nearly two-thirds either in Surrey or its adjoining counties. As well as personal connections, his decision to take on a job seems to have been influenced by whether he could get to the location easily by train from Guildford!

Woodyer rebuilt or constructed new an impressive seven churches in our part of Surrey: St Luke's, Burpham (1858-9); St Martha's, Chilworth (1848-50), virtually from ruins; St Martin's, Dorking (in phases, 1866-77); St Martin's, East Horsley (1869-70); St Peter's, Hascombe (1863-4); St Mark's, Wyke (1845); and, of course, his own church, St Andrew's, Grafham (1860-61). His restoration of St John's, Capel, was extensive enough to amount to a virtual

rebuilding, too. These buildings reveal him to be neither a slavish copier of medieval precedents, nor a radical inventing bizarre new forms within the Gothic paradigm. All his churches fit within their setting, but are unmistakably 19th-century. Before-and-after images of Capel and St Mary's, Buckland (the latter in the east of Surrey and therefore outside our area of study) show that what Woodyer typically did was to rebuild in such a way as to increase the vertical emphasis of his churches, lengthening his lancets and raising his steeples, as though the church in question has been stretched upwards ever-so-slightly. Of all Woodyer's churches across England, no fewer than 35 appear in the 1876 *Church Tourist's Guide* and were thus among the most 'advanced' churches at the time; Grafham, though, isn't among them, indicating that Woodyer's personal ritual tastes probably remained fixed in those of his own generation, rather than moving on with the Catholic Movement as a whole.



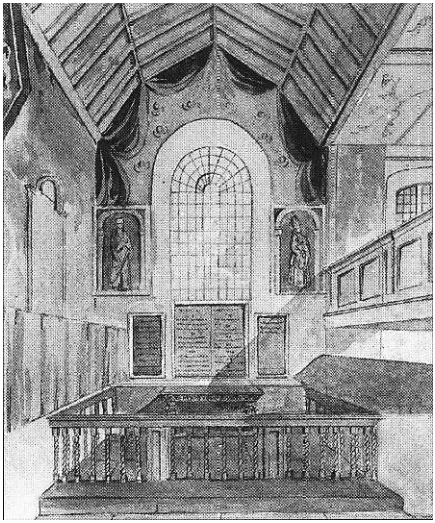
St Peter's Hascombe – the old and new churches (from the Hascombe archives)

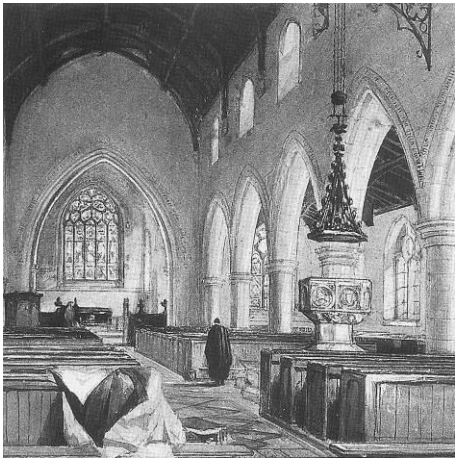
Most of the time, the restoration of churches was barely a controversial matter: it was hard to challenge the idea that church buildings should be made tidier, more seemly and reverent, even if Tractarian clergy might have overemphasised the *un*tidiness and *un*seemliness of the churches they found. Most Tractarians, too, didn't want to push things too far. But the way a drastic 'restoration' worked out in Weybridge showed how such change could go sour.

William Giffard was the third son of Sir Ambrose Hardinge Giffard, Chief Justice of Ceylon, in which imperial outpost he was born in 1818. He was at University College, Oxford, between 1837 and 1840, at the height of Tractarianism; he was listed as a member of Inner Temple in 1841, but must then have been ordained, rather than continuing in the Law. *Alumni Oxonienses* doesn't give the location of his curacy: perhaps it was West Molesey, where a priest of the same name (described as a 'former incumbent', but maybe that was a mistake) donated the now-blocked-in east window. In

1846 this 28-year-old clergyman, newly married to Annabella Mansfield, daughter of the rector of Rowner in Hampshire, arrived as the incumbent of Weybridge.

Weybridge was a sleepy small town or large village with a high proportion of wealthy residents using the parish as an alternative to London. It had a sleepy Georgian church, too, a homely little building with a shingled wooden spire. The east end had a round-headed window surrounded by the Ten Commandments on boards, paintings of Moses and Aaron,[10] and *putti* flying about, surmounted by a swagged curtain effect. The altar was a modest table fenced in with wooden rails. To an Ecclesiologist, as Mr Giffard was, it was outrageous and impossible and had to go: it would be 'restored' to the point of complete removal.





St James's Weybridge in 1822 and 1867 – before and after the rebuilding

Revd Giffard assembled a group of like-minded locals including a schoolmaster, one Revd Dr Spyers, and his churchwarden, Thomas Feetham, a coal merchant. Between them they drew up plans for a new church, and employed the rising Ecclesiological architect, John Loughborough Pearson, to design it. Almost half the cost was raised from a mere seven people, all closely connected to the Rector. When the church was completed in 1849, it towered over its predecessor, a Gothic pile with a soaring spire, roughly three times the footprint of the old church, and utterly alien to what had gone before; and then that old church was demolished. Some of its memorials were moved into the new building – but banished into the tower, a few so high up they could hardly be seen clearly – and others remaining in the churchyard. One resident

rescued a bit of plaster showing a *putto* from the wreckage left lying about. Weybridge, by and large, howled in protest. This was a change that had been imposed by a small group propelled by the will of the Rector, and an ideologically-powered will at that. Residents complained about 'unusual and illegal usage, repulsive to the feelings of the communicants' in the services in the new St James's; we are not sure what these were, but the new building's choir stalls, raised altar and font were clearly designed for a more elevated sort of liturgy than they were used to.

Mr Giffard did make some headway – on Easter Day 1847, some 60 souls made their communion, the highest number Weybridge had recorded – but fate was to deal him a blow. In 1848 the French King, Louis Phillippe, was deposed in a revolution and, as exiled French kings tend to, fled to England, where Queen Victoria gave him and his family asylum in Claremont House. However, Claremont being a royal property, Roman Catholic services could not be celebrated there. The ex-king instead attended the nearest RC church, which happened to be the little chapel of St Charles Borromeo in Weybridge, founded in 1835 as a family church by a local landowner. Consequently, Weybridge became a magnet for Roman Catholics, and, having already outraged so many Protestant-minded locals, Mr Giffard could go no further. He and his wife Annabella were to suffer a great tragedy in 1852 when their son Herbert died soon after being born, and in February 1855 Annabella's brilliant scientist brother Charles was killed as a result of a chemical accident in his laboratory in London. William himself died three months later and rests in the churchyard at Weybridge beneath an appropriately Gothic tombstone; Annabella did not long outlive him, dying in Pau in France in 1857.

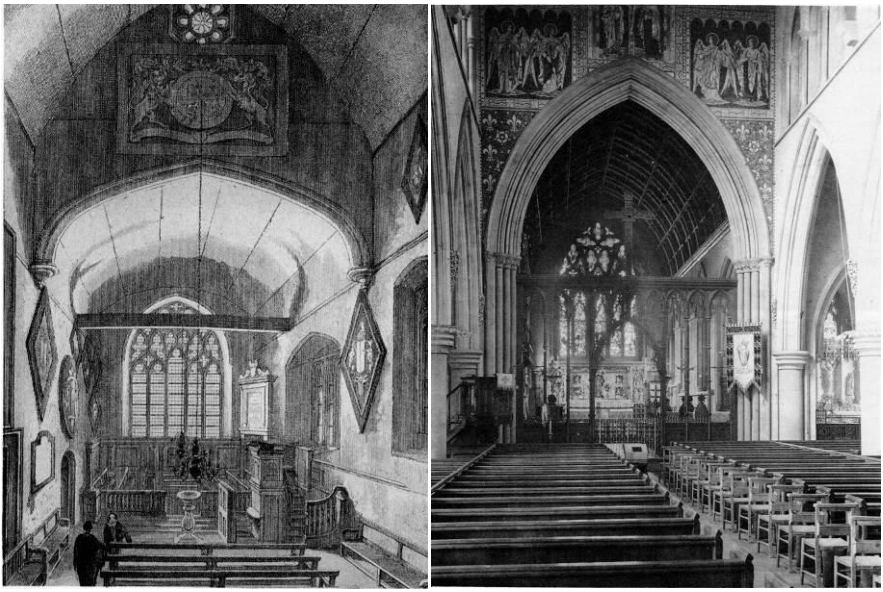
There was trouble at Dorking, but of a different kind, and it is a tangled tale. Here, the campaign of the restorers benefited from the fact that the existing church of St Martin was a mess. The building had a medieval chancel which, at some point in the 18th century, had been screened off from the nave by a partition wall under the church tower which turned it, effectively, into a completely separate space: both parts had their own pews and pulpits. The impetus for change came not from the Vicar, the aged and ill George Feacham, but the newly-arrived curate, Stephen Isaacson. Mr Isaacson was an interesting and problematic character: ordained in 1824 and already Rector of St Paul's Demerara in Guiana within two years, his interests are shown by his editing his cousin Henry's *Life of Bishop Andrewes* and himself producing an edition of the *Apologia* of Bishop Jewel. Both of these the Tractarians would have approved; but, returning from the colonies in 1829 (why did he only last a year in Demerara?), he 'delivered a clever speech at Mansion House Chapel, Camberwell, in which he vindicated the position of the West Indian

slaveholders'. A curacy at St Margaret's Lothbury in the City followed before he came to Dorking, and within months he had launched the project to rebuild the nave of St Martin's to provide 1800 sittings. But the result turned out to be far from Ecclesiologically correct: a weird hall-like structure that looked like Commissioners' Gothic from the outside, and inside had broad, flat arches in cast iron. Only a third of the pews were free; the nave was raised up to provide space for burial vaults which could be sold; and yet, by early 1838, it became clear that costs had overrun by the sum of about £2000, which would now be 200 times as much. James Joyce had arrived as Rector by then, and removed his curate from his role directing the project. Mr Isaacson left later that year, and didn't find another position until 1841 when he became curate at West Hackney.

The new curate of Dorking was the vicar's son, John Wayland Joyce; in 1843 his younger brother William Henry, who was to take over the incumbency relatively soon in 1850, succeeded him.[11] William was a definite Tractarian, for instance subscribing to J.M. Neale's Jerusalem Bishopric Memorial in 1853, in the company of such luminaries as Dr Pusey, Revd Keble, Archdeacon Denison, and Revds Bennett of Frome, Chamberlain of Oxford, and Benjamin Webb of Sheen, a roll-call of the Catholic Movement: it was remarkable that Mr Joyce appeared in such a list.[12] He started a Sunday evening service at St Martin's and the Three-Hour Devotion on Good Friday, then considered an extremely Catholic practice. He made sure the church was kept open during the day and the Offices were recited publicly (even that was a controversial matter for some Evangelicals, who felt it undermined the role of family prayers in domestic settings). He organised the division of the huge old parish of Dorking. He was a model modern Tractarian. He turned his attention to the still-bizarre arrangements of the church he had inherited.

In 1851, William Forman, an extremely rich iron-master, inherited Pippbrook House in Dorking from his elder brother Thomas, and often visited Thomas's widow Elizabeth, who remained living there. In 1853 he paid for the rebuilding of a chapel in the church of his birthplace, St George's Doncaster; and 13 years later, when his sister-in-law died and was buried in that chapel, he spoke to Mr Joyce, who had travelled to Yorkshire to take the funeral service. Mr Forman offered to fund a new chancel for St Martin's. At this point, more Anglo-Catholic connections emerge: it seems that Mr Joyce recommended as architect Henry Woodyer; now, Mr Woodyer had worked with the Revd Sir Frederick Ouseley, priest and musician, to create the remarkable choir college, St Michael's, at Tenbury Wells, in 1856; Revd Ouseley had been a pupil of Mr Joyce's father, and the two were close friends. This time the architecture at Dorking was to be unimpeachably Ecclesiological. When the new chancel was consecrated in 1868, Mr Joyce lit

the seven new sanctuary lamps, and they were never again allowed to go out while he was vicar.

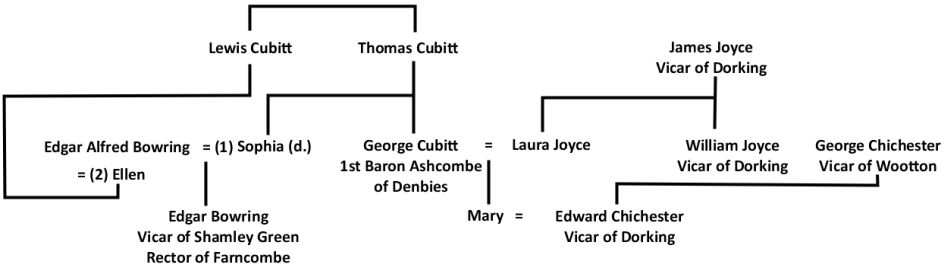


St Martin's Dorking before and after rebuilding

There remained only the replacement of the unmourned nave. Mr Joyce died in 1870; his successor, Philip Hoste, had the assistance of Arthur Powell, churchwarden and senior partner in the stained-glass makers, Powell & Sons of Whitefriars, and the patron of the parish George Cubitt: again they employed Henry Woodyer, who must surely have had a sketch or two waiting in a drawer. The plans also included a chancel screen, as a memorial to William Joyce - it was said he'd always wanted to install one. The church was reopened in 1874. There was more work to do, but the completed St Martin's, with its tower and spire, was the grandest church in Surrey at the time.

St Martin's was grand, and, in fact, occupied a position in Surrey's Catholic vanguard which has been forgotten with the years. At the heart of it was a set of personal relationships which are best described in a family tree rather than a wordy explanation, which I include on the next page.

Although the church directories show that vestments were not being used at the church in the 1870s, it had them *ready* to be used – four mass sets to go with the new chancel altar frontals, donated by Miss Mary Mayo and her friend Miss Noble, and made by Miss Mayo herself and the Sisters at Wantage.



In 1877 106 of the Surrey archdeaconry's 265 confirmation candidates came from Dorking, and Easter communicants stood at 774. Both Gregorian and Anglican chant were used in the church, backed by a succession of accomplished organists and the choir, a great contrast to what the Ecclesiologist Arthur Beresford-Hope, son of Thomas Hope of Deepdene House not far away, remembered as 'an unruly gang of volunteers with fiddles and wind instruments' in the 'decrepit western gallery'.[13]

Nowadays we might have probing questions to ask those earnest restorers which would not occur to onlookers until later in the 19th century, when it began to strike them that old church buildings had an intrinsic value just as a result of there being rather fewer of them left. At Banstead, for instance, as in so many other places, the wood-panelled east end and communion boards obscuring the east window were swept away in 1861, along with the box pews, Jacobean pulpit and sounding-board, and font crammed up against a pillar – and that east window itself, its flat-headed 15th-century profile replaced by an austere three-light Early-English style one. Godalming's restoration of 1879 also disposed of the box pews and huge pulpit (reached by a staircase to match), galleries, and great monuments on the tower arch. The lowering Norman arches of the crossing were not up to Ecclesiological standard either, so the eastern one was yanked upwards to reveal the top of the east window, and the western was completely replaced by a Gothic arch. We moderns tend to regard the disreputable old Georgian churches as rather more interesting than their cleansed and purified Victorian counterparts: but the restorers weren't interested in 'interesting'.

There were plenty of churches where 'restoration' was not controversial, and seems to have had no partisan implications. Charles Sumner, the Bishop of Winchester between 1827 and 1869, the whole of the initial period of the Catholic Revival, was by inclination an Evangelical but (as we have seen in his relations with John Chandler) had wider sympathies than his own Church party. He was also, in fact, a definite supporter of the process of restoration and, in fact, often in its most radical form: he could usually be found sympathetic to any parish making a case that its church was hopeless, and that

the best thing was to pull it down and rebuild. This was the case (for instance) at West Molesey, where only the tower survived the rebuilding of 1843, and Hambledon, where nothing outlasted 1846. West Molesey developed a Catholic tradition later on; Hambledon never did, although even it is not untouched by the Catholic Movement, as few churches are.

At Addlestone, restoration meant a church moving definitely (if modestly) in a Catholic direction. St Paul's was consecrated in 1838, and was a brutal 'Commissioners' Gothic' structure with very un-Ecclesiological box pews and galleries: it didn't even have a central aisle in the nave, being very much a shelter to hear sermons in. There was no processing about to be done there, even in the most rudimentary way. Change had already arrived by 1855 when a chancel was built; in 1883 the box pews were removed, a central aisle created, and a vestry added for the choir along with pews in the chancel for them to sit in. Worship was Communion at 8am, Mattins at 11, and Evensong at 6.30pm, with Communion appended to Mattins once a month (on August 3rd 1884, there was no sermon at Mattins & Communion, but 'the vicar read the xxxix Articles'). The chancel was remodelled with an apse in 1904, and by then St Paul's had acquired a completely different identity.

SS Peter & Paul, Ewhurst, is and always has been a very moderate and non-party church. An early restoration was forced on it in 1838 when the tower fell down, and a second followed in 1879 which included the renewal of the painted Commandments, new altar rails and pulpit (actually they were 17th-century relics brought from elsewhere), and the installation of choir stalls: there was a time when a robed choir would have been a sign of an advanced Catholic church, but it was pretty unobjectionable by the 1870s (though not everywhere, as we will see at Epsom). At tiny Alfold, where Richard Sparkes arrived as Rector in 1839, there was a very conservative restoration. Overall, the church still retained a medieval look thanks to its 15th-century pews and great belfry timbers. Mr Sparkes found the arches of the former north aisle beneath the plaster on the nave wall, and had it rebuilt, and also discovered the medieval altar slab under the nave floor. He excavated this great chunk of Purbeck marble and put it back in place atop a wooden table, surrounded it with slipware tiles which certainly look old, and reconstructed a



The altar stone at Alfold

chancel screen out of leftover woodwork. He inserted a piscina into the chancel, medieval in form but definitely Victorian. This was all High-Church enough, but apart from a painted reredos in a wooden Gothic frame arriving some time in the later 1800s – it shows saints surrounding the risen Christ, and is now banished to a side chapel – the church rather stopped where Mr Sparkes left it. It never advanced any further up the candle; and perhaps Mr Sparkes was more an antiquarian than a Tractarian, two enthusiasms which might, but need not, go together.[14]

In this initial stage, Catholic-minded Anglicans needed to tread carefully to avoid being tarred with the deep, centuries-long prejudice against their Roman brethren. In 1850, Pope Pius IX had restored the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England. From the Reformation until then, Roman Catholic bishops in England, when there had been any, were technically described as 'Vicars Apostolic', each looking after a district rather than a diocese. Pope Pius decided the time had come to give them their proper name and historic titles, and made Nicholas Wiseman Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Most Anglicans saw this as an unacceptable provocation. Bishop Sumner visited Haslemere, right at the edge of the diocese, soon afterwards, and warned his clergy against the danger of 'Puseyism', linking the Oxford Movement with 'papal aggression'. The incumbent at Haslemere was James Legrew Hesse - in fact Rector of Chiddingfold, but he had elected to place a curate there and live at the town instead. A Cambridge graduate, ordained in 1827, and having served a short curacy at Redmarshall before becoming Rector of Rowberrow in 1829 to which he added Knebworth in 1830, Mr Hesse hardly sounds like an ideal Tractarian, but it's clear that he found his position at rowdy Haslemere uncomfortable.[15] He refused to call a public meeting to oppose the Pope's action, preferring just to have a petition available in the church. This didn't stop a near-riot in Haslemere, and the Pope being burned in effigy.

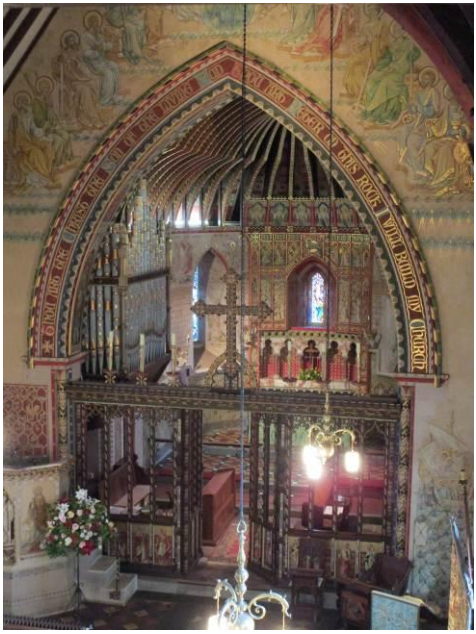
The history of the Catholic movement more widely, too, is scattered with instances of conflict between Catholic-minded clergy and their bishops. Bishops exerted far less control over the mid-Victorian Church of England than they might now; once an incumbent was installed in his parish, there was next to nothing his bishop could do about him unless he chose to act completely illegally, and even then it wasn't easy (paradoxically bishops have more legal leeway today, but liturgical practice and even belief are so varied that none of them choose to make much noise about it). Nevertheless, bishops could still make life hard for recalcitrant clergy by exercising the pressure open to them, refusing to licence curates or confirm laypeople. Surrey clergy tended not to try and push their luck, but also the bishops of Winchester, before the Diocese of Guildford was established, were far from confrontational. As we've seen, the very long-serving Charles Sumner (1827-

69) was Evangelical by predilection but broadminded enough to work with the Tractarian clergy he found appearing in his diocese, notwithstanding that warning against 'Puseyism'. Bishops Samuel Wilberforce (1869-73) and Harold Browne (1873-91) were moderate High Churchmen. Browne's successor Harold Thorold (1891-5) had been involved in at least one ugly episode while Bishop of Rochester, ending in the laypeople of St Paul's Lorrimore Square, who he had warned 'everything that is illegal in the usage of this church must cease', driving him out of the parish with a hail of stones directed at his coach, but that traumatic experience probably contributed to his becoming a much more emollient character by the time he was translated to Winchester. Randall Davidson (1895-1903) had a conciliatory nature, Herbert Ryle (1903-11) was a quiet scholar, and, finally, under Edward Talbot (1911-23) Anglo-Catholics knew they were fairly safe: he had been the first Warden of Keble College in Oxford, founded in memory of John Keble, and as such was already patron of a growing number of Catholic parishes.

Over in Epsom, Mr Benjamin Bradney Bockett ('I am the 3 Bs, you know, and a stinging bee, too, sometimes, they tell me') had been Vicar of St Martin's since 1839. What might be called a 'forceful character', he had in 1828 been charged with 'carrying away' Miss Fanny Bramwell of Tavistock Street, London, with the intention of marriage, an aim achieved the following year. Mr Bockett had won the support of the young lady's mother with 'displays of evangelical Godliness' but, should her father get in their way, he threatened, he'd 'blow his brains out'. By 1881 the 'stinging bee' was himself apparently rather pained by events at St Martin's daughter church, Christ Church Epsom Common, heading in a very different direction to his from its start, and he advertised in the Church of England's main paper *The Guardian* thus: 'Curate wanted for Epsom by decided Protestant free from Ritualistic follies. Gown used in pulpit. No intoning, no blasphemous hymns, no eastward position. Ezek. viii, 16. Evening communion. Choir, but not surplice'.[16] The bible reference implies that Mr Bockett regarded the Catholic preference for celebrating communion facing east as tantamount to sun-worship, while evening communion was definitely a low-church practice: not many souls were hardy enough to fast until the evening before taking the Sacrament.

In Hascombe, Vernon Musgrave had no trouble. The total demolition of the old St Peter's church had apparently met with no noticeable opposition. Box-pews, galleries, a font that looked a little like a bird-bath, a chancel arch virtually blocked by the Royal Arms, and a tiny altar-table behind rails and backed by tables of the Commandments – Hascombe had them all, enough for good Ecclesiologists to draw in their breath in horror. In the end, the font was retained, along with a handy 15th-century chancel screen which Henry

Woodyer made the basis of a completely new and far more elaborate one, but the rest was all to go. The local landowners defrayed all of the cost, including Revd Musgrave himself who paid for the chancel to the tune of £1200 (well over £100K today). The fabric of the church was completed in 9 months, but the lavish decoration for which it is now well-known took another twenty years as more money became available. To describe it in detail would be overwhelming; suffice it to say that every surface is covered with paint, tiles, and gilding. The radiating ribs of the eastern apse converge on a ceiling boss showing the Dove of the Holy Spirit, and even the spaces between them are decorated. Henry Woodyer's mighty reredos depicts angels singing and a vast company of saints running right down to the floor. Much of the decoration refers to St Peter, patron saint of the church, including the charming painting of the Miraculous Draught of Fishes (not all the original 153 have survived. Imagine painting 153 identical fish).





The sumptuous east end at Hascombe, and the memorial brass to Vernon Musgrave

Like John Chandler before him, Vernon Musgrave achieved enough respect to end his ministry as Rural Dean of Godalming, and was also a Canon of Winchester; he was memorialised in a strikingly medieval-style brass laid in the floor of the church after his death in 1906, though he was actually buried in the churchyard. Three years later, a visitor found the church packed for a

service, 'the people mainly clearly agricultural', and the rector, Mr Siviers, vested in a green stole, the dark chancel illuminated by a red sanctuary lamp, its light glinting off the mosaic and gilding.[17] Hascombe was too small and remote to be a leader of the Catholic movement in the diocese, but its ideals had clearly 'taken' in this parish. In Hascombe, the Church had been restored indeed.

2. Founders

Of the 80 churches in our core list, only 31 existed before John Keble preached the Assize Sermon in 1833: most of the churches at the centre of the Catholic tradition in the Guildford diocese were new ones. In fact this is not a surprise: this proportion – 61% - is almost exactly the same as that of new versus old churches across the diocese as a whole. Although there are clear instances where a daughter church is founded in an old parish which then outpaces its parent, it doesn't seem to be the case that Anglo-Catholics particularly inhabited newer churches, at least in Surrey. Instead, there are newer ones that were established with a clear Catholic tradition from the beginning, and others that acquired one later, like their pre-Victorian counterparts.

Churches have always been closed and opened elsewhere as population shifted, but the enormous demographic changes of the 19th century led to a sudden and dramatic expansion in the number of church buildings. By the end of the century, the UK population was almost four times what it had been at its start – a figure that masked a severe reduction in what would become the Republic of Ireland – and England, at least, had become a predominately urban society when a hundred years before it had been an overwhelmingly rural one. The religious questions asked in the 1851 census had revealed that most of the population wouldn't have been able to fit in their Anglican churches even had they wanted to, prompting both soul-searching on the part of the Established Church and a frantic process of church-building. Sometimes churches were built as deliberately 'party' foundations, designed to express either Evangelical or Anglo-Catholic identities, and occasionally in clear and specific opposition to other churches in their area which took the contrasting point of view.

As we considered our 'Restorers' in the first chapter, we already mentioned some new churches that also arose from their efforts: Churt, Shottermill, Milford, and Church Crookham. Few of the church-founders in our area, though, were clergy. Bishop Sumner gave the land for St John's, Hale, in 1844, but he had nothing to do with the Catholic tradition it acquired much later. The relationship is clearer at Hawley, where the Revd John Randell paid the £2000 to build the first Holy Trinity, a modest and plain little building which he always intended to extend and develop as time and funds allowed. Revd Randell's cousin Charles, owner of the local big house (Fern Hill), if not technically Lord of the Manor, provided other components of village life including the Green and the Almshouses (and a second church, which we will come to later). John Randell died in 1856, just before the new, enlarged church



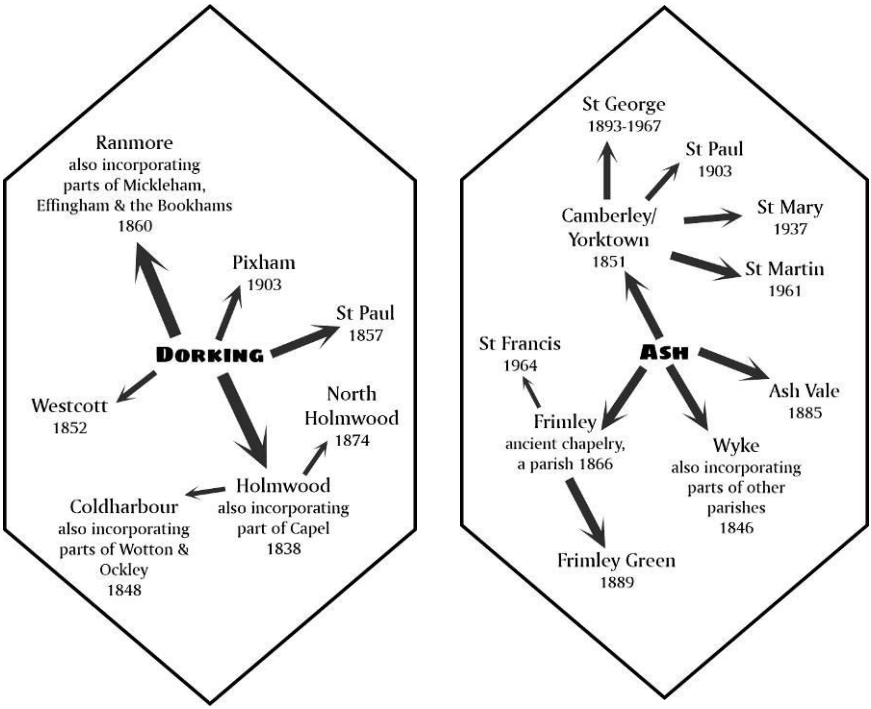
The original Holy Trinity, Hawley, c.1850 – from a painting in the church

was opened, and was buried under the chancel steps. His successor as vicar, John Wyatt, had been Mr Randell's curate, and smoothly took on the project.

He had able assistance from his wife Harriet, a talented artist who embroidered altar frontals that survive at Westminster Abbey and Oxford, Chichester, and Winchester Cathedrals (though not Hawley Church itself), composed organ music and led the church choir, and even taught herself stonecarving – much of the decoration of the church was her work. Mr Wyatt stayed at Hawley all the way until 1901, seeing through the addition of the reredos in the 1870s, and the mosaics depicting the Apostles and the Martyrdom of St Stephen.

Clergy could act as organisers and galvanisers when a new church was required. The curate of Godalming in the 1840s, Edward Boyce, looked north and realised that, if plans to extend the railway from London resulted in a station at Farncombe, that scatter of hamlets and cottages could well see its population rocket, and a church would be necessary. There were some very Catholic contributors to the fund Mr Boyce started, including John Mason Neale (a friend of his) and Revd W.J. Butler of Wantage, and the church as opened in 1849 could certainly be used for a Tractarian model of worship, but Farncombe doesn't seem to have been particularly high-church at first. The first incumbent, Samuel Lyon (who appears initially to have been 'perpetual curate' rather than Rector), had been at West Tisted in Hampshire; in 1859 he exchanged livings with the colourful Charles Dallas, a Jamaica-born ex-soldier who'd fought at Waterloo,[18] and who had been 'an unpopular island curate' in Jamaica whose evangelical opinions had clashed with the values of West Indies Anglicanism; he relocated to Britain in 1834 after the abolition of slavery, and was later compensated for his ownership of 9 slaves. There doesn't seem to have been a choir at Farncombe until the late 1860s at the earliest, and in fact until 1865 the incumbent didn't even live in the parish: Mr Dallas finally tired of riding in from four miles away and insisted that the diocese build a rectory.

There is a reason why a parish is referred to as its incumbent's 'living' – until the pooling of parish incomes and the payment of clergy from a diocesan pot, beginning in the 1960s, the vicar or rector would have derived his income directly from the properties, fees and entitlements his parish had gathered over the centuries, so it was a confident priest indeed who agreed to dismember it simply because it was too big. No bishop had the power in those days to dispose of parish boundaries and clergy as he saw fit. But some of those vast old parishes were indeed divided into more manageable units. The two diagrams below show what happened in Dorking and Ash, for instance:



Some lay patrons also filled in gaps where it would be useful to have a church. St Paul's, Tongham (1866) was paid for posthumously by John Back, the owner of Aldershot Park, supposedly to fulfil a promise to two of his estate workers that they'd no longer have to walk to Seale church on Sundays. Both the Holmwood churches, St John's at North Holmwood (1874) and St Mary Magdalene's South Holmwood (1842), depended on lay founders, the Legge sisters in the former case and the Larpent family and others in the latter. Christ Church Shamley Green (1864) started as a chapel-of-ease to Wonersh, constructed by MP and champion of the Catholic movement George Cubitt,

later Lord Ashcombe. Cuddington was in the odd situation of being a parish with a patron but no church, the medieval one having been demolished in 1538 to make way for Nonsuch Palace: a tin church was erected in 1867 and a permanent building in 1894, largely paid for by Charles W. Smith, a wealthy furrier who had left Malden church after falling out with the incumbent.

We have already met Mary Mayo providing altar frontals and vestments for St Martin's Dorking in the 1870s. She was an oblate of the convent at Wantage and her friend Ellen Noble, a parish visitor recruited by Revd William Joyce at St Martin's, actually joined the Sisters; Mary was 'a mixture of stern Victorian lady and a fairy godmother-type benefactress'.[19] She saw the growth in population at the east end of Dorking town as a village in the making, and that, she felt, required a church. Thus St Mary's Pixham came into being, a striking building designed by no less than Edwin Lutyens, and dedicated in 1903 in memory of Miss Mayo's priest brothers, by her friend Canon Brooke, the incumbent of the Anglo-Catholic church of St John the Divine, Kennington. The Byzantine-style east end could be screened off behind a curtain so the church could be used as a community hall. But Miss Mayo laid down firm rules as to what could happen there, the Trust Deed banning acting, smoking and dancing, which one might have thought didn't leave that much. 'All these rules were little known … and little kept, especially in recent years when they have probably all been broken'. Unsurprisingly for a small church, the liturgical diet was modest – a children's service at 11am on Sundays, Evensong at 6.30pm, and an 8am communion on the first Sunday in the month.



St Mary's, Pixham



All these churches were in places that made sense from a population point of view, but others appeared for more whimsical and often very personal reasons. Christ Church Ottershaw wasn't intended as a parish church when consecrated in 1864 but was constructed to serve Sir Edward Colesbrooke's estate of Ottershaw Park – and also as a memorial for the Colesbrookes' infant son Henry, who'd died in 1859, to judge by an inscription on the very base of the font which can only be seen when lying on the ground.[20] St Mary's Shackleford was built by Archdall Buttemer as a memorial to his wife Georgina, daughter of Revd Dallas of Farncombe to whom Mr Buttemer had been curate.[21] Buttemer became Shackleford's first Rector, but hardly anyone lives near the church even now, and for the unprepared traveller it looms out of the woods very unexpectedly; it's in the process of being declared redundant.

As well as funding the church at Shamley Green and a variety of other ventures, George Cubitt had his own estate church, the lavishly decorated St Barnabas's Ranmore (1857), isolated on the downs above Dorking but accessible by the scattered Denbies estate workers:

> Attendance at church provided the "social glue" to the community. Dress codes were scrupulously maintained and servants were expected to go to church. The house staff were given an hour off each Sunday to attend one of the three services. They gathered in the large stableyard, and walked down the path which ended at the "Private" gate opposite the main door. The Cubitt family and their visitors followed, past the great glasshouses; the family sat in the right hand front pews, as they do today. Lady Ashcombe sat in the second pew, ostensibly to keep an eye on the younger members of the family in the pew in front. Everyone was expected to sit in their customary place in the pews, the house staff sat on the south side of the nave, and the families and outside workers on the north side.[22]

At Grafham, a place that barely existed beyond a handful of scattered farms and a big house, the owner of that house, no less than Henry Woodyer, persuaded Bishop Sumner that it needed a church of its own, and the incumbents of the surrounding parishes that they wanted to give up chunks of theirs to provide it with one. In common with other such foundations, this one – as well as, Woodyer argued, being more practical for the locals than the alternatives at Dunsfold and Bramley – would be a memorial to his beloved wife Frances, who had died in 1854. Woodyer had already funded a stipend for her brother Thomas[23] to say services in Grafham for some years. The pretty St Andrew's, built of Bargate stone and brick, still blends beautifully into its isolated surroundings: it ended up a humbler version of Hascombe, and would have looked even more like its grander cousin before the wall-paintings that filled it were whitewashed over in the 1950s. As at Hascombe, a richly-painted

wooden rood screen opens into an apsidal chancel roofed with powerful, decorated ribs, and a single deeply-recessed lancet lights the altar, surrounded in Grafham's case by a soaring gilded and painted reredos, depicting a flowering cross adored by angels. The cross was naughty enough: I *say* the church has a rood screen, but Woodyer knew the Bishop would never countenance that, so he made it an integral part of the structure, forming the cross from beams set flat into the wall above the screen. Bishop Sumner's reaction on turning up to consecrate the building is not recorded, but he had little choice but to go ahead. Woodyer inserted a small statue of St Andrew into a niche above the west door, and in the east window, as at Farncombe, the crucified Christ's wounds stream blood down towards the altar. After Woodyer's daughter married in 1891, he seems to have lost interest in Grafham, moving away a few years later. As we've seen, the actual *ritual* at St Andrew's in fact never moved very far, and the Sacrament was never reserved there, even when it came under the aegis of Bramley, a more advanced church; though it may have been a Bramley incumbent who sneaked in the little statue of Our Lady which sits unobtrusively in the piscina.

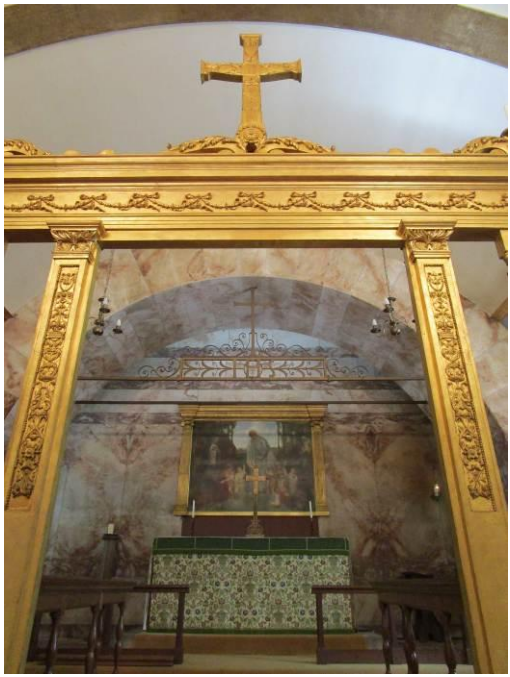


St Andrew's, Grafham

The story of All Saints' Fleet was similar, though here the population of the area was rapidly growing so a new church did make some demographic sense: The family continued its link with the ecclesiastical history of the Crondall district when Charles Lefroy of Ewshot House commissioned William Burges (whose father was Mr Lefroy's father-in-law's business partner) to build the church as a memorial to his late wife, Janet; All Saints' was completed in 1861 and received its own parish the following year, by which time its benefactor had himself died.

St Martin's, Blackheath, was founded in 1893 by Sir William Roberts-Austen, Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, on the hills above the parish church of Wonersh. How and why this came about is unclear: Sir William was (we are told) Lay Reader at Wonersh, but why should this be when his main residence was at the Mint itself? The designer was the *Art Nouveau* architect Charles H. Townsend, whose rather better-known works include the Horniman Museum

and the Whitechapel Art Gallery. Local ironstone was taken to the Mint to be smelted and made into candleholders and the lectern. After Sir William died in 1902 the church was lined in *alabaster* in his memory – so someone had plenty of money to throw its way – the gilded screen was given by banker and benefactor Henry Prescott of Brantyngeshay, and the font, a great marble bowl on a matching pedestal, by the composer Oliveria Prescott, presumably a relative of Henry's.[147] Hardly anyone was living in the area; St Martin's has the look of a church founded not in this case by a single paternalistic landowner but by a group of artistically-minded individuals with a will to create something to their tastes. The church acquired an early though fragmentary Catholic tradition, as we will see.



The east end at Blackheath

A final (and late) example of this kind of foundation is Holy Trinity Forest Green (1897). This was preceded by St Barnabas's, a tin chapel erected ten years before to serve scattered settlements in the parish of Okewood, and was a memorial to Everard Hensley of Pratsham Grange, killed in a hunting accident in 1892; he'd been born on Trinity Sunday 1874, hence the dedication. Everard appears in one of the windows as St George.

As we can see, even churches founded by leading lights of the Catholic movement – Woodyer's Grafham and Mr Cubitt's Ranmore – were not necessarily advanced centres of Catholic liturgical practice, but private churches outside the scrutiny of the bishop could theoretically get away with more. In the 1876 edition of the *Tourist's Church Guide* there are only two Surrey churches where vestments were worn. At St Mark's Reigate they had advanced as far as plain linen vestments, but Reigate is outside our field of interest; the solitary church in what would become Guildford Diocese where a priest might preside vested and in the proper colours was St Matthew's, Hatchford. In about 1840 Lord Francis Egerton, later Earl of Ellesmere,

moved from Oatlands to Hatchford Park, an estate near Cobham with very little in the way of residents apart from the big house itself. In 1850 Lord Ellesmere built St Matthew's, a brick estate chapel – the builders were Francis & Sons who'd also designed Lyne church – and after his death in 1857 his wife added a more ornate chancel in his memory. The church had a painted rood screen, Flemish windows rescued from a convent depicting saints, and lots of family monuments. In 1876, a visitor could find lighted candles on the altar and Gregorian chant being sung; the eucharist was celebrated at 8am every Sunday and holy day, and at 10am on the first and last Sundays in the month. Of course the Ellesmeres could do what they liked in their estate chapel, but in 1868 St Matthew's was incorporated in the Diocese of Winchester, with the Ellesmeres as patrons, and it seems its place in the annals of advanced liturgical practice was short-lived. The church was eventually absorbed into Ockham parish and demolished in 1967.[24]

Back in the parochial system, the great Gothic Revival architect G.E. Street designed and paid for St Mary the Virgin, Holmbury St Mary, in 1879, a church which, as the parish name implies, galvanised the area's sense of identity as a distinct place. St Mary's was a memorial to Street's second wife Jessie, who'd died mere weeks after their wedding. At first there was an 8am communion service once a month, but by 1886 there three on Easter Day, and three years later a Catechism course dealt with subjects including 'The Holy Catholic Church' and 'The Communion of Saints', while saints' days began to marked from the late 1880s too. It was clear where the church was coming from – and where it was going.

Christ Church, Epsom, was not so much a founding as a re-founding. It began as a cheap tin chapel-of-ease to the old parish church, St Martin's, in 1843, and then was rebuilt as a substantial brick church a couple of years later. It was rebuilt again, and constituted as a separate parish, in 1876, somewhat in the teeth of the incumbent of St Martin's, the battling Benjamin Bockett who we've already met. Such was his opposition that the Order in Council establishing the new parish actually referred to it, with every indication that, rather than the Vicar being won round, the Bishop had simply overruled him. We don't know why this was, especially when he had been much in support of the move at one stage and even raised funds for it. Perhaps the loss of revenue had struck him, or he fell out with Christ Church's main sponsors, the Trotter family of Horton Manor. Miss Elizabeth Trotter had offered to endow the church in the 1850s, but this had been 'inconsiderately declined'[25], leaving her heirs, niece Mary and her husband William Brown who assumed the Trotter name, to carry out the wishes of her will. Now, Elizabeth Trotter had left £8000 to fund the new parish on the stipulation that the church should 'avoid the follies of (so-called) ritualism', a condition that should have endeared the

project to Mr Bockett's heart. We know little about the opinions of the first vicar of Christ Church, George Willes, who left to become domestic chaplain to the Earl of Egmont, but his successor Archer Hunter was a definite Anglo-Catholic. Revd Hunter had been curate at St Mary's Beddington, a very advanced church, and helped set up St Michael's Camden Town, another, before arriving at Christ Church in 1881 and taking it in the same direction. The Trotters and other lay supporters seemed content with this, which as we've seen was more than could be said of Mr Bockett.

The Surrey Anglo-Catholic foundation *par excellence* was All Saints' Woodham, or 'The Annunciation' as it was called when first built in 1894. Here, the driving force was the owner of Woodham Hall, Robert Norton Stevens, who worshipped regularly at the model Ecclesiological church of All Saints' Margaret Street in west London, and who wanted a church which offered the same kind of advanced ritualist worship within walking distance of his estate workers. The first vicar, Percy Phillips, had served his title at moderate Ottershaw (a parish he later returned to as vicar), but following that did a second curacy at Christ Church, St Leonards, a church where incense was already in regular use. Woodham's tradition was established from the start, and it never deviated from it.

People on the Catholic end of the spectrum were, of course, not the only ones founding churches throughout our period. St Paul's Dorking (1857) was funded by the Evangelical landowner John Labouchère, who we've already met in connection with Coldharbour. The general Evangelical tenor of Woking's churches was followed by the various offshoots from its old parish church of St Peter: St John's (1842), Holy Trinity Knaphill (1855), and Christ Church (1889), with its own daughter churches of St Paul (1895) and St Mary of Bethany (1907). Guildford is interesting for its two streams of foundations reflecting different traditions. All Saints', Onslow Park began as the Guildford Park Mission of the Catholic town-centre parish of St Nicolas in 1897; a tin church of the Ascension was put up in 1903 and by 1921 was celebrating a 'mass' weekly; and a permanent church opened on the present site in 1927, eventually giving rise in turn to the Westborough churches, St Francis and St Clare.[26] Holy Trinity had a chapel of St Luke in Addison Road which also grew out of a mission hall established in 1886. Meanwhile the old parish of Stoke to the north of the town spread its Evangelical style to daughter churches at Christ Church (1868), St Saviour (1899), and Emmanuel, Stoughton (1904).

Contrary to some of the stories I was told, St Francis's Littleton was not *founded* by the More-Molyneux family of Loseley House as a Low Church counterblast to the parish church of St Nicolas in Guildford, but that was what

it became. The building was originally a schoolhouse, and was used for services from 1887; it was converted into a church in 1904. Although they'd opposed John Monsell's plans to rebuild St Nicolas's because of the fate of the Loseley Chapel in the church, the More-Molyneuxes had perfectly cordial relationships with their parish authorities until Mrs More-Molyneux-McCowan, who'd inherited Loseley in 1907, clashed with the Revd C.L. Russell. Fr Russell was not an official curate of the parish, but was 'temporarily attached', and not exactly diplomatic. Eventually relationships broke down to the extent that the bishop, Edward Talbot, got involved and brokered an agreement whereby St Francis's would remain legally in the parish of St Nicolas but pass into the oversight of Compton.[27]



St Michael's, Weybridge

There are a couple of instances of a Catholic-side church giving rise to a daughter establishment which managed to embody the same tradition. While Edward Rose was Rector of Weybridge, a new church designed by William Butterfield was built at the top of the hill in 1874, to serve – so it is said – a humbler congregation compared to the posher profile of St James's, though that might have reflected its location rather than anything more conscious. By 1888 there was Communion at St Michael's on all Sundays and feast days, and major feasts had two celebrations of the eucharist at 7.15 and 11am; a postcard of the interior from 1904 shows a highly decorated east end, an elaborate reredos with a rood, and a cross resting on the predella behind the altar. In Epsom, St Barnabas's was established in the parish of Christ Church in 1899 to serve the staff and patients of the five mental healthcare hospitals established by the London County Council on the land of the old Horton Manor, home of the Trotters who had helped found Christ Church itself. The original iron church was replaced by a permanent building in 1909: a photograph from a few years later shows a splendid 'big six' on the altar.[28] The latest of all these foundations was St Michael's Sheerwater, which we'll deal with later.

All Saints', Hawley, began its existence unusually as the chapel of a religious house. Charles Randell of Fern Hill, a cousin of the Revd John Randell of Holy Trinity, Hawley, began building a convalescent home in the parish,

which was completed as All Saints' Home in 1882 after his death. Between then and 1953 it was run by the Clewer Sisters, not as a convalescent home, as it turned out, but a children's home, and then a ladies' rest home from 1937 until it was handed over to a charity; at that point the nuns returned to Clewer, and All Saints' became a chapel-of-ease to Holy Trinity. However it had always been open to the public, and although there is no information on what worship was like in the earlier period, its arrangements and fittings reflect a firm Catholic identity, hardly a surprise given its origins.

The relationship between a church and its founder was not always straightforward: Helen Colman of Nork Park, for instance, came to feel that in St Mary's Burgh Heath she had not got what she had ordered. Mrs Colman's husband had bought the Nork Park estate in 1890 and as the population of the area grew he allowed public services to take place in the Strawberry-Hill-Gothick chapel at Nork House. When, in the mid-1900s, plans were drawn up for a church to serve the area, Mrs Colman insisted it should be big enough to accommodate future decades of growth as well as what was needed at the time, and together with her sons donated £2000 to the fund. In 1908 she laid the church's foundation stone, and when it was completed in 1909 the pews in the south aisle were set aside for the use of the Colman family.

Burgh Heath's mother church of Banstead[29] was moderately high-church at the time, but St Mary's was more advanced from the start, its worship including a sung eucharist every Sunday and the use of vestments. Years later the curate then responsible for Nork and Burgh Heath, Harold Godefroy, recalled that everyone believed 'the Colman family at least did not disapprove of our action … [but] I rather think that before long some outside influence was brought to bear upon them', and Mrs Colman demanded that the liturgy at St Mary's should fall in line with that at the parish church, or she would withdraw her support, and so (Mr Godefroy felt) would others. 'I had always the greatest admiration for Mrs Colman, her sound judgement and Christian spirit. But her position had made her autocratic and, once having made up her mind, nothing that could be said by the Vicar and myself would lead her to change it'. Reluctant though the clergy were to accept 'the idea that he who pays the piper has the right to call the tune', they gave in. Mr Martin, the Burgh Heath sacristan, resigned in protest, and Mr Godefroy felt it had been 'a reverse which crippled the work for years'. In 1923 the Nork Park estate was sold, the Colmans left the area, and their influence was over. The end of the south aisle where they had reserved seats was screened off and turned into the Chapel of St Monica; the glass and fittings were designed by the great Ninian Comper, and you could hardly get more Anglo-Catholic than that.

The incumbent of Banstead between 1918 and 1930, Arthur Hopkinson, had interesting things to say about this situation in his memoirs. Even after the conflict with Mrs Colman, Burgh Heath was, he argued,

> … built to meet the needs of a growing district which failed to grow; so that the church was never full, and the work always seemed to languish … It would have been much easier during my time if Burgh Heath had not been included in Banstead, for there were all the difficulties inseparable from a district-church – divided authority, divided loyalties … If I left the curate in charge of Burgh Heath to himself, I was blamed for neglecting part of the parish, while if I gave more attention to it, I was accused of interfering. [30]

He contrasted this with the experience of Nork, a district built on the site of the Colmans' estate once they had left. Here, Mr Hopkinson perceived, 'the newcomers, mostly young married couples, would not be able to provide themselves with what they needed ["a priest, a parsonage, and a church"] … On the other hand, it was not easy to win the sympathy of the established parishioners for a development which had spoiled much of the charm of the place'; but, despite the bankruptcy of the original developer,

> I have come to the opinion that an effort of this sort is best worked out locally … In a newly-developed district the inhabitants will take little interest in a church which has been provided for them … The church-life of Nork has been vigorous and satisfactory from the first, whereas at Burgh Heath, where the site was unwisely chosen and the church was paid for almost exclusively by one wealthy family, it took more than twenty years to evolve any sort of corporate church-life.

Over in Egham Hythe, another lay patron found things working out differently from their intentions. St Paul's replaced a Mission Hall in 1931 – the Hall was used for secular purposes during the week and, the Vicar of Egham complained, it was 'a hut, ugly to look at, bare and forlorn within, in which tonsils are inspected, teeth extracted, bugles blown, drums beaten, billiards played and boxing gloves used with effect'. The new church's main funder, Egham grocer Edward Budgen (who founded the chain of shops that bears his name), wrote to the Bishop to seek assurances that it would not be a 'party' church, but would be 'for the whole parish'.[31] Any Anglo-Catholic would of course claim that was the case anyway, but while St Paul's was never aggressively spiky, the first vicar, P.F.L. Burges, had been curate at St Barnabas's Bethnal Green, which was, and his successor John McKitterick moved across from Christ Church, Epsom. A statue of St Michael, possibly made by Faith Craft[32], appeared, and there were midweek communion services on several days.

Churches, however, were not the only institution being founded to express Catholic ideals in the Church of England. In the autumn of 1862, the Archdeacon of Surrey, John Ullerton, invited the rector of Cranleigh, John Sapte[33], and George Cubitt to a working breakfast in Guildford. The conversation turned to the state of education, and Mr Cubitt stated his opinion that Surrey badly needed an independent school for the middle classes, and, further, that if Mr Sapte would help him he would lead the effort to start one. Mr Sapte seems to have been taken aback as it took him a little while to decide, but he eventually included 'it was his duty to co-operate in the matter' and after three years fundraising and organisation Surrey County School opened, later renamed Cranleigh School. John Sapte had already used Henry Woodyer to extend and restore Cranleigh church, while George Cubitt was embedded in the Catholic movement in the county, so Woodyer was the obvious choice as the school's architect. The chapel was a remarkably plain building in banded brick, all the decoration being concentrated on the towering alabaster-and-chalk reredos designed by Woodyer in 1881. The ethos of the school was revealed by the fact that pupils were required to attend chapel three times during Holy Week, and another figure involved in its foundation was Canon Musgrave of Hascombe.



John Sapte

That sorted out the education of 'middle class boys': twenty years later the same group of men turned their attention to girls. St Catherine's School at Bramley (another parish with a Tractarian incumbent) was opened in 1885 though it had to wait a decade until the money was raised to build its chapel. Where Cranleigh School's chapel was light and plain, St Catherine's was dark and ornate, or at least became so: its elaborate gilded triptych-reredos and wooden statues of saints beneath Gothic canopies either side of the altar were probably added later. The dedication of the school after St Catherine, a legendary martyr rather than a Biblical figure, was bold, but drew a parallel between a woman saint known for her learning and courage and the education of young Christian women. Eventually, images of her emblem, the spiked wheel, were everywhere. It's easy to discount the role of such settings in people's spiritual development, but in 2015 St Catherine's compiled a

collection of memories of the Chapel as part of a fundraising effort and for every former pupil who chafed at having to attend worship quite so often, many expressed thanks for the grounding it had given them, whether their journeys had taken them towards Christianity or away from it. They included the 1960s Head Girl who learned to lay out vestments and kit for the Eucharist and by 2015 was sacristan in a tiny Cornish church, or the 1980s pupil who found the Chapel was 'my salvation. The only place where there was peace and beauty, music and soul light'.[34]

Finally, in 1872, Charterhouse School moved from its post-medieval setting just north of the City of London to the top of the hill northwest of Farncombe. It wasn't as conscious of an Anglo-Catholic ethos as schools founded specifically to express it such as Lancing, but its chapel designed as part of the new campus by Philip Harding was as ornate as it could be without getting into trouble. Its Caen marble reredos included a mosaic of the Last Supper and was flanked by mosaic images of the Evangelists, their emblems, and sacramental symbols.

As the twentieth century wore on, the schools would demonstrate how hard it was to maintain a strong Catholic ethos, even in a setting where worship was compulsory.

By World War One, the 'heroic' period of church expansion, driven by lay and clerical patrons, was over. From then on, new churches would be planned more officially, and where they were set up, such daughter establishments usually resembled their parents more closely than the often eccentric efforts of the past.

3. Enthusiasts

As the great push of 19th and early 20th-century church-founding came to an end, Anglo-Catholics in their different brands found themselves on an upward wave. As more of them were being produced by parishes and theological colleges, they could find themselves looking after churches which were not necessarily a natural fit for their beliefs. They promoted those beliefs, sometimes with tact and concern for the sensibilities of the people they were responsible for, and sometimes with a spiritual bludgeon. In some churches, the fire 'caught', and congregations developed that were deeply devoted to the ways of living that they found spiritually nourishing, even when they didn't necessarily see them as part of something broader.

★ ★ ★

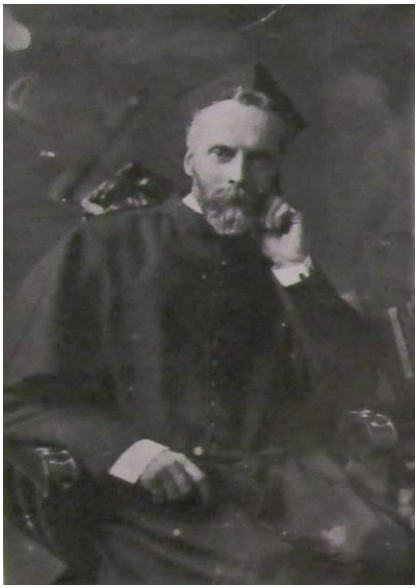
Some 'Restorers' and 'Founders', of course, were also Enthusiasts. It was John Monsell who paved the way for St Nicolas's Guildford to move to the forefront of the Catholic movement in the area. The church was already somewhat unusual in having holy communion as often as fortnightly, and celebrations on saints' days had begun in 1870. Mr Monsell increased the frequency to weekly. A Watch Night eucharist began in 1872 (with 88 communicants), and two years later he started an early choral communion service on Sundays. In Holy Week 1875 there was a communion offered every day (with very small numbers of communicants, but this was still highly unusual) and in the week running up to Mr Monsell's funeral parishioners came to an oratory in the Rectory to take communion – twice, in fact, on the day itself, no fewer than 87 of them.

Over at Weybridge, having taken over St James's from the actual 'restorer', William Giffard, Edward Rose was also quietly raising the stakes. He'd been curate at Dalby in Leicestershire, and Weybridge would be his only incumbency. He increased the celebrations of Communion to twice a month; the service at noon on the first Sunday in every month drew about 70-80 communicants, and the early celebration at 8.15 on the third Sunday attracted between 13 and 19. His service notebook records with evident pleasure his little triumphs in taking his flock forward: 1862 saw Communion celebrated weekly in Lent, and in 1863 there was a Communion on Advent Sunday for the first time. Celebrations of the eucharist went up to weekly in 1865, and Whitsunday 1866 was the first occasion there were two on one day. The main Sunday service was still choral Mattins: yet how things had moved on in the twenty years since Rector Giffard's arrival was shown by the Choral Union

Festival in 1866, to which not just St James' but eight other local churches were able to send choirs. Robed choirs, at least, were no longer very controversial.

But some of the things Rector Rose was up to would have caused him a lot of problems had they come to wider attention. On November 30th, 1866, he took a funeral for a Mrs White, with a celebration of Holy Communion after the interment: there were 35 communicants. He chose to record this in his list of annual achievements in the service register, and it was indeed remarkable. At this amazingly early date, the Rector of Weybridge was celebrating what was, in effect, a Requiem Mass. Presumably he felt he could trust the congregation at the funeral and perhaps it was a response to a request. Certainly, anything approaching prayer for the dead was widely regarded as illegal in the Church of England, and had the news got out Mr Rose could have made himself liable to protest, if indeed he escaped prosecution.[148]

As something of a baseline, about which we have a good amount of information, let us look again at St Nic's in Guildford.[36] As we've seen, John Monsell left the church with a solid eucharistic tradition. His immediate successor Mr Few made little change, but William Jones, who moved over from Tilford in 1879, introduced the use of coloured stoles, started a Guild of St Nicolas ('to promote holy life and conversation'), and set up branches of the controversial Guild of All Souls and Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament.



George Dandridge

Under Mr Jones's successor, William Sanders, a Requiem Mass for All Souls was being celebrated by 1885, and there was communion on Corpus Christi by 1886; a daily eucharist was started in the latter year. The Psalms were sung to Gregorian Chant from 1892. St Nic's held its first parish mission in 1893, led by two brothers from the Community of the Resurrection (in fact the junior curate, Paul Bull, would eventually leave to join the brothers at Mirfield). Mr Sanders was followed by George Dandridge, who at first clearly felt awkward in the controversies of his time, and from his arrival in 1901 emphasised how the ritual of the church should be characterised by 'quiet dignity, apart from fuss and ostentation', and must be lawful – not,

as we shall see, that that kept him safe from criticism. Even then, from Advent 1903 St Nic's celebrated a Choral Eucharist every Sunday, and Mr Dandridge first wrote the word 'mass' in his register in 1906, in the context of a mission led by the Cowley Fathers. The blessing of palms was introduced on Palm Sunday in 1909, a Christmas Midnight Mass in 1912, and the church acquired its first set of High Mass vestments, with a dalmatic for the deacon and subdeacon's tunicle, in 1915. Mr Dandridge championed the erection of a War Memorial with a crucifix in 1918, strongly opposed by local Protestants though supported in a parish referendum by about 1200 votes to 500. That year a Crib was first used at Christmas. A Rood designed by Sir Charles Nicholson was installed in 1920, and an aumbry for the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament the following year. The *English Hymnal* replaced *Hymns Ancient & Modern* in 1920, and the service of the Tenebrae appeared in Holy Week 1921. By this time, then, virtually the entire Anglo-Catholic programme had been enacted at St Nic's. It wasn't especially advanced by the standards of some London or South Coast churches, but it gives a good yardstick by which to judge the changes in other Surrey church communities.

And that yardstick reveals that the area wasn't at the forefront of the Catholic movement. One of our main sources for what was actually happening in church services as the movement took hold is the 1906 report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. In 1904 the main evangelical Anglican pressure group, the Church Association, managed to get a Royal Commission established to examine Anglo-Catholic ritualist naughtiness, or, more technically, 'breaches or neglect of the law relating to the conduct of divine service'. Over the two years before the Commission finally reported, it heard accounts of liturgical practice in nearly 560 churches across England and, for some reason, the diocese of Llandaff in Wales, out of something less than 15,000 in total. It used to be claimed that all the witnesses to the Commission were bigoted evangelicals with axes to grind who, occasionally, didn't know what they were looking at when they attended a ritualist service. Opinion on this has started to shift, and certainly some of the reporters were perfectly *au fait* with the details of Anglo-Catholic worship of different brands and varieties – they just didn't like it. Some ritualist incumbents replied to the enquiries of the Commission that they had not done the things, or some of the things, they were accused of, while others responded, in what was clearly an organised standard letter, that they did not dispute the accuracy of the reports but 'the colour put upon the facts'.

In the whole of non-metropolitan Surrey, only two churches were deemed worthy of attention, Holy Trinity Bramley, and St Nicolas's. At an 8am Sunday eucharist at Bramley in August 1904, the Revd Mr Green wore



High Mass at St Nicolas's, Guildford, mid-twentieth century (St Nic's archive)

vestments (which, he later insisted, were of plain linen). He absolutely denied the witness's statement that he kissed the Gospel Book, and thought a 'slight raising' of the elements after consecration could not fairly be described as 'elevation'. From Bramley the reporter went on the same day to a Choral Eucharist at St Nicolas's where he saw Mr Dandridge, also vested, conduct what sounds like a relatively modest and low-key service, but one in which, in accordance with contemporary Roman and Anglo-Catholic rules on fasting, only four people took communion. In his reply to the evidence, the priest disputed some aspects of the report, the most serious, perhaps, being the accusation that he had, in the Roman fashion, made confession to the servers at the foot of the altar before the service began; the witness had clearly observed some interaction take place, but Mr Dandridge would not confirm exactly what it was, if it was *not* the priest's confession. Times for confession were also being advertised in the parish newsletter, but Mr Dandridge claimed this had been the practice at the church for some time preceding his arrival and rather than its ritual 'steadily going up' as the witness averred, he was

only following his predecessor's lead. The ceremonial at Bramley and St Nicolas's, to judge by these services, was pretty restrained compared to what could be found elsewhere. There were probably other Surrey churches that had moved further, but not many, and the report was another indication that ritualism hadn't advanced very far in the area.

In the first English Church Union directory of 1874, no church in our area of study celebrated a eucharist as its main Sunday morning service every week: the closest was St Martin's Dorking where Holy Communion followed Mattins at 11, but even at St Nic's Guildford, Banstead, and the two Weybridge churches, mid-morning celebrations were only held every fortnight. Turn to the equivalent guide from 1901, and the Sunday Choral Eucharist has reached the predictable locations of St Nic's, Hascombe, Hindhead, Woodham, and Thorpe; by 1924 they have been joined by Banstead and its daughter church at Burgh Heath, Chessington, and Holmbury. Jump forward another nine years to 1933, and the list includes St Michael's and St Augustine's in Aldershot; Bramley, Church Crookham, Cobham, Christ Church and St Barnabas's in Epsom, Farnham, Godalming, Holy Trinity and St Luke's in Guildford; West Molesey, Okewood, Ottershaw, Ripley, Tongham, both Weybridge churches, Wonersh and Worplesdon. Not all of these parishes could be considered strongly Catholic, even if a weekly Sunday sung eucharist was still unusual.

And conversely, there were some definitely Catholic churches which dragged their heels in this respect. The Farncombe incumbents tried to pull their church in the eucharistic direction but found it hard work: by the 1920s there was a Choral Eucharist at 10am on the last Sunday in each month, but although on other Sundays there were usually two or more celebrations of Holy Communion they were not the main focus of effort. On Christmas Day 1925 the Rector, Frank Pickford, moved Mattins to 10.40am 'so that the Choral Eucharist may have "pride of place"'; he even offered the eucharist at 11.40pm on New Year's Eve that year 'so the great Act of Communion may be the first act of 1926'. However the dedication of the new screen and organ in December 1924 showed what he was up against. The visiting Bishop asked that the ceremony should be immediately followed by a Choral Eucharist, so Revd Pickford proposed to *say* Mattins at 10.15 that Sunday morning. He faced two problems: a set of early-morning communicants who wouldn't want to stay for the later eucharist (not being supposed to communicate twice), and customary Mattins worshippers who weren't used to coming to communion at all. He encouraged all to stay: even if not communicating, 'we can all join in the Communion of Fellowship which comes in the Holy Eucharist and there alone in the highest sense'. 'If any *must* leave', he went on, they should do so during the hymn after the sermon, 'not forgetting that your alms are for the

Hospital, which needs your help'. During World War Two a 10am Choral Eucharist appeared at St John's on Whit Sunday, then on Palm Sunday in 1945, then on the day of the Harvest Festival in October 1946 (this was a church where the incumbent from 1926 to 1946, Charles Knight, habitually appeared in a biretta when he wasn't wearing a Homburg). Finally, from October 1947 the 'Parish Communion' at 9.30am began to be celebrated every Sunday, although it *still* did not displace weekly Mattins and Evensong as the 'main services'.

Although its large choir was clearly one of the glories of Farncombe, it may have been the conservatism of the church's musical life which held back the advance of the Eucharist as the centre of Sunday worship. The Choir clearly had a lot invested in the traditional way of doing things. Slipped into the service register for 1943 are fragments of a crib sheet issued to choristers by the organist, the details handwritten onto a printed template, as below.

July				
Morning Prayer	1st Sunday	2nd Sunday	3rd Sunday	4th Sunday
Venite	Day 5	Day 12	Day 19	Day 26
Psalms	26, 28 as set	31 as set	34 Rimbault	40 Turk
Te Deum or Benedicite	Set 3	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3
Benedictus or Jubilate	Davy 47	Pye 43	Goss 127	Barnby 40
Hymns	396 503	Litany 411	258 (A.7)	479 (Des. 24)

Add to this the Evensong music and you have quite a demanding programme for amateur singers – not to mention the effort the organist-stroke-choirmaster put in to copy it all out by hand for twenty or so choristers. Moving towards a weekly eucharist would mean a whole set of new music to learn, unless the choir were to play no part in it. The choices were thus for the Choir to do a lot more, for it to do a lot less, or for things to remain as they were. The third option was clearly the easiest, and this is probably why the *status quo* remained unchanged for so long. It was not until *1968* that Choral Mattins disappeared as a major element of the Farncombe liturgy, under Rector Edwin Barnes. Farncombe was eucharistically sluggish despite having a communicants' guild, those parish-based spiritual associations first proposed by Bishop E.H. Browne of Ely in the 1870s to promote receipt of communion by laypeople at a time when it was by no means universal, and a sense of solidarity among those who did. In fact, in our area of study we find few references to communicants' guilds as such: Godalming had one in the 1920s and Oatlands in the 1930s.



Farncombe's Choir parades through the village during the church's centenary celebrations in 1949

From its registers we can glimpse a similar story at St Mary's, Chiddingfold. Michael Bruce arrived as Rector in 1940 having been curate at the very Anglo-Catholic St Jude's Hampstead; in Lent 1948 he could be found preaching on the Sorrowful Mysteries of the Virgin, celebrating the Mass of the Presanctified on Good Friday, and on Easter Eve holding 'Evensong & Blessing of the Flowers', whatever that meant exactly. Communion on Wednesday 14th July that year was celebrated 'with special intention for the South Indian Committee of the Lambeth Conference, that we may be preserved in the Faith and Order of the Church'[37]. Yet Mattins was still the main service on Sundays as late as 1953 and probably after.

The inertia encountered by Catholic clergy at churches such as Farncombe and Chiddingfold can be compared with occasions when a Low Church incumbent could heave his parish round in the opposite direction. St Mary's Chessington appears in the 1924 Church Union *Directory* as a three-star church, with Choral Eucharist every Sunday, a daily communion, and advertised times for confession, only falling short of the coveted four-star ranking on the absence of the reserved sacrament (though it must have been there somewhere, albeit unacknowledged). The word 'Mass' was used habitually in the register, and Stations of the Cross was kept on Good Friday 1922. This was the pattern all the way through until 1934, when the Revd S.W.G. Frost arrived as vicar; his previous appointment had been at Rockhampton Cathedral in Australia, which is certainly fairly low-church today. Abruptly, all the weekday services at St Mary's ceased, and the Sunday pattern became 8am Holy Communion, 11 Mattins, and 6.30pm Evensong, with a mid-day Communion on the first Sunday in the month. The following Lent there was no eucharist on Ash Wednesday or Maundy Thursday, only an

evening 'Devotion', and the liturgical fare for Good Friday was just Mattins at 11am. Mattins was the main service *on Easter Day* that year. Revd Frost's successor (in 1947) was E.C. Lucey who had trained at the evangelical Wycliffe Hall, and maintained the same style. By the 1960s things had changed again; but that was a rather different time.

Banstead gives us a good though probably idiosyncratic example of how clergy went about upping the eucharistic tone of their parishes. Arthur Hopkinson arrived in 1918, having been recommended to the patron, Lord Egmont, by Bishop Talbot. His predecessor, Duncan Woodroffe (who had been vicar of St Peter's, Bournemouth, a model Tractarian church where Gladstone had made his last communion – coincidentally Mr Hopkinson would also move from Banstead to a Bournemouth church, St Swithun's) had been asked to resign, 'but fortunately before the matter became public, he had died' so rather than be resented as an interloper, Mr Hopkinson recalled, 'I had a fair start'. On arrival he found a standard Sunday diet of Mattins three weeks out of four and Sung Eucharist on one:

> I abolished the Sung Eucharist at once. This puzzled the adherents of Mattins, and caused consternation among the adherents of the Eucharist. Having startled them all, and got their attention, I set to work to teach, pointing out that it was an evil thing to have an arrangement which seemed to make Mattins three times more important than the Eucharist. … In a very short time the Eucharist was established as the regular service every Sunday, though Mattins was also sung as an introduction.

Mr Hopkinson needed to be an 'enthusiast', as he only intermittently had a curate at the parish church to share in the burden of the Sunday services: 7am and 8am, Holy Communion; 10.30, Mattins & Sermon; 11.15, Sung Eucharist; 3pm, Catechism; 4, baptisms; and 6.30, Evensong & Sermon. Observing the Eucharistic fast strictly, it was 12.15 before he got to his breakfast, over five hours after his first service of the day.[38]

The great Anglo-Catholic Congress of 1920 was a show of strength by hardline Anglo-Catholics, especially of the very advanced, Papalist variety: it brought together some 1200 priests and twenty-two bishops (mostly from overseas) who paraded through central London to make the point that their views had a place within the Established Church. It finds a central position in most histories of the Catholic Movement in the 20th century. For very many Catholic Anglicans it was a galvanising and identifying event that helped to define who they were, and it was repeated (with gradually diminishing returns) for some decades afterwards. In 2015 Michael Blain and Christine Hickton did some amazing work identifying 300 of the priests who were part of that original Congress.[39] Their study shows that not many of those clergy

ever passed through our area of interest, confirming the picture we have already glimpsed.

There were a total of three parish priests. At the time of the Congress Edward Arundell was vicar of Holy Trinity Stroud Green in London, and had a varied career beginning in 1898 with a curacy at All Saints' Doncaster, followed by a time as chaplain of the Mena Hospital in Cairo and then a seven-year curacy at All Saints' Margaret Street in London. He spent 3 years as an incumbent in Australia before serving at Hascombe between 1936 and 1938: his final appointment was at Tintagel in Cornwall.[149] Secondly we find Allan de Vere. In 1920 he'd only just been ordained deacon, and was on the staff at St Matthew's Westminster, where the Congress was organised. After eight years there he became vicar of Thorpe, before moving on to St Anne's Brondesbury in 1933 and then Christ Church, Ealing, where he died in 1948 aged only 55. The third parish priest was James Staffurth, who was already 67 by the time of the Congress; his Surrey connection was his curacy at Wonersh as far back as 1880-82. He never held an incumbency, but served a long succession of curacies and assistant-ships, and a stint as chaplain to the Sisters of Bethany in Clerkenwell.

The other attenders at the Congress with connections to our area all had non-parish positions when they were here. There was Fr Desmond Morse-Boycott of the St Mary of the Angels Song School, for whom see p.88 below; and Patrick Colthurst, chaplain to the Sisters at Spelthorne/Thorpe between 1966 and 1970, and who attended the Congress as a young layman in his early twenties. There was Arthur Sewell, who at the time of the Congress was curate at St Columba's, Haggerston, and much later (1959-63) became chaplain to the Community of St Peter at Woking after retiring from the parish of Wheatacre Burgh in Norfolk. And finally we have Robert Moline, whose Church career culminated in becoming Archbishop of Perth, but who attended the Congress as curate of St Matthew Bethnal Green, and who had been assistant master at Cranleigh School between 1912 and 1914 before his service in World War One (where he attained the rank of Major and won the MC). This means he was in Surrey several years before actually being ordained.

This is not a huge tally! Not one of the Congress clergy were connected to Surrey at the same time as any of the others, and as only three served in parishes in our area (albeit all of them Catholic parishes), the exercise shows that the farthest wing of the Anglo-Catholic movement really had little presence locally.

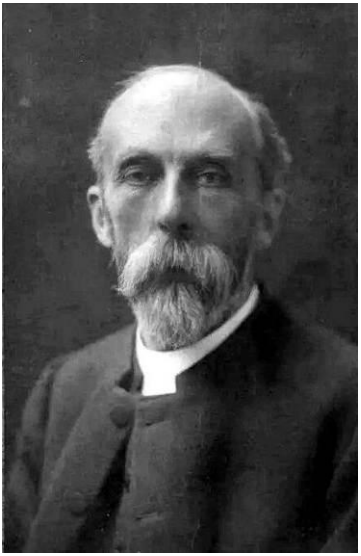
Late in developing an advanced Catholic movement, sleepy Surrey was late in developing protests against it, too: it really needed existing local tensions to

provide the fuel before a ritualist spark could ignite conflict. The Surrey Clerical and Lay Association, founded to promote 'the principles of the Reformation', could have led to some anti-Catholic activism, but doesn't seem to have done a great deal. Its initial meeting in July 1867 which 'heartily denounced' ritualism was attended by no more than about 20 people. It could be found holding an 'inaugural meeting' in 1872, which implies that it had gone into abeyance immediately after that first gathering. Sir Richard Glyn, the Vicar of Ewell, was a leading light on both occasions; the organisation was still extant in 1881 when Viscount Midleton was President (not the one who employed Pugin), but although a couple of predictable names appeared among the clergy members (see Appendix) the Association appears nowhere in the annals of Surrey religion except for a couple of recorded meetings.[40]

Other organisations were even more evanescent. In 1893 Revd W. Linden spoke at the Ward Street Hall in Guildford to denounce 'a revival of superstitious vanities and corrupt practices' harking back to 'pre-Reformation times, when darkness covered the land and gross darkness the peoples'. He reminded his audience, as such preachers often did, of the glorious Protestant martyrs who died 'to deliver this country from the eternal tyranny, from the awful thraldom, of Roman Catholicism' and alleged that 'the aim of the Pope is to Romanise the Church of England'. The meeting voted to set up a branch of the 'Calvinistic Protestant Association' – of which nothing was heard afterwards.[41] Not quite a decade later, the Protestant Truth Society – known to most as the Kensitites after their founder, John Kensit – found things hard going at Woking during one of their 'Crusades' against Ritualism. Kensit's 'Wickliffe Preachers' held meetings at Maybury and Knaphill Schools in April 1901 but no more than 10 people came to one and the other was abandoned when only a single soul turned up. John Kensit himself attracted a fair crowd when he came to Maybury – the Anglican vicar was 'a faithful Gospel man', he said – but in Aldershot the Kensitites had been pelted with rotten eggs.[42]

These conflicts were extremely localised: the Kensitites crusading at Woking seemed to have no inkling of what was happening on the other side of the county at the same time, or they might have turned up there. The *dramatis personae* in the 'Ornaments Case' at St Mary Magdalene's South Holmwood were the vicar, Robert Gill, who was born in Walton-on-Thames, son of a wealthy railway engineer; Admiral Sir Leopold Heath of Anstie Grange, retired naval officer and member of one of the Holmwoods' many military families; and Lady Laura Hampton, daughter of the Marquess of Normanby and widow of John Vivian Hampton of Oakdale in the parish. Lady Laura was part of the circle of the Anglo-Catholic writer Charlotte Yonge, and herself penned a book of poems entitled *Musings in Verse on the Collects* (1879) as well as a number of lush stories for the devotional weekly *The Quiver*. St Mary

Magdalene was hardly an advanced Catholic church by any description (although the Revd Gill oversaw the installation of a chancel screen in 1903), but in 1901 Laura Hampton donated two silver candlesticks, which Mr Gill placed, along with a metal cross and two flower vases, on a 'retable' fixed to the existing reredos. Before this the church was accustomed to just 'a flower holder in the shape of a cross' used on feast days. Sir Leopold's supporters would later describe their 'great surprise and painful shock' on seeing these items in the church. Most attention focused on the candlesticks, and, even more, the fact that the candles had been *lit*.





Revd Gill in later years (he was in his early 40s at the time of the candles controversy) and Sir Leopold Heath

The legality of having lighted candles on an altar when not strictly required for purposes of visibility had been debated in various proceedings since the 1860s and never finally resolved, but whatever the case, Sir Leopold objected and insisted the candlesticks be removed; we can only guess what personal animosities between the admiral and the lady may have lurked in the background behind this apparent ritual dispute. Lady Laura kept firmly out of things but her name would be referred to in court. Sermons were preached, angry newspaper articles written, and Sir Leopold even raised a door-to-door petition. He wrote to the Vicar, regretting 'the hoisting of the ritualistic flag on the Communion Table of our church'. It was alleged that the Vestry – the legal meeting of the parishioners that elected the churchwardens – had voted to remove the offensive objects, but the Vicar disputed the regularity of

proceedings. He ignored the petition as so many names on it were not church members, including the local Nonconformist minister. This distinction between local residents and a more ideologically-bounded definition of Church membership was typical of similar disputes elsewhere.

Compromise proved impossible and eventually the Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester, Harold Colyton Gore-Browne, heard the case at the St Martin's Church Rooms in Dorking in March 1902: 'the proceeding, judging by the large attendance, attracted much interest' reported the press. Revd Gill was compelled to admit that he'd introduced the cross, retable, vases and especially the candles without a faculty, and asked for a confirmatory ruling to allow them to remain, while Sir Leopold and his party demanded their removal. Mr Gill described how the lighted candles symbolised 'the Two Natures of Christ' which was a bit of a stretch, but also argued that they were legal as they rested not on the altar but on the retable mounted above it. The opposition may have been led by a knighted admiral, but they were keen to call attention to a class element in the conflict. A succession of working-class and artisan witnesses described their outrage at 'this first step towards Roman Catholicism': a carpenter called Amos Taylor said he'd had to stop his wife bowing to the candles and had withdrawn his children from the parish school in protest, while labourer Henry Iremonger alleged that many working-class anti-ritualists in Holmwood were afraid to speak out from fear of their employers. Revd Gill didn't help matters by insisting that the 'educated' people in his parish supported him. A month later Mr Gore-Browne delivered his verdict: he ruled in favour of Sir Leopold Heath and instructed that all the offending objects should be removed. They were returned to the donor – only to be put back in the church by the next Vicar after the Admiral died in 1907.[43]

Surrey may have enjoyed little in the way of ritual conflict, but it boasts one of the finest and least edifying examples. The 'Battle of Thorpe' shows even more clearly than South Holmwood how religious arguments relating to apparently arcane matters to do with the parish church mapped onto existing quarrels in the local community.[44]

In 1907 the absentee Lord of the Manor of Thorpe, Henry Leigh-Bennett, presented Henry Somerville Lushington as vicar (sometimes his first names get transposed). Fr Lushington came from a Hampshire gentry family, and had been curate at Fuggleston St Peter and Rector of Boothby Pagnell in Leicestershire. Arriving in Thorpe, and secure in the support of the patron, he set about recasting St Mary's in a Catholic mould entirely unfamiliar to the villagers, removing pews into the chancel, and taking down the old west gallery whose balustrade he used as altar rails. He introduced vestments, altar candles, and Catholic teaching on confession and the sacraments. Fr

Lushington was combatively supported by his patron's father-in-law Captain Price, who lived in the Manor house, Thorpe Place, and became Rector's Churchwarden. Glowering across the road from Thorpe Place was Thorpe *House*, whose owner Captain Scott – who was also a JP – deeply disliked Captain Price and accordingly took the opposing side in the conflict.

The opening salvo seems to have been fired by Gordon Coombe, one of the churchwardens of St Mary's, who wrote to Bishop Ryle early in 1910 to protest at the incumbent's innovations.[45] The Bishop had already warned Mr Lushington not to preach in support of the doctrine of transubstantiation, but he knew full well that many churches in his diocese were doing all the things that were happening at Thorpe and so was hardly inclined to act. Mr Coombe was so dissatisfied at the Bishop's noncommittal response that he wrote to say he would take the matter to the church courts, but seems not to have done.





Fr Lushington, and the Kensitites active in Thorpe in summer 1910 (Thorpe archive)

Instead, the anti-Catholics in Thorpe found their *cause célèbre* in August 1910, when Captain Price evicted the church's verger, a Manor estate tenant, John Potter, and his family from a house in the village. It was said this was because Mr Potter had withdrawn his children from the church Sunday School in protest over the teaching they were receiving, and instead of going to church attended lectures at the Thorpe Working Men's Club, the closest the parish had to a Protestant church gathering; the Club was operated by Captain Scott's family. But there was also personal enmity between John Potter and the other churchwarden, Edwin Brown, who personally oversaw the Potters' belongings being thrown onto the roadside outside their house. The homeless family was eventually given accommodation (in a stable, of all things) by Sir Edward Holden at Eastley End, who also found John work – in Australia, it

turned out. Soon the Kensitites took up the case, turning it into a local skirmish in their war to preserve Protestant England against the incursion of Popery. On August 9th they organised a demonstration, filling the lane outside the church; 'Ritualism Means Ruin!!', read the banners. The crowd was addressed by one of the Kensitites' star preachers, Norman Chivers, who had previous form in this respect: in 1905 he and colleagues were imprisoned at Douglas, Isle of Man, for 'preaching on the shore within twenty yards of the public highway', followed by another short stretch the following year for demonstrating against Anglo-Catholic services at Clifton in Bristol. At Thorpe he and six others would be arrested and fined; that September the same fate befell him at Wanstead, following another action against Popery in the Established Church.

The Kensitites carried on their agitation week by week. Fr Lushington was away in the middle of August 1910, but left an un-named locum to take the service when another of the Kensit preachers, J.C. Gurr, attended the mass. He left after the consecration and began preaching outside the church. This led to an ugly confrontation: insofar as we can trust their evidence, when the case came up Captain Scott and Mr Coombe reported to the Chertsey magistrates that Mr Gurr was attacked by 'a pack of savages' – '20 or 30 persons including choirboys in surplices, young girls, married women and grown-up lads, and one man had his coat off'. This showed that Mr Lushington had some support from the community, at least. The magistrates bound over seven parishioners to keep the peace, but made it clear they felt the people of Thorpe were perfectly capable of sorting out their ecclesiastical business without external intervention.

There was a further protest at Thorpe Green in September, and in August 1911 the church was broken into, the altar furniture wrapped in the altarcloth and dumped in the churchyard. Conflict over the teaching in the parish school rumbled on for several years and in 1914 a question was asked in the House of Commons about it. In 1916, however, Fr Lushington resigned due to ill health; his successor, Basil Edrupp, was no whit less an Anglo-Catholic – a photograph shows him in cope and biretta, flanked by servers with a thurible and incense boat – but he seems to have been a much more eirenic character, who nobody had a problem with. Or perhaps World War One had given the good people of Thorpe something else to think about.

Although Canon Vernon Musgrave seems to have had solid support from the people of Hascombe, that parish was not completely untroubled. By 1899 Canon Rhodes Bristow, vicar of St Olave's Southwark, had been coming to Hascombe for more than 21 years to preach during Lent, but it was only in that year that a group decided to agitate against him. An anonymous handbill

gave as reasons for avoiding his services his past and present membership of the English Church Union, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Society of the Holy Cross, as well as his commitment to Ritualism and some of his pronouncements. Mr Musgrave issued his own statement, endorsed by the churchwardens, that 'Canon Bristow … has never uttered a single word in our Church but the most plain and Evangelical truth of the Bible'. The following month the 'Guildford Protestant Two Hundred' met for the first time in the town, to press for the election to Parliament of MPs who would

> … compel the Bishops to use the authority with which they are invested, for the maintenance of the Law, the suppression in the Church of secret societies, and the discontinuance of Ritualistic and Romish practices, which will, if permitted to continue, end by sapping and destroying the liberties of the People.

Nothing seems to have been heard of this organisation again.[46]

Over at St Mark's South Farnborough, the folklore – as reported to me when I visited in 2021 – is that 'we went High Church and the parish never forgave us', but when this happened is not quite clear. Let us look at the church's early 20th-century clergy; they reward the attention in unexpected ways.

L.G. Tugwell (Vicar of St Mark's 1904-11) served curacies at St Saviour's Battersea and Holy Trinity Guildford before becoming Anglican Chaplain at Frieburg. Basil Philips (1911-23) studied at Keble College and Wells Theological College and had done his curacy at Dorking before coming to Farnborough, and was briefly succeeded by the celebrated Bernard Keymer (1923-5). Now Mr Keymer had been curate at the moderately Catholic St Mary's Portsea[47] before becoming Vicar of Eastleigh and then a military chaplain. His war service was heroic as he won the MC for rescuing soldiers trapped in barbed wire, and after the Armistice he was appointed the first chaplain of the RAF college at Cranwell. Presumably it was St Mark's connections with military flying from its very earliest days that led him there.

Revds Tugwell, Philips and Keymer all have the stamp of moderate High Church clergy, but the next vicar after Mr Keymer was – take a deep breath – the Revd the Viscount Mountmorres, William Geoffrey Bouchard de Montmorency. Lord Mountmorres came from Irish aristocracy, and succeeded to his title unexpectedly in 1880 at the age of eight, after his father, the 5th Viscount and a magistrate, was assassinated in the midst of the Irish Land Wars. Unlike the rest of the family William went to England for his education, firstly at the Anglo-Catholic Radley School and then Balliol College, Oxford. After graduating he travelled and became an expert in 'tropical economics',

the tropics in question being mainly in central Africa. In 1904 Lord Mountmorres took part in an expedition to the Congo with the journalist Maurice Dorman and both wrote up their experiences, his Lordship in *The Congo Independent State: a report on a journey of enquiry*, and Mr Dorman in *A Journal of a Tour in the Congo Free State*. The Viscount reported quite favourably of some at least of the people he met (the Bonjo and Dongo tribes, for instance, were 'a splendid, intelligent, and fearless race'), but his journalist companion dedicated his book to the ruling Belgian authorities and devoted it to refuting reports of the Belgians' ill-treatment of the natives – it is 'distressing to read, showing a complete lack of sympathy with the Africans', says the British Museum, to which Lord Montmorency sold his collection of African artefacts in 1911. The Viscount also dabbled in politics, sitting as a Moderate Party (that is, Conservative) member of the London County Council for Tower Hamlets from 1894 to 1898, and finally in 1911 could be found lecturing in an Edinburgh cinema to accompany a film about the lives of the late Edward VII, and George V: 'he possesses the gift of vivid description', reported *The Scotsman*, 'and his running commentary on every depicted item … is not only happily phrased, but always interesting and instructive'. By then he had probably already decided to follow a clerical life: he went to Cuddesdon college and was ordained in 1913, serving his title at Ryde on the Isle of Wight, an advanced Catholic parish, before moving to Swinton in Lancashire as Rector in 1917 (he was also a Royal Navy Reserve chaplain). 1925 was the year he relocated to Farnborough, and he remained for ten years, before leaving for St Paul's, Wokingham, but he was only able to enjoy those grander surroundings for a year until he died. Despite two marriages Lord Montmorency only had a single daughter, so on his death the titles passed to his cousin Arthur, the incumbent of St Modoc's, Doune, in Scotland, who thus became the second ordained Viscount Mountmorres in a row.

For William Montmorency's last two years at St Mark's, his curate was Cecil – or sometimes Charles – de Lyons-Pike. Under normal Anglo-Catholic circumstances I would suspect him of having invented the double-barrelled name, but his father Charles, a Shropshire-born solicitor who practised in Bloomsbury, also used it so Cecil/Charles is not to blame. He began his professional life as a schoolmaster, eventually (after being rejected for military service) becoming head of Holland House School in Hove. One pupil at the time was the future novelist Patrick Hamilton who 'remembered de Lyons-Pike as being a young, bespectacled man who was extremely High Church. On one occasion he shocked the school assembly by saying to a boy "You're the one who called Walker's cousin a damned bloody fool". After he had doled out a thrashing, he commented "You didn't expect me to repeat that, did you?"' In 1922 de Lyons-Pike moved the school to Burgess Hill, renaming it St Peter's

Court, and left in 1927 apparently after deciding to be ordained. He attended the theological college at Ely and was made deacon in 1928. Farnborough was his first appointment, where he moved smoothly from curate to vicar in 1935 after Fr Montmorency moved on. Fr de Lyons-Pike stayed until 1952 and I will tell you what happened to him in a minute.



St Mark's clergy in the 1930s – Fr de Lyons-Pike in the middle (probably. St Mark's archive)

His successor was Francis Wheeler. Mr Wheeler was yet again a non-standard figure having been ordained in Accra in 1926, an African outpost of the Anglican Church where anything other than Anglo-Catholics were thin on the ground. In fact, he was ordained deacon and priest *on the same day* because of a shortage of staff. He was principal of St Augustine's College at Kumasi, and served three English curacies at St Michael's Shoreditch, Christ Church Woburn Square, and St Michael's Paddington, before becoming priest in charge of Holy Trinity, Marlow, Vicar of East & West Hanney, and finally incumbent of Wheatley in 1944. Somewhat over 30 years before, Mr Wheeler's predecessor there had been burned in effigy in his own garden after trying to introduce a Sung Eucharist to the parish church, so, for a priest who believed schoolchildren should be 'taught to sing the Mass, starting with the Kyries and the Sanctus', it might be questioned whether this Oxfordshire village was really the right fit. According to the history of the Church in Wheatley, *The Most Difficult Village* (written in 2006, coincidentally, by John Prest who was my university history tutor), Fr Wheeler certainly doesn't seem to have been that happy. Having already penned a book entitled *Modernity* (1929), which concluded that Modernity was generally to be regretted, his *Primer of Pastoral Theology* (1948) finds reason to denounce lipstick, the cinema, and jazz (wait for it - 'negroid in origin'), and assumes that the modern clergyman's work will largely be confined to a dwindling group of committed people: 'the flock is far less biddable, far less disposed to listen obediently … The influence of

the pulpit has waned until it has become practically negligible … You may stand at the door of the fold and call persuasively "The Bible says …", "The Church teaches …", but there will be little or no response from the majority. They have never been in the fold, they feel no need of its security, and as for the shepherd, he is superfluous'.

Mr Wheeler lists his pastoral, theological and devotional works in his entry in *Crockford's*; he doesn't mention his *novels*. These were a string of spy thrillers set before, during, and after the War with European conflict as the backdrop; the exception was the fourth, the supernatural chiller *Unholy Alliance* (1951), which included a depiction of a Black Mass so lurid the Vicar of Wheatley had to deny he'd actually been to one.

By 1952 Francis Wheeler had stuck it out in uncongenial Wheatley for eight years and decided on a move. He went to St Mark's, and remained there for thirteen uneventful and, one hopes, less frustrating years. The good folk of the Oxfordshire parish found that their new priest was none other than Fr C.R. de Lyons-Pike, who swapped livings with Mr Wheeler in what must have been one of the last arrangements of its kind. Perhaps Wheatley had become more accepting of Anglo-Catholics, or time had rubbed off some of Fr de Lyons-Pike's sharp edges in the decades since Patrick Hamilton encountered him, but his six years there seemed rather happier than his predecessor's time. At least, John Prest says, a widower when he arrived, he 'lost no time in marrying his housekeeper's daughter'. Such were the clerical excitements visited on one unremarkable parish.

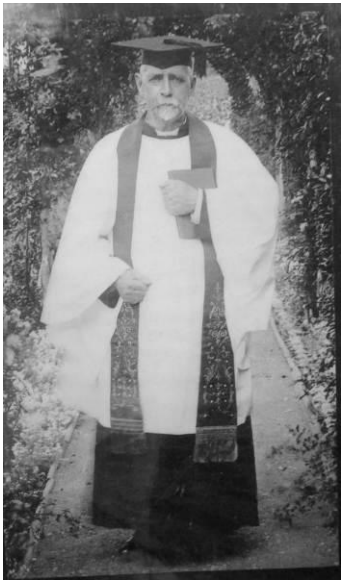
Christ Church, Epsom, shines another light on the way parishes remember things (including their clergy). As we've seen, it had a Catholic tradition from early on, but under the third vicar, Henry Bowles, who moved to the church from next door St Barnabas's, it took steps forward. Verger Percy Risbridger remembered it was

> Henry Bowles who prepared me for confirmation at the age of fourteen. I learnt all the rudiments of my faith from him. He taught me to appreciate the mysteries of sacramental worship and under his influence I made my first confession before confirmation. When I was sixteen years old he asked me to become Verger … These were the days of the First World War. He began the practice of ringing the Angelus every day at 12 noon, when we would go into the Church together to say the Angelus. We always said the Litany publicly on Wednesdays and Fridays, even when I was the only other person present. Every day he said Matins and Evensong and frequently celebrated Holy Communion. … On his last Sunday in the Parish he asked me to ring the Church bell at the time of consecrating the Bread and Wine. This was something he had always wanted to do; and he

hoped that his successor would continue the practice. This would remind the people on the Common that the Holy Mysteries were being offered on their behalf. He was a great priest of God and many of us owe much to his ministry.[48]

Nevertheless, it was the cigar-smoking, homburg-wearing Lionel Mylrea (when in London he was sometimes mistaken for the Aga Khan) who Mr Risbridger recalled as 'a keen Anglo-Catholic', rather than Mr Bowles. Fr Mylrea introduced an aumbry to the church, but there are references in the service register to the reserved sacrament from 1923, before he arrived, and the church had had a choral eucharist every Sunday since at least the early 1900s.

The little mission church of St Timothy, Boundstone, in the parish of Wrecclesham, has never had a reputation as a centre of Catholic spirituality, but dig beneath the surface and you find a more intriguing picture which centres on one priest. The church began life in 1907 as the Boundstone Mission Hall, a deliberately multipurpose building which was cheap, small (30 by 20 feet), and quick to build (it took less than a month). The key personality was Henry Snelling, a builder's son who worked as a grocer and led the Sunday School at the parish church, gave up work to become a Lay Reader, and was ordained at the age of 43, despite a lack of further education, as curate in Wrecclesham, a position he held until his death in 1931; the Boundstone chapel – which didn't even have a name until 1989 – was his province.





Fr Snelling of Boundstone (from the Tilford Open Air Museum), and inside the Boundstone Mission Hall – only named 'St Timothy's' in 1989

Worship initially consisted of Sunday School on Sunday mornings and Evensong, until communion services were made possible by the installation of an altar in 1912. By 1919 there was a daily eucharist, an astonishing development at a small mission church; numbers were only between 3 and 10, with about thirty communicants on a Sunday, but this was sustained for quite some time. A robed choir followed and by the 1920s (at least) the Angelus was being rung before Morning Prayer daily. This was a tradition considerably in advance of the mother church of St Peter at the time, though after Fr Snelling's death the parish found it impossible to maintain the levels of activity at Boundstone; it went through several peaks and troughs before finally closing in 2003, and its Catholic identity was really down to him. Mr Snelling appears in a couple of pictures. In one, he stands in his garden in Wrecclesham in a cassock and round-brimmed hat with his lodger and gardener, John Cranham: they've planted the flowerbeds in the shape of a cross. In another photo, on display at the Tilford Open Air Museum, Mr Snelling looks fierce in a mortar board and elaborate stole, but after his death he was described as 'The Children's Friend', and was regarded with enormous respect in the parish. There were, indeed, well over 80 children on the Boundstone catechism register at one stage.[49]

War is a tremendous solvent of all sorts of social habits, and so it proved in Surrey religion in the 1910s. The terrible cost of World War One was written into the life of every church community in the form of memorial lists of the dead, and the Anglican objection to the Catholic practice of prayer for the dead, controversial for so long, buckled and gave way under the weight of so many families' anguish. This was visible in physical arrangements, liturgical rites and devotional practice. There were memorials to particular servicemen, such as the new alabaster decorations around the high altar at Ockley, given in memory of John Lee Steere; other arrangements reflected a more general sense of loss. A dramatic painted rood screen was installed in St Paul's Addlestone, with the names of the fallen at the bottom, while new chapels or altars appeared as memorials to the dead in churches including Christ Church, Epsom, and St Mary Oatlands, among others. At Weybridge the new All Souls' Chapel was by its title explicitly connected to the concept of prayer for the dead, a 'Service of Commemoration' already having been held on All Souls' Day in 1916, while by 1921 the church had a branch of the Guild of All Souls; there was also a Eucharist on All Souls Day, attended by 28 people of whom 24 received communion. At Farncombe the All Souls' Day Requiem was celebrated for the first time in 1920, specifically 'for those who gave their lives in the War', and was only occasionally omitted afterwards. But the War saw more advances than in practices connected with the fallen alone. We've already met Henry Bowles beginning a daily Angelus at Christ Church in

Epsom: St John's Farncombe became a daily-mass church at the same time. The worship pattern of rector Edgar Bowring, who left in 1918, had included weekday communion only on the Prayer Book's 'red letter' feast days; on other weekdays there was a formal service of Mattins (said, presumably, rather than sung) to which was added the Litany on Wednesday and Friday, as traditional Catholic days of penance, or Evensong. In 1894 he had tried celebrating communion on the Monday and Tuesday of Easter Week for which the Prayer Book made provision, but numbers were very low for those services. During the War, a midweek communion began on Wednesday mornings, on other days augmented by authorised 'War Prayers'. Mr Bowring's successor Frank Pickford took things forward rapidly. At first, in 1919, he began a Tuesday communion service at 11am in addition to the Wednesday one; then in October 1920, he reported in the parish newsletter, without any fanfare, that 'there is now communion daily', at 7.30am apart from Tuesday.







Top to bottom: the sanctuary decoration at Ockley; the rood screen at Addlestone; inscription on a wafer box from Weybridge

Outside church buildings, 'War Shrines' appeared in several places. It's important to distinguish these from 'war memorials', as they were erected while the conflict was still going on. Informal, spontaneous commemorations of the dead – which also provided locations for relatives to pray for the living still on the front lines – developed in many areas, and were sometimes blessed by clergy.[50] Parish churches then sponsored official versions of these shrines, which, depending on your outlook, can be seen either as a response to pastoral

need or as co-opting grief into religious observance. Not only was this all too perilously close to prayer for the dead for those who came from a Protestant viewpoint, but where churches chose to connect the sacrifice of the fallen to that of Christ by including a crucifix in their War Shrine, an extra layer of controversy was added, and such objects were occasionally attacked. It's no surprise that Surrey war memorials featuring crucifixes, which developed out of these official War Shrines, can be found at Shottermill, Woodham, and Hindhead (Tilford is a bit less expected). There is a *Surrey Herald* photo from 1917 showing the unveiling of the War Shrine outside St James's Weybridge, but whatever is on it is hidden by a large Union Jack: Rector Spencer Buller, who'd come to the parish from the advanced church of St Peter, Bushey Heath, wears surplice and stole and a black skull cap. Farncombe played it safe: the War Shrine there was inside the church itself, and in October 1918 Frank Pickford referred in the parish magazine to flags being laid there.



Unveiling the War Shrine at St Nicolas's, Guildford, 1919

Before Rectors Bowring or Pickford came anywhere near Farncombe, the incumbent there was Henry Benson, arriving in 1879 as curate-in-charge (the rector, Charles Dallas, being ill – Benson took over as rector in 1881). Three years before, his daughter Agnes had died at the age of only 16. Almost unnoticed in St John's church, because it's right next to the high altar which is now rarely used, is a small stained-glass window in the north wall. This

depicts St Agnes in traditional manner as a young girl holding a lamb and a martyr's palm. But the saint's face differs from the stereotyped images elsewhere in the church – these are not expensive windows – in that it's clearly a portrait of a real person. A brass plaque states that the window is a memorial to 'a dear child' who died in 1876, without mentioning the child's name. Our investigations suggest this was almost certainly the rector's daughter. This devotional image reveals a quite striking willingness to draw a parallel between the life of a saint (especially a semi-legendary one like Agnes) and an earthly human personality, about as Catholic a spiritual instinct as you could want.



The St Agnes window at Farncombe

By the end of the 19th century, the mere *depiction* of saints in Anglican churches was not a particularly controversial matter and we find stained-glass windows, mosaics and paintings in great numbers in a variety of parishes, even if low-church parishes more often liked to depict Biblical figures or abstractions of the Virtues (three-dimensional images were, and would remain, far more debatable). Through to the end of the 1800s, celebrating communion on the red-letter saints' days, the feasts of the Apostles, listed in the Prayer Book, was a way for Catholic-minded clergy to push the eucharistic envelope reasonably safely; this was the case at Farncombe, Witley and Dorking, for instance, but as time went on more daring practices appear in the service registers. When Cuddington kept the feasts of SS Prisca, Fabian and Vincent in 1919, the parish was marking the Prayer Book's *black* letter days, observances which appeared in the Calendar but which had never been intended to be liturgically celebrated. Others were prepared to push even further: Holy Trinity, Hawley, marked the very un-Anglican feast of the Chains of St Peter in August 1933. Saints' days began to appear in the registers of Milford from 1929, Ockford Ridge from 1934, and from 1937 at Walton-on-Thames. After World War Two, by which time liturgical discipline had effectively been abandoned, the Ascension in Aldershot kept the feasts of completely Roman Catholic saints such as Francis Borgia (1947), who wouldn't find his way into the Anglican calendar for decades.



Two Lady Chapels – St Martin's Dorking (left) and Walton-on-the-Hill (right)

No saint features as prominently in Christian piety as Our Lady, and she is present in Surrey churches in the form of window art, statues, vestments, liturgical observances, and Lady Chapels. It's not often clear when these elements appeared in any particular place of worship, even those whose Catholic tradition is established and well-documented. Before the Reformation, chapels specifically dedicated to the Blessed Virgin were mainly a feature of cathedrals and other large churches, but the Catholic movement favoured them wherever they could be created, another sign, along with robed choirs, that great churches were the model for its spirituality. The very earliest Lady Chapel in our area seems to have been at Dorking, where the Vicar Edward Chichester (curate at Farncombe (1875) and Vicar of Okewood (1877) before coming to Dorking in 1885) commissioned G.F. Bodley to create a Lady Chapel at the end of the south aisle in 1904-5. This was then extended to mark Canon Chichester's Jubilee of priesthood in 1912-13, and decorated with elaborate *opus sectile* work in memory of Lady Ashcombe. Though there's an aumbry installed in 1972, the only sign of Marian relevance I found in the chapel in 2019 was a printed icon on the wall, which seemed somehow to epitomise Dorking's retreat from its once-forward position at the head of the Catholic movement in the area. The following list of dates[51] for the establishment of Lady Chapels shows that up until the 1930s, predictably, firmly Catholic churches did so, and then after that it became a more general

practice carrying on until very recently, at the same time as other churches were removing their Lady Chapels (which we'll talk about later).

Woodham 1907
Shottermill 1917
Ripley 1920
Church Crookham 1924
Epsom St Barnabas 1924
Hersham 1930
Esher 1935
Westcott 1936
Witley 1939
Albury post-1939
Wrecclesham 1941
Fetcham c.1948
Farncombe 1949
Chobham 1951
East Molesey (St Paul) 1964
Addlestone 1968
South Holmwood post-1979
Puttenham 2001
Pirbright 2012

Farncombe was slow off the mark: following the same pattern as at St James's Weybridge, the church created a chapel at the end of its south aisle as a memorial to the dead of World War One, and it was only after the centenary in 1949 that it was converted to a Lady Chapel. Even then in terms of imagery it had to make do with a print of Raphael's *Madonna of the Chair* until 1969, when a statue from the former London convent of the Community of St Peter was donated in memory of the suffragette Clara Lambert by her partner Violet Croxford.

The not-altogether-very-Catholic surroundings of St Peter's, Walton-on-the-Hill, nevertheless has one of the most spectacular Lady Chapels in the diocese; on the north side of the church, a wooden altar carved with linen-fold panels and vine designs is surrounded and surmounted by a framed canopy over a stupendous copy of Murillo's *Assumption*, flanked by blue velvet curtains and with a silver hanging lamp to one side. Inscriptions date this arrangement to some time after 1926, but the actual year it was installed is unclear.

Marian vestments are even less often dated, and we will defer discussing them to the Appendix. The feeling that a Lady Chapel was a good thing for a church to have led to some strange expedients where an obvious space wasn't available, such as St Christopher's Haslemere where a windowledge was repurposed into an altar at the *north* end of a side room.

Liturgically, several churches kept the Roman Catholic feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary on August 15th (Chessington in 1926, St Michael's Aldershot in 1936, and Blackheath in 1948; the Ewell churches, Sheerwater and Weston Green through to 1983), but others referred more fastidiously to that day under the title of the Dormition, or the 'Falling-asleep', of the Virgin (Oatlands in 1933, Church Crookham and Ockford Ridge in 1934, St Michael's Weybridge in the 1950s, and Hale in the 1980s). Yet,

while Our Lady was a badge of identity for Catholic Anglicans in some sense, there's little sign of them having the kind of personal, emotional relationship with her that medieval Christians or some contemporary Roman Catholics might experience. The shrine at Walsingham does provide some structure of devotional prayer around Mary, and we find statues of Our Lady of Walsingham at Aldershot (the Ascension), St Mark's Farnborough, Holy Trinity Hawley, Woodham, and St Nicolas's Guildford; there was certainly a Cell of the Society of O.L.W at the last of those.



The Glass Madonna

The most exceptional image of Our Lady is at Church Crookham. There, the Glass Madonna sits in a wooden Gothic niche at the corner leading into the Lady Chapel, a gift of a former Vicar, Cyril Fox-Harvey, in memory of his wife. Revd Fox-Harvey was educated at Anglo-Catholic Radley College, and trained at Cuddesdon, being ordained deacon in 1911. He moved around a great deal, serving a total of five curacies (including ones at Ashtead and Weymouth) and two periods when he just had permission to officiate (one of these was at Burgh Heath, where the clergy board lists him as Curate-in-Charge). He left Crookham after nine years in 1943, and presumably gave the statuette then. It's an elegant, gentle and striking piece, and nothing very like it exists anywhere else. Next to it appears a typescript poem which has a genuine devotional feel:

In carven niche she stands, serene, at rest –
Our Lady, made of glass; her Child, for whom
The inn o' the world found not (nor findeth) room
With blissful hands she holds upon her breast.
Silent is she, and calm; but, to attest
The light that was the Word within her womb,
A radiance doth her crystal form illume,
With starry glow the darkness to invest.

O light that from the Babe of Heaven gleams!
O love that crowns our broken human schemes
With glory from the Child of Mary shed;

O star whereby our darling feet are led:
Shine on the desolation of our dreams,
Bring peace to men, and to the holy dead!



St Martha of Chilworth

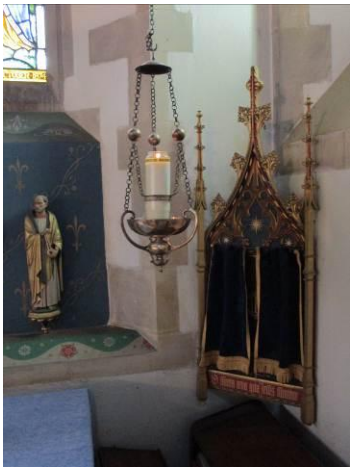
Other saints, who appear as patrons of Guilds and in the form of statues and other images, are present in the same way as Our Lady. One of the nicest instances is the statue of St Martha carved for Chilworth church in 1942 by Audrey Rose-Casemore from a pine tree felled on the hilltop, and based on a French original; but not even St Martha of Chilworth has her aid sought in prayer, even though she functions as the votive candle stand in the church. The saints are not, by and large, figures with whom Catholic Anglicans have an intense connection, even if they like having them around. The sole Surrey instance suggesting they *might* comes at St Barnabas's, Epsom – a wooden statue of St Peter donated to the church by David and Pauline Ogilvy in memory of their children, Elaine, who died in a climbing accident aged 20 in 1935, and Alexander, killed as a Naval officer in World War Two. 'They loved St Peter', the plaque tells us. An unusual devotion, and we would like to know more about it, but that is all we have.

At the heart of the Anglo-Catholic project was the awareness of Jesus's activity in the rites and operations of his Church, locked together by his specific presence in the bread and wine of the Eucharist above all. The practice of 'reserving' the Blessed Sacrament in a publicly identified place in the church building had the practical justification that it needed to be stored to be taken to the sick – though, early on, evangelicals objected even to that – but reservation also meant the Sacrament was available as a focus for prayer and devotion, which made the idea another matter of controversy. A relatively cautious method was to reserve the Sacrament in an 'aumbry' – a medieval word which just means 'cupboard' – hollowed out of an existing wall. Various bishops granted permission for aumbries to be constructed at these dates:

Hawley Holy Trinity 1931
Tongham 1932
Epsom Christ Church 1934
Leatherhead St Mary 1939
Ewell St Mary 1940
Holmbury St Mary 1941
Egham Hythe 1950
Blackheath & East Horsley 1952
Chiddingfold & Ewell St Francis 1958

Bramley 1961
Englefield Green 1963
Cobham St Andrew 1966
Aldershot St Michael 1970
Hale 1974

The absence from this list of such usual suspects as Thorpe and Woodham leads us to speculate that those churches might have simply gone ahead with their own arrangements at an earlier date without worrying the archdeacon about it. Farncombe was given permission to reserve the sacrament *for the purpose of communicating the sick* (the faculty was careful to state), but not necessarily to build an aumbry, in 1925, and so all these dates inform us only so far; Farncombe's aumbry has the look of the 1930s to me, but it's hard to tell. Having a tabernacle openly on or behind the altar in the Roman Catholic manner, rather than a discreet aumbry in a wall, was a far more upfront habit, and Anglican authorities were not going to grant faculties for that. But we do find tabernacles in some Surrey churches, and references to one in the service registers of St Alban's Aldershot in 1934, and All Saints' Hawley in 1960. Christ Church, Epsom, had tabernacle veils amongst its kit, and therefore presumably a tabernacle, in 1941. One absentee from the list is Wrecclesham, yet we know that the aumbry there was installed in 1941, as a plaque on the wall tells us so: it was a memorial to the incumbent's sister, Kathleen Laurence, 'artist and lover of all God's beautiful creation, especially in animals and nature'. 'To her', the inscription carries on, 'all life was a sacrament partaken in joy or sorrow, in peace or pain' – a rather moving statement of how existence could be experienced through the understandings of Catholic Christian spirituality.


The aumbries at Banstead and Hascombe, and the eucharistic banner at North Holmwood

The Feast of Corpus Christi provided an opportunity to focus specifically on eucharistic spirituality; as we've seen St Nic's in Guildford was keeping this observance in the 1880s, but we lack early registers from churches such as Woodham or Thorpe to judge how many parishes joined it, and at what point. Early known adopters included Shottermill (in 1913), Holmbury St Mary (1921), Tongham (1924), Christ Church Epsom (1925) and Godalming (1926). In 1925 Dorking had a communion service on the day itself, but didn't give it a title in the service register.



Black requiem chasuble at Nork

Markers of Anglo-Catholic practice to encourage the spiritual life of laypeople included the observance of a requiem mass on All Souls' Day to pray for the dead: Burgh Heath had the first known in 1909, and branches of the Guild of All Souls existed at Weybridge (according to a silver wafer box donated by the Guild and inscribed in 1934) and Hindhead in 1923. Requiems for individuals, either someone known locally – such as Burgh Heath lay reader Alfred Warwick, whose body lay in the church overnight in January 1961 before his requiem and burial the next day – or public figures, were genuinely popular events, but numbers suggest there was only ever a hard core of worshippers for whom All Souls', and prayer for the dead generally, were spiritually important.[52] Very few churches indeed ever built regular requiems into their liturgical diet (St Barnabas's Epsom had one in 1930, and Walton-on-Thames in 1937, both on Saturdays), but some pushed All Souls' vigorously no matter whether or not there was a huge response. In 1925 Thorpe held three services on the day, in addition to 'Evensong followed by Dirge of the Dead' the night before: at 7am the intention was for 'all the faithful departed', at 8 a mass in 'anniversary for the dead' followed, and finally a 9am mass commemorated 'our departed friends and brethren' (communicants were in single figures at all three). But even this looked quite modest compared to All Saints' and All Souls'-tide at St Mark's, Farnborough, in 1928. That year, 31st October was a Wednesday; the church kept the First Evensong of All Saints at 6pm, followed by Vespers of the Blessed Sacrament at 8. On All Saints' Day itself – a working Thursday, remember – 22 people

made their communion at 7am, 28 at 8am, and the day's festivities culminated in 'High Mass, Procession & Sermon' at 11, with only the priest communicating, in the proper manner. That evening there was 2nd Evensong of All Saints followed by Vespers of the Dead at 7.30, and then the Friday saw *another* three masses for All Souls at 7, 8 and 11. Fr Montmorency didn't record numbers for those.

As we've mentioned, the feast of Corpus Christi appeared at Shottermill in 1913,[53] and it was also the earliest of several churches in hosting a branch of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament (also in 1913). The arguably illegal service of Benediction was understandably not referred to in service registers until it was safe to do so, but it may be hiding under references to 'Devotions', such as 'Solemn Evensong & Devotions' kept at Chessington on its patronal festival, August 15th, in 1926: that must have been the case for what was called 'CBS Office & Devotions' held on Easter Day 1953 at All Saints', Hawley. I suspect that references to 'Solemn Evensong' at the Ascension, Aldershot, in 1947 or St Barnabas's Epsom in 1948, also conceal celebrations of Benediction. On the first Sunday of Christmastide in 1963 St Nic's Guildford tried 'Carols & Devotions to the Blessed Sacrament', which was a bold effort. Burgh Heath observed the first recorded Stations of the Cross in our area on Good Friday 1909.[54]

Successfully encouraging your laypeople to adopt the discipline of confession was a bit of a triumph for an Anglo-Catholic incumbent. In the 1901 church directory the only churches in our area of study where times for confession were routinely advertised were St Nic's Guildford, Hindhead, Thorpe, the two Weybridge churches, and the unexpected outlier of Wrecclesham; the number had only risen to 7 by 1924 (though we can probably add the Weybridge churches which had dropped out for some reason), but there were 26 by 1933, and 30 by 1948. This shows how it gradually became a practice nobody raised strong objections to. Occasionally priests recorded occasions when they offered to hear confessions in their service registers, and in 1947 Alfred Simmons actually totted up the confessions he *heard* at the Ascension, Aldershot (not with names, thankfully). He was obviously pleased at the development. At Banstead the change seems to have been introduced by the new incumbent Alfred Hopkinson in 1918; Mr Hopkinson's first curacy had been at St George's, Nottingham, an advanced church, and he moved to Banstead from Winchfield in Hampshire. In Lent 1918, a leaflet advertised, 'every Sunday at 11am, after Mattins, the Rector will preach on "the Holy Eucharist"' and he would be available in the church 'to hear confessions or give spiritual advice' at 6pm on Fridays. About 200 people made a confession in Holy Week 1921 at St Nic's in Guildford; it was one of the spiritual disciplines enjoined on members of the church's guilds, but penitents also



Woodham's 'confession corner'

'came in from country parishes'. No church in our area has anything as dramatic as a confessional box, but at Woodham in the 1930s a children's corner and library were installed incorporating a seat; in the wooden upright next to this seat is a carved grille at head height and, as a former incumbent said to me, 'if a priest *happened* to be sitting there while a parishioner *happened* to be kneeling at a *prie-dieu* next to it recounting their sins, who could complain?' Most churches would make do with less formal arrangements, such as the prayer-desk-and-priest's-chair combination at St Barnabas's, Epsom, as described by Michael Tucker (see below, p.122).

Arthur Hopkinson records one story from his ministry at Banstead which clearly pleased him especially. He had already known Mrs Davies, the head of one of the local girls' schools, Garratt's Hall, from a previous parish, and had 'a real admiration and regard' for her despite a difficult character arising, he felt, from loneliness and a hard struggle for success which had made her suspicious: 'she liked me as a man, but detested me as a vicar'.

> What saved her … was the fact that she was definitely a religious woman; she wanted the peace of God. She admitted it, and after one of her storms I told her that it would do her good to go into Retreat. She fumed at the idea of such a Popish practice. None the less her honesty of intention prevailed, and at the end of term she went to St Thomas's, Oxford, for a Retreat taken by Stuckey Coles. Before it began she sent for the conductor and explained that she was "Low" Church and had no intention of going to confession. … However, at the end of the Retreat she made her first confession, and became a happier and gentler woman. I suggested to her that it was divine guidance, but she grimly maintained that it was 'just your obstinacy, Vicar'.[55]

Two church inventories which found their way to the Surrey History Centre, Christ Church Epsom's from 1941 and Hinchley Wood's taken in 1954, record the presence of 'confirmation veils' amongst the kit. Hinchley Wood had 18 while Christ Church had stockpiled 23, all presumably to supply to female confirmands, and with which very Catholic custom said female confirmands

were presumably content to go along. Hinchley Wood is a surprising place to find such a practice, but it was a three-star church in Fr Blagdon-Gamlen's directory of 1973, only missing out on the coveted four stars by being unable to sustain a daily mass.

Lest we should think that the story was always one of clergy testing the tolerance levels of resistant laypeople, we have the example of the servers' guild at Woodham. Founded on Passion Sunday 1902 by the first vicar, Percy Phillips, the 'Brothers' of the Guild had a rule of attendance at the monthly corporate communion: the older choirboys became probationary servers as they graduated from the Choir. Woodham's guild seems at first to have been independent of the national Guild of the Servers of the Sanctuary, but a Chaplain, Revd Dandridge of St Nicolas's, Guildford, gave it a wider sense of identity beyond the parish. The first time incense was used at All Saints' was at a Guild office in 1911, and the members petitioned the vicar Mr Bethune: 'the Brethren devoutly hope that we shall not have to wait for its 21st birthday before it is used every Lord's Day at the Lord's Own Service'. When Mr Bethune left to become vicar of Hindhead the Guild wrote to the Bishop to commend 'his wonderful overcoming of the difficulties of restoring the Eucharist as the chief service on the Lord's Day, and all that is meant by his endeavour to declare the whole counsel of God to the parishioners and congregation of Woodham'. One Guild member 'Brother Quigley' left to join the Cowley Fathers' mission work at Pune in India. The Guild also purchased kit (a red cope in 1913, a white one in 1919, and purple in 1920), and saved money to install an aumbry in 1918. Here we can see how a group of highly-motivated parishioners could act as the vanguard of liturgical advance even within a church actively founded as a Catholic parish, supporting the clergy.[56] At least 17 parishes in our study area had branches of the GSS, though we can't tell whether they played anything like the same role as Woodham's.

Whenever a layperson moved to a greater commitment to the Christian life, especially to be ordained themselves, it was a particular pleasure for a parish priest. In 1947 Hammond Aubin returned as Vicar to St Barnabas's Epsom, the church where he'd served his first curacy; during his two decades as incumbent he was able to see at least four of his altar servers experience a call to the priesthood. They were:

Alan James – trained at Mirfield, ordained 1950, curate at Holy Trinity Tynemouth then went 'overseas', returned to the UK as Vicar of Horton in Newcastle in 1958 and remained there until retiring in 1986;

Colin Deedes – trained at Wells, ordained 1953, served curacies at Milton in Portsmouth and Worplesdon, Vicar of Weston on the Green 1960

and then Fleet 1966, Team Rector of Bournemouth SS Peter & Swithun 1973, and finally Master of St Cross Hospital before retiring in 1992;

Philip Seal – attended King's College London, ordained in 1956, curate at Godalming and then Tamworth, Rector of St Chad's Lichfield 1962 and chaplain to the Swinfen Hall Youth Custody Centre 1966-73, rector of Shere 1974 and lastly vicar of Abbotsbury, Portesham & Langton Herring in Dorset 1988-97;

John Devereux – trained at Wells and ordained in 1958, curate at St Michael's Wigan followed by Goring-on-Sea, and spent the rest of his career from 1969 to 1997 as Chichester Diocese industrial chaplain.

If laypeople wanted a supreme example of what it meant to devote oneself to the Christian life, the religious orders were at hand. The earliest in the area could be found occupying a little Anglo-Catholic island within the Evangelical sea of Woking Anglicanism: the Convent of St Peter, up the hill in Maybury.[57] The Community of St Peter, one of the earlier Anglican religious communities, had been founded in London in 1861 by Rosamira and Benjamin Lancaster after they had been introduced to two women with a sense of call to the religious life, Susan Oldfield and Ella Jones. The location of the CSP's first home, at 27 Brompton Square, had been revealed to Mrs Lancaster in a dream. The Order concentrated on providing convalescent care, and grew quickly. St Peter's Home in Woking, run by the nuns, dated from 1883 and was a memorial to Mrs Lancaster; the land was donated by Blanche Gibbs of Tyntesfield, who'd been one of Henry Woodyer's clients. After the main convent in Kilburn was bombed out in 1944, the Woking convent became the Order's mother house, and included a convalescent hospital, a girls' home, a care home for the aged, a guest house, and the stupendous Chapel, one of the last works of J.L. Pearson, and built, in the event, by his son. The choir and the Lady Chapel were decorated in the same kind of Ravenna-type marble Pearson had used not long before at Weybridge; the Lady Chapel had a great brazen reredos and tabernacle, the Chapel of St Andrew a gilded and painted triptych, and the High Altar a towering Gothic baldacchino. It was raised on three marble steps, one black, one red, and one white, standing for the three modes of spiritual advancement in Dante's *Divine Comedy* – the purgative, the illuminative, and the unitive.

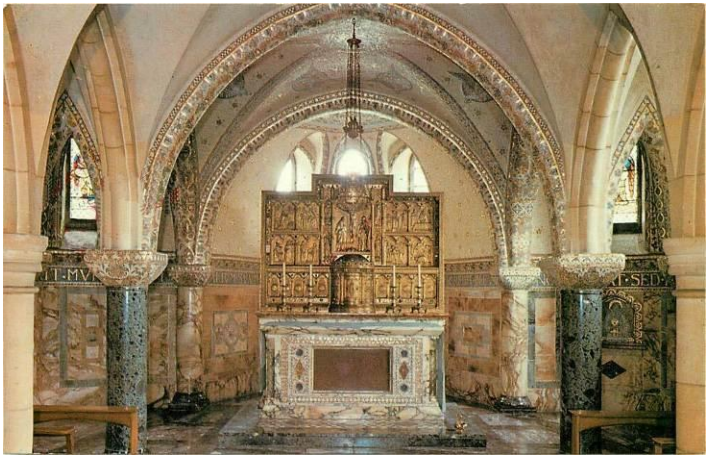
Although the focus of the CSP was nursing, the Sisters maintained the full sevenfold Office of daily prayer using *The Day-Hours of the Church of England*, a breviary first published in 1858. As well as work and corporate prayer, every sister was supposed to keep an hour for mental prayer each day and observe a monthly retreat. Sister Angela joined the Order in 1962 after coming to

Woking on a visit from her parish and hearing the nuns singing the liturgy. In amidst all her work, she remembered, 'I needed the formality of liturgical prayer, too: we would say the Office with intentions for all the people who were sick in the hospital'. The Convent typically fielded a full Solemn High Mass on a Sunday, though from 1964 the subdeacon was usually a layperson rather than a priest. And beneath it all was the intense nature of community life. When Georgina Ruth joined the convent in 1980, 'for two weeks … I was so overwhelmed by the angelic looks of the Sisters. They never seemed to do anything wrong. I thought I would never be able to be like them. After many years in community, I realise that we all accept each others' faults'.



But the CSP was linked into something wider. Early on, the Sisters developed a connection with the Anglican Church in Korea and, in 1923, the Bishop of Korea Mark Trollope (who had been vicar of St Augustine's, Kilburn, and therefore the CSP's parish priest in London) specifically asked for Clare Whitty, Sister Mary Clare, to become Superior of a separate Order in Korea linked with it. In 1950, as the Korean War broke out, Mary Clare refused to be evacuated from the Order's house there, and having been captured was caught up in the Communists' 'Tiger Death March' north. She died on the 6th of November in Chunggangjin.

One of the churches which supported the CSP was St Alphage's, Burnt Oak, in London. The future Mother Margaret Paul found herself there during her nursing training and, as Evensong proceeded in the church, still boarded-up after wartime bombing, heard the priest, Fr Moore, pray for 'Bishop Cooper



The Lady Chapel at St Peter's Convent

and Mother Mary Clare in Korea'. She had barely any idea where Korea was, but found her own prayers continually returning there, as well as to the idea of the religious life. One day, while cycling, she happened to spot a newspaper whose front page read 'Nun Dies on Straw Bed': the nun was the same Mother Mary Clare they'd been praying for at St Alphage. She told Fr Moore that the nun's death was awful: 'No dear, not awful', he'd said, 'glorious. Now they have a martyr'. She attended the memorial service for Mother Mary Clare at St Augustine's, Kilburn, and met the nuns themselves: that cemented her decision to join the Order. In the end, she was professed at Woking by the same Bishop Cooper she'd prayed for, a coincidence she couldn't help but view as providential. She wasn't the only Sister produced by St Alphage's: Sister Joy also worshipped there, as did Arthur Royal who became an Associate of the CSP in 1956 and when vicar of Heap Bridge in Manchester invited Sister Nora Lucille to do a short mission of visiting around his parish.

The Community of the Compassion of Jesus[58] was a younger, less well-known, but in many ways parallel order of sisters, also founded in London, but nearly thirty years behind the CSP, in 1890. Its first home was in Deptford, where it grew out of the solitary work of its founder, Mary Margaret, but in 1912 it started a subsidiary care home for the dying at Boyle House Farm in Thames Ditton. Despite its homely name, the house was a substantial Georgian mansion, and, renamed the Home of Compassion after the sisters' earlier establishments in London, reached its greatest capacity in 1960 with 53 beds. The chapel, designed by Christopher Wright in 1925, had a tabernacle and a Big Six set of candlesticks. In 1919 the sisters had acceded to a single request to look after a young mother and baby, an aspect of their work formalised by the purchase of a house in Church Walk in 1934 which became St Agnes's Home for children, and then a bigger one, Newlands, in 1948. By 1956 the Home was looking after more than twenty children, mainly from broken

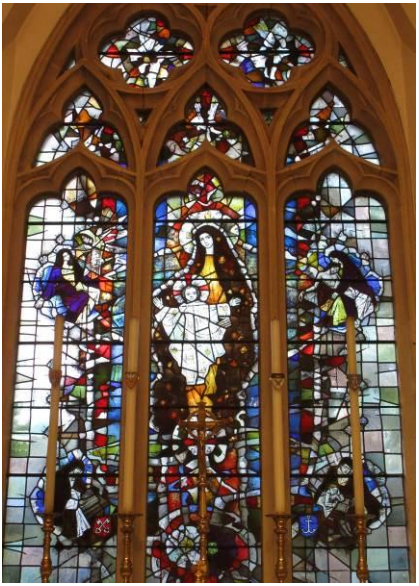
families although some were orphans. The need was still there; but by 1968 the order had dwindled to three sisters, one of whom ran St Agnes Home. The CCJ was dissolved, the children's home closed, and the Home of Compassion was passed to a charitable trust chaired by the Bishop of Guildford.

The Community of Reparation to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament was another London order that found its way to Surrey for a time.[59] Founded by Alfred Goulden, vicar of St Alphege's, Southwark, in the early 1870s, this community of Sisters was very 'advanced', practising reservation of the Sacrament – essential for the prayer ministry at the heart of the order – and celebrating Corpus Christi from the initial stages of its existence. When numbers of Sisters reached the mid-twenties around World War Two the CRJBS faced the choice of whether to expand the convent in Southwark, refurbish a subsidiary house in Ealing, or move somewhere else entirely. The Sisters decided to go for the third option, sold both a cottage at Pirbright used as a rest house and the convent at Ealing, and purchased a big house in Woking called Bylands which had plenty of grounds and scope for expansion: it could become a suitable mother house for what was to all appearances a growing religious community.

It was not a happy move. Firstly the numbers of professed Sisters peaked at just the time the Woking house was bought, and then declined. Secondly, the CRJBS had always combined its contemplative prayer life (each Sister was supposed to spend at least half an hour a day in prayer before the Sacrament) with active work in local parishes; Evangelical Woking was not exactly fertile ground for that. Once she had settled in, the Superior, Mother Thecla, visited the vicar of St Peter's Old Woking in whose parish the new convent lay to offer the nuns' services, and was basically told he would be delighted if they stayed in their convent and did nothing else. All the nearby parishes were of a similar stamp. This made the Sisters' mixed economy of prayer and work very hard to achieve. In the end the only Surrey church the CRJBS worked in was St Michael's Sheerwater, and the entire Woking venture was abandoned in 1957, the community returning to Southwark.

The community of Spelthorne St Mary at Thorpe[60] was housed in buildings now occupied by TASIS. It had been founded (as usual in London) by a Miss Antrobus in 1878 as a sanatorium for women with alcohol and other drug addictions; when she died in 1882 the Wantage Sisters had taken it over. Between the 1930s and 1974, when it moved to Harpenden, it was based at Thorpe; by 1958 it had 68 beds, and was staffed by 14 Sisters, one of whom was a doctor and three were trained nurses, and for many years it was the only institution of its kind in the country. The nuns were justifiably proud of their work and did their best to publicise it, making the point – as Sister Mildred

Rebecca reminded the Methodists of Byfleet in a talk in 1968 – that alcohol had always been and remained the principal drug of addiction. When the convent closed, some of the fittings of its chapel, including an amazing gilded *baldacchino* designed by Sir Ninian Comper, were removed to Thorpe church. The east window in the church, designed by Lawrence Lee in 1974, commemorates the community's work: the Virgin and Child (unusually robed in brown) is surrounded by vignettes showing Sisters at typical activities.





The Spelthorne window at Thorpe, and the Comper baldacchino over it

Finally, and perhaps most *outré* of all, the Servants of Christ the King was based in a house it named Mount Olivet in Frensham from 1931. This was one of the relatively unusual male Anglican orders, and was very small, founded equally unusually in north Yorkshire by the highly odd Joseph (*né* Reginald) Gardner as a community of preachers. This vocation came to an end after Brother Joseph objected to some youths who were treating his evangelistic efforts on the harbour at Staithes somewhat disrespectfully, and attacked them with a large wooden cross. The community was put under the supervision of the Benedictines at Nashdom and their spiritual director Dom Martin Collett suggested a better use of their time might be to look after children with learning difficulties, as a women's order he advised also did. The five brothers then moved to Frensham when a suitable house became available. The fixtures they set up were very ultramontane, including a tabernacle decorated with a

crown on the chapel altar. Everything carried on happily for some years, the monastery becoming quite a popular pilgrimage destination for Anglo-Catholic churches in London looking for a day out: even T.S. Eliot came along from St Stephen's Gloucester Road where he was churchwarden. That was until a day in autumn 1935 when Brother Joseph's volatile personality got the better of him:

> At a pilgrimage organised by London churches, at which Dom Martin Collett sang the outdoor mass, Gard'ner [who had inserted an apostrophe into his name] was to preach; but, after starting conventionally, a red mist descended and he denounced Anglo-Catholicism as a fraud and a sham. He then appreciated what he had done, fled the scene and hid himself in the kitchen until all the visitors had gone.

It wasn't long, then, before the Servants of Christ the King submitted wholesale to Rome, which sadly means we only mention in passing the stage of the community's existence when Brother Joseph decided God was telling him to organise a circus utilising the talents of his young charges, over which he presided as ringmaster in monastic habit and black top hat. Older residents of the area still remember attending these performances which went on for some years, but then you would hardly forget.[61]

The religious orders performed a number of functions apart from their specific roles. Their chapels provided a shelter for advanced liturgical practices out of the reach of the diocesan bishops: both at Woking and Thames Ditton the convent chapels had tabernacles and provision for services of exposition and benediction of the Blessed Sacrament from the time they were built in the 1890s and 1920s respectively; the chapel of All Saints' Home at Hawley had a Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament added in 1924, seven sanctuary lamps and an altar bearing wooden figures of the Virgin and Child and the Four Doctors of the Church. They even produced a certain amount of kit, such as the altar frontals made for Holmbury St Mary by the East Grinstead Sisters 'to Guildford S. Nicolas fabrics' which were recorded in the 1940s. Secondly, the orders' presence in the parishes provided an icon of commitment to Anglo-Catholic ideals: they were part of a culture that made such a commitment look normal and understandable. In the 1930s Fr Douglas at St Augustine's Aldershot arranged a Parish Mission led by Fr Harold Ellis of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield, and members of the Mirfield and Hilfield communities and the Cowley Fathers came to preach; while not far away at the church of the Ascension, congregations in the 1940s were used to Benedictine monks preaching especially around the Feast of Christ the King (which at this stage was not a standard element of the Anglican calendar). Even as late as the 1980s, there were a couple of nuns from a Bournemouth-

based order, the Sisters of Bethany, working in Hindhead parish – the graveyard contains their headstones – and Mary Featherstone, an ex-member of the Community of the Sacred Passion, was Farncombe's sacristan for decades until her death in 2013.





Gravestones of Bethany Sisters at Hindhead, and Mary Featherstone CSPass

The Song School of St Mary of the Angels wasn't a religious order, but it was one of the most eccentric institutions the Catholic movement ever produced, which is saying something; it comes into the Surrey story to some extent, and has fallen out of the Church's memory to the degree that it's worth recounting its history in some detail.[62]

Fr Desmond Morse-Boycott began his working life as a journalist, and was ordained later, finding his way to St Mary's Somers Town where as curate he worked among some of the worst social conditions in 1910s and 20s central London; one of the other priests there was the much better-known Basil Jellicoe, the Missioner funded by Magdalen College, Oxford, who did so much to affect housing provision and policy in the capital. Morse-Boycott was a challenging figure, even to his fellow clergy. Combative and satirical in his writing, colleagues often found reasons to dislike him. In later years another Somers Town priest alleged that Morse-Boycott would have himself driven around the parish by a chauffeur in a black car, patronising the poor with his presence, but although he certainly had enough private means to work in Somers Town for free from 1924, his life hardly suggests someone rolling in money, however much he affected an aristocratic air.

Fr Morse-Boycott took groups of Somers Town boys ('who only knew grass as something "to keep off of"') on summer camps at Fr Jellicoe's family home in Chailey, Sussex, where his father was Rector: it was there that Morse-Boycott

met his future wife, Marguerite, who'd come to help out at the camp one year and was shocked by the threadbare state of the curate's socks. Clearly marriage was the only rational solution. Once they were a couple, the Morse-Boycotts began a boys' club, first in their house, and then in a cellar room owned by the church: the tenor of the work is shown by the fact that the boys got 'clothes, soup of the evening, and a hot wash in the sink'. They began to teach the boys a bit of this and that Church knowledge, and finally music.

The parish was already raising money to send some boys to Woodbridge School in Essex and when these youngsters came home for breaks in Eton collars and uniforms their fellows at the 'Room Under the Pavement club' asked if they could dress the same. An appeal for cast-offs among the clergy's better-off connections (of whom there were many) produced enough clobber to kit the boys out and even more of a school atmosphere developed. The posh uniforms aroused the derision of other children but this lasted only a short time before they discovered that the boys at St Mary's hadn't lost their ability to fight when they donned starched collars and black jackets. The outfits also had the advantage of being unpawnable, unlike other clothes the boys were given.

The great All Saints' Margaret Street, of course, had had a Choir School for over seventy years by this stage and its example was there to be copied and, in fact, exceeded. In 1931 a site for a residential School was acquired in Highgate and, of all people, the artist G.F. Watts's widow Mary provided a carved foundation stone. A Trust was established and the School opened the following year.

And yet very shortly after that, Morse-Boycott was out of his parish, ousted from St Mary's by a move to insist that all clergy serving the church had to be celibate. The Room Under the Pavement was still an important part of the Choir School system as boys used it when on holiday back at home, and the Mothers' meeting based there was the main source of recruitment of new pupils, but it was reassigned to other parish purposes. It was a poor reward for Morse-Boycott's efforts. The School became, as he put it, 'Handmaid to the Church of England', at its disposal for any occasion it might require.

And so it was: and gradually its reputation advanced to the point where it came to secular attention, too. High points were the bizarre occasions when the St Mary of the Angels boys were asked to replace the voices of the Westminster Abbey choir on a recording of a Coronation (perhaps the Abbey wanted too much of a fee), and even those of the choir at the *Sistine Chapel*. Boys' choral institutions in Europe were intrigued. In 1938 the Highgate site was sold to the London County Council raising very welcome funds, and that

was when the School moved to Addlestone. While they were away on a singing tour of Devon the house burned down, but miraculously the lease of a neighbouring property came up and the School again relocated, with a sojourn being evacuated to Devon (and being thrown out on New Year's Day 1942 when the landlord refused to extend the lease). The School stayed in Addlestone until 1952 when the death of a benefactor meant a mortgage fell due and the house had to be sold, necessitating a further move to Beaconsfield where the institution remained until the end finally arrived in 1972. There had been a hiatus after Marguerite Morse-Boycott died in 1958, before Fr Desmond decided to start the school up again a couple of years later.

Money was never far from the Morse-Boycotts' minds, but apart from the boys making palm crosses, sundry donations, and Marguerite's efforts in the embroidery field, a lot of the Song School's income came from singing itself. There were recordings and tours, and when the boys sang at a Church event, there was never a fee charged, but a plate was put out. As Fr Morse-Boycott admitted, the education authorities took a dim view of this ('heresy and exploitation') and in fact of the School as a whole. His total lack of any formal teaching experience, or any qualifications to do anything, frankly, might not have been a problem in a London slum in the 1920s, but by the 1960s St Mary of the Angels was a relic of another age, as was the man himself. His relationship with the Anglican powers-that-be was never easy, either: the Church was 'a hard mother', he complained. Over the years the School produced dozens of priests (at least one becoming a bishop) and musicians amateur and professional, but it was never really accepted.

Morse-Boycott was an Anglo-Papalist, but his spirituality had something of the romantic medievalist strain about it: he filled out the register books at St Augustine's, Addlestone, in elaborate Gothic script (for which purpose he brought his own pen), and never used any liturgy other than the Book of Common Prayer (with certain additions he devised himself). He emphasised his (quite remote) royal ancestry, and graced himself with a completely illegitimate coat-of-arms. Not, perhaps, the easiest of souls to get along with. While at Highgate, Morse-Boycott revived for the first time in the Church of England the tradition of the Boy Bishop who supervises his choir colleagues between St Nicholas's Eve and Holy Innocents Day. Investiture took place in the School chapel and was a grand occasion. In fact, in 1935 Pathé News recorded an investiture taking place, for some unknown reason, at St Nicholas's, Compton (perhaps the School was singing there). For this occasion, at least, Fr Morse-Boycott indulged in one of his more egregious foibles and vested as a bishop himself: you could argue that the Boy Bishop was actually more entitled to the mitre as he'd at least been elected by his peers. When the Boy Bishop's term of office came to an end, he was

ceremonially 'whipped out' by his colleagues in what amounted to a mild beating: 'that's the way to deal with the Establishment', the priest commented.



Fr Morse-Boycott investing a Boy Bishop in the Song School chapel at Addlestone

And that leads to a darker aspect of Fr Morse-Boycott and his School. Some had fond enough memories of their time with it, but in 2006 David Beeching shared with the Addlestone Historical Society newsletter some frankly harrowing recollections of a regime whose austerity and brutality went far beyond anything acceptable even in the 1940s. He was never sure why his adoptive parents thought it would do him good to go to St Mary's. He found beatings and other punishments such as being confined to bed for days were administered for a variety of transgressions, including, after several weeks of awfulness, trying to smuggle out an uncensored letter to his parents. It was only by accident that such a terrifyingly unregulated institution fell into nothing worse. Finally Beeching took responsibility for the theft of a boy's toy car – if nobody owned up, Fr Morse-Boycott threatened, no pupil would be allowed home for the holidays – and was held down while he was slippered by the Head Boy. He was seven. On the way home he tearfully told his father what was happening, and never went back. Years later, he concluded that the priest, far from being 'a bit of a Victorian martinet, but whose heart was in the right place', was instead 'a bully who … took pleasure from the fear he instilled in children'.[63]

The concluding service in the monastic daily office of prayer, Compline, was the one which found its way into the life of the parishes. When Archbishop Cranmer devised the Anglican Prayer Book office in the 1540s, he combined the evening service of Vespers with the night one of Compline to produce Evensong; the proposed Prayer Book of 1928 provided a version of the latter as part of its very moderate changes in a Catholic direction. Of course the Book was never officially promulgated and very few churches used its provisions apart from the wedding service which provided an alternative to the stern 1662 version, but Compline was taken up to a great extent. In fact the first celebration of Compline in our area we know about predates the 1928 liturgy: in summer 1916, the mission church of St Michael, Epsom, began adding Compline to its Sunday diet; there were only 13 communicants at the 8am mass, but about 50 worshippers would come to Compline. The parish of St Alban & St Aidan in Aldershot also pre-empted the 1928 reforms, including Compline in its worship in 1926, but most churches took it up later, and it tended to be a seasonal rather than a regular offering. Banstead held a Compline service to conclude a 'Devotional Day' in April 1933; and in the 1940s and 1950s it appeared during Lent at quite a number of churches, very often on Wednesday evenings (as at Blackheath, Bramley, Cuddington, and St Barnabas's Epsom) though St Mark's Ockford Ridge chose Mondays in 1936, and Burgh Heath, Egham Hythe and Englefield Green went for other times. One church where Compline was a regular feature was North Holmwood, where in 1955 'Compline and Intercessions' appeared on Saturday evenings. Compline was important as it introduced the idea of the monastic Office to laypeople, and allowed them to take part in it; through it, they learned J.M. Neale's translation of the ancient night chant 'Te Lucis Ante Terminum', 'Before the ending of the day', sung to its ferial setting. Even if the laity were familiar with no other piece of plainchant than the hymn 'Come Holy Ghost our souls inspire', they knew that.

Of course, very few Christians would go as far as taking the Veil, but the urge to make some significant, exemplary sacrifice was still strong. 'Take my silver and my gold/Not a mite would I withhold' runs the hymn; wealthy Anglican Catholics would often symbolise their willingness to give to the Lord by turning secular riches to religious use. The earliest example was perhaps at Grafham where Henry Woodyer had his wife Frances's amythests set into the chalice and flagon presented to the church at its opening. Miss Gillett of St Catherine's, Guildford, gave her jewels for the new chalice made for St Nicolas's in 1878 (and later designed the church's new altar hangings). In 1888 Vernon Musgrave put what must have been his family's entire inheritance of jewellery – nearly three hundred diamonds, pearls, rubies, amythests and other stones including 'moonstones from Ceylon' and a yellow diamond from

the crown of Hanover into a chalice of intimidating richness for Hascombe. A few years later a Miss Fitton presented St John's, Farncombe, with a chalice and ciborium embellished with family jewels in memory of her sister, and modelled on one in the possession of Keble College. 'The right spirit', wrote Canon Musgrave, 'is not if you have anything to spare, but if you have anything precious, anything which it is a sacrifice to part from, to give to the raising, the enrichment, the adorning of God's Houses'.[64]

Possibly the most spectacular story of this kind – even exceeding Hascombe's crown diamond from Hanover – is the rock-crystal adorning the processional cross at Weybridge. Julia[65] Isabella Vaillant was born in 1828, daughter of the quite extraordinary Colonel Francis Maceroni, 'soldier, diplomat, revolutionary, balloonist, author, inventor, and bigamist' who had been aide-de-camp to the King of Naples and who died in poverty in Shepherd's Bush in 1846. She married Major Albert Vaillant of Stoke d'Abernon, moving with him to Meadowleigh in Weybridge; they sent their son Wilfred, who later became a priest, to school in Clewer and then Radley. After Julia died in 1911, her children presented St James's Church with a stunning processional cross inscribed in Latin and describing Julia as 'Christ's dutiful handmaid'. It bears images of St James and St Julia (an obscure Corsican martyr), the Pelican-in-her-piety, the Instruments of the Passion in gold and blue enamel, the Agnus Dei, a burning Sacred Heart, an enamel angel carrying a chalice and host – and, on and between the arms, the rock crystals which were sent to Julia from China and, so legend says, recovered from shipwreck not once but twice. No wonder they were blessed.[66]



What about the other end of the social scale? Not every believer can encrust a chalice with their family heirlooms. Soon after I arrived in Farncombe, I had tea with Fr John Fellows at Compton, then Area Dean, to get an outside perspective on my new parish. 'I've always felt', he told me, 'that St John's is a bit like a south London working-class Catholic church marooned in rural Surrey'. It did have something of that feel to it, especially as time went on, but its earlier days were more conventional as it had significant support from

wealthy local families; rather it was St Augustine's in North Town, Aldershot, that fitted Fr Fellows's description more closely.[67]

North Town is separated from central Aldershot by Redan Hill; the Vicar of Aldershot described it in 1879 as 'a remote part of my parish'. From the 1860s it grew up as a distinct, and virtually completely working-class, community: it was where the cemetery, gasworks, isolation hospital, and sewage farm all ended up. In 1880 North Town was provided with a prefabricated iron mission church, replaced by the permanent brick St Augustine's in 1907: there wasn't the money to complete the intended design by Sir Robert Jackson, and the church remained in this truncated form for many years. The first few priests-in-charge remained living close to the mother church of St Michael in the town centre before Edward Wickham – a grandson of Prime Minister Gladstone, no less – decided to live in his patch (he wasn't technically the vicar, though others accorded him the title as he did himself from time to time). It would be twenty years before a proper dwelling was procured, so Revd Wickham took a modest house in North Lane opposite the Swan pub. St Augustine's historian, Maurice Hillman, writes that 'Wickham, by the standards of his time, did everything wrong, and North Town loved him for it' although apart from taking parish families on hop-picking holidays he doesn't seem to have dropped too many clangers. He set up the North Town Public Welfare Association to press for improvements to the area, and, after the Council resisted suggestions for upgrading the roads, got the Army to do it. During World War One he kept the church open, hoping that 'many young and old will learn the privilege of dropping into the Church at any time for the odd five minutes just as the moment finds us. Collarless it may be, or without our Sunday go-to-meeting bonnet, but just to pray'. According to Mr Hillman, Edward Wickham 'established in St Augustine's the roots of Anglo-Catholic traditions', but real advance had to wait until his successor-but-two, Fr George Douglas, who, like Mr Wickham, had trained in the unusual setting of Farnham Hostel, a small all-graduate theological college – there were never more than ten students - founded by Bishop Randall Davidson and which



existed in the very shadow of the Bishop of Winchester's palace at Farnham Castle from 1899 to 1919.

Maurice Hillman states that when Fr Douglas arrived at St Augustine's in 1928 it was 'a pleasant obscure little church known to few', while on his departure ten years later it was 'a bastion of Anglo-Catholic faith and worship known throughout the Home Counties'. During his time he introduced practices such as reservation, incense and benediction, and made sure the Eucharist was celebrated in proper vestments. Many of the fixtures and fittings of the church are described as 'acquired by Fr Douglas', including the altar in the church's short-lived Lady Chapel (created when the Sacrament was first reserved in the 1930s, and then dissolved during developments in the 1950s) which came from the defunct St Alban's in Aldershot's west end, and the pulpit moved from the chapel of Sherborne School in Dorset where Fr Douglas had been a pupil. He was 'a direct and dynamic personality' who people remembered with great affection: 'above all', recalls Maurice Hillman, 'he gave St Augustine's a sense of purpose'. He was assisted by a longstanding Lay Reader, Frank Varney, who shared his convictions and ideals. Mr Hillman remembered 'a very small, gentle, grey haired man so short that only his silver grey hair showed above our Lectern … Week after week he read the Lesson from it for over six decades. Not in ringing, carefully enunciated tones but with a soft unpolished Southern accent that was pure North Town.' Here you can detect something very important: a sense of specifically *local* identity which is connected with being Anglo-Catholic, but also with being *working-class* and being *different* from other churches. We will encounter this elsewhere. From Aldershot Fr Douglas returned to the West Country as vicar of St Michael's Yeovil, where he died in 1960: a requiem mass was held for him at the Franciscan Friary at Hilfield in Dorset.

Most of the other Aldershot churches were moving in the same direction around this time. The west of the town was looked after by two small mission churches, St Aidan's in the parish of St Michael which dated from 1901, and St Alban's which came under Holy Trinity, started in 1887. In 1924 the respective parishes agreed that the two churches would constitute a single district in St Michael's ambit. At that time the Revd J. Crichton Melville was kept busy looking after both and shuttling between them on a Sunday, as well as keeping the Prayer Book feasts and special occasions such as the feasts of the respective patron saints. Through the later



Former St Alban's, Aldershot

1920s references appear in the service registers to the Guild of the Servants of the Sanctuary, Stations of the Cross on Good Friday, and a service of 'Compline and Preparation' at 8pm on Saturday evenings – was this an occasion for parishioners to make a confession? On Advent Sunday 1928 Fr Crichton Melville records that he read the Little Offices of None and Sext, and Vespers in the church; we don't know why as it was the only time he did. On January 1st 1933 the main service on Sunday between the two churches was recorded as 'High Mass', following on from an early communion service. In the proper manner, most people communicated at 8am, leaving the later celebration for those still fasting. At the end of that month there was a Mass of the Holy Spirit to pray specifically for a church meeting. St Alban's closed at the end of September 1934, but all the activity transferred smoothly to St Aidan's. By 1937 the church was celebrating mass daily except on Wednesday: though numbers of communicants were tiny, the clergy clearly felt a daily mass was important. In 1939 St Aidan's was, in turn, replaced by the new church of the Ascension.

In 1893 the old parish church of St Michael had had a fairly standard moderate-high-church Sunday pattern of holy communion at 8am, Mattins at 11am (with communion two Sundays a month), Catechism for children at 3.15, and Evensong at 6.30pm. Forty years later under vicar Hugh le Fleming the church was offering a daily communion, and of the two services on Sunday far more people made their communion at 8am than 10am, suggesting again a Catholic habit of encouraging fasting before doing so. As we've mentioned, the registers are often on the uninformative side, but in 1935 Sunday 8th November – Trinity 20 – is referred to as 'Sunday in Octave', that is, of All Saints' Day, a very Roman habit at that time. The following year the register recorded a service on 'The Assumption of the BVM'. As far as Aldershot churches were concerned, only Holy Trinity remained as an outpost of relatively Low Church practice.

Few single factors have affected the inward spiritual life of the Anglican Church more than the work of Fr Reginald Somerset Ward of Walworth, Barnsbury, Chiddingfold and Farncombe. He is hard to place in our scheme: chronologically he is an Enthusiast, but his intense, hidden ministry as the *doyen* of Anglican spiritual directors – in fact, the person most responsible for injecting the very idea into the bloodstream of the Church of England – makes the title I have chosen seem particularly inappropriate to this deeply serious and influential priest, the 'Physician of Souls', as his gravestone at Chiddingfold reads. It was during his uncomfortable two years as Rector of Chiddingfold (a pacifist caught in the middle of a horrible war) that Somerset Ward became convinced God was calling him to his life's work, that of a director of souls. A house was found for him in Farncombe and a group of

anonymous friends set up a trust to fund him and his family, and 'Ravenscroft' in Wolseley Road became his home between 1915 and 1962. Here he died the year after receiving the Lambeth D.D. degree from Archbishop Michael Ramsey (who may have been one of his directees). For much of that time, Somerset Ward had travelled the country by train, setting up shop, as it were, in provincial churches and dealing with his hundreds of directees, hearing confessions and helping with their spiritual progress.





Fr Somerset Ward (1920s?) and his green chasuble showing the Three Crosses

As a curate, Somerset Ward had fallen out, to an extent, with his incumbent at Barnsbury, who became drawn in a more Anglo-Catholic direction and began, as Ward put it, 'wasting his great powers in defending trifles of no worth to any but petty minds'. Yet his own spirituality was profoundly Catholic. He was among the first people to rediscover the writings of the English medieval mystics; he introduced a daily mass at Chiddingfold and always celebrated one in his own chapel at Ravenscroft; he kept the discipline of confession. In the eucharist, he told a conference of his priest directees in 1920,

> The gates twixt heaven and earth are flung open in the Bread and Wine at Consecration, and through them pours out the Life of Christ in a flood which overflows the souls of all faithful worshippers. In the reception of the Body and Blood of Christ, the doorway is opened in each communicant, and the Life fills the soul.

One of Somerset Ward's collaborators was Phyllis Dent, who he worked with when they were both employed at the Church of England Sunday School Institute before he went to Chiddingfold: she would become the first member of his association of mystical prayer, The Road, and in 1912 he devised for her

a remarkably medieval rite of 'spiritual betrothal' to Christ, involving vows and a ring. Somerset Ward's spiritual life was marked by occasional physical manifestations of the presence of Jesus which very few clergy at the time would have conceived, and which he himself kept very quiet about. His personal vestments survive at Guildford Cathedral: they illustrate in embroidered form his spiritual ideas, as three crosses on a hill ('the three crucifixions of the senses, the intellect, and the soul'), and a path to a city gate through which the sun shines ('the road to the mystical city of Jerusalem'). They were made by Geraldine Midgeley, resident of a house at Chiddingfold named 'Sandalphon' after the angel who, in Jewish folklore, receives the prayers of the faithful: from 1917 this became the 'House of Prayer' for those who wanted to spend time in prayer but not live in community as such. After his death in 1962, Somerset Ward's house in Farncombe would become the centre for a very different work – but also one strongly linked to a different phase of the Catholic movement, of which more later.



Charles Allingham in the 1950s

Somerset Ward's time at Farncombe partly overlapped with the incumbency of Charles Allingham. Mr Allingham had trained at King's College London and St Stephen's House, and had served a curacy at St Leonard's Heston before coming to Farncombe; he'd then been incumbent at Cove & Hawley for three years, returning to Farncombe after the death of Fr Charles Knight. Mr Allingham altered nothing about his predecessor's Sunday pattern and one would not have thought of him as remotely 'enthusiastic', but for two stories. First, in 1958 a fire broke out at the sawmill and woodyard adjoining the parish church, serious enough for members of the congregation to evacuate the church's valuables in case it spread to the building; against all advice, Charles Allingham stayed in the church overnight praying before the Blessed Sacrament that the fire would be contained, as of course it was. Secondly, early the following year Mr Allingham was in hospital for a routine operation that seems to have gone wrong and resulted in a six-week stay followed by a period of convalescent leave at the orders of the Bishop. As he wrote in the parish magazine with astounding frankness,

> Everything seemed to be going wrong and one was tempted to depression and self-pity … yet in those moments the thought would come "Those prayers will be answered" … I can mark a definite moment when things, as far as I was concerned, were at their darkest, that an assurance came to me that all would be well. … Before this experience I just did not know what

> physical suffering meant … I shall approach people who are ill with a very different outlook in the future … I know because of my experience that God answered prayer and nothing will ever convince me otherwise … Another thing that I learnt at first hand is the great difficulty people who are at low ebb find in saying prayers at all … All one can do at such times is to hold on to God, as it were, and leave the word-praying to others. This proves the great power of intercession and teaches us that we ought always to pray for the sick.

Mr Allingham then reminded his parishioners of the twice-monthly Divine Healing Prayer Services held at St John's. These didn't appear in the church's service registers; they clearly predated the priest's illness, but got a new impetus from it. 'I owe my life to that man', one parishioner recalled to me sixty years after receiving the laying-on of hands at one of these services ahead of rare and risky heart surgery. Charles Allingham's experience brings to light a perhaps unsuspected spiritual intensity in the life of one Catholic-minded clergyman in the 1950s.

Mention of healing services raises the number of times references to the Guild of St Raphael occur in the service registers of churches in our area of study. Now is not the time to go into the tangled history of the GSR, or its contested links, in its early stages, with Christian occultism; suffice it to say that by the 1930s it stood for the importance of the ministry of healing in a specifically Anglican context (having grown out of the older Guild of Health, which was ecumenical). Banstead was holding 'Prayers for the Guild of St Raphael' as early as 1932, and kept doing so for six decades; other references appeared across the years at Hindhead, Oatlands, Woodham, and St Nic's Guildford. The ministry of healing was clearly a concern for some people at Anglo-Catholic churches, and observances sometimes extended across different incumbencies, so they were not just the enthusiasm of a particular priest.

St Barnabas's, Epsom, had a GSR service in 1949 led by J.G. Cox, chaplain of the Horton Hospital (and in 1955 author of a guide for hospital chaplains and clergy visiting the sick); later, the St Barnabas's Chapter met regularly and visited a hospice near Tunbridge Wells run by a religious community. The presence of the GSR led members of the congregation to seek out the sacramental ministry of healing and one curate, John Appleton, to become chaplain to a hospice in Lincoln.

It's instructive to look at the effect the ripples of the Catholic Movement had as they washed across churches that were not themselves at its centre. We've seen how Haslemere was a centre of violent protest against Roman Catholicism in the 1850s; Sanders Etheridge, incumbent for 30 years from 1868, was married to Bishop Sumner's granddaughter and a very

Establishment figure; yet he was still one of the Purchas memorialists in 1871, and after the rebuilding of the old church of St Bartholomew in 1870 had the sanctuary of its replacement decorated in as sumptuous a fashion as one could wish, perhaps a bit *too* gaudy even for Ecclesiological purists. His successor George Aitken appears in a photograph wearing a white clerical necktie, which one would normally take as a sign of a very Low Churchman. But before coming to Haslemere Mr Aitken had served at St Jude's Whitechapel, where Canon Samuel Barnett, another white necktie-wearer, had been vicar, and followed his conviction that good art could elevate the lives of the church's slum-dwelling parishioners. It was the same belief that Mr Aitken brought to Surrey, introducing some remarkable Arts-and-Crafts fittings to St Bartholomew's, and then providing an entire daughter church, St Christopher's, full of them. The *most* remarkable was the triptych behind the altar: painted by the architect's wife Minnie Dibdin Spooner, it depicted heroes of Victorian religion – and not just Anglicans – including John Keble, Florence Nightingale, Father Damian, and General Gordon, as well as more universal saints. This was quite a development for a Churchman of Mr Aitken's stamp. In later years, the tradition, or at least the tastes, of the church had advanced enough to commission Martin Travers, *doyen* of the farthest wing of the Catholic Movement, to design a hanging crucifix.



St Christopher's, Haslemere, showing the Travers crucifix and triptych

Meanwhile, Dockenfield is part of the parish of Frensham. Its small yet imposing Bargate-stone chapel of the Good Shepherd, built in 1909-10, bears artistic marks that would have been unthinkable were it not for a general Catholic flavour affecting all church fittings at the time. Against the exterior east wall is an Art Nouveau cross decorated with the symbols of the Evangelists, and inside we find a coloured Rood mounted on a roof-beam whose corbels bear the Instruments of the Passion picked out in gold.







Arts-and-Crafts High Anglican at the Good Shepherd, Dockenfield

By the middle of the 20th century, then, Anglo-Catholic clergy and the laity who sympathised with them had for several generations worked hard to express their ideals in the life of their church communities. As well as tracing the way it happened, we have at least glimpsed how these ideals affected their inner spiritual lives – how they thought of their relationship with God and with the world he had made – which is a far more difficult matter. It's perhaps even harder to gauge the 'success' of the whole venture, but a few numbers throw some light on the question.

In his parish newsletter, Canon Musgrave of Hascombe recorded the statistics he felt were important, the numbers of celebrations of Holy Communion the church had hosted and the totals of those who made their communion at them. The table below is based on those details:

Year	Number of celebrations	Communicants	Average
1869-70	13	301	23
1878-79	39	698	18
1888-89	60	1075	18
1898-99	80	1392	17
1905-06	84	1398	17

Clearly, Mr Musgrave could regard the colossal escalation of communicant numbers with satisfaction, but the figures suggest that this may have been achieved at least partly by multiplying services attended by relatively small numbers of parishioners. We can't work out how his ambitions fitted into the rest of the church's life without knowing more about that life. Were more people worshipping at St Peter's, or were these communion services only one element of what its congregation did week by week, and perhaps not even the best-supported?



Mid-20th century Marian embroidery on an altar frontal at Milford

As mentioned already, old service registers very rarely record anything other than communicant numbers, making it hard to compare the popularity of the new liturgies pioneered by Anglo-Catholics with that of others, notably the traditional Sunday 'Offices' of Mattins and Evensong. One helpful exception is St John's, Milford. By the late 1920s, Charles Wanstall had been Vicar of Milford for a decade and maintained a very moderate tradition. On March 25th 1928, for instance, the fifth Sunday of Lent, 20 people made their communion at 8am, a number dwarfed by the attendance at 11am Mattins (86) and 6.30pm Evensong (137). Even on Easter Day that year, the 237 communicants at the three morning celebrations of the eucharist were easily outweighed by the 357 souls who came to Mattins and Evensong, even if there may have been a bit of overlap across the services. Then in 1931 Mr Wanstall was succeeded by John Crichton Melville, who we've already met leading the charge at St Alban's & St Aidan's, Aldershot. He introduced a Sung Eucharist at 9.45 on Sundays, and services for All Souls and Corpus Christi. The Sung Eucharist was clearly supposed to be an occasion for adoration rather than receiving communion: at its first trial on New Year's Day 1933, no communicant numbers were

recorded, while 102 people came to Mattins and 122 to Evensong. The imbalance was still there in 1945, when there were 37 communicants including 10 at the Sung Eucharist (celebrated slightly later by then, at 10.15am), but a total of 182 people came to the Offices.

No other service registers give us comparable numbers, but one rough clue is the respective value of the offerings at different liturgies. This index of support for any given act of worship is open to objection, as what was really happening is hidden to us; a couple of wealthy givers might skew the figures, while people might give at one service but attend more, so I offer this as evidence cautiously.[68] On Epiphany 1 (January 8th) 1939 at SS Mary & Nicholas's, Leatherhead, the services raised the following amounts:

Time	Service	Communicants	Offerings
7am	Holy Communion	11	£0 7s 6d
8am	Holy Communion	44	£1 3s 3d
10am	Sung Eucharist	2	£0 18s 5d
11am	Mattins		£5 3s 4d
2.45pm	Children's Service		£0 2s 7d
6.30pm	Evensong		£3 0s 7d

Here again, we see a non-communicating eucharist on the strict Anglo-Catholic pattern, but even though it's obviously intended as the centrepiece of the church's Sunday worship, to judge by the offerings other services are much more popular. That was still true in 1953. At West Clandon the same year, of the five services, which followed Leatherhead's pattern less the 7am, the collection was always highest at 11am Mattins; it was the same story at St Michael's, Weybridge. At St Mary's, Oatlands, the worship pattern in Advent 1948 was 8am Holy Communion, 9am Sung Holy Communion, 11am Mattins, 3pm Children's Service, and 6.30pm Evensong; offerings at Mattins far outstripped those at the other events, and that was still the case as late as 1970. At the majority of churches, even those where a Catholic pattern of worship had been introduced, laypeople *seem* to have preferred to come to Mattins and Evensong until attendance at those services collapsed in the late 1960s and early 1970s. There was only a handful of churches where this was not the case; they tended to be the hardest-line parishes, and content to be out on a limb.

A couple of final late illustrations of our theme. As vicar of Shalford between 1985 and 2000, David Hobden was perhaps among the last Catholic 'enthusiasts'. His youth had been spent at the firmly Anglo-Catholic church of St John's Newbury, but his ministry had been served in a wider context at Marlborough and St Thomas's Salisbury, a town-centre church with a modestly Catholic tradition. He gently tried to edge Shalford the same way,

introducing the reserved Sacrament, always wearing full eucharistic vestments, and celebrating the Paschal rites for the first time. The church included some articulate Evangelical members, and Mr Hobden never tried to push his own preferences any further, teaching in sermons and adult confirmation classes and 'by example'.

All Saints' New Haw was a church with a moderate eucharistic tradition: Roger Robins, who'd been curate at Farncombe and Aldershot, arrived as vicar in 1979. On Good Friday that year he changed the ceremonies from the old-fashioned Mattins, Litany & Ante-Communion plus the Three Hours, to Stations of the Cross, with the Passion Liturgy in the afternoon, and celebrated Corpus Christi and All Souls' Day for the first time there. When Revd Robins moved to Worplesdon in 1989 his successor at New Haw was Geoff Tickner, a worshipper at Farncombe before studying at St Michael's College in Llandaff and being ordained: New Haw had its first experience of incense on Corpus Christi 1991 when Revd Tickner used it, and it became the custom – at least while he was there.

Theirs was the last generation of Catholic clergy who found themselves looking after churches that were lower down the candle than themselves, and had not had a Catholic tradition earlier on: as time went on and more and more Evangelical clergy were trained and ordained, the situation was increasingly likely to be the other way round.



All Saints' New Haw, about 2005 – the aumbry visible here is now gone. Thanks to Nigel Spinks for the photograph.

4. Guardians

Even in its expansionary phase, Anglo-Catholicism had a deeply conservative instinct – not necessarily politically, though sometimes it was that as well. 'The faith once delivered to the saints', that phrase used by the Epistle of St Jude, generated an outlook that was always essentially backward-looking: the sense of apostolic truth, of 'restoration', meant that the right way of worshipping and living as Christians, once recovered and enacted in a parish, could only be preserved. Change was a problematic matter, because change was precisely not the point. Anglo-Catholics saw themselves as guardians of a tradition, dedicated to promoting, deepening, and defending it. To a great degree this phase of the development of the Anglo-Catholic movement overlaps with some of the others; in longstanding Catholic churches, the 'guardian' phase was reached earlier than in parishes that came to their Catholic identity later on, which were still 'enthusiastic'.

By the 1950s, the congregation of St Augustine's Aldershot had reached the kind of commitment to Catholic ideals that clergy dreamed about, as the priest-in-charge from 1953 to 1956, E. Wynn-Jones, recalled:

> There always remains the picture of the number of young people at the 10.15 Mass - often dressed and equipped to go on afterwards to other activities, but they had their priorities right. I thought then and I still think now, that our services were inspiring and beautiful to the eye and to the spirit. Who could forget those Holy Week devotions, with the Maundy Thursday Eucharist that attracted a full choir and nearly a hundred people at seven o'clock in the morning, followed by the day and night vigil before the glowing altar until Good Friday, with some worshippers in prayer during every moment of those long hours?[69]

And one of the most charming statements comes in the margin of the service register of St Alban's, Hindhead, as vicar John Rogers described the church on Easter Day 1968:

> The church looks very beautiful. Everything lovely all day. 7 infirm received in their places at Holy Eucharist & a growing number of children came up to be blessed.

Later, as the tide turned and the Catholic tradition became increasingly embattled, the 'guarding' acquired a more anxious flavour, which can occasionally be detected as parishes face the challenges of trying to keep their spiritual life going on the face of ecclesiological and social change.

One index of increasing stability among the group of Catholic-side-of-centre churches in the diocese might be the ability to draw their clergy from within rather than outside it. The table below is extremely rough and ready as it tabulates the experience of our core churches over time, but does not take into account complex considerations such as periods when a church such as Chessington moved away from the tradition and then back to it. Sometimes, too, priests leave the area, and then return: John Yeend of West Molesey (who we will meet again later) served three short curacies, in that parish, then at All Saints' Leatherhead, and finally St Matthew's Westminster, before coming back as Vicar of West Molesey in 1946. Nevertheless, despite all these caveats, there seems to be a clear pattern of more clergy being appointed, whether for a second curacy or an incumbency, from within the diocese rather than outside it as time goes on. Maybe this is also true of churches of other traditions, but the very least we can say is that over this period Guildford was finding progressively more of its Catholic-minded clergy from its own stock.

	1900-1920	1920-40	1940-60	1960-80
Inside	33 (41%)	35 (38%)	59 (52%)	84 (63%)
Outside	47 (59%)	58 (62%)	55 (48%)	50 (37%)

Although by the interwar period the bishops were mainly resigned to letting entrenched Anglo-Catholic parishes carry on unmolested, and Bishop Talbot of Winchester was hardly a persecutor, memories of episcopal disfavour were long. As we've seen – and will continue to see – the arrival of a new incumbent could send the developing tradition of a parish spinning round in the opposite direction, so one way of at least defending against that was to make sure the advowson, the right to appoint the incumbent,[70] was vested not in the bishop or a lay patron, but in an institution whose reliability could be trusted in the long term. In fact this only happened occasionally in our area, such as at Hascombe, where Miss F.C. Musgrave gave the patronage to the Society for the Maintenance of the Faith in 1927, or Hawley and Thorpe, whose lay patrons passed their advowsons to Keble College, Oxford, in the 1930s. At Effingham and Little Bookham this brought about an interesting pattern. In 1891 the lay patron of Effingham passed the advowson to the incumbent, the Revd E.F. Bayly, who bequeathed it in turn to Keble College; then in 1958 Elizabeth Green, Lord of the Manor and patron of Little Bookham, presented the living to Revd John W. Reynolds, who'd already been vicar of Effingham since 1943, before giving the patronage of that parish also to Keble. Subsequently the two churches were held together, and, like Revd Reynolds himself, his three successors were Keble graduates, a sequence which came to an end in 1987. The two churches look obviously different even now. The only sign of any High Church influence at All Saints', Little Bookham – which didn't even have a dedication until 1986 – is a Victorian marble reredos and

some stained glass, while St Lawrence's Effingham has generally more lavish decoration, a very modern aumbry, a bowl for holy water and a small figurine of Our Lady as well as an icon of the Virgin & Child.[71] There, Revd Reynolds introduced a Sung Eucharist on Easter Day 1944, and by 1950 it was the main service on most Sundays. In later decades the church kept the Easter Triduum as best it could. On arriving in 1987 Alan Hodgett immediately began referring to 'ferias' in the service register and recorded offering the sacrament of Penance in December 1989. Although as time went on two churches of such limited size – the 184 communicants at three Effingham services on Easter Day 1950 were a distant memory – had to share the liturgies out between them, physically Little Bookham remained unchanged despite only being separated from Effingham by a short walk along a footpath.

Keble College, founded in the memory of the man who sparked off the convulsions that gave rise to the Catholic Movement as a whole, provided in itself a touchstone and marker of identity, and as those events of the mid-19th century moved into a legendary past reference to them became a way of signalling that identity. The centenary of Keble's Assize Sermon in 1933 prompted commemorations in several churches. In Lent that year, Banstead drafted in Fr William Bryn Thomas – who, three decades later, would be solemnly unfrocked by Bishop Mervyn Stockwood for adultery – to preach on the subject each Wednesday evening, and Wonersh also used Lent as the opportunity for a series of Oxford Movement lectures. Wonersh kept the actual anniversary of Keble's sermon on the closest Sunday in July, the 9th, as a day of special celebration, as did Oatlands and Holy Trinity, Hawley. As for Keble himself, Church Crookham must be the only church in England which has a sort of shrine to that devout figure, a framed picture, a notice pointing out that 'Near This Spot John Keble Worshipped', and a bit of oak carved with a cross which, I suspect, we are to take as the very wood touched by the saintly behind. The box contains a copy of Keble's verse volume *The Christian Year*.

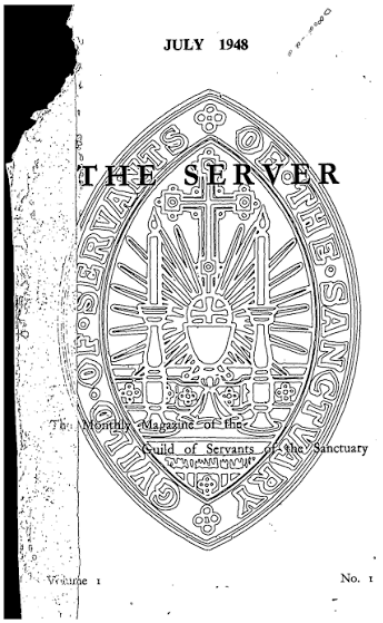


The role of a bishop, theologically speaking, is to represent the continuity of the Catholic Church across both space and time, and in an era when the Catholic movement was more entrenched in the Colonies than at home the presence of the occasional overseas prelate made the point to Surrey parishes. In May 1927 Cathrew Fisher, the Bishop of Nyasaland, preached at Dorking; in the early 1950s the former Bishop of Accra, John Aglionby, who'd retired to Orpington, could be found helping out at St Michael's Weybridge, a church which had supported a mission at Bloemfontein all the way from the 1880s to the 1920s. Spreading the self-identification of Anglo-Catholics even wider, in 1963 22 parishioners of Thorpe took communion at a Requiem Mass for Pope John XXIII.

Finally we might mention the mysterious reference in the St Mark's Farnborough service register to 'the Fiery Cross'. The Fiery Cross Association was an initiative of the English Church Union arising out of the Anglo-Catholic Congress of 1924, and aimed at perpetual prayer for the conversion of England. A 'fiery cross' – though what form this took is never actually described – was carried from one participating church to another, to begin what might be a solid 24 hours of prayer. The Society of SS Peter & Paul produced devotional manuals to use with the Cross in 1924 and again for the Oxford Movement Centenary in 1933, and there was a *Fiery Cross* magazine (emphatically not to be confused with the Ku Kux Klan's publication of the same name!) which many churches used as an insert in their own publications: part of it included answers to questions on devotional and theological topics. St Mark's arranged to receive the Cross on its Patronal Festival in 1933, a day of festivity with three celebrations of the Eucharist (despite it being a Tuesday) concluding with Solemn Evensong & Benediction and two hours' Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament with the Cross arriving at 7pm. On Ash Wednesday the following year, a sermon of Fr G.D. Rosenthal, the editor of *The Fiery Cross*, was read, 'as Fr Baverstock was absent'.[72]

Mention of that publication prompts us to consider another, the Guild of the Servants of the Sanctuary's quarterly newsletter *The Server*. This first appeared in 1948, when the Guild's Warden was Revd Arthur Poole; the following year he would move from Kensington to East Clandon. The GSS claimed something like 10,000 members at this point, and saw *The Server* as a means, among other aims, of instruction: 'To some, the teaching in these pages will seem very elementary', ran the editorial, but the intention was that it would be read not only by servers but also by those finding their way towards faith. And though liturgical matters would of course appear, the editors were keen that the newsletter should be 'more than a mere "Sacristy Hand-book" or "The Spike's Companion"', but would include articles 'to help you to advance in your spiritual life, as well as in the perfection of your duties at the altar'. The

paper included not just a calendar of saints and holy days, but also a list of important dates in the history of the Catholic Movement. The devotional content of the first number was mainly a copy of the Guild Office and a meditation on the significance of the Precious Blood. *The Server* continues to this day, containing largely the same mix of material (just in colour), but although it seems recondite now, its impact in the 1940s shouldn't be underestimated. Men and boys in ordinary parish churches, many of whom were working-class, were being given ready access to material that, at the time, they simply could not have found elsewhere; it gave them knowledge of, and investment in, what was happening in their parishes in a deep and powerful way, at least potentially. *The Server* was the Anglo-Catholic equivalent of Henry VIII chaining an English Bible in every church.


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The calendar in *The Server* was scattered with the names of saints drawn from Roman Catholic sources, and its devotional material was often the same, but signs of that kind of ultramontane spirituality were actually rather rare in our area. There were few Baroque fittings such as the side-chapel altar at St Mark's Farnborough, its counterpart at The Ascension, Aldershot, or the gilded aumbry at East Horsley; instead the *English* style of Anglo-Catholicism was more common. On the ground Anglo-Catholics came in any number of varieties, but the English version tended to adopt a form of the learned pseudo-medieval liturgical and artistic amalgam promoted by Percy Dearmer in *The Parson's Handbook* from 1903, with its loyalty to the Book of Common Prayer, its fondness for Gothic fixtures and fittings, styles of vestments, and so on. Politically, again, Anglo-Catholics could be as varied as any group of Christians, but some clergy felt a strong commitment to their role as defenders of the Establishment. Around the turn of the 19th century Vernon Musgrave wrote vigorously in Hascombe's parish magazine about the justice and rightness of the British cause in the Boer War, and Royal occasions were often marked liturgically. Wonersh offered a Requiem Mass for Queen Alexandra in 1925, St Mark's Ockford Ridge for George V in 1936, and Englefield Green for George VI in 1952. Cuddington prayed for the Queen's Coronation at a

eucharist in 1953, while at Sheerwater and Chiddingfold the congregation held an all-night vigil on the eve of the event.

St James's Weybridge is the only church in our area which seems to have used the Sarum sequence of liturgical colours at some point, with High Mass vestment sets in white and blue;[73] Lenten Array vestments occur at Headley All Saints', Godalming, Hale, and the Cathedral; both were markers of the



The Lenten Array vestments at Guildford Cathedral

'English Use'. So-called 'English altars', surrounded by curtains hung from riddels, or flanked by curtains with a Gothic-style reredos behind, were very common. Sometimes we know when these were installed: the very fine example at Wonersh dates to 1927, and the grandest in the diocese, at St-Thomas-on-the-Bourne, to 1933. This stupendous piece in blue, black, and gold is the match of anything elsewhere: the riddel-posts are topped by gilded angels holding candles, the reredos incorporates figures of saints and three paintings depicting scenes from the life of Christ, above the altar is a statue of the Virgin and Child in a Gothic turret which opens to show the Instruments of the Passion, and surmounting the whole thing is a lofty tester, painted with stars, and supporting an enormous blue curtain. It was the work of Sir Charles Nicholson, an architect who had a significant effect on Anglican churches in the first half of the 20th century for which he is too little remembered. He was consulting architect at seven cathedrals, and designed items for 14 more, and



The high altar at St Thomas-on-the-Bourne –
one of the grandest 'English altars' anywhere

for four dioceses. For some decades he was the go-to consultant for a range of churchmanship stretching from the Catholic side of centre as far as the boundaries of spiky Anglo-Papalism. At Wonersh, appointed to assess the building in 1901, he advised rejecting the scheme of the very well-known architect of an earlier generation, Sir Arthur Blomfield, that the whole building should be demolished and replaced by a uniform Gothic design, in favour of making use of what was there, even if it *was* Georgian. Nicholson thus marked a huge step away from the Victorian 'restorers' who had been inclined simply to sweep away everything that failed to match their ideals of what a church should look like.[74] In the same year as Wonersh's altar he designed one for Cranleigh in an identical style, but like several others that

has now been removed.[75] When visiting a church it's instructive to check for signs of similar arrangements: at South Holmwood, for instance, what look like the marks of riddel-posts are still visible in the checkerboard pavement around the altar.

The boundaries between English-style Anglo-Catholicism and the more Roman *habitus* were in fact fuzzier than controversialists on both sides might like to argue, but that doesn't mean they could not be detected at all. The Warham Guild, named after a Tudor archbishop, was founded in 1912 specifically to produce vestments and church furnishings in accordance with proper ideals of craftsmanship and the principles of *The Parson's Handbook*: it was thus definitely in the English-Catholic sphere. Some of the amazing reredoses in the diocese we will talk about later must have been its work, though we can only be sure of three: Merrow's,[76] and the examples in the slightly surprising settings of Christ Church Woking, and St Mary's Shackleford.[77] Equally there must be Warham Guild vestments in several places, but I've only actually found their maker's label in one green set at St Nic's in Guildford. As we've seen, this church was absolutely at the forefront of the Catholic Movement in the area, although that wasn't all that far advanced compared with some elsewhere. But in the 1920s, as well as buying Warham Guild vestments and a window showing the Virgin from Christopher Webb (a Guild member), it commissioned Charles Nicholson to design a rood beam, and replaced *Hymns Ancient & Modern* with the *English Hymnal* which Percy Dearmer had edited. Nevertheless, a member of the congregation, Captain Newcome Waymouth, who in the 1930s was General Secretary of the Guild of All Souls, declared himself willing to make a donation to church funds on the condition that none of it be used to promote the 'English Use' in any way!

Whatever might be happening in other portions of the Church of England, in Surrey Anglo-Catholics now had little to worry about from those overseeing them. Bishop Talbot had been on their side; when the Diocese of Guildford was split off from Winchester the situation looked even more amenable. The first three bishops after Guildford's establishment in 1927 were eirenic moderates, and from 1930 were assisted by Cyril Golding-Bird who as well as serving as a bishop in Australia and Mauritius had been curate at All Saints' Margaret Street: he couldn't want for better Anglo-Catholic credentials, and in 1934 he was happy to take part in a Requiem Mass for a Banstead parishioner, Juliet Garton. Notwithstanding the diocesan bishops he was 'a dominating figure' until his retirement in 1953.[78] Three years after Bishop Golding-Bird's departure Ivor Watkins arrived as the diocesan bishop, 'a somewhat advanced' Anglo-Catholic who'd been blocked from succeeding Michael Ramsey at Durham by Archbishop Fisher. He was in turn succeeded by the colourful and

formidable George Reindorp, former incumbent of St Stephen's Rochester Row in Westminster, who told his curates 'Don't let it ever be dreamed that you and the Vicar could think differently on any important matter, although in point of fact you could willingly murder the Vicar' and who sent Christmas cards showing himself talking to the Queen with the innocent assumption that their recipients would be as delighted as he was.[79] He was bishop for the consecration of the Cathedral in 1961, wearing a mitre so ponderously gigantic that his wife told him afterwards it was silly, whereon he never used it again. 'The Vicar's wife seldom intervenes', he had told his Westminster curates; one might be tempted to add, 'but when she does …'. Bishop Ivor had regularly offered the 6.30am mass on Maundy Thursday at St Nic's in Guildford, and on Good Friday 1963 when the church organised a procession around the parish with a large wooden cross, stopping at various stations for hymns, prayers, and a five-minute address, George Reindorp joined the hundred-plus souls taking part. The rector Martin Goddard wrote in the service register, 'Quite unexpectedly the Bishop turned up and followed round the whole three hours. I asked him in each place to bless the parish'.



Bp Reindorp at the consecration of Guildford Cathedral in 1961, complete with massive mitre (Cathedral archive)

Before the Cathedral was completed, the Bishops of Guildford operated from Holy Trinity at the top of Guildford High Street, and its physical arrangements show beautifully what had become standard at that point. Here, a medieval church had been replaced after the tower collapsed in 1740; the east end consisted of a shallow apse in front of which a short choir had been created by erecting a wooden partition. In 1886-8 Sir Arthur Blomfield designed a new chancel and side chapels which pushed the apse eastwards by a bay, enclosed with gigantic Classical arches and a gilded and painted east end which created an almost Byzantine effect. A few years later an open ironwork screen – what in Spain would be called a *reja* – was thrown across the whole east end, and in 1948 the composition was completed by a reredos behind the



The sanctuary at Holy Trinity, Guildford, showing the 'tabernacle in waiting'

altar. The crucial thing here is that the reredos is clearly prepared for the insertion of a tabernacle for reserving the Blessed Sacrament, a final escalation which never in fact arrived. It is really remarkable that this was deemed acceptable in the Bishop's own pro-cathedral.

Bishops, national patrons, devotional societies and their publications, the history of the Oxford Movement, and other elements we will touch on later, all emphasised the wider sense of what Anglican Catholicism was. In some parishes in their 'guardian' phase, though, what was being guarded was not just *catholic* identity, but also something profoundly *local*. In these places, Anglo-Catholicism became bolted onto a deep sense of community identity, a distinctiveness of which spiritual distinctiveness was one facet – and perhaps not the primary one. Some churches found that *being Anglo-Catholic* was less central than *being who we are*.

We have already touched on the way St Augustine's, Aldershot, developed a Catholic tradition. North Town was a very distinct area of Aldershot, and St Augustine's was at the heart of North Town: its sense of separateness persisted across decades. In 1984, Richard Avery, a non-stipendiary ordinand from the parish of Froyle in Hampshire, was on placement at St Augustine's and wrote a report on the mission of the church.[80] He claimed that 'the older members of the parish are sometimes heard "thanking God for that hill"' that separated North Town from the rest of Aldershot. Given the church's distinctive worship, he said, you might expect an eclectic congregation gathered from

near and far, but not so: 90% of members were resident in the parish, while the rest were locals who'd moved elsewhere[81] but kept coming back to worship. This implied that they had not sought out the sort of liturgy they found at St Augustine's, but that 'they have seen [it] as their own church, accepted its emphasis on Catholic worship and made it their own'. The church members were vigorously resisting attempts to incorporate it into a Team or Group ministry covering Aldershot for fear their tradition would be diluted, and the Rural Dean groused that the church was 'ecclesiastically and socially isolated'. The parish's predominately working-class character had a distinct effect on the church's income, and not just because it was lower than it might be in a leafier part of the diocese: if congregation members were paid via a weekly pay-packet, rather than monthly into their bank accounts, it made a difference to their ability to plan.

Even though the old parish church in the town centre enjoyed a tradition not all *that* different from North Town's, there was great resentment at St Augustine's that the vicar of St Michael's baptised children from North Town families there without notifying the daughter church – 18 in the first quarter of 1983, Mr Avery averred – and the same chip-on-the-shoulder attitude can be found in similar churches elsewhere faced by what they perceived as a larger, older, and more prestigious neighbour. Fr Michael Harvey was remembered with beloved affection in North Town after his death from cancer at the age of 36, but when he arrived at St Augustine's in 1982 he'd found a church which was perhaps not as interested in the wider aspects of what it meant to be Catholic as one might expect. A poem he read at one Harvest Supper is quite extraordinary in its unmistakable undercurrent of conflict, despite the tongue-in-cheek tone:

When I was the Vicar I went to see
Alec and Mick and the PCC
They said to me don't take us to Rome
Or we'll put you on your bike and send you home
I said but please I love the Pope
Candles, bells and lots of smoke.
But they all said with a worried frown
This is Saint Augustine's in North Town.

Now I am the Vicar I want to be
The man in charge of the PCC
They said to each other he's got to go
We'll kick him out on his elbow.
I said but please Kick out Rite B
I want a new Liturgy.



But they all said with a worried frown
This is Saint Augustine's in North Town.

The problem is it seems to me
You really can't win with the PCC
The Vicar's too fast or he's much too slow
He's much too High or he's much too low.
And he gives us all a lot of stick
about being Catholic.
But they all said with a worried frown
This is Saint Augustine's in North Town.

Fr Michael Harvey & family, from the St Augustine's Aldershot website

Farncombe's situation was rather similar. In its early days, many of the leading figures in the church had been well-to-do, such as the Marshall family of Broadwater House and Farncombe Manor: George Marshall was one of the first churchwardens. But over time the parish became preponderantly working-class and thought of itself as proudly distinct from Godalming next door, out of which it had been carved, alongside its spiritual and liturgical distinctiveness that was as much local as straightforwardly Anglo-Catholic: 'Farncombe Rite', the servers described it. The church developed unusual liturgical habits such as the lay intercessor during a Sung Eucharist handing the book containing the prayers to the celebrant, who would then place it on the altar, and its dress-code was also unique. In 1976 Fr Edwin Barnes suggested that there should be 'a simple alb type of robe suitable for both adult and junior members' of both the Choir and the serving team. Eventually one of the PCC, Marcel Reginiani, agreed to make forty of these new robes. They were beige (or 'coffee-coloured'!) the idea being that their wearers, as individuals, would blend into the background so as not to distract from the liturgy itself. *Nobody* else wore beige, a fact made very obvious whenever Farncombe choristers or servers joined in an event with their counterparts from other churches.

Having liturgical kit produced by members of a church was another way of emphasising its special identity. Farncombe had not only its servers' robes, but also items such a wooden processional cross (for use in Lent) made by teacher, Sunday School leader and wood-turner Ron Hall from churchyard yew-wood, and the reflectors mounted on the top of the tester hung over the

new nave altar in 1974 were made, so the story goes, from repurposed biscuit tins.[82] When St Christopher's Hinchley Wood was finally opened in 1953 Mr Jordan, one of the churchwardens, organised a collection of silver from the congregation which was then melted down and made into the altar cross and candlesticks.



Joy Webb (standing next to Revd Tony Lockhart) with the vestment set she made for St Alban's Wood Street (photo Wood Street history website)

Church textiles were often made by well-meaning parishioners, with results that weren't always entirely happy. At St Alban's Wood Street Joy Webb, a member of the congregation, produced at least one set of vestments about 1970 for this daughter church of Worplesdon which had not long since been rebuilt: the style is very much of its time.[83] Again, Headley (Hants) has a very classic-style cope with motifs drawn from a stained-glass fragment in the church made in 1972 in memory of Tamara Green, killed in the 1967 Hither Green rail crash; but other vestments were more quirky. It isn't clear why Edwin Barnes commissioned a set of vestments for Farncombe in a thick brown curtain fabric – including a cope so heavy I can barely pick it up – brown not being a customary liturgical colour. Farncombe sacristan Sister Mary Featherstone made a variety of altar frontals that incorporated standard Catholic motifs such as hosts and chalices, but made free use of gold lamé and

silver kid, and that couldn't date from any other time than the 1970s and 80s. There was a church banner showing what was intended as the emblem of St John, a serpent emerging from a chalice, but which, it had to be admitted, looked a bit more like a pigeon.[84]

'He gives us all a lot of stick/About being Catholic', Michael Harvey wrote about his congregation. It really was the presence of *the word* that prised that sense of congregational identity away from the merely local towards something larger. In January 1918 Canon Edgar Bowring took his leave of the congregation of Farncombe, announcing his resignation on health grounds in the parish magazine and addressing them 'as members of the historic Catholic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ with all its teaching of His truth in all its fulness'.[85] This was very firm and definite: even though the liturgy at Farncombe had remained relatively moderate during Mr Bowring's time, there could be no doubt what the departing Rector thought. In some churches, too, a printed and encapsulated notice could be found, produced by the Church Literature Association, an outlet of the Church Union. It is entitled in red 'To Visitors', but might just as well be addressed to parishioners. 'This is a church where the Catholic Faith is taught, and where the Sacraments of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church are administered according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England', the notice declared. It went on to explain the Anglo-Catholic theory of the Church, very emphatically stating that readers should not believe anyone who told them that the Anglican Church 'ceased to be Catholic and became Protestant' at the Reformation. It drew attention to the reserved sacrament, the 'statues and pictures' which were there not to be worshipped by visitors but 'to help them say their prayers'. In my survey of churches I found one of these notices still on display in St Augustine's, Aldershot, which is perhaps not surprising, but another in Frensham, a parish which (celebrations of All Souls in the 1930s notwithstanding) never seems to have been that far advanced. It definitely has no statues now, nor signs of any having been there in the past. I wonder how many more of these items may have existed elsewhere.

We have a helpful couple of accounts of life at Surrey Anglo-Catholic churches in the mid-twentieth century from laypeople. In 2005 David Stannard compiled some memories of St Augustine's, Addlestone, for the Addlestone church website. An offshoot of St Paul's Addlestone, the original St Augustine's dated to 1882, but it was rebuilt in 1939 in sort-of-Arts-and-Crafts-Gothic, a brick building with a roof that almost reached the ground on either side, a shallow chancel and three-light Early-English style east window, its nave lit by huge dormers. It had a sung Sunday eucharist in 1901, but thereafter doesn't appear in the church directories until 1973 when it was a full four-star church. This wasn't very likely to have happened overnight, so

it's more probable that it was just overlooked. The church eventually acquired a set of Stations of the Cross from the Sisters at Wantage, and took in a Christus figure from Thorpe when they got rid of it; there were statues of the Virgin Mary, the Sacred Heart, and the boy Jesus (installed in memory of a choirboy, Gordon Spittle, who died in 1936); a tabernacle, a monstrance from Laleham Abbey, and a banner of the Blessed Sacrament. The congregation sent parties to the National Pilgrimage at Walsingham. It was a model suburban Anglo-Catholic church.

Mr Stannard joined the choir at St Augustine's at the age of 7 in 1942: the headmistress of the church school told the parish priest that young David could both read and sing and that was plenty to draft him in. He remembered the major personalities at the church as follows:

> The priest-in-charge from the outset was Fr E. Scott. I remember him as a rotund kindly man, of medium height with a round face and decidedly receding hair. He wore a biretta – indeed he was seldom seen without it – and a black cassock (again, never without it) with a brown leather belt which he used to hoist up his cassock when riding his bicycle around the parish (no cars for clergy in those days!). Fr Scott lived alone in one of the detached houses in Station Road opposite the end of Victoria Road. At some point – probably about 1946 – Fr Scott was succeeded by the Revd E. Hutchings who, I think had a wife and also aspired to a small car. He, too, was a kindly man and altogether a much more jolly individual than Fr Scott.
>
> The verger was Mr James Beard, who lived with his wife, Edith, in no.42 Albert Road. He was a retired craftsman – a carpenter I think. He *lived* for St Augustine's Church. He kept it spotless and in good order. He acted also as sacristan (Edith kept the linen in good shape), tolled the bell before services and sang in the choir. Had there been a graveyard at St Augustine's, I have little doubt that he would have dug the graves. A few years after I had moved on from St Augustine's, probably the late '50s, I heard that Mr Beard had been found dead in the vestry. I am sure he would not wish for a better way to go.
>
> The organist was Mrs E.M. (Mary, known as Mabel) Allsop. Mrs Allsop lived with her husband in Oatlands Park. In the early '30s, Mr Allsop saw that the future was the motor car and he opened a garage near the Halfway at Walton. The garage made money and Mr Allsop resolved that he would retire at the age of 40, and devote the rest of his life to good works. Thus, when St Augustine's was built Mr Allsop bought and installed the organ, and Mrs Allsop came with it as organist and stayed for – I would think - 20 years! The organ was originally pumped by hand and the choirboys used to take turns to perform the task. Subsequently, an electric blower was

provided, paid for and installed (inevitably) by Mr Allsop. Far from being paid for her duties as organist, Mrs Allsop was in a position herself to finance various related activities. She paid the choirboys and she paid for any choir outing by coach. She also financed entirely the very successful boys' club set up in the mid '40s. Mrs Allsop was in no sense a brilliant organist, but she performed adequately on the single-manual organ for many years, and was excessively faithful in her task to the extent that she and Mr Allsop found it extremely difficult to take holidays. Finally, when I was about 12 years of age and had been singing in the choir for some five years, she taught me the rudiments of the organ so that after a short time I was at least able to play for Evensong and she could get away for a couple of Sundays. On return, she would bestow gifts on me far beyond the reach of my parents' pockets and sometimes to their annoyance or embarrassment.

Save for Mr Beard the choir was all treble boys, about ten of them when I joined, but the figure subsequently grew to about 20, and we were all very good friends. We wore black cassocks, white surplices and stiff white celluloid collars, held in place with a black bow tie. Later, the black cassocks were replaced with mid-blue ones (the change financed, I suspect, by the Allsops) and the collars disappeared. Choir practices were held on Saturday mornings, and were usually followed by a game of football on the area to the north of the church. For the most part, the choir sang only at Evensong – we took no part in whatever went on on Sunday mornings.

There were two Lay Readers who took services at St Augustine's. The first was Mr Sidney Goold, a local solicitor, who was tall, extremely thin with a slow, drawling voice, who could have stepped straight out of Dickens. Because of his style his sermons went on for ever – in truth they could probably have been read in less than five minutes. He would climb into the pulpit, lean back against the wall and close his eyes for what seemed like lengthy periods. It seemed to be a contest between him and the congregation as to who would fall asleep first. For all that, he was a kindly gentleman and much respected. The second Lay Reader was Mr Ken Kelland, a much younger man who, I think, used frequently to take services at All Saints', New Haw, which was then, of course, part of the parish of Addlestone. He was well liked and popular, and we choirboys were always pleased when he took a turn.

Mr Stannard concurred with the general impression of Fr Morse-Boycott who 'presented a terrifying image – tall, yet bent, black cassock, biretta, black cloak with a cowl and thick black-rimmed spectacles. He kept very strict discipline at the Song School and sought to impose it at St Augustine's whenever he visited'. As for the congregation at Evensong,

> … it was never large, but I do recall some 'regulars'. The first was a lady named Mrs Marcy (I think) who was clearly better placed financially than the St Augustine's faithful as a whole and who lived in one of the big houses on Woburn Hill. She would come, with a friend, every Sunday evening, complete with expensive hats, clothes, fur coats and she would spend the whole service beaming at the choirboys and generally giving the impression that she would like to take them all home after the service and eat them. Then there were, in complete contrast, the Misses White, both tall, thin, angular and anything but elaborately dressed. They were both pillars of St Augustine's and one or both of them were involved in running the Sunday School. They were part of the White family who owned and ran Coxes Lock Mill and lived in a cottage situated between the mill and the railway line. Finally, there were the girls from Princess Mary's Village Homes, some of whom would march down, two-abreast, to St Augustine's every Sunday evening with a member of staff, and would sit in the front row of seats trying to make the choirboys laugh. We were never quite sure why these girls were at the Village Homes, and those people who did know always seemed very reluctant to tell us![86]

Mr Stannard left the choir at St Augustine's in 1954, when he was 19, and moved to St Mary's Walton-on-Thames, partly because he had friends of his own age there, and partly because the choir was bigger and better. His recollections reveal how well-organised even a smallish daughter church within the Catholic tradition could be, but also how that depended on committed laypeople with the time and resources to maintain it.



Juliet Garton c.1930
(photo: Wikitree)

And some of those laypeople had *considerable* resources. We have visited St Barnabas's Ranmore, the Cubitts' estate church, and touched on the influence of Lord Ashcombe and his family, but such Victorian neo-feudalism survived here and there for quite a long time. The Juliet Garton whose funeral and Requiem Bishop Cyril attended at Banstead in 1934 was a perfect example. The Garton fortune was based on brewing and sugar refining, and enabled Charles Garton to buy Banstead Wood, a vast house with an accompanying 483-acre estate, in 1893. Charles and Juliet Garton and their family arrived in Banstead just as it was about to start transitioning from a small village to a spreading suburb, and they played an exceedingly prominent role in the life of the growing parish. At the core of their influence was Juliet, and in fact

the Vicar of Banstead from 1918 to 1930, Arthur Hopkinson, described the whole arrangement in his memoirs as 'matriarchal'. He related that Juliet

> … had been brought up as a member of the Society of Friends, and she never lost her Quaker consciousness of the "inner light" … Every morning she drove herself in her pony cart to the 8 o'clock Eucharist, and then galloped back to take family prayers and preside at the family breakfast. From seven in the morning till after midnight she worked, and sympathised, and prayed, and gave herself wholeheartedly to others … She was supereminently a great-hearted woman. Bishops, and doctors, and business men, and a host of others came to her for consolation and help, and a little half-witted boy found that she would spend hours trying to brighten his life and teach him …

Mr Hopkinson found himself subject to some criticism as being 'the chaplain of Banstead Wood' and for a while fretted about the propriety of accepting 'the daily gifts of flowers, or fruit, or game; the trips to dinner and the theatre in Town; the holidays in the Holy Land, in Algiers, [or] on Dartmoor', but knew that the relationship with the Gartons was one of mutual respect and none of the presents (he felt) were intended to influence him in any way. 'I could give it up at any moment if it interfered with my work as pastor … I can thank God that as Juliet's priest and confessor, I never grew soft or omitted the tang of austerity'. During World War One Mrs Garton supplied the villagers with rabbits from the estate, milk at twopence a pint for any mother with a baby, and gifts of sugar, and later provided pre-fabricated huts for ex-servicemen, supplied the Banstead Men's Club, and set up a laundry for housewives who had no proper washing facilities. When Charles died a few months before Juliet he left a legacy of nearly £3M between his sons as well as donations to hospitals, and Juliet's will included a similar amount, all of which would add up today to about £350M.[87]

Rather than experiences, in his 2014 description of St Barnabas's Epsom, Michael Tucker decided to focus on how the church appeared during his time there in the 1930s and '40s, so his account concentrates on fixtures and fittings; nevertheless, it gives a very good and detailed report of what a suburban Anglo-Catholic church looked like, a local variant of the kind of thing you could have found in many such places. St Barnabas's was only about 30 years old by this stage, but it had already acquired quite a variety of kit which, as Mr Tucker demonstrates, was constantly being added to. This text is slightly abbreviated from what's on the Epsom History Society website.

> On entering the main door from Temple Road you looked up the centre aisle of the nave, through the Chancel and up to the high altar in the Sanctuary. Upon the altar, beneath the huge east window, was a large brass cross raised high in the centre with two tall candles at each end. The long

burning time 6" candles actually slotted into the two tall white holders giving the impression that they would burn for a mighty long time! Large letters of alpha and omega covered the lines where the candles slotted into the holders. There were seven wooden carvings on the higher part of the altar related to Christ's suffering and crucifixion. Behind the altar hung a long back-drop with canopy overhead and side-drops which were movable on hinges at the very top. On close inspection gold thread was visible in the material. After the war four more candles were added, making 6 in all. Then later one of the parishioners, Mr Sidney Toy, FSA, FRIBA, designed a reredos to fit behind the altar [his first design was too expensive and had to be modified].

Three oil lamps were suspended by chains from the high wooden ceiling. The one in the centre was slightly higher than the other two. Two very heavy wooden candle holders stood on the first of three steps up to the altar. On the left side in the Sanctuary was the Bishop's throne with its beautiful soft brown cushion. On the right side was the Credence table each side of which were two round heavy wooden blocks on the floor in which the two Acolyte Servers placed their four foot long candle holders. A step stretched from wall to wall across the Sanctuary. Upon it were long cushions for communicants to kneel on at the communion rails, made of brass and were supported by upright wrought iron work painted black. On the left-hand end was a banner of St Barnabas, and on the right were banners of the Mothers' Union and Servants of the Sanctuary. They fitted into wooden sockets on the floor and were secured further up the wall by special brass latches.

In the Chancel stood choir stalls on both sides facing inwards. The front stalls were for the choir boys and the rear stalls were for the choir men on the right and choir women on the left. Behind them was the organist playing the organ, the large organ loft being immediately overhead. You had to step down two steps from the Chancel into the Nave.

In the Nave, near the end of the left choir stalls, was the wrought iron and brass lectern which stood on a white stone plinth. Near the end of the right-hand choir stalls was the square shaped pulpit painted black. These were temporary pieces until enough finance was available to fund far superior choir stalls and pulpit made from light oak after World War Two. High up on the pillar behind the pulpit hung a wooden crucifix.

Between the pulpit and the entrance to the Lady Chapel, is the beautifully carved wooden statue of St. Peter given as a memorial to Alexander Ogilvy and his sister Elaine, by their parents. Inside the Chapel stood a tall wooden carving of the Virgin Mary with the baby Jesus holding an orb. There was also a framed painting of Jesus as a boy with his parents. Close to

the Church's Foundation stone, written in Roman numerals, was the framed Roll of Honour to those killed in the First World War, painted by Phyllis Ethel Chipperfield who was a very active member of the congregation.

On the other side of the side door to the church, close to the Lady Chapel, stood a small altar which originally came off a ship and was presented as a gift to the church. It was in two parts, a table about 5' wide x 2' deep, and a wooden frame about 6' high from which a curtain hung. This altar was lifted into place in the Chancel every Sunday morning for the Children's Service at 9.30am, and then returned to its normal place. On the first Sunday of every month the Boy Scouts and Cubs and the Girl Guides and Brownies marched down the centre aisle and presented their flags to the priest who placed them in the two corners of the curtain frame.

The font stood immediately to the right of the main door of the church, and was re-located further around the corner when the church was extended towards Temple Road years later. In the early 1940s we had a curate, Rev James Eric Blunt AKC, who was a master carpenter before ordination. He built a Children's Corner a few yards from the font, a Good Friday/Easter Day scene which the ladies of the parish adorned with miniature flowers, and a Christmas scene which changed from the initial empty stable to Christ's birth, the arrival of the shepherds and later the visiting wise men from the East. People came from far and wide to view them and admire Father Blunt's devoted work.

On the left hand corner of the Nave hung two paintings. One showed a sailor at the stern of his ship on night watch duty in terrible weather. Behind him was Christ in shining light caring for the Naval rating as he stood alone. The other painting was of a soldier lying down on the battlefield in the Great War. Yet he was not alone – looking down on the soldier was Christ on the cross. Further down the Nave on the same wall was a composition of three figures: Christ on the cross, his mother Mary on one side and his disciple, John, on the other. Behind them was a dark brown material back-drop. Against the wall below were a prayer desk and a chair for the Priest to use when listening to confessions. Further down the left-hand aisle was an L-shaped wooden communion rail and an altar used for Requiem Masses. Overlooking the width of that altar was a painting depicting the burial of Jesus.

During my 17 years at St Barnabas, a Nativity play was often performed before packed audiences just before Christmas. The acting talents amongst the parishioners were amazing. They rehearsed under the guidance of a producer for several weeks. Others worked behind the scenes. There were technicians operating the spotlights, wardrobe mistresses providing all

kinds of second-hand clothes, make-up artists, musicians and many others. There was always a matinee followed by an evening performance. They were hard times during the war, but we all pulled together. Not only did we celebrate Harvest Thanksgiving in the church, but a service was also held in the midst of the vast area of allotments where so much food was grown by those who lived in the workers' cottages which didn't have gardens.



The east end of St Barnabas's, Epsom, in Michael Tucker's time

At the point when the Priest consecrated the bread in the Communion part of the service, the MC sounded a large brass gong three times. That was a signal for the Verger to peal the church bell three times. This was repeated less than a minute later, when the Priest consecrated the wine. There was a smaller gong in the Lady Chapel which was also used at the Children's Services. The Church had two brass thuribles for burning incense. The larger was in the shape of a church spire; the smaller one was used at the Children's Services. The thurifer and boat boy always led the processions. They were followed by the Crucifer who carried the cross which was inlaid with precious stones, or so I was led to believe when I was very young! The two acolytes walked each side of him. In the late 1940s a wooden crucifix, about the same height as the cross, was given in memoriam to someone else in the church. They were followed by members of the choir and banner bearers. Lastly, on the end chairs, each side of the centre aisle in the back row, were held the Church Wardens' staffs, each topped by a small brass cross similar to the shape of a DSO medal.

Missions were an event which brought together the local and the universal, generating a sense of occasion and enthusiasm by drafting in evangelistic help

from outside, especially from the religious orders. In 1938 Burgh Heath's mission was led by Denis Marsh of the Society of St Francis, one of the first brethren of that Order in the Church of England – 'a man of great gifts and charm, and an excellent preacher, he was passionate, dramatic, unpredictable and unsuited to high office in any Society'[88] – and the Franciscans also led St Barnabas's Epsom's mission in Lent 1962 in the form of Brothers Anselm and Illtyd. Twenty years later St Barnabas's held a special Children's Mission which also had support from at least one religious: the local newspapers couldn't resist a photo of a visiting nun with her guitar, surrounded by children. In fact curate John Appleton had been the organiser of what was effectively a half-term children's club, 'mornings filled with short Scripture readings, learning about the saints, singing, colouring and lots of fun'.[89] This sense of connection with the wider Church could also come from the other direction, as it were, when laypeople took part in missions elsewhere. As late as 1982, the same year as Epsom's Children's Mission, Tricia Raymond of All Saints' Woodham recounted for the parish magazine her experience of joining in a parish mission at St Peter's Bushey Heath alongside a variety of religious and no fewer than seven ordinands from Mirfield.

One of Bishop Montague Montgomery-Campbell's initiatives – though not one he would see through, having been translated from Guildford to London at the start of 1956 – was a diocesan-wide mission in April that year. 'For nearly three years preparations had been made for the Mission with study-groups and prayer-circles in the parishes, lecture-courses at various centres, and a Convention at Keble College, Oxford, for all the clergy of the diocese. Each parish was left to make its own plans and to select its own missioner in the light of local needs and conditions'.[90] (It's notable that the convention venue was Keble). In addition to two Sisters, Mary and Stephanie (stated in different places to belong to the Sisters of Bethany or the Community of the Holy Name based in Malvern), Godalming opted for the following clergy, all of them with extremely sound Anglo-Catholic credentials:

> *Edwyn Young*, the Missioner – Rector of Stepney, former curate at St Peter London Docks and Vicar of St Silas Pentonville
> *David Niblett* – curate at St Dunstan's & All Saints', Stepney
> *Stuart Brand* – trained at Mirfield, curate of Stepney
> *R. Cutts* – trained at St Boniface College, Warminster, Curate of Godalming who later went to Africa

Up the hill at Ockford Ridge, a 'Mission Coach Stop' was erected outside St Mark's, offering free transport down to SS Peter & Paul's in town for the evening mission services and the accompanying social event on the Monday evening of the mission week.



The Mission Coach prepares to set off for town from Ockford Ridge, 1956



The Godalming Missioners, and others from the parish. Standing left to right, Fr David Niblett, Mr J Elkington, Revd Oldham, Fr Edwyn Young, Margaret Gain, Revd R Cutts; seated, Fr Stuart Brand, Sr Mary, Sr Stephanie (St Mark's archive)

Although this is a broader point than specifically relating to the Catholic movement, it's useful to reflect on what came out of the 1956 Mission, according to Archdeacon D.G. Loveday. It had done, he said 'much to strengthen the faithful', resulting in some people returning to public worship or choosing to be confirmed, 'but the vast bulk of the population remains untouched'; and the Canon Missioner R.G. Clitherow regarded this as 'providential' since the leadership of the Church couldn't have coped with an influx of outsiders anyway. Future effort, they reasoned, should be directed to building up the commitment and zeal of existing congregations – what we now universally term 'discipleship'.[91]

In Godalming parish, though, the Vicar Mr Oldham was rather enthused by the results of the Mission, a 'wonderful experience' in which the whole parish had come together to resource the services and social events. 342 people had made their communion during weekday services, including 86 who had turned up at 6.45am on the Monday to do so, encouraging Mr Oldham to begin a 7am eucharist on Wednesdays and Fridays. He clearly felt that the event had led to an intensification of the parish's awareness of what Catholic Anglicanism meant: so 'whatever suspicion may have lurked in the minds of some people about the presence of Sisters in our parish must have quickly vanished', he wrote in the May parish magazine.

Next door Farncombe also felt they'd had a highly successful experience, with packed services in the church, but the Mission brought a degree of unexpected friction in its wake. The Missioner selected was Fr John Eastaugh, rector of the strongly Anglo-Catholic parish of Poplar in east London, and later Bishop of Hereford; through the whole nine days there were usually several celebrations of Communion daily and each evening a Mission Service based around a particular subject – 'Fear', 'Sin', 'Loneliness' – and a chance to ask questions, with fifteen minutes' hymn-singing first. Every house in the parish had two letters delivered, one from Fr Eastaugh, the other from rector Charles Allingham and the Bishop: there were sufficient volunteers, the PCC heard, that nobody had to visit more than 30 houses. The music came from the 1954 edition of the *Mirfield Mission Hymn-Book*, compiled by the Community of the Resurrection, and it was the music that caused the trouble.

Sylvia Mitchell had been encouraged by Charles Allingham to learn the organ when she was in her mid-teens and he was curate at St John's. By 1956 she'd been playing for nearly two decades and had formed a junior choir which sang for festivals to the accompaniment of tubular bells. For some reason which Miss Mitchell never understood, the organist and choirmaster Andrew King did not play for the Mission services, and being free she agreed when Mr Allingham asked her to do it. Part of the services involved an act of

commitment in which worshippers came to the altar to collect a dedication card, while hymns were sung – up to 15, Miss Mitchell recalled. The enthusiasm was 'wonderful, an experience I will never forget'. As she was on the PCC, she conveyed a request from some of the congregation that the mission hymns should carry on in use from time to time; looking through the book today, it's hard to see what there was to worry anyone as so many of the pieces are now tried-and-tested favourites, but Mr King and some of the Choir objected so that, in the end, little changed.[92]

The emergence of eucharistic services conducted outside the confines of the church building is an important feature of worship in these parishes. There was an established tradition of services being provided in hospitals; when the NHS was set up in 1948, there were only 28 full-time chaplains in its facilities, mostly in the teaching hospitals, so any other provision would have been offered by parish clergy coming in from outside.[93] It was thus no surprise that through 1937 and 1938 Walton-on-Thames, for instance, held a communion service at the town's Cottage Hospital, and in some circumstances this kind of provision continued long after the establishment of the NHS. In the late 1960s Banstead and Leatherhead parish churches were celebrating the eucharist in their respective cottage hospitals, and Michael Godwin, as vicar of St Barnabas's Epsom between 1966 and 1985, acted as a voluntary chaplain for one of the mental health units with which the church had such a close link, even though there were paid clergy attached to the others. The chapel, he recalled, could seat 800 people while his midweek congregation was about 30, gathered at a freestanding altar set up to one side; though 'gathered' is a bit of a misnomer, as patients and others milled about somewhat distractingly while the service progressed.

Beyond hospitals as such, external services appeared in a variety of settings, though care homes of different sorts were the most common. We take this for granted now, but there was a time when it did not happen; as sprawling Victorian and Edwardian houses became inconvenient for the upper middle classes to live in, they were often converted to this kind of use, and the idea of holding services in such places came a bit later. The earliest connection between a church and one of these institutions we can spot was at Weybridge, where in 1960 the clergy of St Michael's were celebrating communion at the Red Rose Hospital nursing home in a big house in Pine Grove (interestingly when the Hospital was set up it had to explain to local residents why 'the aged chronic sick' needed somewhere to look after them). By 1961 All Saints' Leatherhead was visiting both a house called Woodlands, and Dorincourt, a residential sheltered workshop for young people with disabilities. Elsewhere it seems to be during the later 1960s that services in care settings became common. In 1968, as well as Banstead Cottage Hospital, All Saints' Banstead

was holding communion services at two old people's residences, Roseland and Roseacre, as well as at Banstead Place; this last location was a late 18th-century house with extensive alterations and additions, which in 1956 had been taken over by the Dorincourt Estate charity as a rehabilitation centre for disabled young people.[94] In 1974 residential homes in former big houses called Courtbourn, Bifrons and Knellwood were being served by the clergy of St Mark's Farnborough, while over many years St Alban's Hindhead had a close relationship with Manormead, a Church of England home for retired priests which closed in 2016, explaining why St Alban's has a drawer full of stoles donated by former Manormead residents. Examples could of course be multiplied and these days virtually any church of whatever tradition will be doing something similar.



Hindhead's drawerful of stoles

Services in private residences form a slightly different category. Some of what service registers call 'house communions' are plainly visits to particular sick residents, their families and friends, but when these are repeated at regular times over some period they suggest something else. The service registers of St Barnabas's, Epsom refer to a 'house mass' separate from the church worship in 1970; Weston Green was communicating people at the St Helens care home in 1974, but also at 49 Weston Park, an ordinary house. There were weekly 'house communions' in Hindhead in 1985, and in the late 1990s and 2000s Canon John Evans, retired vicar of Crookham, had regular communion services at his home in Hale. These house communions were in turn distinct from the very long-established practice of holding services at venues remote from the parish church which might eventually grow into established congregations in their own right. All Saints' Weston Green grew out of a

house congregation in 1901; while in the years before World War Two Bramley church facilitated Christmas Day communion services at a site somewhere in the hamlet of Thorncombe Street, but in that case nothing more permanent came of it. These later 'house communions', though, were never intended to develop into separate entities.

Of all the four 'Catholic privileges' the directories highlighted, the daily mass – wherever it was held – was the hardest to achieve, the most testing to sustain, and the easiest to relinquish. Very few churches were able to maintain a daily, or even frequent weekday eucharist on anything more than a minimal level: one hesitates to say that laypeople have always had *better* things to do than turn up at a said communion service at an inconvenient hour (and all hours are inconvenient for someone), but they have had calls on their time which seem more *immediate*. In June 1950 Idwal Jones had not long since arrived as vicar of Cuddington and was sufficiently annoyed at the turnout on St Barnabas's Day to express his frustration in the service register: 'Observance of Saints' Days, Holy Days, or any weekday services, seems to be sadly lacking. Little idea of the continuous worship of the Church'.

In the 1901 *Directory* there were only four daily-mass churches – St Mark's Farnborough, St Nicolas's Guildford, Thorpe, and St James's Weybridge. By 1924 the total was still only seven – St Mark's and St Nic's had been joined by Banstead, Burgh Heath, Chessington, Guildford Holy Trinity, and Holmbury St Mary (though we should question Thorpe and Weybridge apparently dropping out). There are 24 in 1933, and 30 in 1948 – but by 1973 the number has marginally slipped to 29, which seems to give a reasonable picture of the high-water-mark of that particular devotion. It was very hard ever to attract more than a handful of communicants, no matter what time of day the service was held, though many churches in our survey found that one day's mass would be better-attended than the others, and that one would survive. By the 1990s a single midweek eucharist was fairly standard among churches of varied tradition on the Catholic side of centre.

Naturally I'm most familiar with the development of the daily eucharist at Farncombe. As we've seen, this was started by Frank Pickford in 1920, even though the main service on Sunday would not be invariably a Eucharist for more than 30 years afterwards. As Charles Allingham moved towards retiring he depended more on the availability of curates to maintain the daily mass, and sometimes was without one. By 1965 the pattern was 8am Monday, 11am Tuesday, two celebrations on Wednesday at 7.30am and 8pm, and 7.30am Friday. During the interregnum over the summer of 1967 the Monday and Wednesday morning communions ceased too. That left just the mid-morning Tuesday, Wednesday evening, and early Friday celebrations, so at that point

Farncombe no longer had the four weekday eucharists required by the directories. Fr Edwin Barnes clearly felt there *ought* to be a daily eucharist, and first tried reviving the Wednesday morning one at the early hour of 6.45am; however there were often no communicants and it wasn't until the summer of 1969 that it began to pick up, by then moved to 7.30am. A Monday evening and finally Saturday morning celebration followed. Thursday was the day which got left out, except for 1977-8 when curate Jim Bates held a service on that day at 9.30am. Of all these services, it was the Tuesday eucharist which usually drew the biggest congregation, and the one which survived in the long run. The Saturday eucharist went first when curate Chris McKenna left in 1976, followed by the Wednesday evening service in 1985. Tim King dutifully kept up the pattern he inherited, although by the end of his time as Rector numbers were very low. During the interregnum in 2000 the Monday and early Wednesday celebrations ceased, and Margaret Blake brought the Friday eucharist to an end after Easter 2001, leaving the Tuesday communion the only survivor. Nowadays we find communicant numbers are almost invariably in single figures.

Summarising the experience of a few other churches, at St Michael's, Aldershot, a daily eucharist existed by 1934; by 1975, there were still four celebrations on Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday. The Tuesday one dropped out first, followed by Friday's in 1978, and by 1984 all weekday services had ceased (these changes all happened in the middle of the thirty-year incumbency of Stanley Zeal, so it wasn't due to any change in staff). The daily eucharist at St Mark's Farnborough lasted until the late 1960s; by 1974 there were celebrations on Wednesdays and main feast days, but no other times. St John's Hale had a eucharist every day except Friday in 1970, but by 1985 there were often no communicants, and by the late 1990s there was only a eucharist on Tuesday (when the time and venue varied) and Wednesday (when it was sometimes a corporate communion for the Mother's Union). There were weekday celebrations on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday at Egham Hythe in 1929, to which a Tuesday service was added in 1948; a Saturday mass appeared by 1970, taking it up to the level the directories recognised, but by 1991 only the Wednesday one survived.

At the hard-core end of the Anglo-Catholic spectrum, Woodham had two masses every day except Tuesday in 1943; through the first week in October that year, the 7am services on Monday, Wednesday and Thursday all hit double figures. There were still two masses a day in 1966, a striking achievement normally matched only in well-supported city churches. By 2003 the church was still gamely offering a mass on each of Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. St Nic's Guildford held out even longer. Like Woodham, it celebrated two services of the eucharist on most weekdays in

1944, all at the challenging hours of 7 or 7.45am apart from a 9.30am one on Monday. By 1990 the offer was less ambitious and the hours reflected changes in the expectations around fasting, with a pattern of 7.30pm on Tuesday, 7.45am Wednesday, 1.10pm on Thursday, two celebrations on Friday at 7.45am and 11.30am, and finally 7.45am again on Saturday. Attendance was in single figures for them all by this time. Even here, by the late 2010s, Rector Andrew Norman was appealing to the congregation to support the weekday masses – interestingly, he argued, as part of their service to Guildford as a town-centre church. Woodham now has a midweek mass only on Tuesday, and St Nic's has opted for Fridays and the first Wednesday each month. In this respect, there is little to distinguish them from churches that wouldn't consider themselves part of the Catholic *milieu* at all.

The fact that these two churches sustained such a level of worship as long as they did testified to their generating a committed community of believers over decades through the kind of intense spiritual life we have already described working in so many ways. There was nothing else that connected Woodham and St Nic's, which operated in very different social contexts. Availability of clergy to say services obviously affected how often a church could offer a mass, but lack of ordained ministers doesn't seem to be the primary reason why the habit of the daily eucharist lapsed – it was rather that laypeople weren't present. There is a basic question beneath this as to whether the eucharist is better thought of in terms of an offering to God or an act which edifies the human souls taking part in it. If it's the latter, clearly that affects whether celebrating a particular act of worship every day is worth the time and effort it takes.

We will discuss later how change drew some churches in our survey away from the Catholic movement in different ways. Sometimes this happened when an incumbent was appointed from a different tradition, and we have already seen this taking place occasionally. But as the 20th century drew on this phenomenon happened more often, and happened permanently rather than being reversed later.

The earliest, most thorough, and most abrupt enduring shift of this kind took place at St John the Baptist, Wonersh. The advowson of Wonersh had been purchased by Lord Ashcombe in the 1890s, who could be relied on to promote High Church clergy, and in the early 1900s he passed it on to Selwyn College, a Tractarian foundation which formed a kind of Cambridge parallel to Oxford's Keble College.[95] Selwyn's first appointment to Wonersh was Algernon Leslie Brown, who would remain in the parish for 41 years until 1947. It was Mr Brown, 'a scholarly liturgiologist', who worked closely with Sir Charles Nicholson on the remodelling of the church and introduced a

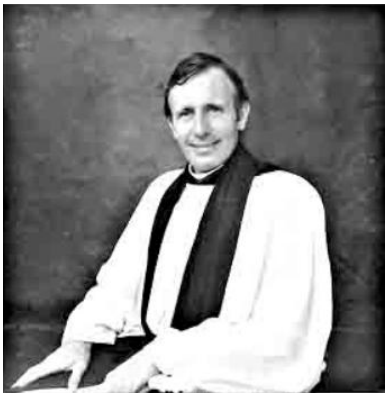
distinct Catholic tradition, with a daily eucharist, a branch of the GSS, requiem masses, and a Sung Eucharist as the main Sunday service at least by 1925. The parents of the future Bishop of Lewes, Lloyd Morrell (1907-96) walked him to Wonersh to say their prayers because the Sacrament was reserved there.[96] This tradition was maintained by Mr Brown's successors with a certain weakening by the 1970s: in March 1976 the church was experimenting with having either a 'Family Service' or a 'Morning Service' on two Sundays a month. Something was clearly awry as communicants at the 10am Sunday eucharist, when there was one, were only in the 30s and 40s, much lower than one might expect. When vicar Hugh Anthony retired in 1980 (his 27th year in the parish) the three midweek celebrations were reduced to one, and never reappeared. His replacement was Tom Farrell, a former Olympic hurdler who had trained at the Evangelical Ridley Hall in Cambridge. Selwyn College had failed to find a replacement for Mr Anthony and Bishop Kenneth Evans of Dorking's mind turned to Mr Farrell, chaplain of Dulwich College school where the Bishop (an old boy of the school) was Chair of governors. Aware of the new incumbent's background, the churchwardens at Wonersh were anxious that he – priest-in-charge at first, then appointed vicar two years later – would wear vestments 'occasionally'. 'I said I would do, though with some misgivings', Mr Farrell recalled, at the 8 o'clock Sunday service. It says something that, when called on to offer a test of commitment to Catholic tradition, priestly vesture is what these particular laypeople focused on: it's not the only time I've met that.

Corpus Christi and All Souls' disappeared from Wonersh's worship diet, but the Sunday services did not alter that much at first. Nevertheless, within a couple of years the balance of the church's spiritual life was shifting: on Sunday 12th September 1982 29 people came to the 8am Holy Communion, and attendance at traditional Mattins and Evensong was sustainable (40 and 25 respectively), but the Family Service attracted 120. Any church community was going to find it hard, if not perverse, to resist that sort of momentum. Sure enough, by July 1990, when there were helpfully five Sundays, the service register speaks for itself:

Date	8am Service		10am Service		11.30am Service		6.30pm Service	
	Name	Nos.	Name	Nos.	Name	Nos.	Name	Nos.
1st	Holy Communion	35	Holy Communion	80 (72 commts.)			Informal Service	?
8th	Holy Communion	21	Family Service	205	Morning Prayer	25	Evening Prayer	36
15th	Holy Communion	22	Holy Communion	98 (82 commts.)			Evening Prayer	28
22nd	Holy Communion	23	Morning Prayer	110			Holy Communion	?
29th	Holy Communion	14	Morning Prayer	130			Informal Evening Prayer	70

We can only guess at the content of these services, but the general direction of travel is clear enough. Communicant numbers are now moderately healthy, but attendance at the non-eucharistic services is much higher. Mr Farrell believed that his time at Wonersh was

> … a demonstration of what happens when [the Holy Spirit] is given 'room' to do His thing, when vicar and congregation believe in and practice 'every member' ministry, although admittedly Wonersh has more than its fair share of highly talented and articulate parishioners. My job was more that of enabler than general factotum, as I believe it should be.[97]



Tom Farrell while Curate at Woolton, Liverpool, in the 1970s

Later in 1990 Tom Farrell was replaced by Malcolm Williams, whose theological college had been the even more conservative-Evangelical Oak Hill; he was followed in 1996 by Jeff Wattley, a graduate of Trinity College, Bristol, and by then with three successive incumbents from the same stable Wonersh could be considered safely Evangelical.

In 1988-9 Wonersh was reordered, and Charles Nicholson's neo-Jacobean rood screen was removed, the crucifix placed on the west wall and the rest of the screen hidden behind the altar. The aumbry is now disused. In the summer of 2014 a walk took me past the church, and I peered through a window into a boiler room which was full of decorated candlesticks and what seemed like a beautifully gaudy painted cross; on my last visit to St John's I learned that some years earlier the room was cleared, and the kit there was found to be rotten, and was discarded.



In contrast, the very epitome of a 'guardian' phase church is one we have barely mentioned so far, St Peter's West Molesey. This neglect is mainly because its service registers are not in the Surrey History Centre, but we have seen that it was keeping a Sung Eucharist as its main Sunday service by 1933, and some of its clergy before then had High Church connections to judge by their appointments. At that time the incumbent of West Molesey was the multi-talented Fr Edward Arthur Sydenham who had been curate at St Matthew's Northampton and then vicar of Christ Church Ealing, sound Anglo-Catholic credentials. Fr Sydenham's claim to lasting fame was his study of Roman coins (and he was President of the Royal Numismatic Society for five years), but he was also a painter, poet, amateur engineer, composer, and woodcarver. At some point he replaced the church's original simple reredos with a towering wooden one showing kneeling angels and a somewhat surprising collection of ecclesiastical figures – St Birinus, and former Lord of the Manor of West Molesey, the Tudor Bishop Fox of Winchester, faced on the other side by St Augustine and Cardinal Wolsey; in about 1956 the piece was moved to the Lady Chapel and then reduced in size in 1996. Fr Sydenham was dissatisfied that the church had no dedication, and, realising that the building was aligned to the sunrise on St Peter's Day, persuaded the Bishop to rededicate it to St Peter in 1933, which sounds a bit pagan but fitted his antiquarian interests. In retirement on the Isle of Wight he finally penned a rather melancholy epitaph for himself:

Too many irons
And not sufficient fire to make them glow.
Too many talents
Spent, misspent, with few results to show.[98]

After the brief incumbency of Arthur Jaggs who moved on to Hale within two years, Fr John Yeend arrived at West Molesey in 1946, and stayed for the next half-century. In terms of the building, he moved Mr Sydenham's reredos and raised the high altar on steps in 1959. He probably introduced the Stations of the Cross which have a very Faith Craft look. St Peter's is one of the very few churches in our area with a tabernacle – and in fact has *two*, one at each altar. Unless they were a complete dead loss, a priest who stayed that long in one place in an age when lots of people still had a connection with the Church had to work hard *not* to be revered by the parishioners who they had baptised, married and buried across generations, and that was very much the case with Fr Yeend: he eventually had a road named after him. It was true that many stories revolved around his visiting the parish's pubs, and very recently I spoke to a gentleman from West Molesey who told me a regular task on a Friday night was to make sure Fr Yeend got home safely rather than falling asleep in the street. It was also said that a road crossing was installed near the

vicarage after he was knocked down one night and lay unnoticed for some time as his cassock hid him in the dark. His successor, Peter Tailby, was also relatively long-serving (1996-2015), and a man of such gentle saintliness that, if you didn't know the story, you might think the church was dedicated after *him* rather than the Prince of the Apostles.



My visit to St Paul's, Nork, took place in 2022. The church administrator kindly let me poke through the cupboards and I discovered a set of vestments in a pale creamy-white fabric with a red printed cross in the middle of the chasuble and a pattern of inward-pointing red spikes around the edge. Lenten Array! I thought, until a reader of my blog put me right. These were the so-called 'jaws' chasubles, he told me, made dirt-cheap by Watts on behalf of the Church Union and distributed in sew-it-yourself kits to promote the 150th anniversary of the Oxford Movement in 1983, and I later found another one in the vestry at St Augustine's, Aldershot. You can find very little information about these online, though in 2016 the *Church Times* published an article by Robin Ward, Principal of St Stephen's House, about changes in ecclesiastical vesture, in which he described the jaws chasubles as the nadir of the new styles introduced by Vatican Two, accompanied by a photo of lots of priests wearing them in a school sports hall in Loughborough.[99] Why they were called by that name not even Dr Ward seems to know. Cheap they may have been, but they stood nearly at the end of one phase of the Anglo-Catholic movement, a confident declaration of identity just as events began to make it harder for it to assert itself in such an optimistic way ever again.





'Jaws' chasubles uncovered at Nork and St Augustine's Aldershot

5. Reformers

An ordination service anywhere other than a cathedral is unusual, so when Kenneth Evans, the new Bishop of Dorking, came to St John's, Farncombe, for one in June 1969 – the new deacons including incoming curate Roger Robins – the parish was right to see it as a great event. Bishop Kenneth requested that a temporary altar should be used in a central position (and bishops' 'requests' are seldom turned down). Rector Edwin Barnes had been telling the PCC how inappropriate the church's existing arrangements were as soon as he had arrived in the parish two years earlier, so the Bishop's request was convenient ammunition for the reforming rector. Assuming the idea *was* his. Farncombe had to wait for the special arrangements to be made permanent, but from that moment onwards it was virtually inevitable.

The hurricane of change sweeping across the Western Church from the Second Vatican Council whirled Anglo-Catholics around, and once they landed they found their basic assumptions had to be changed. No more could they really see themselves as looking back to a long-lost past they wanted to recover and develop, and no more could they in any uncomplicated way regard Roman Catholic practice as setting the reference points for their own work. They were not only free to make it up as they went along – they'd always done that, truth be told – but had a clearer *sense* of that freedom. Out of the maelstrom would emerge a new negotiation between past, present and future. That was looking at it optimistically; less generously, the new ways of doing things might scarcely seem Catholic at all.

But first we step back. A generation before Good Pope John and Vatican Two tore everything up and then the altars were dragged forward, a group of churches were already pointing, aesthetically, to a vision of modernity miles away from the amiable, overloaded Gothic clutter either of buildings designed for the Catholic Movement, like Woodham, or older ones it adopted, such as Banstead.

The first of these was in the Hampshire portion of the diocese, St Christopher's, Cove,[100] consecrated in 1934. The architect, William Curtis Green, had designed The Good Shepherd, Dockenfield, a generation earlier, but at Cove produced a building which looked utilitarian brick on the outside while on the inside presented stripped-down Gothic with soaring plain white arches and an elaborate timber roof, with a tall, tub-shaped font very like Sir Edward Maufe's at the Cathedral. A few years later Maufe produced his own exercise in this idiom, All Saints' Weston Green (1938). By this time it was acceptable for a church to be rendered and painted white both inside and out,





St Christopher's/Christ Church, Cove, and the sanctuary at All Saints' Weston Green

a statement in simplicity and spaciousness; All Saints' had circular or square-topped windows, plain round arches, and daringly narrow aisles, exactly like Maufe's design for the cathedral (though that, being Gothic, was more conservative). It also exhibited that feature very characteristic of the time, the double pulpit or *ambo*, lifted from mainly Italian church forms of the 4th to 10th centuries, the southern pulpit for the reading of the Epistle, the northern for proclaiming the Gospel. We also find *ambone* at St John the Baptist, Stoneleigh, built in the same year, which is even bolder in its simplicity, three broad, plain circular arches delineating the chancel and aisles (which can't



St John the Baptist's, Stoneleigh

really function as aisles). The sanctuary at Stoneleigh is spacious, the high altar long and low in the Dearmer fashion, the sedilia just square-headed niches. The Ascension, Aldershot (1939) has the same feel to it, this time completely open-plan with some Maufe-ish detailing somewhat mitigated by the Gothic east window; it has no *ambone* but Maufe's design for the Cathedral in Guildford included them. Finally, we find a post-War pair of *ambone* at St Christopher's Hinchley Wood (1952), again brick outside and white within, a piscina and sedilia (or strictly sedili*um*, as there's only one) outlined by round-headed niches which are so shallow they're really just indications in the sanctuary wall. These churches, whether firmly part of the Catholic Movement or not, all represent a set of Catholic liturgical assumptions translated into a new, self-consciously modernistic style.

The mid-twentieth-century's successor to Henry Woodyer – though not an architect attached to a particular church tradition – is completely unsung, so we will sing him here. David Nye (1906-86) was better known as a prolific cinema designer, and his church work gets almost entirely overlooked. Early, quite substantial churches in Dulwich, Purley and elsewhere in the kind of idiom described in the last paragraph[101] offered no clues to what would become Mr Nye's characteristic style, and All Saints', Onslow Village in Guildford (1967), while a Modernist building, stands slightly separate as well. For his other churches in Surrey, and a couple of other places, he developed a repertoire based on pyramidal roofs, big windows, and glulam timber arches.



Church of the Holy Spirit, Burpham

The model could be scaled up to something like the Good Shepherd, Pyrford (1964), or down, to St Stephen's Langley Vale in Epsom (1961), and could be adapted to a variety of church traditions; so St Peter's in Guildford (1968) is a joint Anglican-and-Methodist community, Pyrford is evangelical, Holy Spirit Burpham (1965) or St Francis's Frimley (1964) middle-of-the-road, while Christ the King, Salfords (1967) (which though in Surrey is in Southwark diocese, so outside our area of study) is Anglo-Catholic. The family resemblance between them all, though, is very strong. So much so that, when I guessed it would be hard to inspect the inside of St Alban's Wood Street in the parish of Worplesdon (1967), I searched online for images and discovered what I *thought* was that church but which turned out to be a completely different one – St Alban's, *Havant*, virtually a twin of Wood Street. The Nye church in our area most firmly in the Catholic orbit was SS Philip & James's, Fleet, built in 1965. Founded as a tin chapel-of-ease to All Saints' in 1900, by 1967 the term 'Mass' was regularly used in the service register and the Easter Triduum was being observed, while in 1978 Corpus Christi was marked and the election of popes recorded, so it may be that the tradition there was relatively late in crystallising.

David Nye's 1960s churches, whatever size they were or tradition they followed, had a different feel from the white-painted buildings common before the War: they were clearly intended to feel homely and approachable rather than transcendent, a spiritual flavour which very much fitted the times: Jesus is your friend as well as your eternal Saviour, they say.

The Nye buildings are, nevertheless, still perfectly identifiable *as* churches, but as time went on church buildings became in general even plainer. It's indicative of the curious story we are telling that the most interesting church of three I visited on one research trip was neither of the two medieval ones. Holy Trinity, Send, and St Nicholas's Pyrford, were both churches that the Catholic Movement barely glanced at. Pyrford was the subject of a very conservative restoration in 1869 which resulted in choir stalls and barely any other change, while Send has no central aisle in the nave, just a row of pews with a tiny passageway either side, which would have given any Ecclesiologist an attack of the vapours. No, the pick of the trip was St Michael's, Sheerwater. All Saints' Woodham had planted a tin church of St Michael on Woking's Sheerwater estate in 1952; the permanent church, opened in 1976, was a joint venture between Woodham parish and the local Methodist Circuit, and is a very rare example of a post-war daughter church of an older Anglo-Catholic one: it shows how Anglo-Catholicism could be translated into this kind of setting, at this kind of time. The church is largely a hall with a few Christian symbols, except for the sanctuary which can be screened off for secular events to take place in the rest of the building, like the older Pixham or Ockford

Ridge. Here we find a plain aumbry and icons of the Blessed Virgin and St Michael, what appears to be some older (Methodist?) furniture, an abstract modern window of the Cross, and some of the weirdest church furnishings I have ever seen. The set consists of altar, lectern, font, and credence table; the first three are each organised around a cube, partly wood with two sides that seem to be tin or zinc, tapering inwards to a square hole. The pieces sit on concrete feet. They must surely be home-made. Lighting the sanctuary is a row of stained glass windows which can only be seen looking outwards; they show fish, crosses, a flaming wheel, and a parade of Roman chasubles in the liturgical colours. Outside the church door there is a small concrete statue of St Michael, looking a bit like a garden ornament.





St Michael's, Sheerwater

The appearance of churches is one thing, what was happening in them was another. For decades the situation had been clear enough: the task of Anglican Catholics was to introduce as much of the programme of Catholic spirituality as they could – the Eucharist as the main service every Sunday, frequent celebrations of communion, order and ceremony that befitted the Holy Sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood, and all the other elements that we have already described. In doing so, over time, they had managed to shift the Church of England's centre of gravity decisively in that direction. This could be detected in churches a long way from the core of the Catholic movement, such as St John's Churt, where in 1925 11am Mattins was the main Sunday service, but by 1956 had been joined by a 9.15am Parish Communion once a month, an advance which carried on subsequently.

But that language of 'parish communion' reflected a growing sense across first the Roman Catholic Church, and increasingly the Anglican, in the middle decades of the 20th century that forms of service should be found which gave laypeople more direct involvement in the liturgy. Those who argued this way believed that they were recovering the worship characteristic of the early Christian centuries, before the Church of the Middle Ages pushed the laity to one side and made the Mass a magical act performed by the clergy on everyone else's behalf (we will find language being used claiming precisely that). Some Anglo-Catholics wedded to established ways of doing things argued that the Parish Communion movement wasn't properly Catholic at all, and certainly over time the model of worship it championed became a consensus rite around which the majority of the Church of England could unite, at least until more assertive Evangelicalism regrouped later. But the contributors to the important 1937 collection of essays *The Parish Communion*, which was of the texts preparing the way for practical change, included the Anglo-Papalist *doyen* of liturgical studies Dom Gregory Dix, theologian Austin Farrar, and future Bishop of Knaresborough Henry de Candole, while the book was edited by the Kelham monk Gabriel Hebert; that looked like an appreciably Catholic body of opinion.

At first, in the mid-1950s, the Vatican relaxed the rules governing how long someone had to fast before taking communion, reducing the fast period to five hours and later to just one, and then revised the Holy Week liturgies; on the Anglican side a Liturgical Commission was set up in 1954 which at least recognised that change was *possible*, even if its work did not result in any actual revision of the old 1662 Prayer Book rite until the 1960s.

Then came the Second Vatican Council and, even if nothing happened instantly, nevertheless the entire atmosphere changed. The Council put official approval on the pressure for liturgical reform which had been building for decades, permitting the translation of the texts of the Mass into vernacular languages and emphasising the role of the laity as 'active participants' in the liturgy, a phrase the documents of the Council used repeatedly. These were ideas that many Anglo-Catholics had dismissed: now the most ultramontane of them found them endorsed by the very authority they looked to, beyond what they regarded as the flawed structures of their own Church.

It's clear that in the Anglo-Catholic movement as a whole this was a moment of profound disorientation, and a variety of reactions was possible, from enthusiastic endorsement to refusal to recognise that anything much had happened. However, whereas I used to stress the *abrupt* nature of the change, the sense of rupture, I now think that was overstating the case. My views were coloured by what had happened at the church I used to worship at in High

Wycombe, where the service registers made it clear that everything shifted in a single week in 1968: one Sunday most people were making their communion at the early service, while the main mid-morning worship was a non-communicating Sung Mass, and the next the position was completely the other way round: that church never looked back. But it seems that in Surrey the shift was generally more gradual, and sometimes erratic.

It was in fact one of the most advanced churches in the area, Woodham, that seems to have been the earliest adopter of the Parish Communion. By October 1943 Parish Communion at 8.50am followed the early mass at 8, and there were already (just) more communicants then. There was also a 'Sung Mass' at 11 which was clearly the traditional Anglo-Catholic non-communicating devotional event for most worshippers; however, as this comes from the earliest service register I could consult, the pattern was probably in place rather before 1943. This diet of worship persisted until some time in the 1970s when the Sung Mass was abandoned and the earlier service crept forward to 9.45am, a kind of model that would be similar across many brands of church.

Stoneleigh may even have predated Woodham: St John's was celebrating a weekly Parish Communion at 9am in 1942, and that meant a worship pattern we would recognise now was already established at that time.

Other early references occur at Farncombe, as we have mentioned (1947), Englefield Green (1947), Cuddington (1948), and Egham Hythe (1948): these were all far from extreme churches and were struggling to settle on a eucharist as the main service every Sunday, but it's very striking that their adoption of the Parish Communion model predates the 'Parish and People' movement, established in 1949, with its slogan 'the Lord's service for the Lord's people on the Lord's Day'. The innovating clergy – Charles Allingham at Farncombe, Hedley Vallins at Englefield Green, Robert Winnett at Cuddington, and John McKitterick at Egham Hythe – were clearly getting their ideas from somewhere else (in Mr McKitterick's case, it may have been Stoneleigh, where he'd been curate). It's worth remembering, too, that these shifts also predate any change to the liturgical *texts*: the actual liturgies all these churches were celebrating would have been the Book of Common Prayer, or its derivatives, the English Missal and Anglican Missal. Furthermore, most clergy of any Catholic stamp would have expected the laypeople to receive communion fasting from the previous midnight in the proper manner. This was why the hour for the Parish Communion was still relatively early, almost always no later than 9.30, and why the service was in some places followed by a breakfast for the parishioners, a custom which also emphasised a move away from communion as a private devotion to a communal act. As the fasting rules were relaxed, this became less important – but ultimately it's why, if you go to a

run-of-the-mill Parish Eucharist today, you'll be invited to consume biscuits and coffee once it's over, the last remnant of the pre-Vatican Two era parish breakfast (unless your church is aspiring to London West End standards, and offers you sherry). St Nic's Guildford recorded the first occasion when communicants were encouraged at the later hour of 11am, December 6th 1964: the twenty communicants were still expected to have fasted for three hours. Within three years communicant numbers at 11am had overhauled those at 8.

At North Holmwood – not a church normally considered at the centre of the Catholic Movement – the progression is particularly intriguing. The church was already marking a non-communicating Sung Eucharist at 11am in 1918 (perhaps not every week, as it doesn't feature in the directories until it gets three stars in 1973). By 1936 a Choral Eucharist succeeded Mattins on two Sundays a month, but when A.J. Potter arrived as Vicar in 1942 he immediately abandoned it: on his first Sunday at Mattins he read the 39 Articles, a standard (and not short) Low Church warning to a congregation that the new incumbent intended to countenance no departures from what he considered Anglican orthodoxy. By the following Easter Revd Potter had very suddenly passed beyond this earthly realm, and a few months later his successor R.M. Ware at once restored the previous pattern of worship, as though Revd Potter's short reign had been an unfortunate aberration. By October 1955 the Sunday diet was Holy Communion at 8, a Junior Church at 10 (the best-attended event of the day, perhaps mostly by children), Mattins & Sung Eucharist at 11, and finally Evensong at 6.30pm. Attendance at the 11am service was far higher than the number of communicants – maybe some worshippers left once Mattins was over). During Holy Week 1956 the church kept the Stations of the Cross; saints' days and Corpus Christi appeared that



Stations of the Cross at North Holmwood

year; and in October all the services were led by a Mirfield monk, Augustine Hoey, and a Community of the Resurrection novice. The 19th Sunday after Trinity was subtitled in the service register 'The Most Holy Rosary'. This was a church that seemed to be going through a decidedly Catholic phase. On 30th September that year Bishop Ivor Watkins visited to preside at a 'Parish Communion' at 9.30am which from then on replaced the old Mattins & Sung Eucharist; a week later it was renamed the Family Eucharist, with 79 out of 110 attenders receiving communion, and so it remained for several decades afterwards.[102] The use of the word 'Family' to describe acts of worship is a separate matter which we'll talk about later.

Reception of the Parish Communion model was bumpy at the Ascension, Aldershot. In April 1959, a fortnight after Easter, a 'Parish Mass' at 9.15am was introduced in addition to the 8am Holy Communion and 11am Sung Mass. There were 20 communicants on the first occasion, but there wasn't a Parish Mass every week and communicant numbers soon dropped to single figures. The church reverted to its former pattern in 1964, a backwards step few took. By 1973 the Ascension had rejoined the mainstream with an 8am Low Mass attended by a handful of people, and both later celebrations replaced by a 9.30am Parish Communion – on 18th November, for instance, there were 51 worshippers of whom 31 received communion.



Fr Nicholas Menon, servers and choir at St Mary's, Thorpe, early 1970s (Thorpe archive)

Thorpe's experience was close to that of my old church in High Wycombe, though not so sudden. Unusually, but perhaps characteristically for hardline Anglo-Catholic churches, from the 1920s very few people there had come to Mattins and by 1963 that service was merely an early-morning devotion for the priest and perhaps a couple of others; otherwise the church was used to an early communion at 8am, a non-communicating Sung Mass at 10.30, and Evensong at 6.30pm. A 'Parish Communion' first appeared at 9am on July 18th 1964: 27 people received the Sacrament that day. The established Sung Mass followed at 10.30, and the Parish Communion was at first only kept on the 3rd Sunday in the month. It stopped the following March, but after a refurbishment of the church building it reappeared in November 1965. Communicant numbers rose steadily from an initial ten, and the Sung Mass eventually disappeared: so, on the Second Sunday of Advent in 1971, 30 people took communion at 8am, and 60 at what was now described as a Sung Eucharist at 10.30.

Finally, we ought to note the more moderate churches where a mid-morning Sung Eucharist had been established for some while by the time the Parish Communion movement got going, but where it seemed to be neither a non-communicating act of devotion nor a communal celebration at which everyone was expected to receive. St Paul's Tongham falls into this category; there, the service register records a Sung Mass at 11am on 2nd September 1923 with seven communicants, and 13 on the 7th of January 1945. So does St Mary's Walton-on-Thames, where on 10th October 1937 6 people received at the 11am Sung Eucharist; and Church Crookham, whose Sung Eucharist in 1934 was at the unusually precise time of 10.10am and at which, on 5th August that year, 12 people took communion. Perhaps this reflected a difference between laypeople being *allowed*, while not *expected*, to receive communion at a mid-morning service (especially because of ill health), or (at more ultramontane churches) being actively discouraged from doing so on the grounds that it wasn't what that act of worship was for. In this connection my mind turns to an unusual priestly memoir nobody will ever have heard of, Archibald Webling's *Something Beyond* from 1931. All the names are anonymised. The narrator recounts his time as curate to his saintly friend 'Hallam' at 'St Martin's' in a south coast port town. After some years, the Catholic faith as the Church of England has received it is now firmly rooted at the church, and congregations have risen tenfold, and Hallam decides that the mission field is calling him and goes off to Africa, to be replaced by Frs Hildebrand and Forsse, two Anglo-Catholics of a very different stamp. For them the Catholic faith is hard, severe and clear, and the rules are there to be rigorously and inflexibly enforced. The new rector, Mr Webling recalled decades later,

> … was determined to bring to an end the irregularity of communicating several persons at the Sung Mass. He preached a sermon in which he quoted from Councils and the Fathers, and, having established his case, he proceeded to make the practical application. Henceforward any who desired to communicate at the late service must first satisfy him that it was impossible for them to do so at any other time and, further, must give a written assurance that they would be fasting. Such persons would be given a badge which they must wear at the altar rails, and only they would be communicated. The plan was duly carried out, but, it happened that, from time to time, persons unacquainted with the rule approached for Communion. Wearing no badge they were passed over, and in shame and bewilderment crept back to their seat.[103]

I am far from confident that such a thing happened at any Surrey church, and rather significant question marks hang over the whole narrative,[104] but that such a mentality was even plausible explains the difference between ostensibly similarly Catholic parishes in this pre-Reform period.

The Parish Communion movement was thus, at least as far as Surrey Anglo-Catholicism was concerned, a foretaste of what was going to happen in the 1960s, but not identical with it: that would require two additional elements – change to the liturgical texts, and reordering of the physical arrangement of church buildings. The first was a relatively swift process as these things go. A fairly moderate reform of the Prayer Book rite just managed to get passed by Convocation in November 1966, despite Evangelical opposition to prayers for the dead being included in the intercessions and certain wording in the communion service; this was known as Series 1. Series 2 followed in July 1967, a more thoroughgoing attempt to produce a new liturgy, albeit in cod-17th-century English, rather than just amend the texts of 1662 and 1928. Finally Series 3 arrived in September 1971, putting the now-established text of Series 2 into contemporary language, and supplying much more seasonal material.[105] Supplanting a liturgy which had gone near-unchanged for three centuries thus took a mere five years. These options would remain until the publication of the *Alternative Service Book* in 1980, and, except for churches that persisted with the old Prayer Book, there was really little reason to carry on with any of the various options Anglo-Catholics had traditionally used. Whatever criticisms might be levelled at the new Anglican service, its RC counterpart, the *Novus Ordo* promulgated in 1970, was generally experienced as much more banal and clunky, even when Anglo-Catholic churches felt that they had to follow it on principle.

These changes tend to leave barely a trace in church history booklets or the service registers. St Nicolas's Guildford tells us it used Series 1 for the first time in July 1967, while SS Mary & Nicholas's Leatherhead followed in

December; at St Andrew's Cobham the new Series 2 liturgy was the subject of a set of Lenten addresses in 1968, before the rite was used on Easter Day for the first time. To find out more, we have to delve more deeply into PCC minutes and other such sources. Having done that for Farncombe, I know a little more about what happened there. In 1966 Charles Allingham had proposed having an Offertory procession in the Parish Communion, in which a different family would be selected each week to bring up the bread and wine for the eucharist; he also suggested that the Epistle reading should be done by a layman (sic). The Series 2 eucharist was used experimentally for a year from Advent 1968, which gave time for the church to work out a form that suited it from the permissible variations to the service. Finally, the Series 3 service was tried for the first time in March 1973 and from then Farncombe never looked back to the old rites. It was very striking that, Evensong apart, the 1662 liturgy completely disappeared; with admirable consistency, even the Lord's Prayer was always recited in its modern version. 'Thee' and 'thou' were not to be heard again, and not very much protest seems to have been raised at all. Changes in the music accompanied those in the ritual words: the *English Hymnal* was no longer felt to supply all the needs of the church and copies of *100 Hymns For Today* were added to the stock. By 1975 Roland Owen, the organist, had written Farncombe's own musical setting for the Series 3 eucharist.

The other main liturgical story of these years is the decline of Mattins and, to a lesser extent, Evensong. There was a great variety of practice between churches, but for 16 places in the core list where I've traced what happened between the early 1960s and early 1970s, Mattins ceased completely to be a major element in public worship, while in four its frequency was reduced; in five it survived, often to disappear in later years.

The course was already being laid out in the early 1960s in Farncombe, when it was clear that moving the children's ministry to Sunday mornings from its traditional afternoon slot presented the clergy with a logistical headache as they tried to fit in teaching at the successful Sunday Schools (sometimes there were as many as 100 children on the books) with two major morning services. At the same time attendances at Mattins and Evensong were both falling. Canon Allingham told the Annual Parish Meeting in 1965 that he anticipated Parish Communion becoming the 'main service' before long, and later that year the PCC agreed that notices should be read at the Communion as well as at the offices. By early 1966 the average attendance at Mattins was in the low 20s, and Canon Allingham proposed a new regular Sunday worship pattern of communion at 8am and 10am, with said Mattins at 11, except on the first Sunday in the month, and on major festivals, when Mattins would be sung. Evensong at 6.30pm remained unaltered. His successor Edwin Barnes first

suggested that Mattins should be entirely dispensed with early in 1968. Later that year Ron Hall, as director of the Sunday Schools, proposed a wholesale restructuring of the children's ministry which meant moving the Parish Communion to 9.45am, and as a result of the deliberations of a Liturgical Committee of the PCC, Mattins as a major element of the liturgy at St John's finally disappeared in September 1968. The decision successive Farncombe rectors had shied away from had at last been taken, although congregants occasionally pleaded for the service's return.



Mattins at St James's Weybridge, late 1960s

At St James's Weybridge in 1965, both Mattins and Evensong were still full choral services with a sermon. On Lent 2 (12th February) that year there were 43 communicants at 8am, 103 at the 9.30 Parish Communion, 86 worshippers at Mattins at 11, and 93 for Evensong at 6.30pm. By 1971 Rector Michael Buckley was holding a said service of Mattins at 9.30 before the Parish Communion at 10. A said Mattins service on Easter Day 1972 still attracted 182 people – though presumably a lot were waiting for the Parish Communion half an hour later – but by 1977 Sunday Mattins had moved to 7.30am, and was said by the clergy as a preliminary to the day's work, much as it is today. Hardly anyone else ever attended. Evensong survived rather longer, though by the early 1980s 'Evening Prayer' was starting to replace it sometimes, and eventually 'Evensong' without the word 'Choral' added meant the simple reading of the Office. The sole virtue of such a small service was that it gave curates a chance to lead public worship during their deacon's year. There were still choral Evensong services on the 3rd Sunday of the month, and Festal Evensong with

solemn settings on feast days, until the middle of 1997, but then they petered out.

At Farncombe, Evensong survived the revolution, but even its status was under question. In January 1969 Fr Barnes was asked why he'd omitted Evensong from the publicised list of Christmastide services, replying that only 'the most important' services were listed and that meant the eucharist. There were protests and the PCC secretary, Mr Grey, felt obliged to remind everyone that 'the decline in [Evensong] attendance had started before November 1967' when Fr Barnes had arrived. And that decline continued, too. Organist Roland Owen reported to the Annual Meeting in 1973:

> Even with [the Choir's] diminished resources do you know that it happens all too frequently that my final words to the choir before the sung evening service are ruefully to warn them that they outnumber the congregation by 2 to 1 or 3 to 1 … I wonder whether the time has not come for Farncombe to reappraise the genuine demand for a sung evening service, and the supply of the singers to provide it … [such are the low numbers that] the musical results are not edifying, however praiseworthy the efforts made.

In fact a somewhat revived Choir contributed towards the survival of Evensong as part of the regular liturgical diet at St John's for another thirty years, and it wasn't until the establishment in the 2000s of the Godalming Group Ministry, with its rota of services between churches, that it disappeared completely. At Hindhead, attendance at Evensong was always below 10 by the late 1970s, unless it was held at the clergy retirement home of Manormead. Eventually the church gave it up completely.

Just a few churches persisted with Mattins as a major and frequent part of the liturgical diet. These included Banstead, Church Crookham, and Oatlands, where in 1970 it was still the best-attended service on a Sunday. On March 2nd 1975 at St Mary's, Ewell, there were 110 worshippers at Mattins – though 45 were children, which rather suggests it was a 'Family Mattins', a strange hybrid we will discuss later.

Revised services and revamped liturgical texts did not necessarily need reordered churches around them, but that was what they got, in a process which would prove far more drawn-out than the verbal changes. The core of the issue was where the priest should stand during the consecration of the elements. For centuries it was assumed that he would take a position in the midst of the altar facing liturgical east, with his back to the people (and his face to God, some might add), and the physical arrangements of the vast majority of churches in the West made it impossible for him to do anything

else. After the disruptions of the Reformation and the Civil War, Anglicans became used to the 'north end' position, the celebrant standing at that side of the altar so that the congregation could see what he was doing with his hands rather than the 'manual acts' being concealed as though they were magic gestures, before the Ritualist element of the Oxford Movement stressed returning to the eastward position as an essential part of the Catholic programme, indeed one of the 'Six Points' they campaigned on. A further step often taken was to insert a screen across the chancel to emphasise the sacred nature of the area around the altar, following the arrangement of many old English churches.

But liturgical reformers in the 20th century came to challenge this idea. Observing some of the oldest churches in Rome, where the presence of a *confessio* giving access to the relics of a martyr in the crypt right in front of the altar step made it impossible to celebrate the eucharist facing east, a consensus grew up – now, it has to be said, severely challeged in its turn – that in the earliest Christian centuries the priests had faced towards the people, *versus populum* as it came to be called in distinction to the eastward position, *ad orientem*. Returning to this arrangement, proponents felt, was part-and-parcel of demystifying the Mass, involving the laypeople more in worship, and modernising the Church – the whole 'Family of God' gathering around the table of the 'family meal', rather than watching the mysterious consecration of the holy elements far away at the end of a long, narrow chancel.

We have already met Fr Edwin Barnes, the new rector of Farncombe in 1967, a man in his early 30s succeeding the venerable Canon Allingham who had retired out of the parish, having served two curacies at St Mark's North End in Portsmouth and at Woodham. By this point a handful of new Anglican churches had been built with central altars and the arrangement was becoming standard for new Roman Catholic churches. Fr Barnes had flagged up the prospect of reordering St John's all along, pointing out at his first Annual Meeting in 1968 how unsatisfactory it was that the high altar was visible from barely half the church. Then Bishop Kenneth Evans handed him the gift of the temporary central altar for the 1969 ordination. Finally he summed up the reformers' position to the St John's Annual Meeting in 1970:

> When St John's was built, everyone had a place, the squire in the chief seat, the clergy high and lifted up, the choir on display for all to see … Today, there is a chance for ALL the people to have a fuller share in the church's worship. At the Last Supper, everyone gathered around a table; for nearly the first thousand years of Christianity this idea survived. We have plans to rediscover this idea of worship.

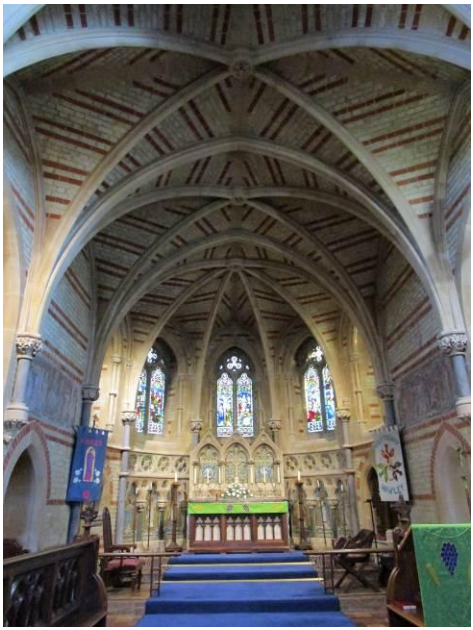
The PCC agreed in principle a move to a permanent central altar, and the architect began to draw up plans. The Victorian sanctuary wall tiles, long since covered up with curtains, now disappeared behind white polystyrene. Light, simplicity, openness, were the new ideals. It was suggested that a 'lantern' might be opened in the roof to let light in on the new altar, and the stained glass removed from the windows. The Lady Chapel was rearranged so that the altar 'could be used from either side' (although it never then was used in the traditional direction), and the altar step was removed. Then the chancel screen was taken down, and remounted at one end of the south aisle as part of a glazed entrance area. The Chapel of the Resurrection in the north aisle went next as the pews were turned inwards to face the new central altar, raised on a Portland Stone dais. By the end of 1971 it was all over. The only further change came in 1976 when a wooden tester, or canopy, with fitted lights, was hung from the roof to highlight the position of the altar, a fashion again taking its inspiration from what was thought to be early Christian style.





Farncombe before and after the reordering

I deal with Farncombe first not only because I know its case well, but because of Edwin Barnes's perfect epitomisation of the case for the change. In fact Farncombe was far from an innovator in the whole process. David Nye's Surrey churches all adopted a plan in which seating radiated from a central point, focused on an altar which was to be used *versus populum*, and other churches had already got used to temporary arrangements which pre-empted more permanent change. Ordained in 1961, a year after Edwin Barnes, third-generation priest with two bishops for godparents Michael Godwin felt he came from 'the last generation to be trained on the Book of Common Prayer'. On arriving at his first curacy at St Mark's Farnborough he found the Parish Communion had been introduced a number of years before, with a Sung Mass at 11am. Moving to St Barnabas's Epsom as vicar in 1966, Mr Godwin quickly brought in a temporary nave altar for which a retrospective faculty was granted. In 1965 Burgh Heath obtained a faculty for a movable altar on a dais, and Godalming parish church used one for the first time on December 12th that year. A few years later St James's Weybridge was using the old altar from the local cemetery chapel, a Jacobean table, right before the chancel screen and in front of the pews. This was a cramped and narrow space, but, *in lieu* of a more major (and costly) reordering, it was the best kind of arrangement many churches could manage. Others simply pulled their high altar back from the east wall, leaving the priest standing behind it, not so much like the president at the family table as the shopkeeper at a counter, but such was the power of the idea that similar arrangements became all but universal no matter how awkward they might be. The only church in our survey where the main altar was never used *ad populum* seems to have been Holy Trinity, Hawley.



Never westward: Holy Trinity, Hawley

St Nicolas's, Guildford, was at the forefront of the Catholic Movement in the diocese, but not especially bold during the Reform period. On St Nicholas's Day, 1962, the High Mass was celebrated in the evening, 'a change that would

have been unthinkable a few years earlier', and the congregation began to make their communion at the Sunday High Mass late in 1964; gradually numbers overtook the 8am mass. In 1968 a series of internal changes began under the supervision of David Nye as Diocesan Surveyor: the murals on the walls were covered with whitewash, 'completely altering the character of the church', and the southwest corner of the building was enclosed with glazing to form a 'narthex' as Farncombe would do a few years later. The altar in the Chapel of St George was brought forward, hangings and decorations were removed, and the memorial window to Mr Monsell was taken out to allow more light. The high altar was lowered by a step; Charles Nicholson's rood beam was removed and the figures suspended in the chancel arch. The final rearrangement of the sanctuary area had to wait until 1978 when a series of large bequests allowed a scheme to go forward, clearing out the choir and clergy stalls, and erecting a free-standing altar. Far from being a rather apologetic wooden table as in many places, this was a great slab of marble supported by concrete legs – legs that, in Trinitarian symbolism, were triangular in section. The motif was taken up in the new flooring, alternating white and orange mosaic triangles. The architect, and probably the designer of these fixtures, was John Wright, a member of the congregation.[106]



Bishop of Dorking Kenneth Evans consecrates the new altar at St Nic's, 19th December 1978

Even before the altars were brought forward and the pews rearranged to face them, the chancel screens needed to be disposed of. These had become popular in all brands of church that looked to the English Middle Ages for their inspiration – not, interestingly, the most ultramontane ones, as the

contemporary Roman Catholic authorities did not go in for screens: in *The Parson's Handbook* Percy Dearmer had written 'if the chancels are to be as they were "in times past" we must certainly stand out against that dislike of Rood-screens which is common to Puritans and Roman Catholics'.[107] Accordingly old and more recent churches alike began to insert chancel screens (whether or not they supported a Rood, a crucifix flanked by figures of the Blessed Virgin and St John) to demarcate the extra-sacred space around the high altar; and when the fashion was to stress that God was approachable and friendly, those items were removed. Some churches where we know the dates of the insertion and then removal of chancel screens are:

Church	Date erected	Date removed
Dorking St Martin	1892	1965
Pirbright	1923	1972
Farncombe	1924	1970
Wonersh	1930	1989
Okewood	1932	1976

In many more we know that a screen once existed and no longer does, either from photographs (which exist in fewer numbers than you might imagine), or markings on walls and floors.[108]

Christ Church, Epsom, has recorded its process of change in unusual detail (it was also unusually protracted). There, the screen stayed where it was! By the 1960s Christ Church had had a definite Catholic tradition for decades – it had four stars in the 1948 directory. Its new incumbent from 1960, Richard Falkner, came to the parish from curacies at Ilfracombe and then Woodham followed by a chaplaincy at Reed's School, Cobham. In 1965 he persuaded the church – 'reluctantly', says one account – to install a dais in front of the Edwardian rood screen so that the eucharist could be celebrated westward-facing, and, before the work was complete, left for St Jude's, Englefield Green. When Revd Falkner's successor Derek Bedford arrived, having served curacies in Wallington, Sanderstead, Addlestone and New Haw, he found an incomplete project and no consensus on what to do with it. In 1966, four months into Revd Bedford's incumbency, the PCC discussed 'Reordering the Interior of Christ Church' and decided by 10 votes to 8 with 5 abstentions to park the whole business. This still left Revd Bedford with the option of pulling the high altar a little forward from the east wall so he could stand behind it and celebrate *versus populum*. It wasn't until nine years of his own incumbency had passed that the next vicar, late chaplain of Epsom College Mark Wilson, deemed it prudent to re-open the question and assembled a project team to look at it. Reporting in 1991, they suggested that the rood



screen should be removed and a larger dais built at the chancel arch to support a nave altar. Chris Hyde, an architect member of the team, produced a rather beautiful watercolour impression of a revamped Christ Church with the rood screen gone and curving lines of comfortable chairs replacing the pews. This plan, among other elements including screening off the Memorial Chapel in the north transept with glass, formed the church's 'Project 2000' scheme. The diocese had already instructed that the rood screen had to be retained within the church building, possibly moved to the west end, but even this proved extremely controversial among the congregation at large, and eventually the Archdeacon of Dorking had to chair a general meeting which finally determined that the screen should remain where it was. A nave altar, though, was indeed introduced, a table made from a cedar tree at Ashtead felled in the Great Storm in 1987, its design, suggested by Mark Wilson and realised by Chris Hyde, intended to call to mind the manger, fish, Alpha and Omega, and the idea of openness to God. The west end of the church was also reorganised with a new entrance area-cum-baptistery, even if the rood screen wasn't part of it. These changes, if not their lengthy timescale, were paralleled in many other churches.[109]

At St Augustine's, Aldershot, Fr Michael Harvey had planned a reordering but his death meant it fell to his successor Keith Hodges to carry it out. This church was spacious and simple in plan, and the main altar could be seen from everywhere in it, but long before the faculty was submitted in 1990, *versus populum* celebration was the model taken for granted. Choir stalls, oddly sited at the west end of the church, were to be moved to create a baptistery area, the raised sanctuary extended and carpeted to support a new central altar, and railed, and the statues of the BVM and St Augustine moved from their positions on windowsills to brackets on the pillars either side of the sanctuary. Most surprisingly the old altar was to be retained against the east wall, but cut lengthways down the middle, becoming essentially a gradine or shelf to hold the 'big six' candlesticks, cross, and tabernacle. The scheme seems to have gone through without a single objection, and the result was aesthetically

rather handsome, even if change had been prompted by pure liturgiology rather than practicalities.

The standard model of church reordering was to put in a dais and pop a nave altar on top of it, get rid of the pews (if you had them) and create angled rows of chairs around it. But some Evangelical churches devised a far more daring version, and it's instructive to look at it even if the history of Anglican Evangelicalism is not our main concern. If you had a big 19th- or early 20th-century barn of a church but which had long north and south walls, you might be bold enough to turn the entire building around to face the other way, putting the altar against one of those long walls and leaving the old chancel as a chapel on one side. This was done at St Mary of Bethany in Woking and at St Stephen's Shottermill – the latter very attractively, as the church chose not simply to place its altar along a blank wall, but to build a small apse to emphasise it, a kind of Catholic sensibility emerging instinctively even in the very teeth of an Evangelical reconstruction. Christ Church Virginia Water did something similar, but rather less tidily, creating a pragmatic space with no clear focus. At St Mary's East Molesey the chancel screen was used to demarcate separate worship spaces, while at Emmanuel, Stoughton the solution was to construct an entirely new church building facing exactly the opposite way from the old one. Even a church with a very different tradition, St Mary's Shalford, has adopted a similar technique, as the building lends itself to it: the old chancel remains focused on the original altar, with modern chairs arranged when needed around a nave altar, not on a dais facing west, but between two pillars, facing south, essentially a church-within-a-church.

Liturgy, language, and the internal arrangements of churches were all reformed in these years: the tide even reached the vesture of the clergy. There was no real reason why this should be: the elegant, simple Gothic vestment sets which I am fairly sure Charles Allingham acquired for the centenary of St John's, Farncombe, in 1949, were still perfectly serviceable whichever way the priest was facing at the mass. But more modern seemed exciting for a while. Most churches have collections of classic, modern, and home-made vestments of varying quality: firms such as Watts and Wippells produced the trad stuff, Croft Designs the modern, and Vanpoulles either. St John's, Milford, for instance, acquired sets of stoles, altar hangings and lectern falls in a ribbed wool material by Slabbinck (mainly a Vanpoulles label), almost certainly at the same time as its simple nave altar. The sets have no chasubles (such a stiff, heavy fabric would be most uncomfortable to deal with), so this was perhaps when the church gave up their use.

The most curious story in this respect involved the disappearance of the maniple. A universal element of the Western eucharistic vestments from the



Michael Buckley presides at the nave altar at St James's Weybridge, still wearing a maniple in the early 1970s (Weybridge archive – photo damaged top left)

9th century and used in some places long before that, it derived ultimately from a napkin or wiping-cloth the priest carried in the left hand, and developed into a strip of embroidered cloth worn over the left arm. The

Roman Catholic Church made use of the maniple optional in 1967 and the new ritual texts of the early 1970s didn't mention it: Roman Catholic clergy quickly abandoned it along with birettas and soup-plate hats. Their Anglican colleagues didn't follow suit immediately. In a nice set of photographs showing worship at St James's Weybridge in the early 1970s, one image features Michael Buckley elevating the chalice at the newly-installed nave altar table, and he wears a maniple. New sets of vestments incorporating maniples were still made, including Joy Webb's at St Alban's Wood Street (see above, p.117); the red Pentecost set made by David and Sylvia Morley for us at Farncombe as late as 1982, was very modern, with flames and doves in gold kid leather, but still had a maniple. Eventually they vanished, however. At Farncombe I found an entire drawer full of maniples which sacristan Mary Featherstone had stowed away like guilty secrets. One of the very nicest ironies of Church history comes from Wonersh. Here, the new Evangelical tone of the 1980s and onwards had no use for the church's stock of vestments, and eventually disposed of them (the church did retain an antique cope and mitre given by former Wonersh resident Bishop John Randolph, and which is unwearable now as it is handsomely embroidered with swastikas: when it was made that didn't seem as outrageous as it does now). However, having already been removed from use and shoved to the back of a cupboard, the maniples survived, meaning that they are now the *only vestments* Wonersh has. I do hope they hang onto them, just for the humour value. Completely getting rid of vestments made a kind of sense; so did reducing them to the stole alone, as Milford and other places did. There were precedents for that. But jettisoning only the *maniple* and retaining the rest was a bizarre choice. The only conclusion can be that lots of clergy found the item inconvenient and maybe worried about knocking over the chalice with it (I have indeed jogged or knocked over a chalice twice during my ministry thus far, but the maniple was not implicated on either occasion).

Very clearly, *reform* did not, in any simple way, mean *decline* no matter what some more conservative Anglo-Catholics might feel, especially as time went on. When he came to write the history of St Nic's in Guildford, *The Lower Church*, in 1980, Revd Brian Taylor could look back at a moment when the rot seemed to set in:

> For many years now the main communion in the week has been the Sunday High Mass, and it is right that it should be so. It has, however, led to an overall decline in church attendance, together with the regrettable neglect of Evensong, so that many who formerly appeared three times in church on a Sunday now normally worship only once. This has become the general pattern in this country, and partly accounts for emptier churches.[110]

This is both true, *and* beside the point rather. Allowing people to receive communion later in the day does not stop them coming to another service, even in the evening, any more than attendance at traditional Mattins did: it's quite a typical Anglo-Catholic (and perhaps broader than that) attitude to ascribe religious change to liturgical shifts rather than more general social factors. At Farncombe, by 1970 average Sunday communicants were roughly 50% up on three years earlier: not all of the rise could be accounted for by the abolition of Mattins and the slow decline in numbers at the 8am Communion. That year was a peak, but average communicants at 10am topped 100 until the late 1990s. There was no lack of commitment at St Barnabas's, Epsom: Michael Godwin recalled that services at 6.30am on major feast days would still attract a full choir in his time. Apart from any other social factors at play affecting whether or not people came to church, Catholic Anglicans had actually succeeded in their campaign to persuade laypeople that their religious life ought to be organised around the Eucharist, and yet were surprised by the necessary corollary, that they came to see anything else, including the Offices, as being perhaps nice, but surplus. Sometimes people who prefer more conservative liturgy point to the Reform movement as ushering in sloppiness and carelessness in worship: not, for instance, at Ripley in 1975, where the drill for servers stipulated that after communion they were to sit on their stools in the chancel 'taking care to do so at the same moment'. None of these explanations for decline seems to fit what we actually see.

Part of the understanding of the Parish Communion movement was that the Church was 'the family of God', or 'the household of God', gathering around the family table for the family meal. It was a vision of intimacy and connection, very distinct from the sense of the Eucharist as a *sacrificial* act directed towards a transcendent and in some way distant God. There were plenty of churches where that understanding was expressed by the explicit use of the word 'family' in describing the reformed liturgies. Possibly the earliest was All Saints', Hawley. When the parish of Hawley took over the daughter church of All Saints' from the Clewer Sisters in 1954, there had already been a mass at 9am; this was rebranded as 'Parish Communion' from October that year, while the parish church of Holy Trinity's main Sunday service was still a non-communicating Sung Mass at 11.20am. In 1956 All Saints' main service shifted to 10am and was rebranded as 'Family Communion', although more people actually made their communion at 8am. We've seen the same thing happen simultaneously at North Holmwood. 'Family' nomenclature would become more common as time went on. The first reference to a Family Communion at St John's Cobham came in 1962; the Sung Mass at East Horsley became the 'Family Eucharist' in 1963; and at Esher in 1973 there was a Family Communion at 9am on Sundays *separate* from the Parish

Communion at 10am. What distinguished them? Models of 'Family Communion' at churches such as Englefield Green and Milford came to place an emphasis on brevity and the involvement of children whenever possible, but these emerged much later in the 2000s. Family Communions or Eucharists popped up in the early 1970s at several churches including Shottermill, Weston Green, Holy Trinity Guildford, Hindhead, and St Francis's Ewell. At Walton on Thames the main service was a Sung Eucharist, but from July 1971 this was described as a Family Eucharist; it was referred to as Parish Communion in September 1972, and reverted back to being a Sung Eucharist in August 1978. Whether this *actually* represented any change in the liturgy or style of service, or only the habit of whoever filled out the register, is anyone's guess!

A further step was to displace a Eucharist on some occasions in favour of what was described as a 'Family Service'. This seems to have begun with a general reassessment of ministry to children. Once upon a time, in some places from as early as the late 1800s, it was customary for most churches to have a service for children in the middle of Sunday afternoon. Often this was described as 'Catechism', so it was about teaching children theological basics as much as worship, though it isn't clear how such events interacted with the highly-organised and nationally-structured Sunday School movement of the time. Witley had a Sunday afternoon 'Children's Service' as early as 1882, and other churches recording 'Catechism' earlier than 1900 included St Michael's Aldershot, Holy Trinity Hawley, and Holmbury St Mary; the children of St Paul's Addlestone underwent '*Litany* and Catechism' in 1884, which was an especially ambitious effort. Although St Mark's Farnborough was still using the word as late as 1963, churches began to stop mentioning the 'catechising' of children in favour of other tactics. Just occasionally we can see when a Children's Service so-called actually began: Milford started its at 3pm late in 1929. Slowly, childrens' church experience was assumed to be less about being *taught* than being *welcomed and included*. This was reflected liturgically in 'Children's Eucharists' (at Blackheath 1911, St Barnabas Epsom 1925, Church Crookham 1936, or a Saturday 'Children's Mass' at Hindhead in 1923), or physically in the 'children's corners' many churches installed – faculties for these held in the Surrey History Centre range from Cuddington's in 1930 to Esher's in 1950. Peter Anson commented rather tartly in *Fashions in Church Furnishings* that

> … the fashion [for Children's Corners] spread like wild-fire … tiny tables and chairs were mass-produced. Hangings of a rather sickly shade of blue were almost obligatory, likewise framed reproductions of watercolours by Miss Margaret Tarrant, generally with plenty of rabbits and birds in the foreground. Lots of little flower vases and statues of the Christ Child, his

> Mother Mary, and very often S. Francis of Assisi (because he loved animals) were part of the décor of a typical Children's Corner. So too were low oak shelves, filled with illustrated books. The strange thing was – and still is – that … they never appear to be used.[111]



I wonder whether the Faith Craft-looking statue of the Boy Jesus at Ash (pictured left), with two commemorative dates of 1931 and 1938, also reflects this trend, while Tongham has what is referred to as a 'Children's Altar' now squeezed next to the font and used as a shelf but which must have been somewhere else once. It's a small wooden arrangement with two integral poles and a cross-bar for holding curtains.

The Children's Communion services were remarkable in view of the fact that children could not *take* communion in the Anglican Church (unless they were older ones in their teens, who had been confirmed and would have been expected to attend with the grown-ups anyway), and all of these services would, perforce, have used the unreformed Prayer Book liturgy or one of its Anglo-Catholic derivatives. It's expecting quite a lot of small children just to sit and watch liturgy (no matter how colourful) and listen to 17th-century words.

The rise of the Parish Communion, however, with its expectation that the whole of the 'Family of Faith' would be present at the Eucharist, coincided with a growing reluctance of parents to hand their children over to church workers for that time, a feeling that families were a unit that did things together, and a sense that Sunday afternoons were a time for the family to do other, non-church activities (over time, of course, under further social pressures such as children's sport and increased distance to travel to see relatives, the *whole* of Sunday would become 'family time'). From this point forward, 'Sunday School' would mean not the dedicated, separate events of old, managed like *actual* schools, but the way of keeping children engaged with some religious content while their parents were experiencing grown-up church in the main building, depending on whatever the main morning service was. This new model of Sunday School was pretty much the same in every variety of church, including non-Anglican ones.

But many churches began to perceive that plunging families straight into a Sung Eucharist, even if the children were detached and taken to a Sunday

School in another room, was a lot to expect, and this might not be what everyone wanted. Thus began experiments with non-eucharistic Sunday services specifically aimed at family groups, especially those who might not be very familiar with church, with the aim that adults and children should stay together. Clergy had long been aware of the distinction between the crowds who might come at certain big occasions and the regular worshippers: on Mothering Sunday 1963, Michael Brown wrote a note to himself in the Godalming register, 'Over 200 at 3pm. Next year let us have posies at the Parish Communion too for the faithful families so that they won't be diverted to the afternoon', the distribution of posies of flowers being the liturgical highlight of the Mothering Sunday service then as now. Dorking had a Family Service on some Sundays as early as 1954, but in most churches that tried, the move came later. At Leatherhead the Family Service took over the 11am slot on the first Sunday in the month – a popular time for it – from May 1974; at Stoneleigh a Family Service replaced the Parish Communion on the first Sunday from Advent 1980. Farncombe did the same in 1986, much to the discomfort of incumbent Dennis Hedges who bowed to pressure from the PCC. Even hardline Thorpe fitted a Family Service into the schedule (without dropping anything else) in 1988 – there, it only lasted four years.

Very occasionally we come across the strange formulation *Family Mattins*, though you might have thought the Morning Office the very *last* service amenable to being made family-friendly. St Andrew's Cobham offered a Family Mattins on Easter Day 1967, while this was what St Mary's Ewell chose to call its big service on Mothering Sunday 1975; there was another on Easter Day, with 205 attenders making it the biggest of the day except the Parish Communion. These services were probably not really Mattins at all, but attempts to describe non-eucharistic Sunday worship in a way that emphasised that families were welcome, but that it was also something the usual Mattins crowd could come to as well, smoothing their way to accepting change. I doubt Family Mattins included the General Thanksgiving and intoning the Benedictus.

The adoption of Family Services, of whatever kind or brand, wasn't always successful or consistent, as we can see from the experience of some churches in our list. Chessington adopted a Family Service in 1967, held at 11am after the Parish Communion, but it disappeared after 1972 except on Christmas Day. At Egham Hythe there were various applications of the word 'Family' to some services, including a Family Communion on the third Sunday which was at least sometimes pretty successful – in May 1991 there were 144 worshippers of whom 69 received communion, so a lot of children must have been there. Then a full-blown Family Worship service began in October 1994, varying between 11 and 11.15am; 26 souls attended on the first occasion, after which

numbers bumped around between 10 and 20, and the service was abandoned five years later. In 1979 Frensham introduced a Family Service on the first Sunday in the month, but it soon reverted to being a Family Communion. Holy Trinity Hawley tried a Family Service at 11.15am on the *last* Sunday in the month, unusually, in 1979. Early in 1981 this became a 'Family Service & Eucharist', and some time later the 'family' tag disappeared completely. Woodham began a Family Service at the relatively late hour of 11.30 in 1981; it lasted through to 1998 before being dropped, which isn't a bad run.

St James's, Weybridge, too, celebrated a service it described as 'Mattins & Sermon – Family Worship' on Easter Day 1968. Here, a typical 'Junior Church' service at 3pm on Sunday had been a feature since the late 1940s; it disappeared after Easter 1962. On Harvest Sunday 1968 Mattins was replaced entirely by a 'Family Service' which, again judging by the uncertain method of collection totals, seems to have been the most popular event that day. 'Mattins' appeared again occasionally, but by 1971 an 11.15am Family Service, whatever it consisted of, was an established element of the St James' diet; later on it was described as 'Young People's Church'. Eventually by the later 1970s the pattern was settled of a 'Family Service' at 11.15 on the first Sunday in the month, and on the 3rd Sunday a 'Family Communion' to which children were encouraged to come. Both services were sometimes combined with a baptism, and sometimes not. Numbers were not very obviously better or worse than those at the Parish Communion on other Sundays. Other experiments followed. There was an 'Under-5s' service at 11.30 on the 15th of January, 1992, and then 'Family Services and Holy Communion' began to be offered. This paints quite a confused picture, and certainly suggests that none of these churches ever felt they'd hit on the right combination of services, even experimenting over so long a period.

It seems fair to say that, in general, the churches at the innermost core of the Catholic Movement resisted surrendering one of their weekly Eucharists in favour of a non-eucharistic service of any kind, even where, like Thorpe or Hawley, they felt obliged to squeeze one into the schedule. They were more likely to attach the word 'Family' to some services (as Guildford St Nic's did with its 10am 'Family Mass' on Christmas Day in the 2000s) and encourage family groups to be present, even though actual concessions to family-friendliness might be minimal. The 'catholic' element of a non-eucharistic service would depend very much on the teaching and rather incidental details such as the arrangement of the church space and the vesture of the ministers, but *structurally* there would be little to distinguish it from what you might find elsewhere, including beyond the Church of England. I'm not sure this was the case with Woodham's experiment in this area, the 'All-In Mass' (or AIM) from Autumn 2008 whose main selling-point was its brevity: 'designed for all whose

time or patience or concentration or children sometimes RUN OUT' ran the advert in the parish magazine, AIM was 40 minutes tops of 'Real church connecting the stressed and hard-pressed with a taste of heaven'.

Even an effort to retain a eucharistic focus in more moderate churches could lead to different results. The mid-to-late-2000s are a bit late for this stage of our story, but we may turn fruitfully to St James's Weybridge and St John's Milford at that time. At Milford, Vicar Clive Potter's journey had been through a more moderate tradition but he still located himself very firmly within a eucharistic spirituality. He abandoned Milford's non-eucharistic Family Service in favour of a Family Communion which cut down the words of the service as far as was possible, and got children and family groups doing as many of the liturgical jobs as they could. This could not usually be planned in advance, but involved grabbing whoever might be available and willing on the day, which led to a certain chaotic flavour. At grand St James's with its choir of dozens and mighty organ, both driven when I was curate there by redoubtable Director of Music Christine Best, matters had moved on from the mid-1990s when the third-Sunday 'Holy Communion and Family Service' had been split into two, and an informal service called 'Come and Worship' was held in the parish hall at the same time as the Parish Eucharist, attracting between 20 and 50 people. The Rector from 2004 to 2022, Brian Prothero, ended this, arguing that it detracted from the Parish Eucharist and gave families the impression that they weren't welcome in the main service. The surviving third-Sunday Parish Eucharist was not explicitly orientated towards families, but was the service baptism families were steered towards attending. Preaching tended to be more *ex tempore*, the wording was shortened and simplified, and the whole atmosphere was less formal. Perhaps the apogee of 'informality' was reached when we discovered one morning that both I and Brian had been booking in baptisms without consulting each other, so we ended up with seven at the same service. Just as well most of the families ran off at the end, rather than try to come into the hall for refreshments. 'Where are we to find biscuits for so many?' we might have echoed the Apostles.

St James's was unusual for such a large church in not having a Lady Chapel. Almost all stripes of the Church of England had overcome their aversion to statues (my favourite evidence is the little idol of the Holy Family in the prayer area at the ostensibly unpromising location of Emmanuel, Stoughton), but as we've suggested, the presence of the Virgin and the other saints in the fabric of a church did not necessarily mean any reverence paid to them, except where Our Lady of Walsingham functioned as a party identifier. In the 'reformed' version of Catholic Anglicanism after the 1960s, there was no objection to Our Lady being around, but neither was there any special reason for her to be, either. In some places, Lady Chapels disappeared even as they

were still being established elsewhere. St George's Ashtead seems to have had a Lady Chapel in 1950, for instance, but there is no sign of it now. Checking our list of Lady Chapels and dates on p.74, of the 16 pre-2000 examples, seven survive; the ones at Witley and Wrecclesham are still there but with no reference to the Virgin except a window or altar frontal; three more churches retain the *chapels* but no Marian imagery at all; and in the remaining four all traces have gone.

The most dramatic example came at East Horsley. This is another church which is never talked about in connection with the Catholic movement, but it went through a definite Catholic phase under incumbents R.H. Edmonds (Cambridge and Chichester, deaconed 1936, former Vicar of Pentridge) and David Pope (Cambridge and Ely, deaconed 1947, curate at Folkestone and then Vicar of Tovil). Henry Woodyer carried out a grand restoration on behalf of the patron, Earl Lovelace, in 1869, of which the splendid tilework in the chancel is the most impressive remnant today. In the early 1960s there was a daily mass (sic) (though often for only two communicants), Sung Mass on a Sunday and Stations of the Cross on Fridays in Lent. Mr Edmonds seems to have been one of those clergy with a penchant for collecting architectural bits from other places for his own church:[112] he brought in the baroque aumbry surround and also the wooden figure of the Virgin and Child and two flanking musician angels which were placed in the Lady Chapel in the north aisle a few years after it was created in 1947. It would take someone more expert in medieval statuary than me to guess their age but they have a 16th-century German look to my untrained eye. They now reside on small decorated pedestals against the west wall of the meetings room built in 1980. This room completely replaced the Lady Chapel, its window with post-World-War-Two glass depicting the popular soldier-saints George and Martin being moved to the far side of the new space, and the statues facing it. It's as though the chapel has been blown up and its fixtures have come to rest elsewhere.

Over time, the statues found in churches have become more 'artistic' than the kind of out-of-the-catalogue imagery which used to be bought from ecclesiastical suppliers. The Cathedral's statue of the Virgin and Child in its Lady Chapel, carved by Douglas Stephen in 1964, is a prime example, bordering on the abstract; another of his pieces can be found at Shamley Green, donated when that church's Lady Chapel was created in 1958. The figures at St Michael's Aldershot are a counter-example though: to the 1955 Christus Rex which hangs over the 1931 chancel screen were added a stern St Michael in 1989 and a winsome antique figure of the Virgin in 2002. Generally speaking, post-'60s-Reform churches have turned more and more to the kind of iconography associated with the Orthodox East, spiritual imagery which offered a sense of renewal at a time when in the Roman Catholic Church itself

statuary was considered part of religious heritage rather than a genuine spiritual aid. Icons of Our Lady alone, or the Virgin and Child, whether individual or copies of famous images such as the Virgin *Hodegetria* or the Virgin of Vladimir, are the most popular – I counted 19 on my travels around the diocese. The very recent Lady Chapel at Pirbright (2012) is organised around an icon of Our Lady of the Sign donated to the church by the local Roman Catholic priest. There are six icons of Christ – seven if you count the reproduction of an illustration from the Book of Kells next to the aumbry at Banstead – and a smattering of patron saints, such as St Nicholas at Peper Harrow, installed after the disastrous fire at that church in 2007, St Paul at Egham Hythe, St John at Stoneleigh, or St Nicholas, again, at St Nic's Guildford. St Barnabas's Epsom had an early example in a copy of an icon of St Barnabas given to two members of the congregation by its painter, a Greek monk at the monastery of Trooditissa on Cyprus, in 1982. More unusual icons include the Raising of Lazarus at Merrow, or the Baptism of Christ at Holy Trinity Guildford. The liturgical east wall of All Saints' Hawley is dominated by three large icons, the Virgin and Christ flanking one of the Last Supper.



All Saints', Hawley (photographed through a window)

The image of the Holy Trinity by Andrei Rublev is deemed so inoffensive that it can comfortably appear in settings as Evangelical as Christ Church, Woking; you can also find it at Addlestone and Nork. Icons were so much easier to produce and install than three-dimensional images that a church could give itself that kind of Orthodox patina just by printing off a famous picture and pasting it on a board: when I made my second visit to St Barnabas's Epsom in 2024 I found myself unable to argue that two such images, bleached to pale blue by the sun, shouldn't be thrown away without many pangs of conscience.

It's hard to see images like that as really presences in their own right, windows through to eternal realities in the way that icons are supposed to be. Nork does (or did) have votive lamps in front of its icons (which are printed and board-mounted copies of famous originals), as does All Saints' Hawley with its grander examples. Otherwise, though it might seem logical to keep candlestands near images as a focus for prayer *and* as a means of asking for heavenly intercession, this rarely happens. Only at Farncombe (and that very recently), St Martha's Chilworth, St Christopher's Haslemere, St Augustine's Aldershot, and St Mary's Ewell are votive candle stands associated with images of saints, though at West Clandon one is near an icon of Christ and at Ripley and Banstead they're located under crucifixes. The general shift away from statues and towards icons represents a more open, flexible Catholicism less connected to the styles of Rome as they used to be; but modern Anglo-Catholics seemed just as shy as they ever were about *actually* asking their friends in heaven to pray for them.



Candlestands at St Augustine's Aldershot

Although we're discussing the phenomenon in this chapter, going on pilgrimage to an established Anglo-Catholic spiritual centre is a very Guardian-mode thing to do, even when determined Reformers do it, because as much as an act of devotion it's an expression of identity. Catholic Anglicans gather from far-flung parts to reinforce their sense of themselves *as* Catholic Anglicans, to spend time in a setting where they don't need to justify themselves and where everyone shares at least some basic assumptions. Even parishioners not taking part directly in a pilgrimage could join in a devotion to bless the actual pilgrims as they were sent on their way, and thus spiritually invest in the event. By this means a pilgrimage was converted from a private observance carried out by a few to a corporate expression of a church's faith.

For most Surrey Catholic churches, Walsingham was the focus of attention. Still, the custom took a surprisingly long while to get going. In 1971 Bill Jennings of the congregation of All Saints' Woodham took part in a Gambia Youth Association pilgrimage to Walsingham, and the following year led eleven parishioners there after prayers and a blessing at Woodham. He commented in the parish magazine that mass in Walsingham Parish Church was 'not unlike our own 11am mass' and expressed the hope that 'perhaps next year we can have more pilgrims to this great shrine', both suggesting that it was an unfamiliar experience for the Surrey church. Numbers going the following year indeed doubled, but the pilgrimage didn't embed itself in parish life enough to be an annual event; that didn't happen until the 2000s, when Fr Iain Forbes began taking a party to the National Pilgrimage in May. It was a day pilgrimage, and therefore a long day, the pilgrims sometimes setting off at 6.30am and not getting home until gone 10pm. There had been a statue of Our Lady of Walsingham in the church since 1977, donated by the Sisters of Laleham Abbey, when a cubby-hole at the back of the Lady Chapel ('where the ladies of the Choir donned their veils') was converted into a little Oratory for intercessory prayer, but in 2007 a Cell of the Society of O.L.W. was founded at Woodham for the first time: Bill Jennings, who'd led that initial pilgrimage 35 years earlier, became its Secretary. The Cell met monthly and heard sermons on Marian themes; for the Assumption in 2009 Ven Bernard Holdridge, one of the Shrine Guardians, preached, and mass finished with a candlelit procession to the image, followed by a party 'with suitably Marian themed refreshments' (specifically, iced cakes). The devotion lessened a bit over the years but a dozen Woodham worshippers still attended the National Pilgrimage in 2010.



O.L.W. at Woodham

Walsingham's hold on the imagination of Catholic parishes was not exclusive, though. Congregation members from St Barnabas's Epsom went there, but they went as groups rather than corporately; instead the parish in the 1960s and '70s opted to visit the shrine of St Richard at Chichester Cathedral, a very

unusual choice prompted by vicar Michael Godwin's Sussex connections. St John's Farncombe decided to go on the Glastonbury Pilgrimage (almost as venerable as Walsingham's) because it was easier to reach, because Rector Edwin Barnes knew the event well, and because former non-stipendiary curate Stanley Dedman had moved to Salisbury and the parish visited him on the way back from its first Pilgrimage in 1978. The following year parishioners from St Nicolas's Guildford and St Augustine's Aldershot came along too. Farncombe took part in the parade to Mass in the Abbey ruins, carrying the church's banner.

The Glastonbury Pilgrimage took a firm line on what was becoming by the 1970s and '80s a touchstone issue for Anglo-Catholics: opposition to women being ordained priests. The fear was that if Anglican bishops ordained women it would drive an irrevocable wedge between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church, and make the dream of reunion impossible. In fact, the Glastonbury Pilgrimage Council was *so* conservative on this issue that in 1974 it voted that women should have no role in the event at all apart from processing and singing hymns. However by the end of the decade that line had softened considerably until women servers, readers and chalice assistants were common there. When the legislation to ordain women to the priesthood was finally passed in 1992, the Glastonbury Pilgrimage maintained its traditional position, and at some point Farncombe stopped attending (more about the process later).

A few years afterwards, Farncombe had a woman incumbent. Margaret Blake could have chosen – as some of her counterparts elsewhere did – to take her people to one of the traditional Catholic pilgrimage centres where she could not have played any official role, but it would have been uncomfortable for everyone. Instead Revd Blake had great enthusiasm for the idea of 'Celtic Christianity' with its focus on nature, contemplation, and the immanence of God, and organised a series of ecumenical pilgrimages to sites associated with that tradition. The first was to Iona in 2003 (where a dozen Woodham parishioners had already been in 1989), followed by Lindisfarne in 2005 and finally St David's in 2007. 'The spirit of that worship', Margaret Blake told the Annual Meeting in 2006, 'lives on in our [relaunched] Monday night eucharist', which for about a year or so used worship material devised by the Iona Community. Similar 'Celtic' liturgy and prayers found their way into the monthly Taizé services as well. All Saints' Banstead took part in a five-church ecumenical pilgrimage to Lindisfarne in 2003, too; in 1991 they'd been to Walsingham. We can question whether the *idea* people had about Celtic Christianity really bore that much resemblance to what it was actually like, but in the same way that the Oxford Movement had re-imagined the past to affect the present, these pilgrimages to alternative ancient holy places offered

new possibilities – a different vision of what a Catholic-minded Anglican Church might be. They were a spiritual companion to icons, a kind of Reform.





Two contrasting Farncombe pilgrimages: left, at Glastonbury Abbey in the late 1980s; and, below, at Lindisfarne in 2005 (Rector Margaret Blake at extreme left)

A final development out of the Catholic tradition that led somewhere slightly different came in the form of specific healing services. Charles Allingham at Farncombe was highly unusual in organising a healing service there as early as 1959; Godalming next door tried one in 1965, maybe borrowing from Mr Allingham's practice. The attendance of 18 was, rector Michael Brown wrote in the register, 'a good start', but then nothing appeared again for another three years after which a regular healing service joined the church's diet for a while. Such events, either in the context of the eucharist or outside it, became increasingly popular in the 1980s and '90s, and when *Common Worship* emerged in 2000 it included a set form for them. This enabled local churches

to put on healing services entirely on their own account and initiative, based on the sacramental authority of the Church as a whole, and quite separate from organisations such as the Guild of St Raphael we have already discussed.

Catholic liturgical practice is at its most distinctive at the annual ritual high points of Easter and Christmas, and it's helpful to examine how these have changed over the decades. The 1662 Prayer Book recognises the Christian calendar only in terms of the texts it specifies, the readings and collects for use at the Offices or Communion, and prefaces to the communion prayer; apart from that there are no ceremonial instructions to mark the different seasons at all, and until the publication of the official compilation of material *Lent, Holy Week & Easter* in 1985, any church that wanted to do more had to take its inspiration from elsewhere. Practice in fact varied hugely from place to place, so all we can do is pick out themes.

Ash Wednesday is distinguished as a major holy day in the Prayer Book, but the characteristic ceremony of the imposition of ashes is of course not mentioned there. Among our churches the first reference to this rite is at Woodham in 1944. Godalming made a lot of Ash Wednesday in 1926, at least, with two communion services at 7am and 8am, Mattins followed by the reading of the Commination at 10.30, three devotional addresses, Evensong at 4.15, and a 'service for workers' at 8pm, but the rite of ashing is not mentioned: in 1963 the church's Ash Wednesday included 'optional imposition of ashes at the altar step at the start of the service', which implies that it was new that year. You might expect that a relatively advanced church, having adopted one aspect of the Lent and Easter rites, would follow all of them, but maybe as the imposition of ashes was very physical and involved actually *touching* someone, it took a bit more determination than some of the other elements, though it's hard to discern the progress of the liturgy through the service registers. The blessing and distribution of palms *seems* to have been adopted earlier, at St Nic's Guildford in 1909 and Thorpe around the same time, at Chessington from at least 1922, and St Mark's Farnborough in 1928. After that it became increasingly common. In the middle of Lent, the familiar observance of Mothering Sunday gathered adherence rapidly after World War One, became almost universal by the late 1930s, and was almost always kept in the afternoon – that established time for children's ministry – until Sunday afternoon services disappeared in the late 1960s.

Passiontide could be a time for musical devotions and many churches tried something of this kind, either on Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday, or occasionally Good Friday. Farncombe had a stock of a booklet published in 1922 by the Faith Press and beautifully illustrated by the Anglo-Catholic artist Thomas Noyes-Lewis, arranging the Passion according to the Gospel of Mark



in the form of a devotional service, though it's not clear the church ever used it. In the 1950s and '60s, Farncombe's Good Friday diet included an evening musical devotion on the Passion based on the Royal School of Church Music's *The Cross of Christ* from 1956 (Thorpe, Church Crookham, East Horsley and Leatherhead also used this piece). Other favourites were Stainer's *Crucifixion* (1887), J.H. Maunder's *From Olivet to Calvary* (1904), Harold Moore's *The Darkest Hour* (1936), or even Bach's *St Matthew Passion* which the choir of Cuddington tackled in 1962 and other years.

The proper description for the Good Friday liturgy according to the Roman Catholic model, including the veneration of the cross and communion in one kind (the bread) from the reserved sacrament, was *The Mass of the Pre-Sanctified*; seven of our churches refer to this title between 1930 (St Barnabas's Epsom) and 1966 (Fleet); many others just use the phrase 'The Liturgy'. At Farncombe Edwin Barnes tried a 'Liturgy and Holy Communion' at 9am on Good Friday 1970 (he described the service later as 'the Mass of the Pre-Sanctified in CofE attire'), and at different times and under varying titles this seems to have continued right the way through Dennis Hedges's incumbency in the 1980s and '90s. For churches who did not want to adopt some variety of the Roman Rite, the standard liturgy on Good Friday – and sometimes on Holy Saturday too – was that of *Mattins, Litany, and Ante-Communion*. The standard observance of Mattins, the sombre call-and-response of the Litany, and the reading of the communion service up to the Prayer for the Church Militant, all added up to a lot of words, though they could be given a choral treatment which doesn't emerge in the records. Some churches went for different elements of this pattern. As the new liturgies crept in 'M.L.&A.C.' was edged out: the very last church I found to use it on Good Friday was St Francis's Ewell, as late as 1989.

The standard Maundy Thursday pattern of worship we are used to – the Eucharist of the Last Supper, Footwashing, the Stripping of the Altars, and the Watch at the Altar of Repose until midnight, or the following morning if a church is bold enough – also took a long while to settle completely. Fasting regulations meant the communion had to be in the morning until the Reform period, but through the service registers we can see particular churches

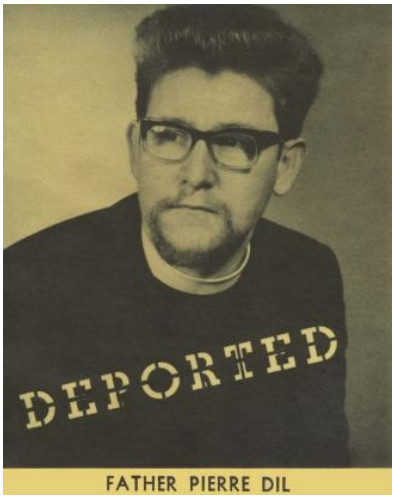
making the shift from morning to evening. St Mary's Ewell's Maundy Thursday eucharist was celebrated ambitiously at 6.30am in 1959, but two years later had moved to the evening; a similar move happened at Englefield Green between 1947 and 1966, Frensham from 1961 to 1970, and Godalming from 1959 to 1963. Thorpe got there in 1964 (though Christ Church Epsom, unusually, had had an evening eucharist on that day since 1937). Once the mass moved to the evening the other bits could slot in comfortably.



The Paschal Liturgy at Farncombe, with Fr Edwin Barnes & Revd Stanley Dedman, late 1960s – note the acolyte carrying the Paschal Candle at left

The final element of the Easter liturgy was what happened on Easter Eve, the ceremonies of the Vigil, and the accompanying rites around the Paschal Candle. Until the first wave of reform in 1955, the Roman Catholic Church had celebrated the rites of Easter on the morning of Holy Saturday, a strange situation by which Lent ended before the Resurrection of Christ was actually marked, again driven by the fasting rules which over centuries had pushed the First Mass of Easter earlier and earlier from its original position on Easter night. Hardly any Anglican churches followed that pattern: in our survey, only Thorpe kept the First Mass of Easter on Holy Saturday morning (at 9 o'clock in 1924), though ten years later St Mark's Ockford Ridge could be

found observing 'The Liturgy' that day at 11am. The late-evening pattern became very common (including at the Cathedral), though not universal, from mid-century onwards. As Anglo-Catholic a church as St Barnabas's, Epsom, kept the Paschal rites separate from communion as late as 1966; Holy Trinity, Hawley, was doing the same ten years earlier, and St Nic's Guildford unified the two elements in 1963. In several churches the rituals were attached to Evensong. Occasionally there was an interesting attempt to draw a parallel between Easter and Christmas: St Mark's Farnborough and St Francis's Ewell both referred to the first Mass of Easter as 'Midnight Mass' in the late 1960s, while in 1968 Chessington tried to get their folk along to a 'Festival of Easter Lessons and Carols' on Low Sunday. All Saints' Leatherhead did the same on Easter Day 1969, so it wasn't just an eccentric experiment in one parish. But Chessington, at least, only tried once!



FATHER PIERRE DIL

St James's Weybridge had a singular experience. In the middle of 1967, between the incumbencies of Charles Moxon and Michael Buckley, the church was looked after by Pierre Dil, a Dutch-born priest who had been ordained in South Africa, and then expelled when he revealed publicly that his confirmation class in Pretoria had been infiltrated by a police spy keeping an eye on this outspoken anti-apartheid priest. Before coming to the UK he had been posted off to the USA on a speaking tour telling the truth about apartheid as he saw it,[113] but Weybridge parishioners remembered none of that: they tended to tell me about Fr Dil's style, as a very Catholic-inclined clergyman who wore cassock and cape. Rather boldly and apparently without any discussion at all he introduced the full Triduum services concluding with a First Mass of Easter at Midnight (49 parishioners turned up to find out what it was all about). That interlude came to an end when Michael Buckley arrived as Rector: the following year the Good Friday liturgy was the traditional Mattins & Antecommunion and the 3 Hours' Devotion, and there were no other ceremonies at all. Weybridge began heading in a lower-church direction, its more advanced daughter church St Michael's closing in 1975. The Triduum observances didn't reappear until Steven Brookes arrived in 1994.

As a way of giving a shape to all this, we will tabulate the experience of one church, St Alban's Hindhead, a parish that never moved outside the Catholic

ambit from its early days to the early 2000s when, as we can judge from the table on pp.178-9, it was edging in a more central direction. It's a bit involved but instructive.

Several things strike us from this table. Perhaps the first is the great variety of liturgies, especially the variants of 'M.L.&A.C.', the elements split up, combined and separated again across the decades; the monastic office of Prime appearing on Good Friday 1968 is a particular surprise. The second observation might be the sheer number of services in the earlier period (though there would be fewer if we went earlier still), and their steady decline in number. St Alban's had curates, of course, but not even the best-staffed and resourced church in 2026 would offer six worship events on Good Friday and eight on Easter Day. As usual we have no idea how many people are coming to these services apart from communicant numbers, but presumably the clergy would not have bothered with them if it hadn't been worthwhile.[115]

In contrast to Easter, the official liturgy of the other great pole of the ritual year, Advent-to-Christmas, is relatively uninvolved, and most of the characteristic elements we're familiar with today are what we might call para-liturgies or popular customs. For instance, this is what that *vade-mecum* of the advanced Ritualist, *Ritual Notes*, says about the Crib:

> It is a laudable and widespread custom at Christmass-tide to erect within our churches a representation of the birthplace of our blessed Redeemer; or at least to exhibit a figure of the divine infant. … The *Bambino* is usually laid in the Christmass crib immediately before or after the midnight mass; or if there be no midnight mass, then as near to midnight as may be convenient. If it is desired to make a ceremony of this by carrying the figure in procession (with or without lights and incense) there is no law forbidding it. It is a common custom after solemn services in the Christmass season for the priest in cope, attended by servers, to visit the crib – so many of the congregation as can conveniently do so joining in – where popular devotions in honour of the Holy Child are said.[116]

In fact I'm not at all sure it was 'widespread' then – though introducing a figure of Baby Jesus into the church was one of the things Henry Lushington at Thorpe was taken to task for in 1910[45] – but the whole tone of this passage reveals that none of the devotions of the Crib were in any way prescribed rites, and that applies to much surrounding the whole season. Standard Anglican fare for the Nativity in a late-19th-century Tractarian church can be glimpsed at Holmbury St Mary in 1883: 'Christmas Evensong' on Christmas Eve at 7.30pm, a 'Celebration' (of the eucharist, presumably) at 8.15am, Mattins at 11, and Carols at 3pm. Even Carols would have been quite unusual.

Year	Ash Wednesday	Palm Sunday	Maundy Thursday	Good Friday	Easter Eve	Easter Day
1923	6, 7, 8 Holy C. 10 Matt, Lit & Commination 6pm 'Liturgy'	7, 8, 10.15 HC 11.30 Matt 12.15 HC 2.45 Children 6.30pm Evnsng & 'Preparation for Easter Communion'	7.30am Sung Euch	8 Lit & Meditation 9.15 Children 10.30 M&AC 12 3 Hours 6.30 Commination & Address	8 M&AC and Address	6, 7, 8, 12 HC 10.15 Sung Euch 11.30 Matt 2.45 Children 6.30 Evnsng
1935	7, 8 HC 10.30 Matt 8 Evnsng	7, 8, 10.15 HC 11.30 Matt 12.15 HC 2.45 Children 6.30 Evnsng & prep for H.C.	7, 8 HC 10.30 Matt 3 Evnsng	8 Ante-Comm 9 Children 10 Matt 12 3 Hours 8 Evnsng & Lantern Service[114]	8 ML&AC 8 Sung Evnsng	6, 7, 8, 12.15 HC 10.15 Sung Euch 11.30 Matt 2.45 Children 6.30 Evnsng
1955	7, 8 HC 3.15 Evnsng	7, 8 HC 9.30 Camp 10.30 Matt 11 HC 3 Children 6.30 Evnsng	8.15pm Vespers & Litany of the Blessed Sacrament	8 Matt & Lit 10 Children 12 3 Hours	9 ML&AC 8.15 Blessing of Paschal Candle	6, 7, 8 HC 9.30 Sung Mass 10.30 Matt 3 Children 6.30 Evnsng
1968	7, 8, 11 HC 10.30 ML& Commination 3 Evnsng & Address	8 HC 9.30 Camp 10.30 Matt 11 Euch & Palms 12 Pre-confirmation class 3 Evnsng & sermon	8 HC 3 Evnsng & address 8.15 Compline & address	8 Prime & Meditation 9.30 Children 12 Matt & Address 11 Lit&AC, Passion Reading & Address 2 Evnsng & Address 7 Compline	8 M&AC 6 Evnsng	7, 8 HC 10.30 Matt 11 Sung Mass 3 Evnsng

Year	Ash Wednesday	Palm Sunday	Maundy Thursday	Good Friday	Easter Eve	Easter Day
1974	8, 11 HC	8 HC 10.30 HC (& Bapt)	8, 11 HC 11 at Manormead	9.30 Stations of the Cross for Children 12 3 Hours	6 Evnsng & Address	HC 8 10.30 Sunday School 10.30 Family Euch 6 Evnsng
1985	7.30, 10 HC at Hs. of Bethany 8pm Sung Mass & ashing	8 HC 10 Proc & Sung Mass	8pm Mass, proc. to Altar of Repose & Stripping of ch 9 – 12 Watch	6-10.45 Watch 10.45 Liturgy	8pm Lighting of Paschal Candle, Bapt Promises & 1st Mass	8 HC 10.30 Sung Mass
1993	10 Mass & ashing 8pm Mass	8 HC 10.30 Procession & Sung Mass	8pm Mass of Last Supper, Footwashing, Procession & Watch	10 Family Service 11 Liturgy 12 Procession to Beacon Hill	8pm Vigil & 1st Mass	8 HC 10.30 Sung Mass
2006	10 Euch & ashing 8pm Euch	8 HC 10.30 P'ish Euch 7.30 Evening Service	8pm Euch	11 Reflection	8pm Vigil	8 HC 10.30 P'ish Euch

For much of the history of the Catholic Movement there was nothing distinctive about the start of Advent: *Ritual Notes* says little except to ban flowers during the season, advocate the use of folded chasubles, and advise that organ music be restrained.[117] The first sign of a desire to make something of the beginning of Advent seems to emerge in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Leatherhead parish church marked Advent Sunday with an Advent Carol Service in 1972; earlier, St Andrew's Cobham observed what it called the 'Service of Light' on the evening of Advent Sunday in 1969. A few churches did something similar: at Farncombe a special service to begin Advent seems to have started in 1982 with Advent Carols on the Sunday evening. By 1990, if not before, this had acquired something of its current form, as Rector Dennis Hedges described:

> We begin in complete darkness, and as the scripture readings lead us in remembering God's plan of healing through Christ, more and more candles are lit until the church is a great blaze of light to remind us that the coming of Jesus for which we are preparing marked God's way of bringing light into his darkened world.[118]

Where this kind of custom originated is quite unclear. The pattern was codified in *The Promise of His Glory*, the companion volume to *Lent, Holy Week & Easter*, all of which material was incorporated into *Common Worship* from 2000 onwards. But this book was only published in 1990, and the compilers recognised that there was already in existence by then 'a widespread practice of a non-eucharistic Advent rite, often in the form of an Advent Carol procession, making full use of prophetic scriptures and some ancient Advent texts'. This was, they recognised, an attempt to preserve the special character of Advent against social pressures which we'll talk about later.

These observances were fastened to the start of Advent, but others found in churches on the Catholic end of Anglicanism could move around quite unpredictably. Toy Services had a vogue for some time (1953 at All Saints' Hawley is the earliest I can see) and could appear in the calendar at any time in the run-up to Christmas or even after it. The Church Crookham register made it clear that the purpose of their Toy Service in the 1960s was to collect toys for the NSPCC to distribute; at Farncombe the parish collected toys for the families of prisoners at a variety of UK prisons, the link being Church Army Sister Elizabeth Ransom, one of the chaplains at HMP Holloway; this took place on the first Sunday of Advent, sometimes in the context of the Eucharist, sometimes as a standalone event. Eventually society outgrew the idea of sharing cast-off toys (the rise of charity shops helped) and these events disappeared from church life: Dorking's, held as late as 1989, was among the last. Like any other sort of 'family service', there was nothing intrinsically Catholic about a Toy Service beyond the way it might have been dressed up.

The middle-European custom of the Christingle, in contrast, is still going strong. This is an event which in theory can be held as late as Candlemas but no churches in our sample seem to have done so and in most places it is definitely an Advent ceremony: in fact, nowhere in our area did it ever appear after Christmas Eve. The use of physical symbols, the imagery of light in the darkest time of the year, and the practical entertainment of assembling the Christingles themselves gave the Christingle service an obvious appeal to Catholic-minded parishes keen to find some way of involving children and families in the season. Simon Jenkins in *Reform* points tendentiously but amusingly to the resemblance between the Christingle and the feature of 'every middle-class party' in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the cheese-and-



Christingle at St Barnabas's Epsom in 1972, Michael Godwin presiding. Probably a school, or immediately after-school, event by the look of it (Michael Godwin's scrapbook)

pineapple hedgehog, a half-grapefruit skewered with cocktail sticks bearing bits of Cheddar and fruit: 'You don't have to be Clouseau to spot that the Christingle is basically the love child of Christmas and terrible '70s party snacks'.[119] Only the late John Pensom could have confirmed whether this was what *really* led to him identifying the Christingle as a way of fundraising for the Children's Society of which he was secretary, but from its first appearance at Lincoln Cathedral in 1968 the custom spread across thousands of Anglican parishes: in our area, All Saints' Hawley and Stoneleigh adopted it in 1971, and St Barnabas's Epsom the year after. St Barnabas's Vicar Michael Godwin donned a cope to preside over the festivities there. The Christingle became widely adopted in our area through the 1970s and '80s, celebrated on every Sunday through Advent and up to Christmas Eve: you could have gone to five if you hadn't had your fill of oranges and sweets at one.

As our earlier quote from *Ritual Notes* suggests, ceremonies associated with the Crib got going earlier in Anglo-Catholic parishes and were confined to Christmas Eve itself. The general pattern seems to have been as follows. In churches such as Thorpe, Burgh Heath or St Mary's Ewell, where a Midnight Mass was celebrated, the Blessing of the Crib preceded and led into it, and then developed into a separate observance earlier in the evening (at Thorpe that had happened by 1971). Elsewhere – for instance at Hindhead in the 1930s or West Clandon in the 1940s – where there was no Midnight Mass, the Procession to and Blessing of the Crib took place as part of Evensong, opening the Christmas celebrations; then as a Midnight Mass was brought in, the Blessing of the Crib was detached from Evensong and turned into a standalone

event clearly intended to appeal to families. Many churches discovered this was extremely popular, possibly the best-attended service of the year ('church very full' the register read at Godalming in 1970). There were many different ways of doing it, incorporating movement, drama and the lighting of individual hand-held candles while 'Away in a Manger' was sung, perhaps a motif borrowed from the Christingle or the Easter Vigil which the Crib Service paralleled. At Farncombe a 'Blessing of the Crib' was first added in 1974, later renamed 'Candle Service' as the lighting of individual candles was clearly the liturgical centrepiece; it started being referred to as the Crib Service only from 1996.

As the Midnight Eucharist of Christmas is notoriously the only time many Anglicans can bear to use the word 'mass', it comes as rather a surprise that it isn't an old feature of the Church of England's practice at all. The observance of the Three Masses of Christmas Day – one in the night devoted to the Nativity of Christ, the 'Cock-crow Mass' (the *Missa in Gallicantu*) in early morning, and then the main service of the day – is ancient, but only crept back into Anglican churches gradually. Early adopters were Dorking in 1924 (only 4 people took communion on that occasion), and Thorpe and Godalming the year later; Leatherhead parish church celebrated at 11.30pm on Christmas Eve 1945 'for the first time in the modern history of the parish', and Egham Hythe began a midnight celebration in 1949. Before long it was a virtually universal custom. You could argue that, as the Midnight Mass was the first Eucharist of Christmas *Day* rather than belonging to Christmas *Eve*, technically it ought to be preceded by the relevant Office of the day. This was the pattern *Ritual Notes* argued for, but in the post-Reform period (and, to be honest, before it) very few churches opted for such liturgical precision. The only two I found which took this view were Woodham (1966) and St Nic's Guildford (1976), whose Christmas festivities therefore included the incongruous observance of Mattins late at night.[120]

The Sunday after Christmas was the occasion for Carol Services, either the full 'Nine Lessons & Carols' or a shorter version. Hang on, I hear you object, doesn't that usually happen *before* Christmas? It does indeed, but the shift from Christmas 1 to, typically, Advent 4 is a very interesting feature of the development of Christmas liturgies. Up until the late 1960s, most churches who held carol services did so *during* the Christmas season, rather than Advent as they do now. Walton-on-Thames had made the change by 1967, Church Crookham between 1967 and 1970, Shottermill by 1971, and Leatherhead before 1973. What this represents is the modern habit of regarding Christmas Day as a climax of commercial activity and festive indulgence, rather than the beginning of twelve days of celebration culminating in Epiphany (even Boxing Day is a bit of a climb-down). This is almost completely economically-driven,

as the importance of the business of Christmas parties and present-buying to the commercial world can hardly be overestimated. By the early 1970s it was clear that everyone except hard-core churchgoers was exhausted with Christmas come the end of December, and nobody who wasn't already a regular worshipper would drag themselves to church to sing carols having already been bombarded with the demands of the festive season for weeks or even months by retailers determined to extract their cash. Thus carol services were moved back into late Advent. This also makes more sense of the move to play up the *start* of Advent with Services of Light and the like, as a rearguard action to try to preserve something of the anticipatory nature of the season. There could be hardly a clearer example of the clash between a concern for the integrity of the Church calendar and its theological messages – something Catholic Anglicans might be expected to be especially exercised about – and what was evangelistically practical.

The Church had also set something of a liturgical landmine for itself in this respect in the shape of the Service of Nine Lessons and Carols itself. Originally devised in 19th-century Truro by Bishop Edward Benson, this of course reached its normative form at King's College under Dean Eric Milner. It was all very well for a Cambridge college to pull out all the stops for a grand choral celebration of the Nativity on Christmas Eve: much harder for a local parish church to fit its own version around Crib Services and Midnight Masses. Such a church would necessarily push its carol service to another day, but the broadcast of the King's College service first on radio from 1928 and then television from 1954 created an expectation that this was part of the build-up to the great day rather than a celebration of it afterwards.

The last observance of the Christmas cycle came on New Year's Eve: the old Watch Night service, once a staple of worship far beyond the bounds of the Church of England. Churchgoers often used to talk ruefully of pubgoers being turned out at closing time on Christmas Eve, when there was such a thing, and making a journey to their local church, there to attempt to find their way through Midnight Mass with varying degrees of attention: regulars were torn between being aware that their presence was an evangelistic opportunity, and resentment at their disruptive tendencies. But once upon a time, before the Midnight Mass became prevalent – and before New Year's Eve grew into the celebration of secular friendship *par excellence*, Christmas for family and New Year for friends – the drunks stumbled to church for Watch Night. The classic account comes from the great late-Victorian priest and missioner Fr Arthur Stanton, describing Watch Night at St Alban's Holborn in 1900:

> These are my friends. They have come, I fear, many of them come straight from the public house. It is the only time they think of coming to church.

> But these dear people are our real parishioners, the people for whom the church was built.[121]

Shottermill was keeping Watch Night in 1913; All Saints' Hawley in 1920; Farncombe in 1925, when, as we've seen, Rector Frank Pickford proposed offered the eucharist at 11.40pm to inaugurate 1926 in the way he thought best; Milford in 1930; Walton-on-Thames and Chessington in 1937. And then the custom seems to cease until the Millennium, when a couple of churches tried to revive it, the idea of hallowing time making a renewed sense as the year 2000 turned. Englefield Green and Banstead observed Watch Night in the last hour of 1999; Hindhead added a communion to the event. Banstead kept theirs going to 2003, but the revival of this element of the old Christmas liturgy had its moment, and then passed.

Reform was always intended to strengthen the Catholic movement in the Church of England by stripping away its Victorian and Baroque accretions and the fantasies they represented. There was no mistaking the confidence of its proponents, or the vigour and energy visible in at least some of the parishes where the changes were embraced and embedded. But they took place in a society which was rapidly shifting. Increasing mobility, the growing share of economic activity represented by big businesses rather than small and locally-based ones, the sense of the family unit as the prime focus of people's identity and energy as opposed to anything larger, and an increasing unwillingness on the part of authorities of all kinds to assume and enforce religious observance, added up to a momentous change from a society which made it easy to be part of a church community even if you didn't really want to, to one which made it hard even if you did. The Church of England's basic practices and assumptions remained rooted in a world which was passing to a significant degree, and its Catholic wing, deeply committed to thinking about its mission in terms of comparatively stable parish communities, was especially vulnerable.

In 1985 Michael Godwin moved from St Barnabas's Epsom to Bramley – a suburb to a village. Bramley had a Catholic tradition stretching back a century by that time, but had shifted somewhat: when he wanted to replace the oil-filled 'candles' on the altar with wax ones, Revd Godwin was told by some congregation members that this would be 'Roman Catholic'. Reformer though he had been in some respects in Epsom, now in the 1980s Mr Godwin looked much more like a priest in the Guardian phase. 'The Bishop told me I'd have to keep my biretta in a bottom drawer', he told me, 'of course I didn't. If I was seen in the street in a cassock and biretta my people knew not to talk to me as I would be taking communion to someone at home'. You can see the vision here: it is one of the Continental Roman Catholic parish community, the kind

portrayed in romantic 19th-century French paintings, in which knowledge of sacramental religion is widespread and respected even by non-churchgoers, and people take off their hats and cross themselves as the Host is carried past. In some rare places, now and again, poor parts of London and the 'biretta-belt' of South Yorkshire, Anglo-Catholics had come close to achieving it. But most of the time – as with Fr Yeend in West Molesey – by the late 20th century the nearest they got was achieving respect and affection for *themselves* and their work, rather than the actual brand of faith they represented. That didn't stop Michael Godwin trying. Having inherited a parish, and a church community, divided between 'very big houses, middle-management and Local Authority housing' he tried to bring it together. He was helped particularly by one congregation member, a Council tenant who'd been a POW in the War and kept the Vicar informed about pastoral issues among the neighbours; by the end of his incumbency, he felt, 'my real achievement was getting everybody in the parish to know the Church was there for *them*'.

In Bramley Mr Godwin found himself dealing regularly with St Catherine's School, that Tractarian foundation for Surrey's young ladies. Unlike Cranleigh School, where attendance at worship ceased to be compulsory in 1963 and where the Chapel was 'de-Victorianised' in the 2000s – to be fair, even with its ornate pews and Minton tiles gone, it looked rather better once the hideous 1960s whitewash was sandblasted off Woodyer's austere columns and arches[122] – unlike there, St Catherine's retained its statues, its towering gilded reredos donated by Canon Musgrave in memory of his wife, and its vertiginous altar perched on hazardously shallow steps. Pupils were still expected to attend Communion, even if not confirmed, at 8am on Sundays into the 1980s. But when the school came to Holy Trinity church for mass on St Catherine's Day in Revd Godwin's first year, headmaster John Palmer expected to read the Gospel, which as a layperson he was not supposed to do. It was an awkward moment.

There were bigger and more perilous chasms than that opening up between traditional Anglo-Catholic understandings and wider society. While still at Epsom, Michael Godwin had been invited by the Rural Dean to speak at a Deanery Synod debate against the ordination of women; as the speaker in favour concluded after fifty minutes, he found he was left with ten before the meeting concluded at ten o'clock. Later, he even got an angry letter complaining that he'd been allowed to speak at all, which he referred to the Rural Dean. Most parishes, he felt, had made up their minds anyway by that stage.

This was not quite the case at Farncombe. St John's had had a groundbreaking system of 'Lay Pastoral Assistants', set up after Edwin Barnes found himself

taking communion to no fewer than 33 housebound parishioners in the run-up to Christmas 1968. Once some laymen stepped forward to help, the first thought was that they should be trained as Lay Readers by the diocese. However Fr Barnes quickly decided that this was much too involved and that what they needed was a firm grounding in basic, practical matters to do with administering communion, which could be done in-house. So the LPAs came into being, long preceding the diocese's own training for Eucharistic ministers. The LPAs assisted with communion in church, but also on major festivals took the consecrated sacrament to people at home. Again, this reflected new contemporary Roman Catholic practice. Later on they would acquire other responsibilities such as helping with baptism visiting. Fr Barnes's successor Dennis Hedges was dead set against women even taking on this limited role, telling the PCC in 1983 that 'if ladies were recruited we should lose the men. Some functions in the Church are more suitably filled by men and some more suitable to women' (however the first female LPAs were in fact admitted in 1986). Two years later the PCC opposed the Synod Measure to ordain women as deacons by 12 to 2 votes with 4 abstentions, although conversely *did* support the legislation to allow women priests ordained abroad to celebrate the sacraments in England. In 1991, as the Measure to ordain women as priests made its way through Synod, St John's found itself in favour but far from unanimous: the PCC voted 12 to 10 in support, and a general church meeting 26 to 13 with 4 abstentions.



Lorna Smith was among the first cohort of women to be ordained priest in 1992. She had studied with the Open University and the Canterbury School of Ministry, was made a deaconess in 1986 and deacon in 1987, serving at Birchington in Kent followed by her curacy at St Augustine's Addlestone. In 1995 she arrived at St Jude's Englefield Green, the church John Monsell had built, the very first woman to serve as incumbent of one of our core sample of churches. She encountered little trouble in that respect, and while she saw through a merger of congregations with the local Methodists, it made markedly little difference to her spirituality or that of the church. She included 'ferias' in the register, observed Roman Catholic feast days such as that of the Curé d'Ars, and had a cordial relationship with Fr Iain Forbes once he came to Woodham as another strong supporter of this version of Anglican

Catholicism. In April 2008 she celebrated mass for Woodham's Cell of the Society of Our Lady of Walsingham, speaking to the members about the role Walsingham had played in her own spiritual journey. She would spend her final days at St Mary's Convent in Chiswick.[123]

Woodham's progress towards accepting women being ordained had not been unquestioned. Congregation member Graham Ellis wrote in the parish magazine in April 1994 that when he'd moved to Woking he'd specifically sought out All Saints' as a traditional Anglo-Catholic church, and, when the issue of women's ordination came up, was startled that the vicar Fr Peter Farrell told him he was in favour of the change. Had the churchwardens been aware of this when he was appointed, Mr Ellis wondered? He noted that since the Synod vote the church had not discussed the matter in any public way (although Fr Farrell had had individual conversations with people who were opposed); he pointed unhappy congregation members to local Forward-in-Faith parishes at Thorpe and St Nic's Guildford, and gave the name of Fr Harold Ingamells at St Columba's House as a traditionalist priest available to hear their concerns. Once Iain Forbes arrived in 1999 Woodham was committed to accepting the ministry of women, and it might not be fanciful to see its intensified relationship with Walsingham in the 2000s as a pro-women parish deliberately laying a claim to a legitimate involvement with the heart of trad-Catholic Anglicanism.

Michael Godwin felt that Bishop of Guildford Michael Adie, who made him a Canon of the Cathedral in 1989, genuinely wanted to retain a place in the diocese for the opponents of women being ordained, but as time went on his position began to feel less and less comfortable. He watched old fellow incumbent and Church Union colleague Edwin Barnes first become a 'flying bishop' ministering to traditionalist parishes, and then leave to join the Roman Catholic Church. Long before then, in 1998, Mr Godwin resigned from Bramley and retired: the whole debate had left him unsure about what his ministry in the Church of England might mean after all the changes.

The success of the Catholic movement in affecting so many of the attitudes and practices of the Church of England came at exactly the same moment as it itself began to embrace modernity, in some ways cutting itself free from some of its old anchors, the attitudes and habits that had channelled and shaped its forward movement since the 1830s. It was now not always easy to tell where the edges of Anglican Catholicism really were, and where it shaded off into something else. For instance, the fact that the Parish Communion had become the consensus Sunday rite across all brands of church tradition would potentially be exactly what led to the undermining of a genuinely sacramental spirituality. Indifference to the externals of worship sometimes – not always,

but sometimes – reflects not indifference at all, but a deep-seated, instinctive suspicion of the sacramental life and the kind of God it speaks of. A good Anglo-Catholic, then, might be succeeded in a parish by someone who was basically unconcerned about vestments but content to wear them. Their successor, in turn, would tell their people that indifference to vestments implied they could be abandoned with no harm done, and few congregations would be articulate enough to disagree. The church will probably then find itself taken in a new direction in much deeper ways than clerical dress.

When I called in at St John's North Holmwood in 2020, I found the physical remains of its Anglo-Catholic past very much present: the three hanging lamps over the altar, the statue of the Virgin at one side, the Stations of the Cross, the peculiar box on the wall where I discovered a card printed with a form of confession. The old embroidered banners on the east wall now seem to have gone, and I'm not sure the sacrament is reserved any more as it was in 2020, but the rest of the paraphernalia is still there. What's clear from the church's website, however, is that the clergy have moved from celebrating communion in full vestments, to an alb and stole, to everyday clothes, and at the Family Eucharist, the worship band stands in front of the altar until the communion itself. Physical arrangements like this signal a very different way of imagining a relationship with God, a God who is not envisaged as transcendent, as beyond us, but one we know all about.

6. Interpreters

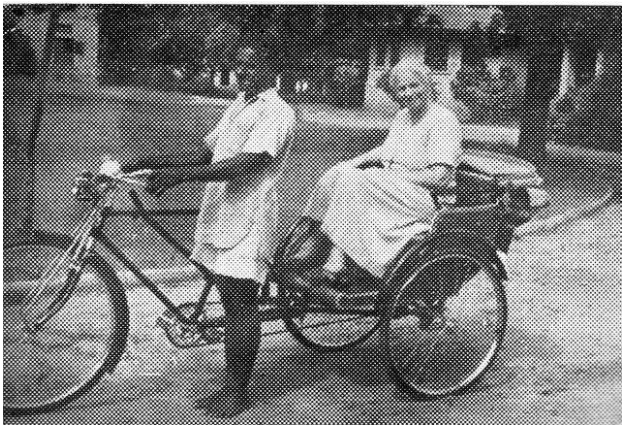
As Rural Dean of Cranleigh, Canon John Bundock, he told me, once carried out a visitation at Blackheath. He found an electric light on next to the aumbry, but nobody he spoke to seemed to know why it was there. When he insisted the churchwardens open the aumbry up, he discovered 'the Blessed Sacrament must have been put in a pyx there many years earlier'. When I visited St Martin's in the summer of 2019, I found the light on too, but the door of the aumbry was ajar, so presumably there was nothing in it at all: you wonder how many other similar cases there are in churches that once had a Catholic tradition. The light's on but nobody's home!

While Vicar of Bramley, Canon Bundock was caring for a parish with a longstanding, moderate but definite Catholic tradition dating back nearly a century. But elsewhere churches had fallen by the wayside. Sometimes a Catholic-minded incumbent found themselves appointed to a parish whose signs and markers spoke of an Anglo-Catholic past which had been diluted and weakened to the point where it was barely recognisable. For them, the cycle of 'restoration' had to begin again; but it restarted in a society profoundly changed from its first time round, a society, even within the Church itself, much less literate about things that made sense to Catholic Christians. It needed reinterpreting, re-expressing, in ways people to whom it was basically unfamiliar might grasp. This sensibility was different from the importation of *new* elements that characterised the Reform era: it took what was already *in* the tradition, and turned it round to face an altered world.

The first 'interpreters', perhaps, were a group of women in a house in Farncombe.

In July 1962 the 'hidden ministry' of Fr Reginald Somerset Ward came to an end: four bishops attended his funeral at Farncombe, and even more his Requiem Mass at Westminster Abbey a couple of months later. Deaconess Edith Banks, the owner of his home, 'Ravenscroft', 5 Wolseley Road, had already agreed that it would become the centre of a new spiritual venture. The Farncombe Community was the brainchild of a retired deaconess from the Church of South India, Carol Graham. Sister Carol had gathered a small group of women from different denominations – on the pattern of the Church of South India itself – to work and pray for the unity of the Churches. On October 12th 1964 a hundred people somehow squeezed into Ravenscroft to celebrate its dedication to its new purpose by Bishop George Reindorp; Eric Abbott, the Dean of Westminster, blessed the Sisters, and the final prayer was





The badge of the Companions of the Farncombe Community, and Sister Carol in India, as illustrated in her biography Beloved Amma *(1989, edited by P. Dharmagnani)*

said by Brother Paul of the ecumenical community at Taizé, who were quite the flavour of the era. For the next quarter-century the Community welcomed guests on quiet days and retreats, preached and organised events to raise the profile of ecumenism, and struggled, sometimes, with the tough business of living together. Communion was celebrated weekly in the house chapel by ministers from the local churches according to a cycle of rites. In 1976 one of the Sisters, Mary Holliday, became the first ordained woman in the Methodist Church, and helped to plan the worship at the Swanwick Conference of 1987 which set up the national network of Churches Together, involving laypeople in the ecumenical effort rather than just ministers. In a way this was the culmination of the Community's work, as the Sisters were finding it impossible to recruit new members (they never numbered more than six), and it finally dispersed in July 1989, handing the house over to different ecumenical ventures. Sister Carol herself had died that April in Bernard Sunley House – part of the CSP convent at Woking. The Community had apparently little to show for its work: no Churches had been reunited institutionally, like the Church of South India. But there were infinitely more links between Churches than had been the case when Sr Carol and the first Sisters had arrived at Ravenscroft in 1964. What 'Farncombe' had done – building in a mysterious way on the legacy of Fr Somerset Ward – had been to create a meeting-place for Christians of different brands on the common ground of the spiritual life: the Eucharist, contemplation, a disciplined life of prayer. Of course none of this was new; it was basically the standard fare of what might be thought of, very generally, as Catholic spirituality. What was different was its being owned and practised and talked about by untold numbers of ordinary Christians across all denominations who found in it a place of connection and co-operation. The Farncombe Sisters had successfully

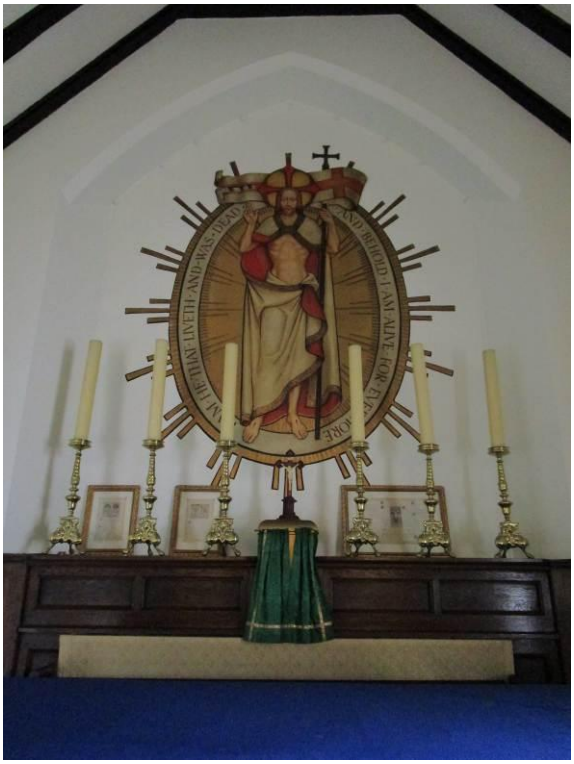
sought out the Catholic core present even in Christian bodies who did not think of themselves in those terms.

We'll consider the positive reshaping of Catholic practice later, but for now we will look at its actual decline, instances where churches moved away from the definite standard they once had. There is a creaky old *Dr Who* story from the Patrick Troughton era called *The Web of Fear*, set in the London Underground. I read it in book form as a child long before I ever saw it on TV, and long before I went anywhere near the Underground, but the sensation of creeping anxiety as the alien 'web' takes over one Tube station after another, crawling along the lines closer to the beleaguered humans, was very affecting nonetheless. There was something of a *Web of Fear* feeling about Surrey Anglican Catholicism in the 1990s and 2000s, as successive churches which had been part of the Catholic ambit shifted their emphasis on the arrival of a new incumbent appointed from outside the tradition. There goes Addlestone, there goes West Molesey, will St Nic's Guildford hold out or fall?

Sometimes a larger Evangelical church even began *expecting* that smaller ones from other traditions would eventually be handed over to them to look after. In the late 2000s St Paul's Nork decided it should have a proper website, but when the church tried to register a domain name they discovered that all the obvious ones had already been taken by their larger neighbour St Paul's Howell Hill. It took episcopal intervention to sort that out. Nork would eventually be joined with St Mary's Burgh Heath, but only after St Mary's had itself been linked with Howell Hill for several years; Howell Hill would also be given oversight of St Barnabas's Epsom.

As we've seen, the process of erosion was facilitated by the very success of the Catholic Movement in establishing a mid-morning Eucharist as the expected and normal worship across a variety of churches, and the Roman Catholic reforms which made some of the most characteristic expressions of Catholic spirituality seem less vital, and sometimes positively outdated. This could happen in a church even while its physical arrangements remained exactly the same. It is thus possible, here and there, to walk into what appears to be a model Anglo-Catholic establishment and have no clue that the context is now a long way from the tradition which apparently meets your eyes. When Fr Peter Tailby left St Peter's West Molesey in 2016 the church underwent an almost complete about-face. The new incumbent was Alex Munro, appointed with a focus on 'pioneering' new ways of working within the old setting, and while the old church building is used for communion services, and Alex appears pictured on the website wearing a cassock-alb and stole, the church devotes most of its attention and publicity to the Sunday afternoon Contemporary service at a former school building a little distance away. St

Peter's old church is respectfully preserved: all the stuff is still there, but it's fair to say that the parish's heart no longer lies with the spirituality which makes sense of its old kit.



The high altar at St Peter's West Molesey, complete with 'big six' candlesticks, altar cards and tabernacle – photographed in 2022

Opposition to the ordination of women provided a means of setting a clear boundary around a church in the Catholic tradition, but, along with its concomitants of 'alternative episcopal oversight' – placing the parish under the pastoral authority of a non-diocesan bishop appointed to minister to the 'antis', such as Edwin Barnes became – it was an option few Surrey churches took, and a shrinking number even of them. Arriving at St Nicolas's Guildford in 1993, soon after the Synod vote was taken, Andrew Norman – a graduate of King's and St Stephen's House – maintained the church's opposition to the ordination of women, but grew personally uncomfortable until he eventually felt he could no longer hold the position conscientiously, and the PCC voted to leave the trad-Catholic organisation Forward in Faith and to accept women in ordained ministry. By the end of his incumbency in 2020 Fr Andrew openly described himself as 'as much a Quaker as an Anglican', which couldn't fail to affect his outlook. Over at Thorpe there was a parallel movement, but a very different story. Here, Michael Hereward-Rothwell, a Chichester ordinand who had served his title in Chelmsford and then worked at St James's Clacton, had been vicar since 1985, and, like Andrew Norman, at first maintained the church's opposition to women priests; in fact he was sub-dean of the local chapter of Forward in Faith.

Canon (as he became) Hereward-Rothwell achieved a great deal of publicity by leading a group of parishioners to the theme park situated within the parish, Thorpe Park, for the opening of a ride called Stealth in 2006, and solemnly blessing it before its inaugural use. For obscure reasons he changed his mind on women's ordination, left Forward in Faith, and began attending chapter meetings of the Deanery clergy. It was here he told his colleagues that he had absolved some 300 penitents during Advent, an unlikely figure which, it turned out, was among the less egregious of his falsehoods. After his resignation in 2009 the Diocese took him before a Consistory Court to bar him from (one day) being buried beneath a marble slab in a vault he had constructed without permission in the churchyard. The findings of a diocesan inquiry into various claims he had made about himself and his ministry were never made public, but he was refused permission to officiate either in Guildford or the London diocese where he'd retired.[124] His successor Damian Miles (later Harrison-Miles) was a definite supporter of women being ordained. When we say it's a shame that the CofE has lost all its eccentrics we ought perhaps to bear this case in mind.



Fr Hereward-Rothwell blessing 'Stealth' (photo: Surrey Live/*PA). This raises the question of whether the holy water actually has to* touch *the ride in order to take effect. Among others.*

The great majority of the churches in our core list didn't follow St Nic's or Thorpe; by 2010, only a couple remained part of Forward in Faith. When I met Fr Keith Hodges at St Augustine's Aldershot in 2020, he'd been incumbent since 1989, and was managing virtually everything in the church

himself, including church hall bookings, finances, and basic cleaning up. The beautifully-kept church building was a testament to his commitment and dedication, but the situation was unsustainable, and when Fr Keith retired in 2022 the parish was linked together with Hawley, and that church's vicar Fr William Perry finds himself looking after the last three churches in the Guildford diocese – St Augustine's, and Hawley's two – which don't accept women priests.

What was going on elsewhere? The fate of Corpus Christi and All Souls' Day, in particular, is a helpful index of what might be happening in a church. Walton-on-Thames, for instance, observed both at one stage: in 1968 45 people made their communion at the two masses of Corpus Christi, which was pretty good going, but by the late 1980s it had ceased to be named in the service register even though there was a regular weekday eucharist on a Thursday. In 1991 there were still 24 communicants at a 10am service on All Souls' Day (a Saturday that year), but the following year the All Souls' commemoration of the dead was kept at Evensong on All Saints Sunday. After Rector Tim King's arrival at Farncombe in 1996, parishioners had to persuade him that reading the names of the departed on All Souls' was a custom they wanted to retain. His successor Margaret Blake started an annual Memorial Service for bereaved people whose loved ones' funerals the church had taken, borrowing from the Requiem the motifs of the lighting of candles and reading of names; but the Requiem Mass itself disappeared from the church's calendar in 2007. At St James's Weybridge the pattern was disrupted as early as 1967 when there was nobody available to take the Requiem; in 1968, the newly-arrived Michael Buckley apparently wrote out his service register in advance and made no provision for a service on November 2nd until someone reminded him (it's squeezed in written in blue biro rather than black ink like all the other services), and the only time he could find for it was 7.30am. All Souls' got missed out the following year as it fell on Sunday, and thereafter the observance disappeared from the Weybridge diet for three decades.

St Stephen's Shottermill was a definite Catholic Anglican church – not as spiky as St Nic's Guildford or Woodham, but *sound* – and had been for decades. Vicars George Purdue (1884-1904) and Henry Tudor (1904-1909) were both Keble College graduates; under the latter, in 1905, 'the Holy Eucharist was sung for the first time at Shottermill on Easter Day', and we've already seen examples of the church's Catholic identity expressed in liturgy and institutions. Looking around at the building today, although it's been extensively reordered and in fact reorientated, the screen demarcating the old chancel is still resplendent. Designed by W.D. Caröe, this was installed in memory of May Munro Garnett on All Souls' Day 1919, as an inscription tells us: it bears shields with the devices of St Lawrence, St Swithun, St John the

Baptist, and the Blessed Virgin, and it's a fine example of the fashion for putting in screens around that time, combined with a greater openness around prayer for the dead. We know that St Stephen's used Lenten Array in the mid-



The screen at Shottermill

1900s and embraced the Parish Communion movement: a post-1959 history of the church relates that 'the Parish Breakfast follows the Family Communion four or five times a year'. On the wall behind the screen is the brass door of an aumbry installed in 1941: the history's author concludes by hoping that visitors 'will kneel a little while in prayer near to this spot where Christ is present in the mystery of his Body and Blood'.[125]

The two vicars after that were Dennis Hyde (1965-74, Sarum College, deaconed 1960, curate at Farncombe and Burgh Heath) and Colin Tickner (1974-91, Chichester College, deaconed 1966, curate at Huddersfield and Dorking). It was during the latter's incumbency that things began to shift a little. By 1984 All Saints and All Souls were being kept together at 10.30am on November 1st, and Corpus Christi had ceased to be observed. A new Sunday worship pattern was tried in October 1988; a standard said Communion at 8am and Sung Eucharist at 9.45 were followed by a variety of liturgies at 11.15, attempts to combine family worship and communion in different ways. The most popular (on the first occasion, anyway), was a youth-orientated Morning

Prayer on the 4th Sunday which 70 people came to. Except for Evensong on the last week in the month, the evening service became 'Prayer and Praise' at 6.30, with congregation numbers in the tens and twenties. Mr Tickner's successor was Andrew Jones who had trained at the Evangelical Ridley Hall and had served in Dorset before coming to Shottermill. A year after his arrival, the second Sunday in the month had a service called 'Praise Plus' and All Souls had dropped out of the schedule completely. The church's nave was reordered in May 1993, and non-eucharistic services began to occupy some mid-morning Sunday slots. By the end of 1995 all midweek communion services had stopped. After Mr Jones came Andrew Gready who was ordained out of St John's College, Nottingham, and Shottermill's transition from moderate Catholic to moderate Evangelical was complete.





The old altars at St Mark's Farnborough

St Mark's Farnborough remained within the Catholic ambit but was physically altered in a way that moved it some distance from the very traditional identity it formerly had. The wooden Gothic reredos behind the High Altar, with its coloured bas-relief Crucifixion and angels, had once been flanked by sumptuous curtains against the east wall and further curtains on riddel-posts at right-angles to it. There was a gold-painted tabernacle with a kneeling angel either side, and standard candles beside the altar itself. The altar in the Lady Chapel – really a space in the south aisle – was extraordinary, mounted against a carved surround painted in some light hue (it's a shame there are no colour photos remaining) with added gilding. *Putti* cavorted around stars and festoons, while against the back a wild gold-painted frame around scenes from the life of Christ could, but for the images, have graced a

17th-century aristocrat's bedhead. On side-pedestals stood the Virgin and Child and *St Joseph* and Child, while thoughtful-looking cherubs sat above regarding whoever might turn up to celebrate the mass. Finally, atop the whole thing, was the Holy Child with arms outstretched in both welcome, and anticipated sacrifice. This was as Baroque as Surrey Anglo-Catholicism ever got. Where had it come from? A Rood beam and crucifixion spanned the chancel arch. From the 1960s onwards, the curtains, posts, angels and tabernacle were removed from the High Altar, and the elaborate Big Six candles were replaced by simpler ones; the Rood beam was taken down after woodworm attacked it; and everything went from the side chapel apart from the 'bedhead', which still remains, now set rather redundantly against the organ. Finally the High Altar was, as almost everywhere else, pulled forward from the east wall. Over time, the actual spiritual core of the church's identity became less and less definite, and one of the clergy assigned by the diocese to look after it – Phil Roche in 2023-4 – came from a Low Church background.

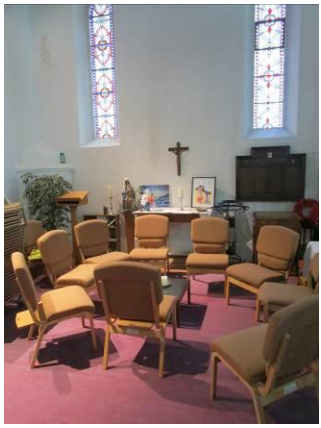
John Bundock had not long to remain at St Alban's Hindhead when, just after Easter 1999, arsonists attacked the area around the main altar of the church: 'mercifully a group meeting in the vestry smelled smoke, safely evacuated and were able to raise the alarm'[126] and the main fabric of the building was saved. The painted Crucifixion behind the altar was lost in the fire, and replaced by a curtain. Mr Bundock's successor later that year was David Wilbraham; Mr Wilbraham had trained at Oak Hill, and worked with the police before being ordained. After a couple of parish roles in Lancashire he'd moved to Surrey as welfare manager for the county constabulary; for his first year at Hindhead he was non-stipendiary, and then became vicar in 2000. It was an abrupt change for the church. On retiring from St Alban's, John Bundock had already taken with him kit which was his own property; now Revd Wilbraham disposed of some remaining 'Catholic tat'. Church members recalled literally pulling some vestments and other items from the bin on the grounds that people had donated them to the church in the past. This is a kind of story that you hear from other churches too.[127] Damp was discovered in the aumbries and they ceased to be used for the reserved sacrament. David Wilbraham was followed in 2007 by Richard Bodle, a Wycliffe Hall graduate – a new pattern set again.

The Ascension, Aldershot, had by the early 1970s settled a pattern of services that looked the same as any number of churches across a range of traditions: on Sundays, 8am Holy Communion, 9.30am Parish Communion, and Evensong at 6pm, and during a normal week only a mid-morning Holy Communion on Thursday. Attendance at Evensong hovered around 10 before the service was dropped about 1980. In 1984 a 9.45am Family Service appeared, only to vanish in a few months; the first-Sunday-in-the-month Family Service tried in 1991 did stick, but after an initial rush of enthusiasm

attendance fell to about 20 except when there was a parade by uniformed organisations. All Souls' Day was observed in 1988, and in 1989 when November 2nd was a Thursday when there would have been a eucharist anyway, but from 1990 it disappeared, never to return. The church underwent a long decline which finally led to its closure in 2021 when it was clear its deteriorating concrete structure would cost too much to repair.

The story of St Augustine's Addlestone came to a final end in 2006. A fire in December 2003, apparently related to a break-in, had caused a major reconstruction and reordering at St Paul's: as a result the old altar of St Augustine's was placed in front of the reredos in the reopened mother church, and its bell moved to replace one that was destroyed in the fire. In February 2006, the congregation of St Augustine's held a final service in their church, leaving the building for the last time holding lighted candles to begin their spiritual journey in a new setting. When St Paul's was reopened in March, there was another bespoke service, the congregation entering behind a processional cross and Paschal Candle, and a candle being lit and a blessing said in each area of the renewed church. Statues and images, and other items from St Augustine's, were moved over to the mother church where the former St George's Chapel was renamed 'St Augustine's', and was open for private prayer even when the main building was shut. To the astonishment of some, the redundant St Augustine's became the Surrey Islamic Centre, Rev Richard Hay of St Paul's referring to the two faiths' 'shared worship of the One God', which showed how far Anglo-Catholicism had come. Revd Hay might have been best described as a 'liberal catholic', and St Paul's swung decidedly Evangelical quite soon after.





The old St Augustine's Addlestone, now reincarnated as the Surrey Islamic Centre, and St Augustine's chapel in St Paul's church

Michael Tucker's 2014 account of the furnishings of St Barnabas's Epsom provided for the Epsom History Society was prompted by seeing contemporary pictures of the church online. He was 'stunned'. What had become of the church he knew from the 1930s and 40s? 'I was curious to know as to how and why so many items had been removed, also to where they had gone or whatever happened to them'. There's no indication that he got any answers. In fact the major refurbishment of 2004-6 had created an airy, open space, with a hefty central wooden altar-table standing at the middle of a cross of terracotta tiles set into the old wooden floor. The altar has a carved cross design whose flowing arms are perhaps intended to recall flames or maybe reeds: the design recurs in metal form on the wall above the settees in the prayer area. We call this kind of thing a 'flexible worship space', and it is not without its charm, but it isn't necessarily a very *Catholic* space. It looks pretty



much like a church of any tradition, especially when you can push the altar to one side, and overlook that statue of St Peter donated by the Ogilvies. I'm afraid I must admit to my part in clearing the last remnants of the old St Barnabas's. In the summer of 2024 I asked to come and see the church's remaining kit and was welcomed by affable priest-in-charge Harry Lamaison, who told me I'd come just in time, as they were about to get rid of it all. I was presented with a table of brassware – sacring bells, a gong and striker, and



Benediction candelabra – and then followed Harry upstairs to view dusty boxes of vestments, unused for some years. It was all nice, but standard modern Gothic stuff with the exception of a spade-ended gold stole. I really couldn't suggest another church this could all go to: we had our own equivalents at Farncombe, though I did take away a thurible stand inscribed in memory of members of the St Barnabas's Mothers' Union in the 1930s and '40s. The best I could do was put Harry in touch with a church clearance company and then anyone who wanted the stuff could buy it (something I've done myself). I feel slightly bad about that even now, but at least St Barnabas's made a little money out of it.

As for the religious orders, British society had less need of their practical services as the decades wore on, and many began to discover a different aspect of their vocation in sharing the spiritual life that was at the heart of their existence. Bishop Reindorp suggested that the Woking Sisters should set up a retreat house: St Columba's House opened in 1969, jointly funded by the CSP and the Diocese. The Celtic flavour of the name was an early indication of the shift to a different sort of spirituality we've already described, away from trad Anglo-Catholicism: the Sisters visited the Iona Community during the preparations for opening the House, and in later years offered a Celtic Mass. This was even more marked thirty years later when the House underwent a major refurbishment – particularly the Chapel, which was reordered under the direction of the then *doyen* of Anglo-Catholic modernisers, Richard Giles. Revd Giles had written *Repitching the Tent*, the 1996 handbook for clergy who felt they were saddled with hopeless old churches that needed cleansing and purifying. The House's Director, Fr Paul Jenkins, wrote that the Giles refurb had created 'a free, uncluttered, open spiritual space … Light years ahead, not only of any other retreat house chapel, but any other chapel, or church of its times' – which was quite a claim to make. It was 'free of plastic chairs, shelves and cupboards, numerous crucifixes, *prie-dieux*, and nonessential ecclesiastical clutter'.[128] As someone who was there for my Selection Conference and ordination retreat in the mid-2000s, I couldn't see it myself, but it symbolised the change in the way Catholic Anglicanism thought of itself, and its relationship to tradition and worship.

In common with the other English orders, the CSP's numbers fell, and the Sisters moved into a new, smaller convent in 1989, before becoming a completely dispersed Order in 2007 by which time the Superior, Mother Lucy Clare, had been ordained a priest and was attached to the parish of Lyne and Longcross. The final end came with the Order's dissolution in 2020; 'I'm sad, but it's the right time', said Mother Angela, along with Margaret Paul one of the last two Sisters surviving.[129]



The CSP Sisters in 2000, from 150 Years of Service

Finally, to conclude what is in danger of becoming an unrelieved tale of woe, let's turn to the church I know best, St John's Farncombe.[130] Here there was a gradual shift in emphasis that unfolded over a decade. As already mentioned, Tim King became Rector in 1996, moving from Send where he had had a successful time leading a scattered, partly rural parish. However, he wasn't a Catholic of the stamp of his predecessors, and while he dutifully worked with the Farncombe tradition it seems not to have come naturally to him. The parish had to argue for the continued occasional use of incense, or the reading of the names of the dead on All Souls' Day, for instance, and the Lay Pastoral Assistants no longer appeared in the Parish Eucharist robed up. An element of 'modern Catholic' worship Revd King did find appealing was the contemplative style associated with the ecumenical Taizé community in Switzerland, and he began an evening service following the Taizé pattern on the third Sunday in each month in 1995. The first of these attracted the astonishing number of 43 people but by late 1997 attendance had settled to between 12 and 20.[131]

In April 2000 the PCC met to consider the process for appointing a new priest after Tim King's then-imminent departure. They considered, and finally decided against, adopting any of the three 'Resolutions', A, B & C. That decision finally set St John's against the other Anglo-Catholic churches who had shared the Glastonbury Pilgrimage, and so much else, with it. Tim King's successor was Margaret Blake, Priest-in-Charge from 2001 when it looked as though the status of Farncombe as a separate parish might come to an end, then Rector from 2005. Revd Blake had worked for the Diocese, and the vacancy gave Bishop of Guildford John Gladwin a chance to shift the culture of a parish which had recently been opposed to women being ordained by recommending a priest he knew, and who the PCC readily accepted. Remarkably, there was talk of a curate being provided even before Revd Blake arrived, and this turned out to be Nikki Arthy, who unusually was released from her training parish in Guildford, and licensed to Farncombe in the Bishop's own chapel; later on Bishop John asked her to chair the diocesan branch of the pro-women's ordination pressure group WATCH. Both she and Margaret Blake would describe themselves as 'liberal catholics' (Nikki Arthy had been brought up as a Roman Catholic) who believed in the value of liturgy and ceremonial; Farncombe's experience reveals what that meant in practice, and it could be a long way from what the parish had been used to. Revd Blake's biggest achievements lay in the area of the church's service to the community, and it was characteristic that to mark her departure from the parish in 2009 she devised a 'Celebration of Community Life' liturgy as a summation of her ministry.

The movement to allow children to receive communion at Farncombe should be seen in the light of the general effort to find a way to incorporate children and families in the life of the Church. The Church of England had begun to feel the distance between it and the Roman Catholic Church – in which children might take communion from the age of 7 or 8 – and the Orthodox Churches, where even babies communicated. Waiting until the mid-teens before confirming a child and admitting them to communion began to seem a risky as well as anomalous strategy as children began to disappear from Church life earlier and earlier. In 1996 Bishop John sent out a letter encouraging parishes to consider changing their policy, and discussions in Farncombe took place intermittently over the next few years. It was an issue curate Nikki Arthy felt strongly about, having sons of the relevant age, and after a consultation process stretching across two years the PCC voted to admit children to communion at St John's from the age of 7 upwards in July 2003. The Bishop wrote the parish a standard letter of congratulation. However over subsequent years the number of children admitted was no more than eight, and as there were never enough children of the right age to build up a

momentum, the policy tended to be neglected. It certainly seemed to make it no easier to retain the allegiance of the young people concerned.

Alterations in Farncombe's observances of Holy Week and Easter tended to show the confusion and difficulty that was underlying liturgical change. Maundy Thursday remained largely the same, but communion had fallen out of the Good Friday liturgy in the 1990s; that service came to include more elements of interaction and poetry rather than the traditional forms, and no Passion narrative. Revd Blake was determined that the liturgy of Easter – the Vigil, the kindling of the new Paschal Light, the renewal of baptismal vows and communion – should be maintained, but faced challenges as to how and when to do it. She tried to celebrate it on the evening of Holy Saturday but very few people came; the ecumenical Sunrise Service at the Roman Catholic Ladywell Convent on Easter morning to which the church was committed meant it couldn't happen then either. This led to attempts to incorporate it into the main 10am service on Easter Day, as well as some dramatic elements to make it more appealing to children: in the mid-2000s children joined the entrance procession, bringing a gold cloth and flowers to decorate the large wooden cross venerated on Good Friday, ideas borrowed from a diocesan workshop on 'all-age' worship. Some felt that trying to include everything made the service too long.

Way, way back in 1905, when the intransigent Anglo-Papalist Sandys Wason was appointed vicar of Cury & Gunwalloe in Cornwall, as is the custom for new incumbents at their service of induction, he announced the services in church for the coming week, and summarily changed the parish's diet of worship from monthly 8am communion, Mattins and Evensong, to 8am daily mass, Sunday 11am Solemn High Mass and Devotions to the Blessed Sacrament at 6pm. The story goes that the following week the church was packed as the mainly Methodist local population turned up to find out what was going on; and the week after that, the building was deserted. Fr Wason's friend the author Compton Mackenzie and his wife came to stay in 1907 and found 'dear Wason had managed to empty the church of any congregation it had ever had'.[132] A century later the situation was different, even where a church had once *had* a Catholic tradition: it was often no longer understood or perhaps even recognised. Catholic-minded clergy found themselves needing to explain and recast what they believed to encounter a changed world. The first inklings came at Weybridge. The Church of England's particular system of patronage allows, or maybe even enforces, a degree of variety in appointments beyond what a diocese might come up with left completely to its own devices. The patron of Weybridge is the Lord Chancellor – effectively, the Crown, with

whom nobody disagrees. Weybridge's last three incumbents have been sought out by the Lord Chancellor's office, and this has clearly made a difference.



Steven Brookes on a church trip to Ghana – photo from Caroline Bennett

In 1994 Steven Brookes succeeded John Green as Rector of Weybridge. Revd Green was a very moderate-to-low-ish clergyman, and whatever it might have been in the past, by the 1980s St James's was a 'floral-and-choral' parish church with a strong musical tradition but otherwise little to distinguish it. The former Naval chaplain Mr Brookes converted its gentle downward trajectory into a definite upward lurch. His letters to the parish magazine mainly consisted of instructions about upcoming services, which seem to suggest a no-nonsense, ship-shape personality. For Revd Brookes's first Easter in 1995, there were two celebrations of communion daily in Holy Week, and the full rituals of the Easter Triduum were introduced into a church which had never *quite* got that far before, apart from Pierre Dil's interlude; he attempted to hold the Vigil at dawn on Easter Day, but this didn't catch on. For the first time in forty years, the feast of Corpus Christi was marked on 15th June 1995, with a communion and 'Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament', nudging towards the full-scale devotion of Benediction which finally appeared in Advent a few years later. In 2000 Revd Brookes organised the construction of a stone dais around the nave altar (more dignified than the wooden platform covered with beige carpet which had been there before), and placed six candlesticks on the High Altar instead of two (albeit made up from three different pairs). He would leave Weybridge in 2004 to become successively Rector of Liverpool Parish Church and then Chaplain at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea.

Weybridge's next Rector was Brian Prothero, who had grown up steeped in trad Anglo-Catholicism in Liverpool, had considered becoming a monk, and had been a member of the Society of the Holy Cross before changing his mind about the ordination of women: after a particularly unhappy meeting, he found himself reading the words of Cardinal Newman, 'to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often', and, as he put it 'I took off my SSC cross and put it in a drawer, never to take it out again'. Brian's personal spirituality combined aspects from West and East, and both would find their way into the life of St James's. Occasions were found for contemplative prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, new vestments were commissioned from J&M Sewing with overlay stoles embroidered with seasonal devices, and the

church's mighty choir was deployed to a new Easter Vigil service at 6am on Easter Day, followed by breakfast. One year Bishop Ian Brackley of Dorking was persuaded to come to baptise a baby at that early hour. Neither Steven Brookes nor Brian Prothero had a 'programme' to enact at Weybridge: what they did emerged from their own styles and convictions in response to circumstances. While I was curate at St James's, for instance, we had to vacate the church for a while to allow work on the lights, and the altar in the All Souls' Chapel was pushed against the east wall to make space for the contractors. When we came back, it seemed to make instinctive sense to leave it there rather than pull it forward again, thus returning to *ad orientem* worship at least in that part of the building, a move Brian had always been sceptical of.

Following the lighting works, the idea was mooted of replacing the Jacobean altar-table and its furniture. Brian discussed the matter with a congregation member, architect Brian Prideaux, who offered his design expertise, and came up with the remarkable concept of making *triangular* furniture recalling the Trinity, a very Orthodox emphasis: the *Trisagion Altar*, it became known.[133] It would 'dominate by design' rather than be physically massive. Wiltshire-based furniture maker Matthew Burt was commissioned to produce the work in oak, and Revd Prothero visited the studio while the altar was being made to insert a relic of his patron saint, Padre Pio, into the structure (his only regret being that he couldn't find a silver hammer to use as the *Rituale Romanum* specifies).



Archbishop Rowan Williams consecrates the Weybridge Trisagion altar, 2007

East met West, old met new. An altar requires a bishop to consecrate it, and, as a Weybridge choir member happened to have been to school with then

Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams, that's who we got to do it, on the Feast of Christ the King, November 25th 2007. Archbishop Rowan delivered a masterly 13-minute sermon weaving together the themes of royalty, consecration, the anointing of the Spirit, and the Kingship of Christ, without notes or the slightest stumble. Weybridge now had furnishings that were unique in the Church of England, and yet expressed something utterly traditional.

The next incumbent at Weybridge – its spiritual life by then once more firmly Catholic – was Damian Harrison-Miles, who moved across from Thorpe where he had succeeded Michael Hereward-Rothwell. But before Thorpe he had been priest-in-charge at St Paul's Nork. Damian came to Nork after his predecessor had had an exceptionally hard time personally, and in fact had died the very day of Damian's arrival, so his first task was to organise a requiem mass for him. He came to a church which had voted to exercise Resolutions A & B, though it remained under the oversight of Bishop Christopher Hill of Guildford. There was a Rosary prayer group and statues of the BVM and Sacred Heart: St Paul's was trad-Anglo-Catholic in an upfront way. Damian nursed the church towards a more 'inclusive' vision of Anglo-Catholicism, though meetings of the local Forward-in-Faith chapter continued to be held there until the church acquired a female Lay Reader who had moved into the parish and Forward in Faith decamped elsewhere. As was sometimes the case, Nork had exercised the Resolutions less out of firm opposition to women being ordained than from a concern to maintain their spiritual tradition. Damian worked closely with David Chance, who had been at neighbouring Banstead since 1993; Revd Chance's ecumenical efforts with the 'Banstead Five' churches allowed cross-denominational working which was definitely to Nork's benefit. Damian even took part in exposition of the Blessed Sacrament in the Roman Catholic church of St Anne, where 'I felt treated as a deacon'. In Nork he went through old parish magazines and revived several events and initiatives allowing the church to interact with its community and by the time he left this modest church had a healthy congregation of 70 or so. This was, however, a bit of a 'reprieve' for Nork and the spiritual background of the next priest-in-charge, Jane Cresswell (married to Jeremy Cresswell who served at Pyrford & Wisley, Weybridge (under John Green), the Clandons and Oxshott) lay well outside the Catholic ambit although for a while she maintained a relationship with the SCP, the Society of Catholic Priests, which we will discuss later.

Not long after Steven Brookes brought the rites of Corpus Christi back to Weybridge, the Dean of Guildford Victor Stock – acolyte at Westminster Abbey while growing up, curate at Pinner, chaplain at the University of London, and Rector of Friern Barnet ('I found a relic of St Benedict taped

under the altar of the mental hospital chapel') and then of St Mary Le Bow in the City – achieved this landmark at the Cathedral. Happily he and Bishop Christopher Hill had trained together at King's and knew each other well. In Victor's own words:

> I suggested to the Bishop that we celebrate Corpus Christi using a ciborium. I thought, That's *moderate* Catholic, that will be all right. Then afterwards an old man in the congregation came up to me and said "Mr Dean, it was marvellous to have Benediction in the Cathedral, but if we do it again could we use a proper monstrance?" So I was able to go to Chapter and say, *the people have requested* … And the following year we not only used a monstrance but rose petals were scattered in front of the Blessed Sacrament during the procession. Eventually I got children from the primary schools to bring the petals and take part. The first time, once the service was over, the head Virger came over and I thought, Oh dear, I'm for it now. But he just said "Mr Dean, next time could we only use yellow or cream petals because the red ones mark the floor"!!

The Clandons, East and West, moved in a similar direction after Barnaby Perkins arrived as Rector in 2013. Barnaby had an interesting journey, growing up in a Roman Catholic family and then finding himself returning to faith in an Evangelical context after an atheist phase. He knew early on that he felt a call to ministry of some kind, and for a while, until the tension got the better of him, attended the conservative-evangelical London Theological Seminary. 'If I got up early enough', he told me, 'I could make it to mass at St Mary's Hendon and be back in time for Bible exposition'. Even though theologically he was already very much on the Catholic wing, once more, the college where he trained for the Anglican priesthood was the evangelical Ridley Hall, mainly because it was the only convenient place with a space on the Theology tripos. Barnaby served his curacy (arising out of a placement) at St Nicolas's, Guildford, with Fr Andrew Norman, and then his name was suggested to Lord Onslow as incumbent of the Clandons. Like Weybridge, this situation shows the contribution of the Church of England's archaic system of patronage: the two Clandons had been united since 1983, and the right to present the incumbent alternated between the Bishop of Guildford and the Earl of Onslow; when Barry Preece decided to leave in 2013, it was the Earl's turn.

East Clandon's post-War incumbents had installed Catholic details such as the Calvary over the altar (a war memorial), statue of the Virgin & Child, and tabernacle in a side chapel, while at West Clandon we find a hand-held sacring bell, aumbry, and (like Wonersh, and Farncombe when I arrived) a drawer full of maniples. However both churches were untidy and had wandered a long way from the Catholic mainstream. For instance, the parish had an evening

'Reflection' service which included communion, projected images and immersive sound – but neither a confession nor any Scripture readings. To some opposition the new rector insisted it should fall in line with what was supposed to happen. Barry Preece had used an all-year stole and an alb for virtually all the churches' liturgy; Barnaby reverted to full and seasonal vestments. The All-Age Service was refashioned to include communion. Later Barnaby began a monthly Sunday evening service called Sanctus with modern music, and communion or exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, which was sometimes led by the parish's young people; this was devised to cater for a group of people the rector had spoken to who'd attended the evangelical Emmaus Road church in Guildford but found it alienating. Within a few years attendances were rising and there were about 10 First Communicants in 2023.

The parish of Dorking, by the 2020s including old St Martin's, Ranmore and Pixham, had followed a mixed path since its days as a leader among the diocese's Catholic-minded churches. In the 1950s Vicar Kenneth Evans (later Bishop of Dorking) had celebrated the Eucharist at St Martin's eastward-facing and wearing a maniple; in 1973 his successor Jack Roundhill steered the Anglican parish into a union with the Dorking Methodist congregation, with an Anglican service continuing at 9.30am on Sundays, a Methodist one replacing Mattins at 11, and a joint worship service in place of Evensong. There was a combined communion service once a quarter using a bespoke liturgy, the so-called 'Blue Book'. A Methodist Lay Preacher became Organist at St Martin's in 1986 and the author of the parish history remarked that by then it was 'increasingly difficult to notice the difference between an Anglican and a Methodist'.[134] Conversely, when Martyn Farrant arrived as Vicar in 1983 (from Stoneleigh and Addlestone) he instantly began a daily eucharist. Over the years, however, the Methodist element of the congregation reduced until the sharing agreement came to an end in 2022.

When Anthony Rustell arrived as Priest-in-Charge late in 2024, he found a parish unsure of its identity. Anthony had trained at St Stephen's House in Oxford and served his curacy at St Barnabas's Jericho so he could hardly have wanted for better Anglo-Catholic credentials, and began to try to find a way to renew the congregation's sense of itself in relation to what it *had* been, and what it might mean to serve the town without replicating what was being done by local Evangelical churches, which, it was reasoned, would probably be unsuccessful anyway. A consultation about the things they valued settled eventually on the Four Transcendentals of medieval philosophy – Unity, Truth, Beauty, and Goodness – as a basis to proceed. There can't be many churches which base their mission plan on Thomas Aquinas. As well as some practical improvements that will make St Martin's easier to use, such as

replacing the pews and creating a kitchen and toilet at the back of the church, the current intention is to restore the bottom of the chancel screen and use parts of the rest, saved when it was taken down in 1965, to create a Rood Beam spanning the chancel arch, thus delineating the chancel as a sacred space separate from the nave which can have more community uses. The discarded six lamps from William Joyce's original seven still lurk in the crypt and those will be restored. The printed icon in the Lady Chapel I found in 2019 has been removed – but the statue of Our Lady on Bodley's austere reredos is now honoured by a lamp! What's happening in Dorking is not simply the imposition of a programme, but a thoughtful attempt to relate the Catholic tradition to a particular place and context, a true 'interpretation'.

And what of Farncombe? It was Bishop Christopher Hill who suggested I look at the parish in 2009, and I got the impression the intention was that I might recall this definite but never extreme Catholic Anglican community to a clearer sense of identity after a time of uncertainty. So the most recent years at Farncombe have seen a gentle return to older ways of doing things. The All Souls' Day Mass and the Triduum liturgy have been restored, including an early Vigil and Mass on Easter Day; the *New English Hymnal* has made a reappearance alongside the more recent hymnbooks, and we try plainsong now and again; on special occasions we've celebrated Benediction. I've packed away the lightweight modern vestments bought in the 2000s and readopted Canon Allingham's old Gothic ones as well as using my own Roman kit. Incense is again used on specific occasions through the year. I was very grateful that Revd Margaret Blake removed the tester over the nave altar in 2003; the 2012 refurbishment of the church, taking out the old pews and installing an oak floor throughout the nave and aisles, has provided a simple and airy building in which the old Victorian altar dressings look sumptuous (it was planned long before I arrived). Even less formal liturgies such as a monthly non-Eucharistic Sunday morning service or an evening service of contemplation with music and images can be connected to Catholic spirituality by placing the Blessed Sacrament at the centre as a focal point for prayer. Icons, votive lights, and the occasional use of the Angelus and Regina Coeli locate modern worshippers in the company of the saints through the ages. I have done my best to teach ideas which are absolutely basic to Catholic Christianity, spending a year preaching on the Catechism, five non-eucharistic services looking at the sacraments, the communion of saints, authority and tradition, the corporate prayer of the Church, and the use of beauty in worship. I've run a Lent course looking at how laypeople might manage the spiritual life of the Church if an ordained person was no longer available.

This is basic and unspectacular activity, and the age is long past when we could look for such things to result in a sudden upsurge in religion in the parish I look after, or anywhere else. Instead I've come to see the task of our current generation as being to lay the groundwork for something that might happen in the future; to reconnect spiritual synapses which have lost contact with each other. It will be for others to take the work forward.

When the division between groups of Anglo-Catholics supporting or opposed to ordaining women opened up in the 1980s, the clerical and devotional societies were affected too. In 1994 the Society of Catholic Priests was established as an alternative to the Society of the Holy Cross: its emblem was also a red cross, but a plain Latin one bearing an Alpha and Omega and Chi-Rho rather than the SSC's Cross Bottony. The Guildford diocesan SCP chapter was originally organised by David Chance of Banstead who had been involved in the pro-women's ordination movement Affirming Catholicism for some time. When he retired in 2010 his Nork neighbour Damian Harrison-Miles acted as SCP Rector either side of a stint by Kathryn Twining, an American-born priest who trained at Westcott House, came to Guildford from Southwark diocese, was attached to North Holmwood parish, and later moved to Detroit Cathedral. Kathryn was a painstaking and generous organiser, cooking for the group meetings and buying us all Christmas presents one year. I took over in 2023. Despite the small scale of the diocese it has always been a bit of a challenge to get members together, but the mere existence of the group in a diocese mainly characterised by other brands of Anglicanism sets a helpful marker.



Guildford SCP with Bishop Paul Davies at Shalford, September 2025

The language of 'inclusivity' is proving important for Catholic parishes which accept the ordination of women. The Inclusive Church network was set up in reaction after Archbishop Rowan Williams nominated Jeffrey John as the new Bishop of Reading in 2003, and then withdrew the nomination in the face of Evangelical opposition when it became common knowledge that Dr John was in a same-sex relationship. Campaigning for the Church to treat people with a same-sex orientation equally to heterosexual people is clearly the core of Inclusive Church though it works on matters of disability, race and gender as well. Anecdotally churches which identify themselves as 'Inclusive' are definitely attracting younger people who are drawn by the discipline and order of Catholic spirituality but also take modern gender and sexual equality (among other less controversial sorts) for granted. I for one fight rather shy of identification with the 'party', but in a polarised age the term 'Inclusive' does seem to make more sense to people outside the Church than 'modern Catholic', 'liberal Catholic', or any other permutation involving that word. They know what it signifies. As for anyone who argues that this undermines what Catholicism has traditionally meant, Damian Harrison-Miles contends that 'you can't be truly inclusive without being Catholic' – that both ideals are rooted in a particular understanding of what God did when he became incarnate in human flesh.

Some of the basic assumptions of Catholic Christianity were fundamentally challenged by the Covid pandemic of 2020-21 and the Anglican Church's response to it: a version of Christianity that put great emphasis on the bodily experience of faith and expressed it in an intense relationship with a locality was profoundly stressed when physical worship was abandoned. The head server of St Nicolas's, Guildford, Catherine Ferguson, compiled a book examining that church's grappling with events, and it makes for a valuable record of the time. In March 2020 St Nic's electoral roll stood at 130, roughly half of whom lived in the parish, while rector Andrew Norman was nearing retirement (he would leave in July). The church had already introduced communion in one kind only (as had happened in earlier public health emergencies such as the swine flu outbreak of 2008) and some other measures at the start of the month; then on the 12th the Archbishops suspended public worship, followed by the decision to close all church buildings entirely on the 24th, a day after the national lockdown announced by the Government. The thinking behind the national Church's approach will be long debated, but what is not in question is the pain felt by the worshippers of St Nic's and their priest. In the book Andrew Norman very clearly objects to 'being locked out of my own church' and, once it was conceded that an incumbent could indeed go in to check on the building for insurance purposes, he stated sadly, 'I lit the Blessed Sacrament lamp but knew that nobody else would see it'.

Livestreamed services from the Rectory began quickly and then transferred to the church once the Rector was allowed to go in again. St Nic's reopened in the summer with limited and shortened services, closed down again in the Autumn but with services streamed using a new audiovisual system, and then celebrated its Patronal Festival with Bishop Andrew Watson in December. A full serving team was deployed again in Holy Week 2021 ahead of all restrictions being lifted in June. Hosts of churches could tell a similar story.





Two Farncombe Palm Sundays under Covid. Left, missa solitaria *at the Rectory, 2020; right, socially-distanced eucharist in church, 2021*

Feelings in the congregation were varied. Everyone made the best of the situation, and some found things positively to welcome. Although physical communion was impossible for much of the Covid Year, wrote one contributor to the book, it did allow perhaps a greater meditation on the Real Presence of Christ in the sacrament, while another found 'I didn't miss "actual" church as much as I'd expected'. Generally, however, Dr Ferguson concludes that the experience revealed 'a deep connection to place, something which is multi-dimensional and not easy to explain' which Christians in Catholic contexts felt especially deeply: 'that is … what has generated the anger, pain and bewilderment written on many pages of this book'. During the fine early summer weather in 2020 worshippers came to sit in the church garden, 'just to be near the church they were forbidden to enter'. For another St Nic's member, the livestreamed services allowed a greater sense of involvement than before – 'rather than being locked out of church, I have been able to come back in' – and many churches have found this kind of technique a helpful addition to what they do.[135]

The pandemic thus prompted a renewed awareness of what Catholic Christianity meant precisely by depriving people of the most meaningful elements of their corporate Church life. Sometimes the process was uncomfortable. As a Franciscan Tertiary, Farncombe curate Maggie Stirling-

Troy found some members of the Third Order taking part in online worship wanted her to facilitate them receiving communion at home, using their own bread and wine, in the belief that the elements could be 'consecrated remotely' when she said the words of institution. Maybe they could even join in with her? When she refused not everyone was happy, but it was a useful debate to have and the national Church eventually issued guidance on the matter (also saying a firm No).[136]

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We have asked many questions on the course of our journey, and maybe even answered some of them. Possibly the most vital, but one of the hardest to answer, is what effect all this activity had on those good Christians who took part in it that the world beyond holy Church might notice. 'The test of the liturgy inside the church', said Mother Maria Skobtsova, 'is the liturgy outside it' – using the word etymologically, the *leitourgia*, the 'work of the people'. How has the Anglo-Catholic movement in Guildford helped Christians be more Christian?

Catholic Christians take the Incarnation seriously: the world is loved by God, and his Spirit is active in it. You would hope that church communities in any tradition would think about the particular contexts in which they find themselves and respond, but the theological grounding that characterises those on the Catholic end of the Church should give them a special impetus to do so. Looking after St Jude's Englefield Green, Lorna Smith's parish included Royal Holloway College and its thousands of students. Of course they had a chaplaincy team to look after their spiritual needs, but not infrequently students came to St Jude's on a Sunday morning, especially those born overseas. Revd Smith kept her eye open for such newcomers and somehow in addition to her duties in church would often provide them with a roast Sunday lunch if they didn't have to be anywhere else. The main service at Englefield Green was comparatively early, but one should not underestimate what an achievement this was for a priest living on her own!

For St Barnabas's, Epsom, the context was mental health provision. In 1896 the London County Council bought the Horton Estate in Epsom for the equivalent of about £4.5M in today's prices and eventually constructed the five hospitals of the Epsom Cluster to provide mental health facilities, a vast enterprise serving 12,000 patients together with the staff and infrastructure to look after them including a farm, a cemetery, and a light railway. The hospitals were closed progressively from the late 1990s onwards, but their legacy remained.[137] You can argue that St Barnabas's was rather the same,

having moved quite a long way from the kind of Anglo-Catholicism it had displayed in Michael Godwin's time, and now had a more moderate eucharistic spiritual centre. Sue Bull moved to Epsom in 1982 after being company secretary to the City law firm Eversheds, and having become churchwarden at Christ Church felt a call to the priesthood, being ordained deacon in 1998. She also developed a deep concern for the welfare of the mentally ill people she encountered while serving her curacy at St Barnabas's, and could be scathing about how badly the Church served them. In 2003 Bishop John Gladwin took the astounding and extremely unusual decision to revoke her Permission to Officiate: there was never an official reason given. Not surprisingly, the *Church Times* said in Revd Bull's obituary, this was 'devastating … a deep wound that marked the rest of her life', although it did free her up to pursue her dedicated work once she was employed as a chaplain by an NHS mental health trust based in Southwark Diocese, and came back to St Barnabas's on that basis. She started the Epsom Mental Health & Wellbeing Festival, beginning by handing out leaflets from a table in the marketplace and ending with a week-long series of events featuring nationally-significant speakers and mostly based in the parish church: the event was recognised by the NHS as a model for community engagement. A weekly drop-in at St Barnabas's for people undergoing mental health problems developed into the charity Love Me Love My Mind, which Revd Bull chaired from its inception in 2008 to her early death in 2022.[138]



Memorial service for Revd Sue Bull at St Barnabas's, Epsom, December 2022 – from the 'Love Me Love My Mind' Facebook page

Community service, outreach, and interaction has a degree of visibility and therefore measurability; the effect of the Church on the *inner* life of Christians is even harder to gauge. Staying with Epsom for another story, Michael Godwin remembered one of his churchwardens, Jack Nolan, who belonged to St Barnabas's Epsom's branch of the Church of England Mens' Society. Mr Nolan led the team of hospital visitors who formed from the CEMS, but in his secular life he was (eventually) general secretary of an oil company and therefore a figure of some prominence. That employment came to an end

when he resigned on realising that the company was firing employees before they could qualify for a pension. Church life can – and should – give Christians the steel they need to defy the standards of the world when faced with a moral choice.



Ernie & Ida Wright

It seems near impertinent to try to uncover the deep matters of the heart, unless worshippers themselves reveal it; for a final illustration we go to Farncombe, where someone did. In her short autobiography, *Never a Dull Moment*, member of St John's Church Ida Wright related how she and husband Ernie lost their son Trevor to leukaemia.

I always remember coming out of Church after Communion one Sunday morning when I was at a very low ebb. A lady caught hold of my arm and she said, "Don't worry. Trust in the Lord. I'm quite sure one day some good will come out of this. More things are wrought by Prayer than this world dreams of". And we both made up our minds, if we could ever do anything in any way to help others, we would.[139]

Ernie, who had lost both legs in World War Two, became a campaigner for BLESMA, the disabled ex-servicemen's charity, while years later Ida would receive the British Empire Medal for her efforts raising money for leukaemia research. For both of them, their specifically spiritual life in church fed into the life of the world outside, and back again. Would either of these two souls have been led to such involvement and activism were it not for their faith putting their experiences into a context of hope and commitment? Who can tell – but it did.

And here is where the incense, vestments, saints and icons should be leading – the living of a more Christ-like life by the people who try to follow Him. Underneath the narrative we have been following is a second: a story smaller, yet infinitely greater, as our own individual stories become part of His in whose name it has all been done.

Some Words on Fixtures, Arrangements, and Kit

I saw inside most of the churches in the diocese to research this book, and when I couldn't visit a building I was almost always able to find good photographs of the interior online. It seems helpful to list some of the relevant things I found, and maybe prompt further research into some of them.

Altars

Between the era when more Protestant-minded Anglican churches would refer to their altars as 'communion tables', and the 20th-century Reform period, altars were generally covered with textiles and so the actual form of the artefact was unimportant. *Ritual Notes* insisted on the propriety of a stone altar (or at least a stone set into a wooden table top) but *The Parson's Handbook* pointed out that this was by no means universal practice in the past, and there were very few modern stone altars – even a place such as Woodham, built as an Anglo-Catholic party church, made do with timber (ironically one of the very few exceptions is the old marble altar at low-church Egham, visible if you peek beneath the cloth). The altar table at Farncombe, for instance, was provided simply as part of the general contract with the builder of the church, and itemised in the bill as 'Oak table in the Chancel, twice varnished, £5-0-0'. The side altar at Church Crookham is the only local example I could *see* with a stone set into the *mensa*, and perhaps dates to the 1940s or 50s; the door of the tabernacle atop it has a small antique marble carving of St Pasqual inset. When altars were moved into the centre of the church building, however, it became more possible to think of them, rather than just their embroidered adornments, in artistic terms. We've already discussed examples at Christ Church Epsom and Weybridge; I also rather like the one installed at West Byfleet in 2012 which can be carried on poles like the Ark of the Covenant.

Nave altars designed as such, as opposed to old east-wall altars pulled forward, have a wide variety of forms, then, but I call attention especially to those at Frimley and St Paul's East Molesey. Superficially these look the same



Three altars – Frimley, St Paul's East Molesey, and Addlestone

– each consists of a flat table top with legs formed by pointed-arch shapes, and is part of a suite of associated furniture using the same forms. But in detail the two altars are different: I'm fairly sure East Molesey's is ash while Frimley's may be oak, while the first has rounded 'struts' making up the legs and a top angled at the sides, and the second's are flat-sided with a chamfered top. It is fascinating that two different design processes have reached the same *kind* of conclusions around the same time. The nave altar at Addlestone also incorporates flat-sided Gothic arches, but is slightly different from the other two mentioned. It, again, has no maker's mark or label.

Although it falls outside these categories, honourable mention should go to the old side-altar at The Ascension, Aldershot, an amazing ornate Baroque piece which had lost something of its effect when I saw it in 2020 as by then that part of the church was being used as a bit of a dumping-ground.

See also *English Altars*.

Angels

Angels are of course a common feature in church decoration, but there is a particular form we often find topping the riddel-posts of 'English' altars. They are sometimes referred to as 'Nuremberg Angels' as they seem to be modelled on 14th-15th century German examples, figures with a sinuous curving stance and voluminous robes. They hold candlesticks and are usually made of brass, or heavy base metal which is then painted gold. Sometimes they are associated with Sir Ninian Comper's work but they appear far more widely than just his pieces. They must have been produced by a particular company but I've never found that information. All Surrey's examples are now deployed separate from their riddel-posts. At St Michael's Aldershot a set of four Nuremberg Angels sit against a reredos; at Leatherhead they line the top of a wooden screen; two occupy a windowsill behind the altar at Holy Trinity, West End; and at Farncombe they are brought out on special occasions. They were never altar fittings at Farncombe, and their origin is unknown: the church may have got them from somewhere that was disposing of them. Wonersh and The Bourne have angels still *in situ* around their splendid high altars, but they're of



St Michael's, Aldershot

a different form.

Angelus

The commemoration of the Incarnation via the Blessed Virgin is traditionally said or sung, and the church bell rung in a pattern accompanying the prayer, at 6am (though I have never heard of a modern church where they do it then), noon, and 6pm. At St John's Hale, Banstead, and West Molesey, the words of the Angelus appear on a card on the wall beside the bell-rope. Hale's is beautifully hand-written, and Banstead has the equivalent Eastertide prayer, the Regina Coeli, printed out too.



St John's, Hale

Baptismal Pools

Obviously these are features of Evangelical rather than Anglo-Catholic churches, but their presence is worth recording: we find them at St George's Ashtead, St John's and Christ Church in Woking, at Egham, and Shottermill. I may have overlooked more. Possibly the most impressive – one which genuinely makes something of the sacrament of baptism – is Christ Church Woking's, set into a circular dais, where the altar usually sits (unless displaced by the band). The pool's access panels, arranged as a Greek cross, are of wood, but the dais is dark slate carved with the words *In Christ You Are A New Creation*, making a sacramental point that can apply to the altar as much as to the pool. All these examples are nice and prominent at the front of their churches, either set into the dais beneath the altar or in front of it. The one exception is Goldsworth Park: here the worship space is upstairs, so the baptismal pool has to be beneath the floor of the downstairs café, and



Christ Church, Woking

is normally covered by a carpet. Naturally, as I was told on my visit in 2019, this means it's hardly ever used!

Banners and Wall Hangings

The purpose of a church banner is to be carried in procession to identify the church itself or a group within it, most typically the local branch of the Mothers' Union. These are by their nature bespoke to a particular church, and across the diocese we find both old, traditional types using elaborate embroidery (and which may have been custom-made by religious orders), or modern versions produced locally. MU banners usually show the Virgin and Child and are very often blue, the Virgin's colour. Probably the very grandest example of a MU banner is at Hascombe. Church banners usually depict the patron saint if there is one: Cranleigh's banner of St Nicholas is a good instance of a traditional style, while the one at St Christopher's, Haslemere exemplifies the more modern approach. Church Crookham's banner of the Agnus Dei is astonishingly sumptuous, one of the best anywhere.



Church Crookham

However, most of our local churches no longer take their banners out of doors. MU branches may still parade theirs at the Lady Day service at the Cathedral or carry them at the funerals of members, but there are fewer branches and members than there once were. Public processions at pilgrimages or events such as Palm Sunday are rarer now, and old banners are sometimes too fragile to be used anyway. Instead, they remain as decorative items within their churches, and that puts them alongside other sorts of textile hangings.

Many churches, particularly Victorian or modern ones, have tapestries, hangings and banners decorating the walls. Sometimes these allow the seasons to be marked when the church concerned doesn't have another way of doing so, as at the Methodist-Anglican shared church at Bordon. Chertsey, Churt and St Paul's Dorking all have generic banners illustrating spiritual themes which can stay up all year round, while at Milford there is a clearly home-made one with a baptismal motif next to the font. Perhaps most interesting of all are mass-produced banners, such as the identical Slabbinck designs we find at Ash and Hindhead (the latter church has the vestments and other textiles to match).



The Slabbinck banners and altar hangings at Hindhead

Bells

Thorpe, West Molesey, St Augustine's Aldershot, and Woodham all have wall-mounted bells of different sorts to ring at the beginning of a service to call the faithful to attentiveness, while The Ascension, Aldershot used to have one. St John's Hale is the only church in the area with a wall-mounted gong near the altar to ring during the elevation of the Host, though as we've seen St Barnabas's Epsom had a portable one as other churches probably did. Some churches have made do with a handbell which is picked up and rung as the altar party enters.

Commandments

Boards showing the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and sometimes the Creed were standard church adornments in the 17th and 18th centuries, but they aroused the disdain of the Ecclesiologists and most were disposed of in the Victorian church restorations. They survive in a few places. At St John's

Cove the Commandments appear either side of a Romanesque reredos, while at Lyne and St Giles's Ashtead they're within the reredos itself, behind the altar. Virginia Water's are set in a rather glorious Strawberry-Hill-Gothic reredos, but that's no longer used; Egham has its 18th-century boards still in place with their florid script, as does Thorpe of all places: the Catholic Movement reached there after the 'heroic age' of church restoration, by which time the old decorations were deemed venerable enough to keep. At Farncombe and Wyke the Commandments appear on painted panels either side of the chancel arch, and at Westcott the same panels are mosaic; Peper Harrow's painted Commandments, Creed and Paternoster over the chancel arch were restored after the fire that gutted the church in 2007. Okewood's wooden panels were banished to a side aisle, St Mary's West Molesey's painted ones have been put in a transept, but Walton-On-The-Hill's Commandments and those at Holy Trinity, Knaphill, are carved anew on modern boards.

Crosses

Altar crosses and processional crosses are movable (and, more to the point, stealable) kit and naturally most churches will lock them away when not in use, so the pieces I've seen are only a sample of what's out there; but a representative sample, I hope.

These items come in huge variety, but generally speaking the more ornate examples are earlier and they become simpler with time. We tend to find that trad-style altar or processional crosses decorated with coloured stones (commonly nothing of great value, but sometimes as expensive as quartz) are pre-World War One and usually Victorian; there are plenty of plain brass crosses dating from the 19th-century too, but very elaborate crosses disappear as the twentieth century draws on. Frimley's brass altar cross with inset 'gems' post-dates 1904, but already looked old-fashioned for that time. Sometimes we find outliers such as the Ethiopian processional cross at Egham Hythe (the church I worshipped at in High Wycombe had one as well). Self-consciously artistic kit appears post-World War Two.

We have looked at Weybridge's processional cross already, but the brass altar cross at St Giles's Ashtead (not a church with a Catholic tradition) almost rivals it: it bears the Instruments of the Passion in red enamel and representations of the Thirty Pieces of Silver, and was donated to the church in 1907. It would be interesting to know how these artefacts were made: Weybridge and Ashtead's crosses are clearly bespoke, but simpler ones may have come from a church furnisher's catalogue. That's obviously the case when we find similar crosses in different churches. Vaguely *Art Nouveau* style hollow brass crosses with decorative blue enamel can be found at Ash (processional) and St Mary's East Molesey (altar), and a processional cross at Farncombe is exactly the same as one sold at church clearance company

Church Antiques in 2009, except that Farncombe's has the Agnus Dei in blue enamel in the middle, presumably added either locally or by the firm that made it. Although you would broadly describe this cross as *Art Nouveau* we know that it came to Farncombe as a memorial to Fr Charles Knight who died in 1946, which shows how conservative church furnishings can be; it was replaced in 1970 by a lighter but quite traditional and ornate one made from brass and copper by verger Richard Nowakowski. Near-identical hollow brass processional crosses with the arms decorated with Tudor roses appear at Shalford, Shackleford and Walton-on-Thames. A step up from these examples





Crosses at Shalford (behind), Shackleford, & Walton-on-Thames

are pieces with an identifiable designer; St Barnabas's Epsom has a brass cross made by the well-known partnership of Omar Ramsden and Alwyn Carr between 1898 and 1919 (Fr Michael Godwin made the church wooden candlesticks and a crucifix to put on the high altar in the late 1960s so that the brass set could sensibly be put away). St Mary's East Molesey's cross is also by Ramsden & Carr, while St George's Ashtead has a brass altar cross with the same look about it but I failed to check for the firm's signature at the base. Eventually painted wood becomes acceptable; Milford has a gold-painted wooden altar cross given to the church in 1944, and the Cathedral a set of chunky wooden crosses and candlesticks designed by its architect Edward Maufe. On medieval precedent, wooden processional crosses are recommended for Lent in *The Parson's Handbook*[140], and we find instances at Banstead, Bisley, Burgh Heath, Egham Hythe, Godalming, Shalford, and St Nic's Guildford, where there are two, old and modern. Farncombe's is, like its everyday metal processional cross, home-made, turned from churchyard yew-wood by local schoolteacher Ron Hall in the 1970s.

Fashion changes, and no set of altar furnishings in the Guildford diocese is as much of its time as the cross, processional cross and candlesticks

at Shere, which form a suite together with an altar frontal and a bronze aumbry door. Here, in 1956, rector Reginald Hougham secured the services of Louis Osman, whose greatest claim to fame would be designing the coronet with which Charles Mountbatten-Windsor was crowned Prince of Wales in 1969. The altar cross and candlesticks are of copper and bronze and the processional cross is of steel rods with a gem at the centre. They are all in a kind of spiky, abstract sub-Coventry Cathedral style and it looks like one false move with the processional cross might put your eye out. We see the same forms crop up on mid-century textiles (frontals at St Martin's Dorking and Hinchley Wood), an aumbry door cover at Chobham, Joy Webb's vestments for Wood Street), and Long Ditton has an all-black iron cross and candlesticks in similar mode – but those were designed by local schoolchildren in honour of the 1977 Jubilee and presumably they didn't get paid a commission.



Aumbry door, Shere

Wall crosses tend to be simple, where they are not crucifixes. Again, there was a mid-20th-century trend in the direction of the spiky: Shere, Ash Vale and St Francis's Westborough have crosses in this idiom which are very alike.

Devotional cards

There are two categories of item under this heading. The first are the laminated cards in black and red mainly for the edification of visitors to a church, produced by the Additional Curates' Society and probably unchanged in design since the 1980s. West Molesey and Banstead have identical cards that point out the presence of the reserved Blessed Sacrament and include a prayer to use. Other such cards act as prompts for prayers said in the vestry and as such there are probably quite a few around that I have not seen: in its vestry Holy Trinity Hawley has examples giving a prayer for the parish and the priest's preparation for mass; St Martin's Dorking has the latter, probably introduced by Martyn Farrant. The second sort are altar cards, dating from the time before we could all produce floppy little seasonal communion leaflets with nothing more than we needed in them and had to rely instead on hardbacked missals containing the liturgies for the whole year, in which it was all too easy to get lost: the cards gave the unchanging bits of the Mass as prompts for the celebrant. Hascombe's are in the vestry and I don't think are used; West Molesey's are in Latin, and are definitely not used now, if they

ever were. They sit on the gradine shelf above the altar, where strictly they should not be!

English altars

The full-scale and proper 'English altar', as exemplified in the work of G.F. Bodley and then the early phase of Ninian Comper, is a rare relic in our area. It should have curtains suspended on riddel-posts on three sides, or either side of a reredos behind the altar. As well as St-Thomas-on-the-Bourne and Wonersh, already described, a grand example survives at St Michael's Aldershot. The problem the English altar poses to modern liturgical habits is that where the posts are fixed the celebrant can't get behind the altar to face west, and all you can do is pull the table far enough forward to be able to move around the curtains; Aldershot follows this pattern, as do Valley End and Cobham. In simpler, cheaper versions of the English altar, where the side curtains are suspended from movable rods, they can be turned outward, even flat against the east wall: this has happened at Wotton and Hindhead, and with the very *im*proper High-Victorian high altar at Cuddington, where the curtains flank – starting from the bottom – an open oak *mensa*, a marble gradine, a blue stone panel with marble symbols of the Evangelists, and a towering marble sculpture of Jesus welcoming the children, surrounded by a painted and gilded Gothic frame.[141] Percy Dearmer would have been horrified. In the side chapels at St Martin's Epsom and Chobham, and at Bagshot, the side curtains have simply been removed. Ockford Ridge had a very nice English altar with handsome black-and-gold riddel-posts: these survive, but



The sanctuary and 'English altar' at Ockford Ridge, Harvest 1965 (Ockford Ridge archive)

the whole arrangement has been taken apart and the posts now stand in the apse behind the altar as candlesticks. Weston Green had one inherited from the building that preceded the current church, but it was taken apart leaving only the *mensa* when the church was reordered. At Chiddingfold in 1947 an English altar replaced the reredos put in by Henry Woodyer in 1866, who'd heightened the east window to accommodate it; that arrangement was itself swept away in 1987. Small English altars with the *mensa* still in place against the wall survive in the side chapels at Albury new church, and Ockley. In many places the altar was simply backed by a curtain, a way of dignifying it without the expense of a reredos; examples are at Bisley and Farncombe's Lady Chapel (the Memorial Chapel there did have an altar completely surrounded by curtains on riddel-posts).

Epiphany chalk blessing

Although the 1962 *Rituale Romanum* contains a form of prayer for the blessing of chalk at Epiphany, the middle-European custom of marking church and house doorways with the annual chalk cypher of blessing is a relatively recent import into the Church of England, and not exclusively its Catholic wing. On my church-hunting trips in 2020 I found the marks at Ockley and Capel, which are not very far from each other so one may have borrowed from the other; I'm sure the custom must be observed elsewhere too, as well as Farncombe.

Eucharistic imagery

Before beginning my survey I had thought that eucharistic imagery in late Victorian through to mid-twentieth-century church decoration indicated a relatively advanced church tradition, but it became clear that such motifs were more widespread than that. There doesn't seem to be any particular sequence in the representations, apart from the general movement away from sumptuous and expensive decorative items to the simpler and cheaper. The Last Supper appears on Victorian reredoses at St Mary's Ewell, Ockley, and a 1950s one at Burgh Heath, while Wotton's is decorated with chalices carved in relief, in a pattern alternated with *fleurs-de-lys*. The 1870s restoration of East Horsley included blue-and-gold tiles set into the altar steps with Christ's instruction 'Take, eat, this is my Body', together with the more admonitory words of St Paul: 'Let him examine himself …' Vines appear in the decoration at Sutton Green and on the 1919 screen at Shottermill, and we find images of grapes and wheat in a window at St Martin, The Bourne (probably 1920s), on the Victorian reredos at Headley (Hants), and the altar at Burgh Heath. More carved grapes frame the Arts-and-Crafts altar at Dockenfield. The incredible reredos at Windlesham includes an *opus sectile* angel holding a chalice. Chalices and hosts are the single most common motif, to be found on an altar



Weybridge: Spencer Buller's memorial (1925), and also the gravestone of Rector Edward Rose (1883)

frontal at West Molesey (clearly remounted from an older piece), in a tile monument at St Martin's Dorking, a memorial plaque to rector Spencer Buller at Weybridge and the grave of his predecessor Edward Rose, and in wood at St Mary's East Molesey, Hersham, the aumbry at Milford, and St John's Hale where a restrained example appears in the decoration of the Lady Chapel dating to the 1970s or even 1980s. The carving on Mr Rose's footstone is discreetly positioned so as not to be visible from the front – but it will be to the resurrected Rector on the Last Day. North Holmwood has a splendid early-20th-century banner with a chalice and host that may have been used for Corpus Christi processions (see p.77). The imagery persists, to be included in modern church textiles, such as a kneeler at Ripley. See also *Rood Windows*.

Fonts

Of course these come in great variety, from rough hunks of medieval stone to portable little metal bowls in modern wooden stands, but I don't intend to deal with those apart from mentioning in passing the jaw-dropping black marble Victorian monstrosity at Capel, the appropriately Roman-looking marble basin at Blackheath, and the blue-and-white majolica bowls at Littleton and Ockford Ridge. Our whitewashed egg-cup at Farncombe is almost as odd. But there is a class of font worth calling attention to *as* a class, the tall, tub-shaped examples included in contemporary churches in the 1930s through to the 1950s; in our area Nork and St Christopher's Cove have them, and Edward Maufe's at the Cathedral forms the exemplar. Dockenfield's looks similar with its carved dove representing the Holy Spirit, and even if it's earlier, contemporary with the building, it would be a cousin of the later ones. Egham Hythe's is similar in form but much more classic.





Fonts at Nork, Christ Church Cove, and the Cathedral

Holy water stoups

The current habit is to keep the font filled with water so that (in theory) anyone entering the church can bless themselves with it in recollection of their baptism, but before that custom spread a church might have a small metal vessel mounted on a wall near the main door for the same purpose. I was surprised by how few of these I found: they are present at Nork, West Molesey, and St Paul's East Molesey, and Effingham has a small bowl in a niche. The Covid pandemic may have put paid to a some of this: although it would be a very unlikely vector of disease transmission, we didn't know that at first, and breaking a custom is easier than restarting it.

Instruments of the Passion




Puttenham's Instruments

Like eucharistic imagery, the traditional instruments of Christ's Passion are decorative elements which in fact occur beyond the Catholic contexts where you might expect to find them. We've already met them on the altar cross at St Giles's Ashtead, and at Dockenfield they are picked out in gold on the corbels supporting the rood beam, but we encounter them most often in woodwork. At West Byfleet they appear on the wooden reredos, and St Mary's East Molesey has them in the panelling surrounding the altar (dated 1912); at Merrow the reredos has been moved, along with its panelling which also shows the Instruments. At Milford they're on the altar rails, and at Hersham

in a side chapel. Most striking are the elegant painted examples at Shalford and Puttenham, not least because they are exactly alike and must have come from a single supplier. The Cathedral has a spectacular series on an embroidered altar frontal kept within an altar table in the north choir aisle.

Lamps

Percy Dearmer in *The Parson's Handbook* states that a hanging lamp before an altar is desirable and three permissible, but not seven, although as we've seen Dorking and the old All Saints' Hawley had that many.[142] Lots of churches still maintain them – I found about twenty – even when it's inconvenient: Weybridge has one in front of the high altar and of the All Souls' Chapel altar, the former being raised and lowered by counterweights so the candle can be changed. At Oatlands there is a lamp at the side chapel altar but not in the chancel. Some lamps sit in simple basins (as at South Holmwood) while others are elaborate in contrast to the simplicity of the building (as at Hinchley Wood). Forest Green has three fancy oil lamps in the apse, while Holy Trinity, Guildford's grand three are now electric. SS Peter & Paul's, Albury, and Burgh Heath have plaques referring to lamps that no longer exist, while at Farncombe and some other churches you can squint up into the rafters and glimpse the hooks which lamps used to hang from, or the hole for the hook at Mickleham. If you reorder your church to the extent of abandoning an old high altar, there's no point retaining the lamps: St Barnabas's Epsom used to have three, but they have disappeared since the altar was brought forward into the centre of the building. Photographs from 1990 show that St Martin's, Dorking, retained only one lamp from the original seven by then.



Dorking in the early 1900s, showing William Joyce's seven lamps (Dorking archive)

Opus Sectile

From the late 1800s through to the 1930s many church decorations and memorials were constructed using mosaic – sometimes composing the picture with small pieces of coloured stone, but often using large blocks of colour shaped to fit the composition, creating a lustrous, rich image. This true *opus sectile* style was sometimes combined with the use of pieces of stone that were coloured by other means, such as paint. Reredoses using this technique in varying degrees of splendour can be found at St John's Cove, St Mary's Ewell, the side chapel at Godalming (a very pleasing green panel of vines surrounding a red heart, made by Powell & Sons, the leading manufacturer of this sort of work, in 1903); Holy Trinity Hawley, Westcott, and most majestically at Windlesham. There are panels depicting angels at Effingham, the symbols of the Evangelists at Christ Church, Epsom, along with a lovely St Monica, and war memorials at Holy Trinity Guildford (the South African war in that case), Wyke, and Lyne (a piece originally at Longcross church). Rector of Stoke d'Abernon Frederick Parr Phillips has an *opus sectile* memorial in that church. Apart from Windlesham's reredos, perhaps the finest examples are at St Martin's, Dorking, and the Lady Chapel at Woodham. Dorking includes adoring angels either side of the altar beneath Christ in Majesty, and the Adoration of the Magi on the other wall, all given in memory of Lady Ashcombe in 1921; over the chancel arch is a Crucifixion of 1892 and archangels added ten years later. The centrepiece of Woodham's composition is a winsome Powell & Sons Annunciation from 1911.



Woodham's Lady Chapel – opus sectile *and tilework*

Finally we should mention the cherub monuments at Godalming and Okewood. Each of these is a marble panel set with an image of three cherubs against blue, holding a scroll with lettering. Godalming's is landscape in format,

incorporating green and gold IHS and Chi-Rho monograms, while Okewood's is portrait with no extras apart from the dedication, but although Godalming's cherubs carry the words 'Lead Kindly Light' and Okewood's 'Bear Ye One Another's Burdens', the cherubs themselves are identical. The Okewood monument post-dates 1907, while Godalming's bears the name of Louisa Ewart who died in 1930, but this may be an addition as the script is different to the dedication to her husband William from 1892. The maker of both these items seems unknown.

Painted ceilings & testers

There are various ways of adding splendour and emphasis to an altar, an instinct proper to the Catholic viewpoint but which we see sometimes in lower-church contexts too. Only four churches in our area have, or had, a *tester* or fixed canopy over their altar: these are the gilded one at Thorpe moved from the convent at Spelthorne St Mary (see p.86), the narrow one attached to the altar at St-Thomas-on-the-Bourne (p.111), the shallow one placed so high in the arches at Guildford Cathedral that it can't be seen until you get close, and the lost one suspended from the roof by chains at Farncombe (p.153). Other churches content themselves with making the east end more elaborate in some other way. Radiating crowns of narrow roof-ribs fill the apsidal roofs at Grafham, Hascombe, and Ottershaw; Holy Trinity Guildford, in Italianate mood, decorates its apse with a glorious gilded painting of Christ in Majesty dating to the refurbishment of 1888-9; at Witley paintings embellish the woodwork of the chancel roof; and at Byfleet the ceiling moves towards the high altar through plain white, then abstract patterns, and finally religious symbols. Most churches trying to emphasise the altar adopt aerial blue as the colour – as at Claygate, Cobham, Cuddington, Grafham, Christ Church and St Nic's in Guildford, and Okewood; while Addlestone, St-Thomas-on-the-Bourne, Wyke, and the Cathedral Lady Chapel go further and turn a predominately blue ceiling into a stylised starscape. St Francis's Westborough and Send are unusual in opting for shades of red (in panels in Westborough's case), while Frimley has – more by accident than design – gone in the other direction: the reordering of 2011 has left the nave altar in a comparatively dark area and the old chancel, more brightly lit, framing it rather effectively when viewed from the west.

Prayer Spaces & Prayer Trees

Many churches in the central and Catholic traditions will have a space where the Office is recited, usually a side chapel whether or not it's also used for the Eucharist; but West Byfleet has a good example of a space simply delineated within an aisle by a circle of chairs and a banner on a plinth, and Merrow, St Martin's Dorking, Emmanuel Stoughton, and Oatlands use the same kind of

technique. However, by a 'prayer space' I mean not this, but rather an area set aside where people can be prayed for as individuals after or as part of a longer service, and that's a definitely Evangelical practice (though it doesn't have to be). Often (as at Ash Vale, Abinger, St Barnabas's Epsom, and St George's Ashtead) these have soft, comfy sofas rather than your usual church seating, and it can be hard to distinguish them from children's areas which tend to be furnished the same way. There's a plinthed bit at St Michael's Camberley with a settee, church chairs, and toys, and I have no idea how to categorise that definitively just by looking at it. St Peter's Farnborough, Egham and Stoke-by-Guildford all helpfully point out the function of the space with a banner specifically reading 'Prayer Area' (Stoke actually has both kinds of space).

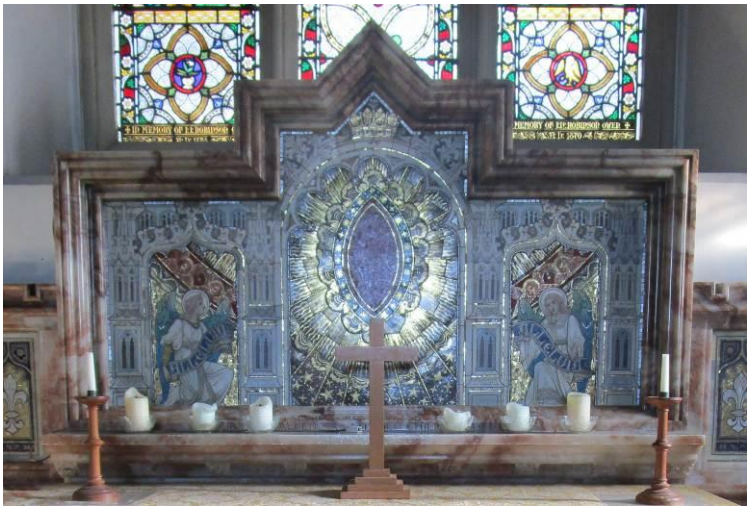


It makes sense for written requests for prayer to be left in these spaces too. People seeking intercession can use Post-It notes or simple slips of paper, but a very common elaboration of the practice, found even in churches where they might gib at a candle stand as too 'catholic', is the Prayer Tree. In fact the Prayer Tree is so unremarkable a sight that it might seem odd even to pick it out as a feature, which is exactly why we should. There doesn't seem to be any information as to how it originated and found its way into church settings. Of the churches mentioned above, West Byfleet, Ashtead, Ash Vale and Egham all had what might broadly be described as prayer trees, while when I visited Stoke in 2019 they had a wire heart with written intercessions and prayer *pebbles* no less. I also found them at East Clandon, North Holmwood, Shere, Thorpe, and Long Ditton. The physical business of writing a prayer and hanging it on a tree – albeit a dry twig as it has to be inside church buildings – has perhaps more of an impact than just pinning a bit of paper to a board; psychologically it acknowledges God as Lord of Creation, of the things we find in nature. So does writing a name on a pebble, for that matter. It isn't very far away from the kind of instinct which leads people to do the same sorts of things at pagan sites, or leave little memorials to loved ones at park benches. Prayer Trees are among the most ephemeral of church objects and so it's very possible that those described will have changed their form or be gone

completely a few years after I saw them. There's an entire paper waiting to be written about this, though not by me.

Reredoses

The earliest furnishing for embellishing the altar (or, as it would have been then, 'communion table') area in our region of study is the one at Virginia Water, which dates to the 1830s and which is in a style of Gothic which predates Pugin and the serious Revivalism of later decades. Once church architects and designers got into their stride, though, there was no predicting what might happen in this respect, especially as reredoses were almost always installed into pre-existing churches as separate items, without a great deal of consideration being paid to the rest of the building. Whether the chosen material was stone, wood, mosaic, tile, or variously-coloured marble, there was a riotous variety of form – broadly Gothic, but, within a general fidelity to the primacy of the pointed arch, anything went, and there is little way of summarising it beyond that. More Evangelical churches might opt for wood (Holy Trinity, Aldershot; St Saviour's Guildford), but that didn't mean that grand wooden reredoses could not crop up in Catholic contexts (St Nic's Guildford; Church Crookham). One of the more unusual instances is at Cranleigh where a new pink marble reredos was inserted into the chancel in about 1880: it has crenellations along the top, and flat-headed niches flanking a pointed arch with a cross, into which a collection of 16th-century Flemish brass panels have been set. More correct, but still lavish, High Victorian Gothic reredoses are at Weybridge, the Lady Chapel at St Martin's Dorking, and Hersham. Perhaps the grandest instance of all is at Windlesham. The reredos here, of pink marble, gilding, mosaic and *opus sectile*, is only one



element in a chancel arrangement that even includes marble seats, lavish tilework, and a marble credence shelf with a mosaic angel holding a chalice in a niche above it. The whole thing dates to 1899, and *The Buildings of England* ascribes it to the Powell workshop though there doesn't seem to be actual proof.

Windlesham is one of a small subset I would like to describe as *vesica* reredoses, along with ones at St John's Hale (1896) and Byfleet (1929, but with mosaic *The Buildings of England* dates to 1881 and which I think is later). These all have in the centre an empty lens-shaped space which is presumably designed to emphasise the cross when that's in front of it (or maybe even a monstrance if anyone was that daring). The Windlesham one is especially striking not just because of its expense but also because it looks very like medieval pictures of the Heart Wound of Christ.

Several churches use paintings as their reredos: subjects include the Nativity (Banstead, Egham, Thursley), the Crucifixion (Minley, and the lost picture at Hindhead), a set of prints of Jan van Eyck images in Badshot Lea's side chapel, the Virgin and Saints (Seale), the Last Supper (Shamley Green), the Annunciation (Weston Green's Lady Chapel), and the Entombment (Headley St Andrew). Bramley and Holmbury St Mary have gilded *quattrocento* Italianate paintings, Bramley's dating from 1903. Folding triptychs of carved



The sanctuary & reredos at Bramley

wood (which can be shut in Lent) can be found at Addlestone, St Christopher's Haslemere, Ottershaw, West Byfleet, Weybridge and the old chapel of St Andrew at St Peter's Convent in Woking. One fascinating example is at Chertsey, where a later wooden reredos partially covers an earlier

picture of the Wedding at Cana in tiles, installed in 1872. The lower part would have been hidden by the altar when that was still flush against the east wall.

It is not as though these pieces become less sumptuous as time goes on, provided there's money to pay for them. Virtually the last anywhere is the 1930 reredos at Long Ditton. This is the work of Alister MacDonald, son of the first Labour Prime Minister, who at that time was mainly designing cinemas, while the sculpture was done by Laurence Bradshaw, a Communist whose most famous piece would be the tomb of Karl Marx at Highgate. The reredos is an almost overpowering sight in pink marble that combines vaguely Classical, Art Deco and Gothic elements, framing against black three marble statues apparently of Jesus – on either side holding scrolls and being whispered to by angels, and in the centre blessing children.

St Martin's Epsom had a quite bizarre arrangement at the east end which survived until the 1900s. A sketch by Edward Hassall from about 1830 shows a Gothic superstructure against the wall, apparently of whitewashed wood, with three arches (a flat Tudor one flanked by two tall narrow ones), pinnacles, and machicolations along the top. A railed-in altar covered in a red cloth seems to have some sort of sunburst design on the wall behind. Sometime towards the end of the century this thing was elaborately painted and images of saints and the Agnus Dei mounted on the wall. Then it was all swept away between 1907 and 1911 in a remodelling and extension of the chancel by Charles Nicholson, including a new gilded-and-painted wooden reredos in a Renaissance style, showing Christ and the Agnus Dei flanked by saints; the old paintings were moved elsewhere.

The predominating blue-and-gold tones of the Epsom reredos bring us to another subset, which I will call 'Warham' reredoses though it is not at all clear that they all derive from the Warham Guild even if they have that look about them. They are of carved and painted wood, generally Gothic, and were presumably designed to go with English altars; the ones at St Michael's Aldershot (see p.217) and St-Thomas-on-the-Bourne (p.111) are still *in situ*. St Thomas's includes paintings by Christopher Webb, a Guild member, as does the one at Shalford. Bagshot's is by H.S. Goodhart-Rendel (1912 – at least the main one is, there's a green one in the side chapel), and Merrow's, now moved away from the altar, is definitely Warham Guild work. Milford has what looks like the *frame* of one of these reredoses, with any other imagery now painted black. We find another splendid instance in the very unexpected context of Christ Church, Woking, donated in memory of Emma Mansergh in 1926 and now banished to a side chapel: it was designed by Mr Howard of the Warham Guild and installed at the east end (see back cover).[143] At St Andrew's Farnham the altar has been moved away from the old sanctuary, leaving behind an elaborate reredos of angels with shields bearing the Angus Dei and

Instruments of the Passion. It looks slightly different from the others under discussion, and doesn't have their blue colouring. A correspondent of mine has guessed it's by Temple Moore, though that would be a stretch. A cousin of these reredoses is at St Paul's Dorking, showing the risen Christ adored by angels, a very early work by the later landscape artist Ivon Hitchens: it's from 1921 but looks about twenty years older. You would describe it as Symbolist if you wanted to give it a label. Again, it's predominately blue and gold, as though it's trying to fit in with the Gothic examples. Compare the beautiful painted panel of angels dated 1937 against a pillar at St Martin's, Epsom.



At St Paul's, Dorking

Classical motifs appear later: the earliest (though you could describe it as neo-Jacobean) is the reredos at Old Woking, part of the general panelling around the altar table which, along with the pulpit, is in the same style. Mickleham has a very odd carving of the Last Supper flanked by pillars from 1938, St Martin-on-the-Bourne acquired a wooden altarpiece and painting of the Virgin in 1941 as a memorial to a soldier killed in Crete, and the east end of Holy Trinity Guildford with its not-quite tabernacle dates from 1948. Hinchley Wood had a tall, plain wooden altar backdrop which looks a bit like a bedroom screen (1952) and is now removed to an aisle, while the latest of all, from Burgh Heath in 1958, is an alabaster carving of the Last Supper in a frame (which is the contemporary part) in purple and gold, of all things. And

by then we have reached the point where reredoses start to become obsolete as the altars are dragged forward as part of the great Reform.

Rood windows

The Crucifixion might seem an obvious subject for Christian art, but I think that placed in the east window of a Victorian church it performs a particular function. This struck me looking at the east window of Farncombe, dating probably from the 1870s; this is a triplet of lancets with Christ in the centre and the Virgin and St John either side, exactly as it would appear on a rood beam or screen. An angel catches the blood flowing from Christ's wounds in a chalice, as blatant a Eucharistic reference as you could want. Such imagery drew a direct connection between the sacrifice on Calvary and the sacrifice of the altar taking place beneath the window, especially when a priest was facing *ad orientem* and raising the host and chalice towards the window. This would *probably* be the case at Farncombe until the connection was broken when the chancel screen was installed in 1924. Fifteen more churches across the diocese have the Crucifixion placed over their altar with no other Gospel scenes (but occasionally flanked by saints – at St Peter's Farnborough the patron saint replaces the Virgin). At Grafham, Wrecclesham and Wyke we have the additional detail, as at Farncombe, of angels collecting the holy Blood in chalices. Newdigate's window seems post-Victorian.



Wrecclesham

St George, Military Saints and Chivalric Figures

St George is the patron saint of England, but that isn't really why he appears, as such, in so many Anglican churches. Samantha Riches has written how interest in St George became a way of thinking about and channelling patriotism and chivalric values between the 1880s and World War Two, and in this he was joined by other military saints, and even more surprising figures (or one, anyway).[144]

Across our diocese I found no fewer than forty-one images of St George, with three more possible depictions, and that may of course be an underestimate of what's out there. Most of these are windows, but there are six statues, three as part of a reredos and the rest – at the Ascension Aldershot, Badshot Lea (St George being its patron), and St Nicolas's Guildford–





St George at Wyke (left) and Badshot Lea (above)

free-standing. All of those look no earlier than 1920 and no later than 1950; I especially like Badshot Lea's, who seems to be a Knight Templar and carries a shield bearing the Three Lions of England. Probably the earliest window is at Peper Harrow, or at least *was* at Peper Harrow before the fire: the replacement looks about 1880s in style, though some images are deceiving such as the very beautiful window at Wonersh which is early 1900s but looks rather later than that. You could even say that about the window at Lightwater which is a memorial post-dating 1962 but which could be twenty years *earlier*. Ten images of St George are paintings, plaques, or something else; the official World War One Memorials in St Paul's East Molesey and Longcross (now in Lyne Church) are pictures of George, and perhaps the loveliest is the luminous *opus sectile* panel at Wyke dating after 1924, which looks exactly like an illustration from a children's book. George was an obvious go-to for a memorial to a soldier, whether or not they died on service, but – as we've seen at Forest Green – a civilian might even be *depicted* as the saint.

The saint George appears paired with most often is his fellow dragonslayer, St Michael the archangel, who is also usually depicted in armour, as 'captain of the heavenly hosts'; Michael is found in his own right in several places, too, including statues at St Michael's Aldershot and Egham Hythe, and the All Souls' Chapel reredos at Weybridge, but he is usually present as one of a number of angelic figures if George isn't there. St Martin, as another soldier-saint, is also paired with George, as in a window at East Horsley. The third military saint who accompanies George – and is also, helpfully, the protomartyr of England and therefore another patriotic figure – is St Alban; in fact in the Guildford diocese he only appears *apart* from George twice, in the Weybridge reredos, and as part of a group in a Karl Parsons window from 1909 at Hindhead. At Holy Trinity Guildford Martin is at the centre of a window with smaller figures of George and Alban flanking him; the three are shown together in the Cubitt chapel murals at Ranmore; and all four saints – George, Michael, Alban and Martin – appear in Kempe-workshop windows in the side chapel at Oatlands. Other saints paired with George are Augustine of Canterbury at Chiddingfold (who counts as honorarily English), Patrick at Shalford (a memorial to an English and Irish husband and wife) and, twice, St Helena, in mural form at St Nic's in Guildford and in that early window at Peper Harrow.



Grayswood

The last military figure is not so much a companion to St George as a replacement for him. The reredos at Weybridge includes a variety of English saints, and also King Alfred: fair enough, we might think now, Alfred is in the Anglican calendar as an example of heroic Christian kingship even if he wasn't in 1921 when the reredos was made. But just along from Alfred is an armoured figure – not St George, who was at least theoretically real even if the imagery associated with him was fantasy – but *Sir Galahad* from the Arthurian legends. At first I thought this was a unique representation, but not at all, it turns out: Galahad also appears in a window at Grayswood (with the Holy Grail depicted above him), at Ranmore where he kneels with the military saints in the Cubitt Chapel murals, and at St Bartholomew's Haslemere where he features in a memorial window to Alfred Lord Tennyson, inspired by William Morris's tapestry 'The Achievement of the Grail' which illustrated the poet's *The Idylls of the King*. This

willingness to use a fictional character as an epitome of Christian knightly virtue is very striking to say the least: were Boy Scouts and other churchgoing lads supposed to look upon these images and read their own aspirations into them? Were they intended to connect the Grail with the chalice the priest raised at Communion? Had early 20th-century Anglicans managed to convince themselves that, at some level, Galahad was *real*? 'When a Knight Won His Spurs' indeed.

Screens

Although we have dealt with chancel screens in several places already, there are still some useful remarks to be made here. The point of a screen was to conform a church building more closely to a medieval spiritual pattern, but while most of the extant screens are Gothic, some are in a different idiom. Blackheath's gilded Renaissance screen of about 1902 adds to the Italianate feel of that church (picture p.42). Addlestone's screen is vaguely Classical – pillars and a beam painted in a pale stone colour (p.70) – and St Martin's Epsom's has squared Classical pillars combined with a decorated beam and ironwork. That leads us to the fully iron screens at Holy Trinity Guildford, St Mark's Farnborough, Hersham, and one at Claygate which certainly existed but is long since gone. Most extraordinary of all is Lutyens's creation of 1899 at Busbridge, an arrangement of curves, uprights and sculptures in bronze suspended from the roof, which is partway between a screen and a rood beam: it incorporates a majestic Christ (not enthroned, though), kneeling angels, and roses.

Stations of the Cross

Not so long ago I would have said that the Stations of the Cross marked a church out as belonging to an advanced Catholic tradition, but the potential of this old devotion of Christ's Passion has now been recognised far beyond that: in 2022, when I visited the very middle-of-the-road church of Send, I found then incumbent Tony Shutt's Stations in the grounds, very effective self-produced artworks; Ash, another quite moderate church, installed a set of carved wooden Stations as late as 2017. Nevertheless this is a fairly recent development and the devotion used to be unfamiliar outside the Anglo-Catholic *milieu*.

According to the service registers, more than a dozen churches in our sample have observed the devotion of Stations of the Cross at some point (doubtless an underestimate) but have nothing physical to show for it; sometimes churches prefer to have temporary Stations that are used in Lent, or just Passiontide. Weybridge, Woodham and Farncombe fall into this category, and although it's a building I haven't seen inside, available images of St Barbara's Deepcut show what look like printed poster-type Stations on the



The Ascension, Aldershot

walls in Eastertide. St Nicolas's Guildford has custom-made ceramic Stations, as did the Ascension, Aldershot, before its demise, while in 2005 St Mary's Ewell installed a set made by artist and congregation member Iain McKillop, striking and graphic paintings which are usually kept on show on a balcony and brought into the main part of the church when needed.[145]

The oldest set of fixed Stations is at St Mark's Farnborough, each provided in memory of a parishioner around 1932 when a faculty was issued to install them; they have a *slightly* Baroque look. Those at Holy Trinity Hawley (1949), St Michael's Aldershot (1955), St Augustine's Aldershot, and West Molesey are almost certainly Faith Craft work. Hindhead's are icon-fashion; All Saints' Hawley's are small terracotta panels and were already there in 1960, five years after the building was opened; North Holmwood's are wood, and Thorpe's are stone in a mid-century sub-Eric Gill style, as are the Wantage Sisters' set formerly in St Augustine's Addlestone, and now at St Paul's.

Thuribles

Thuribles are naturally among the bits of church kit usually kept locked away in sacristies, but I saw a few on my travels. Those at Wrecclesham and Godalming (both only used on very special occasions) are the same simple design in brass as Farncombe's, where ours is used at half-a-dozen services through the year and was acquired from Milford in 1976 – there's no evidence that the church had one before then. The fanciest are at St Mark's Farnborough, one of the sort that looks like a little church, and Woodham, who have one made by the well-known Indian firm of Dass & Dutt in the later 1800s. St Nic's Guildford has an entire rack of five thuribles including a tiny Orthodox-style one; St Augustine's Aldershot also has five of differing size and elaboration; St Barnabas's Epsom's was among the range of brassware disposed of in 2024; and I wouldn't have known about the one at Nork had I not spotted it boxed up with other items on a shelf in the vestry when I visited that church in 2022. Banstead's thurible seems to be of steel, and they now use it on Corpus Christi and Easter morning.

Vestments

This subject could occupy a separate monograph in its own right, but in my survey of Guildford churches I only got to see a couple of dozen vestries and those were, I think fairly, skewed towards the core Anglo-Catholic parishes.

There are many churches that have no vestments at all, even now, and they are not always hardline Evangelical ones: Canon John Fellows used to borrow a chasuble from us at Farncombe to preside on Christmas Day at Shackleford (the only occasion in the year one was used), while when I went to help out at Seale one Sunday morning I couldn't even find a stole and was told that clergy usually bring their own kit with them. Most churches do have at least some, though. Therefore I can hardly claim that the following remarks are representative of the diocese's tat, but there are still interesting observations we can make.

Churches in the Catholic tradition tend not to dispose of their old vestments unless they are worn out, just add to their collections, even if the older items end up stuffed away in a drawer; so it's not uncommon to survey a vestry and find yourself going through a century of ecclesiastical fashion. Thus St James's Weybridge has two fine old Gothic sets in yellow and deep red; the yellow, at least, is not in a fit state to be used. There's a variety of mid-20th-century vestments including three High Mass sets in blue, white and green, which may be home-made, stoles in great profusion, and then the mid-2000s sets bought by Brian Prothero we've already described. What the Weybridge collection lacks, apart from some white linen stoles with simple green embroidery, is anything from the 1970s and 1980s when the church was heading down the candle liturgically. Churches whose tradition did not waver, such as St Nic's Guildford or Thorpe, have representation from that period as well. Banstead retains a variety of old kit including a very striking gold and pink set by Vanpoulles in a trad mode, and also has matching sets in all the main colours bought from the firm in 2004; there's a 'vibrant' Croft Designs chasuble from 2012 and a more traditional white-and-gold one donated in 1993 and made by Watts & Co.: it bears a dedication, 'Pray for the souls of Arthur and Ivy Hubbard' and was first used by Revd Thomas New, the vicar, on his last Sunday at the church.



Vanpoulles chasuble at St Mark's, Farnborough

In seven churches (including Farncombe) I found identical sets of vestments – the same basic fabric weave and orphreys with a repeated cross pattern, but in different colours. I could only uncover a Vanpoulles maker's label in the purple set at St Mark's Farnborough, but presumably that's where they all come from. West Clandon has a red dalmatic in the same style. Hindhead has a purple set

which looks similar but the crosses on the orphreys are replaced with a kind of *Jugendstil* pattern. That heavy ribbed or hessian-type fabric which became *de rigueur* for vestments in the 1970s and 1980s can be found in the cupboards at St Augustine's Aldershot, Pixham, and Thorpe.







Roman green at West Clandon, held by Fr Barnaby Perkins; Marian at All Saints' Hawley; modern at Banstead; recently-made gold dalmatic at St Nic's, Guildford

Roman-style vestments are rare even in the diocese's keenest Catholic churches. St Augustine's Aldershot has a green Roman set made at the Convent of the Good Shepherd in Windlesham, a Roman Catholic foundation which operated between 1937 and 1979; we also find Roman vestments at St Nic's Guildford, at Hascombe (where a green set has a home-made look), Nork, Thorpe, and West Clandon – a green set in a floral fabric which looks 19th-century. These are always isolated items rather than part of a whole run in all the colours. Sometimes Roman vestments may have disappeared, or been the property of incumbents rather than churches: Thorpe has a photograph of Nicholas Menon, vicar 1970-76, wearing a set the church no longer possesses (see p.146), while the vestments brought back from Europe by Revd S.K. Anderson in the 1930s had long since vanished from St Barnabas's Epsom by the time it disposed of its Vanheems sets in 2024, even though Michael Godwin had had them restored in 1968. The Roman sets we use at Farncombe belong to me rather than the church. St Augustine's Aldershot, St Nic's, Holy Trinity Hawley, Thorpe and West Clandon all have pink sets for the two Sundays in the year when pink is worn; St Augustine's, St John's Hale, and Hawley have Marian vestments while there are probable Marian sets at Hindhead and Headley All Saints' (at least, they're blue); and Godalming, St Nic's, Hascombe, Nork, and Thorpe have black requiem sets. In fact, Thorpe has black trad Roman (home made) and modern ones for good measure, the latter with the same embroidery as a purple set, so both were clearly bought from the same supplier. At St Augustine's a drawer of the vestment press is labelled 'Black', but has nothing in it. Hascombe has traditionally used red instead of purple because of the general décor of the building. Bagshot's vestments show some interesting modern motifs – a Celtic knot pattern on a green set, and a labyrinth on a white one.

We'll conclude with a couple of the best examples of ecclesiastical needlework in the area. Remounting motifs from older items is not unknown, but the survival of antique vestments is rarer. Banstead has a gold cope whose hood bears the *Agnus Dei* and heavily-embroidered orphreys that look as though they're reused from something older; Thorpe has a 19th-century French set in pink floral fabric as well as a stole so elaborate you can hardly see the green ground through the gold. The heavily-embroidered late-19th-to-early-20th-century red damask set at St Martin's Dorking is still in use. Finally, though we're not discussing altar textiles particularly, special mention should be made of the dramatic white frontal at Hascombe, on which Christ stands holding a chalice and surrounded by musician angels with adoring saints to either side, against a ground of cherubim. Heavily embroidered and woven with stones, this amazing piece bears a date – 8th March 1890 – but no maker's name. There is a matching stole, but no chasuble: probably none were in use at Hascombe even in Canon Musgrave's later years.



Detail from the Hascombe altar frontal

Wall Paintings

Church decorative art usually has no great pretensions to quality and we see plenty of instances whose only purpose is to raise the mind heavenward by the most direct and least challenging route: thus we have static, hieratic neo-Gothic imagery of Christ, angels and saints (as at Hersham and Long Ditton) or more sentimental neo-renaissance styles as at Christ Church Epsom, Shamley Green (by local artist Mary Dacres, 1892), and Esher. The chancel arch, or the chancel itself, are typical locations for this art. Decoration covering church walls was once more extensive, and churches abounded with stencilling, texts over arches, and more, most of which has been whitewashed during the 20th century: sometimes, as at St James's Weybridge, you can just about glimpse the outlines when the light's in the right direction. Banstead used to have angels painted over the chancel arch against a stencilled background either side of a crucifix and above the text 'If I be lifted up I will draw all men unto' (John 12:32); only the crucifix survives. Church Crookham has a splendid 1893 Adoration of the Shepherds in *sgraffito* by Heywood Sumner, Bishop Sumner's grandson.

There are three sets of paintings which stand out. First, the murals in the Cubitt Chapel at Ranmore by the late (some would say last) Pre-Raphaelite E. Reginald Frampton depicting angels and virtues standing on a rainbow above an altar backed by an Adoration of the Magi and flanked by the patron saints of the Allied nations of World War One (and, as we have noted, Sir Galahad). Second, the frescos of the mid-1890s by Anna Lea Merritt at Blackheath showing St Martin, St John the Baptist, and scenes from the life of Christ: Mrs Merritt was born in the US but spent most of her working life in Britain. Finally, and most extraordinarily, in the very humble surroundings of St Mark's, Hale, there are the dreamy Symbolist paintings around the altar made by Eleanor 'Kitty' Milroy in the 1910s. Apart from the Annunciation and the symbols of the Evangelists behind the altar, the images are Christian in only the loosest sense, and represent the seasons, and other natural elements. Miss Milroy clearly used local people as her models (including, it's said, her gardener) and included nearby landscapes in vignettes. The daughter of the Vicar of Carisbrooke, Miss Milroy lived in Hale from 1911 to 1920 and, although she was trained at the Slade School of Art, this is her only significant surviving work. The murals were restored in 2021-2.



It's also worth mentioning, though not in view of its quality, the strange Rood painting over the chancel arch at Thorpe which was originally

executed by one of the Spelthorne Sisters. The story goes that she made it from home-produced egg tempera paint that was so unstable it began flaking off during the reordering works in the church in 2005. This prompted Fr Hereward-Rothwell to retouch the face of Christ himself, but the well-authenticated provenance of the painting didn't stop him claiming the original artist was Salvador Dali.[146]

Finally, in the wall-paintings over the chancel arch of Hascombe, surrounded by angels and apostles, Christ sits enthroned in majesty over what may be intended to represent the Heavenly Jerusalem, but which is clearly the city of Oxford, and I don't know quite whether to treat that as a tribute to the Tractarians or a joke.

Appendix 1: The Purchas Memorialists of 1871

Albury: George Portal, rector; Lionel Bigg, curate
Ash: John Cancellor, curate
Banstead: Edward Buckle, vicar; George Thomson, curate
Chessington (& Malden): J.S. Jones, curate
Church Crookham: Thomas Robinson, curate
Claygate: Henry Richards, vicar
Cobham: Gerard Bancks, vicar; Perceval Webb, curate; Alfred Wilson, curate
Cranleigh: J.H. Sapte, rector; Joseph Merriman, Headmaster Cranleigh School; Augustus Watson, tutor, Cranleigh School
Crondall: William Durst, curate
Dorking: Philip Hoste, vicar; Henry Gepp, curate
East Horsley: Freeman Wilson, rector
Egham: John Beattie, Master Cooper's Almshouses
Farnborough: Robert Scot, rector
Fetcham: Edward Moon, rector
Guildford: Henry Merriman, Headmaster Grammar School; John Monsell, Rector St Nicolas's; Samuel Buxton Smyth, tutor Grammar School & curate of Shalford; Plantagenet Somerset, curate St Mary & Holy Trinity; George Taylor, curate
Hale: Henry Aubrey, Rector
Haslemere: Sanders Etheridge, rector
Hawley: John Wyatt, vicar
Minley: Alfred Deck, vicar
Newdigate: Lancelot Studdert Kennedy, rector
Ockley: Francis Du Sautoy, rector
Ottershaw: John Oldham, vicar
Pirbright: Francis Owston, vicar
Puttenham: Charles Kerry, curate
Shalford: Richard Matthews, vicar; Samuel Buxton Smyth, curate
Stoke d'Abernon: Hugh Wyndham, curate
Thorpe: Henry Leigh Bennett, vicar; George Drury, curate
Thursley: Henry Brancker, vicar
Walton-on-the-Hill: Ambrose Hall, vicar
Weybridge: Edward Rose, rector; Philip Bartlett, curate
Witley: John Chandler, vicar
Woking: J. Maurice Gillington, chaplain Brookwood Hospital
Worplesdon: George Dupuis, rector

Appendix 2: Clergy Members of the Surrey Clerical & Lay Association, 1872

Abinger: J.W.S. Powell, T.R.C. Campbell
Alfold: Richard Sparkes, vicar
Chiddingfold: L.M. Humbert
Churt: A.B. Alexander
Cuddington (Worcester Park): T. Smith
Dorking: Canon Holmes
Epsom: Benjamin Bockett
Ewell: Sir George Glyn, vicar
Farnham: G.E. Fox
Farncombe: Charles Dallas
Godalming: W.D. Long
Haslemere: G. Hesse
Holmwood: E.D. Wickham
Horsell: A. Mangles
Merrow: H.A. Bowles
Mickleham: W.H. Harke
Peperharrow: Canon Woodroffe
Pyrford: T.M. Ridsdale
Send: G.R. Tate
Shackleford: Archdall Buttemer, vicar; W.W. Willson, curate
Shere: [ ] Barker, T.P. Hill
Stoke-by-Guildford: G. Wells, F. Paynter
Thames Ditton: F. Style
Woking: D. Wilks

Clergy names in these appendices are only indexed if they also appear in the main text.

Notes

1. V. Musgrave, *The Church of St Peter, Hascombe* (1882), quoted in A. Bott, *The Parish Churches of Dunsfold & Hascombe* (2006), 91-2
2. Wikipedia says Arthur was the son of a John Chandler who was vicar of St Leonards-on-Sea, which is not the case.
3. There is much confusion around concerning the various John Chandlers. *Our* John, the one who was born in 1806 and died in 1876, is often reported as John *Brownlow* Chandler – but that was definitely his son, and successor-but-one as Vicar of Witley.
4. E.A. Chandler, 'Some Chronicles of Witley', *The Home Counties Magazine* 1908, 251-2, quoting the parish magazine, May 1873
5. https://eghammuseum.org/st-johns-200-part-1/
6. The online compendium of sources for the history of Anglicanism – www.anglicanhistory.org.
7. J.D. Carter, 'Fashioning Female Authorship in the Early Nineteenth Century…', Southampton University PhD thesis 2017, p.143: https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/413954/1/LIBRARY_COPY_Carter_Janet_e_thesis_final_copy_replacement.pdf
8. Another of Revd Dyson's curates at Dogmersfield was W.J. Butler, Vicar of Wantage and eventually Dean of Lincoln, who remained a friend of Anthony Lefroy's.
9. See J. Elliott & J. Pritchard, eds., *Henry Woodyer: Gentleman architect*, Reading: University of Reading (2002)
10. It seems that Moses and Aaron, representatives of the Law of the Old Testament, stood guard along with the Ten Commandments in many churches, and it's a surprise that this aspect of pre-Ecclesiological church decoration is so little referred to. Such arrangements survive in a couple of City of London churches including St Michael's Cornhill and St Magnus the Martyr London Bridge; in our area, St Martin's Dorking had them (beneath painted swagged curtains, as at Weybridge, possibly recalling the Tabernacle), and All Saints' Headley still has theirs, though W.D. Caröe banished them to the west end of that church in his reorganisation in the early 1900s.
11. James Wayland and William Henry both had sons – James, Barclay Joyce, and William Henry, John Barclay Joyce – who became priests. Each attended Keble College, Oxford; the latter would become curate at Dorking in the 1870s.
12. Established in 1841, the Bishopric of Jerusalem was a standing bugbear of the Catholic Movement. It was a joint venture of the Church of England and the Prussian Evangelical Church, and Samuel Gobat, the second Bishop, was a Swiss Calvinist by upbringing. He

began his work in 1846 attempting to convert local Orthodox Christians. For Neale, a great admirer of Orthodoxy, the Orthodox didn't need converting, and his Memorialists, who described themselves as 'priests and deacons of the Catholic Church', wrote to the Orthodox Patriarchs to assure them of their opposition to Archbishop Gobat's actions. The Anglican Archbishops were horrified.

13. A. Wedgwood, *A History of the Church & Parish of St Martin Dorking*, 1990.
14. He was a member of the Surrey Clerical & Lay Association – *Surrey Advertiser & County Times*, 26.10.1872.
15. As he must have done at Knebworth: in 1832 he was tried by the House of Lords for having acquired the living simonaically, that is, by corrupt means. He was acquitted, but no wonder he wanted to leave.
16. J. Andrews, *Reminiscences of Epsom*, L.W. Andrews & Son: Epsom (1904), 23-4
17. Bott *op cit* p.103
18. Mr Lyon also seems to have had West Indian connections; in the 1841 Clergy List his address is given as simply 'Nevis'.
19. Wedgwood *op cit*
20. S. Binns, *Sir Edward Colebrook of Abington & Ottershaw* … Grosvenor House: Guildford (2014), 137-159
21. Mr Buttemer was Mr Dallas's heir, and so we fear that Shackleford church was substantially constructed with slave-plantation money.
22. https://ranmorewarmemorial.info/st-barnabas-church/
23. Thomas Bowles came from a gentry family in Milton, Berkshire: he was a curate of W.J. Butler's at Wantage and then at All Saints' Clifton, two leading Anglo-Catholic churches, and, as a parish history of St Michael's Abingdon states, 'offered the Holy Sacrifice for the last time at [the] altar' there before his death in 1899.
24. R.R. Langham-Carter, "Hatchford Park & Church" in Harrison (ed.) *Surrey Archaeological Collections, Relating to the History and Antiquities of the County*, Volume 61; published by Surrey Archaeological Society, 1964
25. A.P. Millar, *Christ Church, Epsom. 1876-1926. A Short Record*
26. St Francis's Westborough is an odd case in that it was in fact a foundation from Stoughton in 1933, named after a 19th-century rector of Stoke, Francis Paynter. The church was then transferred to the oversight of St Nicolas's as a conventional district in 1947, and became a parish in 1958 – B. Taylor, *The Lower Church* (1980), 63-4.
27. Other churches that fulfilled a joint function of church and hall, and to an extent still do, are St Mary's Pixham and St Mark's Ockford

Ridge. For many years now I have had the honour of offering a Christmas service at St Francis's Littleton, and take a naughty pleasure in doing so wearing a biretta and a gold spade-ended stole.

28. The hospitals were progressively closed and converted to housing from the 1990s onwards, but St Barnabas's retains a close interest in mental health provision even now, through its involvement with the Love Me Love My Mind charity set up in the early 2000s to promote understanding of mental health issues – see pp. 213-14.
29. Banstead parish was in Rochester diocese at the time, and transferred to Guildford in 1927; Burgh Heath became a separate parish ten years later. This account largely comes from Banstead History Research Group, *The Church of St Mary Burgh Heath, the First 100 Years* (2008), 23, 30
30. A.W. Hopkinson, *Pastor's Progress*: *An Autobiography* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1942), 87-8, 97
31. https://speh.org.uk/about-us/history/
32. Faith Craft (1916-c.1970) was an initiative of the Society of the Faith, founded in 1905 by two brother priests, J.A. and C.E. Douglas, to promote a Catholic understanding of the Church of England, and which still exists. The artists and architects who worked for it, providing vestments, devotional items and fixtures, tended to work in a recognisable style that steered clear of either the medieval-pattern material made by the Warham Guild, or the neo-baroque fashion favoured by the Society of SS Peter & Paul. Several of its leading lights had worked closely with Martin Travers, so it is no surprise that the Faith Craft house style often had a touch of Travers about it, but its output also tended to have a quasi-modernist solidity he lacked. Faith Craft's craftspeople usually didn't promote themselves very much, and I suspect there's a great deal of its produce surviving in churches which has gone unrecognised. See R. Gage, *All Manner of Workmanship*, Spire Books, 2015.
33. John Sapte had served a mere year as curate at Cuddesdon before becoming Rector of Cranleigh at the age of 25: he remained there until his death sixty years later. Like John Chandler and Vernon Musgrave, he became a greatly-respected figure notwithstanding his Tractarian opinions, being made an Honorary Canon of Winchester in 1871, Rural Dean of Guildford in 1881, and Archdeacon in 1888.
34. https://issuu.com/stcatherinesbramley/docs/chapel_memories01_january_2015_v3_c24ac9a234ef97
35. Charterhouse has two chapels, the original one dating from about 1870 and then a colossal replacement of 1922-27 designed by Giles Gilbert Scott as a memorial to the Old Boys killed in the First World

War. It is overwhelming, with an altar set so high it's almost giddying. Currently the vestry has a whole shelf of different incenses.

36. We have an unusually detailed and liturgically-aware history of St Nicolas's, *The Lower Church*, written by the incumbent Brian Taylor in 1980, and this enables us to say more about how worship changed there than we otherwise could.
37. The Conference was considering the proposal to establish the Church of South India by admitting into the Anglican Church in India former Presbyterian and Methodist ministers without insisting that they be re-ordained by Anglican bishops. Hardline Anglo-Catholics vigorously opposed this measure.
38. Hopkinson *op cit*, 85-6
39. M. Blain & C. Hickton, 'An Anglo-Catholic Congress Clergy Directory' (2015): https://anglicanhistory.org/england/congresses/hickton_blain2025.pdf
40. *Surrey Advertiser & County Times*, 26.7.1867; 26.10.1872
41. *Surrey Times* 25.2.1893
42. *Surrey Advertiser & County Times*, 6.4.1901
43. K. Atherton, *A short guide to St Mary Magdalene, the Holmwood …* (2011), 15; *Dorking & Leatherhead Advertiser*, 5.10.1901; 19.4.1902; *Surrey Mirror & County Post* 28.3.1902; https://elmbridgemuseum.org.uk/online-exhibitions/treasures-of-the-gill-family/, for the image of Revd Gill
44. https://eghammuseum.org/ritualism-means-ruin-the-thorpe-war/; *Woking News & Mail*, 11.2.1910, 19.8.1910
45. These were: wearing vestments; lighting candles on the altar when not required for purposes of light; kissing the Gospel Book; using the sign of the Cross in absolution; mixing water and wine in the chalice; not carrying out the manual acts openly; elevating the Host; interpolating prayers into the service; genuflection; using a sacring bell; wearing cope and biretta; using palms on Palm Sunday; celebrating communion alone; confessing to the servers before the mass; crossing himself thrice at the Gospel; washing his hands at communion; standing for the Confession; reciting the last part of the prayer of consecration silently; using the Last Gospel; putting up notices including prayer for the dead; and bringing into the church 'an image of the Saviour as a baby lying in a manger' – *Woking News & Mail*, 11.2.1910.
46. Hascombe archive.
47. St Mary's Portsea is such an important parish that we ought to sketch out its role in this period. The old church had been rebuilt by Edgar Jacob, later Bishop of Newcastle and then St Albans, and was

consecrated in 1889. Canon Jacob intended the new, cathedral-sized St Mary's to be the centre of a network of mission churches on the model of other places such as Leeds under Walter Farquhar Hook, or Poplar in east London, and at one stage there were fifteen or so daughter churches connected to it in some way. To manage this colossal effort the parish employed a small army of curates, between a dozen and fifteen, a good proportion of whose measly stipends the Vicar paid, though he got some of it back in housekeeping charges. As well as rebuilding the church Canon Jacob also enlarged the parsonage so his curates could live in. This was of course a model which applied in many Catholic parishes, but nowhere on quite the scale of Portsea. Curates at Portsea were expected to stay 4 to 5 years, obviously couldn't marry while they were there, and could afford to do little apart from work. This created something of a hothouse atmosphere and Portsea staff often went on to significant things: that applied to several of the vicars – most notably Cosmo Lang (1896-1901) and Cyril Garbett (1909-1919), later Archbishop of Canterbury and York respectively (because if a clergyman could manage the prodigious degree of administration and organisation Portsea demanded, he could manage anything) – but to curates as well.

A significant number of clergy in my sample passed through Portsea. I know about the following, and will almost certainly have missed others:

Frederick Hawkes, 1901-11: Vicar of St Michael's Aldershot, 1911

Oswald Hunt, 1904-20: Vicar of St Martin's Dorking, 1936

Leonard Starey, 1907-12: Vicar of St Martin's Dorking, 1943

E. de G. Lucas, 1908-24: Vicar of St Nicolas's Guildford, 1930

Herbert Gilbert, 1912-18: Vicar of North Holmwood, 1918

P.G. Holden, 1919-24: Vicar of Witley, 1930

Aelfric Hudson, 1921-25: Vicar of Holmbury St Mary, 1926

A.L.E. Hoskyn-Abrahall, 1931-33: Vicar of St Michael's Aldershot, 1945

Peter Geake, 1947-50: Vicar of Burgh Heath, 1962 (from a later period than Portsea's 'Golden Age')

In addition George Douglas, Vicar of St Augustine's Aldershot from 1928, served a curacy at Portsea's neighbour All Saints' Landport (1920-25).

Now, the *liturgy* at Portsea was not especially advanced for some time – so, during his incumbency, Cyril Garbett had to promise not to light the candles placed on the high altar. Nevertheless the whole ethos of the parish was a moderate Catholicism of the kind that was

by this stage well embedded in the Anglican establishment, and unobjectionable to it. 'The Holy Communion is taught as the central act of worship, and weekly communion is encouraged': even if the church did not have a Choral Eucharist every week, this was because the clergy believed that working-class churchgoers found early communion more convenient, and did not want to encourage non-communicating mass attendance on the Roman model (C. Garbett ed., *The Work of a Great Parish*, Longman & Green: London (1915), 56). And early on in its life the renewed St Mary's suffered what was almost certainly an anti-Ritualist attack. On 25th August 1894 someone – the culprit was never identified – broke into the church and tried to set the altar on fire, crumpling up an embroidered altar frontal which had been worked by the daughters of the main donor of the church, soaking it in methylated spirits, lighting it, and turning on the gas. The damage was discovered on the Sunday morning and it was sheer good fortune that the altarcloth had simply burned out without the gas catching light. 'It is believed', the *Hampshire Advertiser* commented, 'that the outrage was the work of some fanatic who objected to the work done at the church'. (*H.A.* 29.8.1894) I'm not sure when the gigantic Gothic reredos now present was installed (some time before 1915, as it appears in Cyril Garbett's book) or when St Mary's became comfortable to describe its services as 'mass'. See also https://www.thinkinganglicans.org.uk/opinion-4-february-2021/; *Victoria County History: Hampshire* vol.3, 192-202.

The more thoroughly advanced church of St Mark's North End was next door to Portsea parish and several clergy we know about were linked to it:

George Dandridge, Vicar of North End 1892: Vicar of St Nicolas's Guildford 1901

J.B. Rowsell, curate at North End 1909: Vicar of St Michael's Aldershot 1937

Eric Southam, Vicar of North End 1923: Vicar of Holy Trinity Guildford 1937

Edwin Barnes, curate at North End 1962: Rector of Farncombe 1967

… and much later Malcolm King, Vicar of Egham Hythe from 1986, became Rector of North End in 2004.

48. Christ Church Epsom Common Centenary booklet, 1976. Interestingly Mr Bowles married a niece of Charlotte Yonge.

49. https://wreccleshamhistory.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/22-st-timothy-in-boundstone.pdf

50. M. Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual Commemoration in the City and East London*, 1916-1939 (Suffolk, Rochester NY: Boydell Press, 2002), p.25-9
51. Taken from the records of faculties in the Surrey History Centre. Possibly – because nobody has really investigated the question – the limiting case for the establishment of Lady Chapels within the Catholic Movement was Coldwaltham in Sussex, where Henry Woodyer did some work for the fifty-year Tractarian incumbent J.M. Sandham, and where a Lady Chapel appeared in 1878. There was even a holy well of Our Lady 'rediscovered' in the churchyard (*Sussex Express*, 7th December 1878 – info from Andy Norfolk.
52. At Christ Church, Esher, the churchwarden Richard Few, who died in 1881, and his wife Louisa, were commemorated in a plaque which asks the reader to 'Remember Before God [their] Souls'. The idea was still controversial then, and would be for another thirty years and more.
53. Shottermill's example shows how difficult the interpretation of service registers can be, and how inconsistent practice at a single church can turn out. Here's its record of marking Corpus Christi and All Souls':

	All Souls'	CC
1913	A Sunday, so not observed	Yes
1914	Communion, but not named	Kept as St Barnabas
1915	Yes	Communion, but not named
1916	Yes	Communion, but not named
1917	Yes	No
1918	No	Communion, but not named
1919	No	Communion, but not named
1920	Yes	Communion, but not named
1921	Yes	Communion, but not named

54. Bear in mind that the service registers I consulted were not exhaustive – neither for every church, nor every register for the churches I did survey. In particular the earliest register for Woodham I could consult began in 1943, and that probably puts the occurrences of Catholic liturgies elsewhere in a different light.
55. Hopkinson *op cit*, 83, 94, 104; Fr Vincent Stuckey Coles was by this time long retired, having served as Principal of Pusey House in Oxford among other appointments. He was an honorary Canon of Oxford's Christ Church Cathedral, and would have been about 80 when he led this retreat.
56. G. Lanyon, *A History of the Servers' Guild of Woodham 1902-22*

57. For the history, see M. Wallace, *150 Years of Service: An anniversary memento of the Community of St Peter* (2011)
58. The CCJ has no connection with the similarly-named Community of Jesus's Compassion, an order founded in 1993 and based in South Africa). See https://ezitis.myzen.co.uk/homeofcompassion.html.
59. The story is in M. Yelton, *The CRJBS and the Church of St Alphege, Southwark*, Anglo-Catholic History Society (ACHS) (2022).
60. https://ezitis.myzen.co.uk/spelthorne.html; https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0306624X7401800111
61. M. Yelton & S. Savage ed., *An Anglo-Catholic Miscellany*, ACHS (2021), pp 54-8.
62. Taken mostly from Fr Morse-Boycott's own book, *A Pilgrimage of Song*, Faith Press: Leighton Buzzard (1972). For the occasion where Fr Morse-Boycott bishopped up, check https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nnahmDRAKko. He has a fake beard: is he playing St Nicholas, the patron saint of Compton church?
63. SHC J/3/88
64. Bott *op cit*, 124-5
65. She is often referred to as 'Dame' Julia, though I'm not sure how this started!
66. Dorking has a set of plate which is also adorned with jewels and I suspect reflects a similar story, though it seems to have gone unrecorded.
67. For the history, see https://www.staugustine-aldershot.org.uk/welcome/history/ and linked pages.
68. To make the point, on Easter Day 1983 at St James's Weybridge the nine communicants at 7am produced £73 between them; the 65 there at 8am, only £85.70!
69. https://www.staugustine-aldershot.org.uk/welcome/history/60th-anniversary/
70. Or, once Parochial Church Councils became established with a power of veto, the right to *present* a candidate to be incumbent.
71. At least when visited in April 2021.
72. This reference in the service register is mystifying. Of the three Baverstocks recorded in the 1934 *Crockfords*, including the well-known Arthur Baverstock who'd been Vicar of Hinton Martell and twice Master of the Society of the Holy Cross, none of them had any reason to be anywhere near Farnborough, nor, therefore, their absence noted.
73. In 1941 an inventory at Christ Church, Epsom, listed a copy of the *Sarum Missal*, the property of the vicar, Hugh McMullan – but that doesn't mean it was used on a week-by-week basis. Godalming has a

marvellous blue altar frontal whose presence can only be explained with reference to the Sarum Use.

74. E. Bundock, *Sir Charles Nicholson, Architect of Noble Simplicity*, JewelTree: West Raynham (2012), 53-5. I'm indebted to Canon John Bundock for kindly giving me a copy of his brother's book!
75. R. Ringshall, *Cranleigh Parish Church* (2005), 39-40
76. P. Dearmer, *Some Recent Work by the Warham Guild* (1922): like the one at Christ Church, Woking, Merrow's was by Frank Howard, who trained under Ninian Comper.
77. P. Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishings*, Faith Press: Leighton Buzzard (1940), 312-13; A. Bott, *A History of the Churches of Shackleford & Peper Harrow*, Godalming (2006). Shackleford's reredos is a very late example of its kind, installed in memory of Lady Buckingham who died in 1946. Technically the firm that provided the piece was A.R. Mowbray, who were the Warham Guild's managers after Percy Dearmer's death - https://anglicansonline.org/special/warham.html.
78. A.R. Winnett, *Attempt Great Things*, GDBF: Guildford (1977), 26
79. https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2005/14-october/features/a-confident-priesthood
80. SHC 9008/2/7
81. In curious contrast, when St Augustine's Addlestone closed in 2006, its electoral roll stood at 218, only 24 of whom were resident in the parish.
82. Photographs show that this is very unlikely to be the case, but it's a story very revealing of how Farncombe thinks of itself!
83. https://www.woodstreetvillagehistorysociety.co.uk/new-st-albans-church/new-church-other-history-240417/
84. In 2012 we had this remade to show a chalice and host! Holy Trinity Hawley does also have a brown cope. When I asked Sister Mary Featherstone when the brown vestments were supposed to be used, she shrugged and said, 'Autumn?'
85. Parish Magazine, Jan 1918
86. The PMVH was an approved school and girls were absolutely not encouraged to talk about why there were there!
87. https://slowdusk.magd.ox.ac.uk/people/herbert-westlake-garton/; Hopkinson, *op cit* 82–107.
88. D. Mumford, *A Life of Dorothy Swayne*, St Clare's Freeland (2014), 88 - https://tssf.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/Pub-Martha.pdf
89. Fr Michael Godwin's scrapbook.
90. Winnett *op cit,* 39-40
91. *Ibid.*

92. These are Miss Mitchell's recollections from sixty years on. Choirs are not always easy to manage. Michael Brown had trouble at Godalming in 1963 which he took trouble to record in the service register: whatever the cause, no choirmen turned up to sing on the first Sunday in Lent, and remained absent for a month until a meeting after Evensong on Mothering Sunday when eight agreed to return. It's worth admitting that any church community can be knocked off course by the human weaknesses of its members. In the early 1980s the marriage of the vicar of St Augustine's Aldershot, Brian Goldsmith, broke down and his wife married a member of the choir, with which, awkwardly for all, both their daughters carried on singing. When Richard Avery did his placement there in 1984 he found everybody wanted to put the matter behind them. 'The healing of the divisions in the church and the re-establishment of a spirit of love in such a short period of time', he decided, was 'a major pastoral achievement' of the next incumbent, Michael Harvey. Even forty years later this was clearly such a bad memory that the online history of the church didn't mention poor Fr Goldsmith's time there at all. He was never an incumbent again, serving as curate-in-charge of St Clare's Leigh Park and curacies in two other Winchester parishes.
93. C. Swift, *Hospital Chaplaincy in the 21st Century*, Routledge: London (2014), 41
94. https://elmbridgemuseum.org.uk/online-exhibitions/sickness-health; https://www.exploringsurreyspast.org.uk/themes/subjects/disability-history/qef/qef-history/
95. https://www.wonershchurch.org.uk/about-us/parish-history/church-history/vicars-of-the-parish/
96. According to Canon Michael Godwin, Morrell's godson, who regarded the Bishop as his mentor.
97. *Pers comm*, 2025
98. https://www.forumancientcoins.com/moonmoth/sydenham.html
99. https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2016/17-june/features/features/riots-ritual-and-riding-bishops
100. Known as Christ Church since amalgamating with the congregation of Southwood Community Church in 2019. St Christopher's has never been thought a particularly Catholic church, but it has a wooden image of its (former) patron saint installed in 1938 – apart from the old organ, the most old-fashioned-looking item in the building – and an aumbry light added to celebrate the church's jubilee in 1984.
101. https://londonchurchbuildings.com/category/nye-david-partners/
102. Mr Potter had trained at Lincoln and served two short Lincolnshire curacies, taught at Hereford Cathedral School for a year, went to

Glasbury as a curate, and then took up a position at Reading University while having PTO in London. Between 1926 and 1936 he was absent from *Crockfords*, before serving as a Royal Navy College chaplain and spending just a year as Vicar of Chertsey, moving to North Holmwood after that. Mr Ware was a Keble and Bishop's College, Cheshunt, graduate; he was a generation younger than his predecessor, and his curacies were at Hoylake and Aberlour. He was at the Mersea Mission to Seamen for a year and finally curate at Weybridge before succeeding Mr Potter. He was still incumbent in 1956.

103. A. Webling, *Something Beyond*, Cambridge University Press (1933), 177-8
104. It is, at best, an amalgam of events not all of which may have happened to Archie Webling himself. He was indeed curate at All Saints', Portsea, alongside a G.E. *Ellam* which makes you think, Aha! 'Hallam' is a clever play on his name making an allusion to Lord Tennyson's *Arthur* Hallam, the absence behind *In Memoriam AH*; but Ellam's later ministry took him nowhere more exotic than Sussex. Mr Webling doesn't give his alter ego 'Arthur Wolfe' the year-long curacy in Cornwall he himself experienced, before returning to Portsea to serve six years at a different church, St Matthew's. His incumbent there, E.B. Cornford, described by the parish website as 'a charismatic High Churchman with lofty ambitions', and by Fergus Baillie-Gifford as a bizarre character who once termed the Archbishop of Canterbury 'a man unfit to lead the Mothers' Union across Southsea Common' (*A Field Guide to the English Clergy*, 182) doesn't sound like a model for the intransigent Fr Hildebrand in any respect. He never ended up in Africa either.
105. R.C.D. Jasper & P.F. Bradshaw, *A Companion to the Alternative Service Book*, SPCK: London (1986), 23-28
106. Taylor, *The Lower Church*, 52-5
107. *Ibid* 53-4
108. One of the churches that has retained its screen – a full, traditional Rood to boot – is Oatlands, where it was a memorial to the Vicar, John Townsend, who died in 1915.
109. https://eehe.org.uk/33393/revdbedford/; https://eehe.org.uk/66163/wilson-the-ven-mark/
110. Taylor *op cit.*, 53
111. *Fashions in Church Furnishings*, 330-331
112. Of which the most remarkable in our diocese was Canon John Waterson at Stoke d'Abernon (1949-84) who filled his church with an extraordinary variety of items. We could also mention Fr Edward

Fraser of St Barnabas Epsom, who brought back a set of Roman vestments from a trip to the Continent in the early 1920s, and donated the Calvary figures from Oberammergau in memory of his son.

113. https://africanactivist.msu.edu/recordFiles/210-849-30015/african_activist_archive-a0a6x5-b_12419.pdf. Pierre Dil went back to Africa, but Zambia rather than South Africa, becoming Dean of Lusaka Cathedral among other things, and a tireless activist for development and charity, founding organisations to work with orphans, AIDS patients, and landless Africans. He died very much mourned in 2005. http://makeni.org.uk/wordpress/aboutmec/staff/father-pierre-dil/.
114. 'Lantern Services' were, as the name implies, events organised around a presentation of magic-lantern slides. Sets of slides with religious themes were commercially produced from the 1890s through to about the 1920s, and could include Bible episodes, other improving stories, or subjects such as intercession for missions. Originally Lantern Services were distinctly evangelistic events run by the Methodists and the Church Army, often out of doors. In our sample of churches, several, like Hindhead, held 'Lantern Services' as a special event in Lent, mostly during the 1930s, by which time they were hardly the novelty of forty years before. Thorpe had a 'Lantern Stations of the Cross' on Good Friday 1945, which was a little bit different.
115. I will also mention here the custom of the Blessing of Eggs, for which the *Rituale Romanum* provides a form of prayer. Eggs being one of the foodstuffs ruled out by a strict Lenten fast, their renewed consumption at Easter was originally an occasion of celebration, as well as being a symbol of the resurrection. Not many of the children who received blessed eggs at Burgh Heath on the afternoon of Christmas Day 1955, or at Thorpe's Family Eucharist in 1972, would have been fasting in that way, though. Burgh Heath made a distinction between 189 ordinary eggs and 23 chocolate ones, though not how the recipients were chosen. At Banstead in 1918 Mr Hopkinson handed out eggs, not at Easter, but Whitsunday, and carefully recorded the number: 352.
116. 1946 edn, p.132. This passage wasn't in the original edition of 1894; one could divert oneself working out when it appeared!
117. *Ibid*, 129.
118. *The Lord's Service* (my 2012 pamphlet on the history of the liturgy at Farncombe) p.33.

119. https://www.reform-magazine.co.uk/2016/11/jumble-sales-of-the-apocalypse-3/. An odd statement really, as the point of Inspector Clouseau is that he is an absolutely terrible detective.
120. It was the same sort of consideration that produced the Holy Week ceremony of the Tenebrae – technically an adaptation of Mattins, but celebrated at night – as the slippage of the First Mass of Easter back to the morning of Holy Saturday buckled the Office out of shape across the preceding days.
121. G.W.E. Russell, *Arthur Stanton, a Memoir*, Longmans Green & Co: London (1917), 302
122. https://www.ocsociety.org/contact/the-continuing-refurbishment-of-cranleigh-school-chapel/
123. https://www.kentonline.co.uk/sheerness/news/pioneer-woman-priest-lorna-smith-has-died-aged-78-259087/
124. https://www.getsurrey.co.uk/news/nostalgia/opening-day-stealth-rollercoaster-thorpe-23115667; https://ndarchive.forwardinfaith.com/2017/09/06/the-forward-in-faith-college-of-deans/
125. SAC SHOT/22/7
126. *Guildford Diocesan Herald*, April 1999
127. In another setting, this happened at the church where I worshipped in High Wycombe, but there it was specifically the *Roman* vestments that were junked. The sacristan pulled them out of a skip and took them home, bringing them back into the church when the incumbent responsible left. In balance one ought to state that Corpus Christi continued to be mentioned in the Hindhead service register in the early 2000s (though it's in the Prayer Book calendar too).
128. See Wallace *op cit*., 14-15.
129. *Church Times*, 20.3.2020
130. The next four paragraphs substantially appeared in *The Lord's Service.*
131. Woodham was holding a Taizé-style service by 1989, and there was another a few years later at Hindhead.
132. M. Yelton, *Anglican Papalism*, London: Canterbury Press (2005), 171-2.
133. The 'Trisagion' is a Trinitarian invocation familiar from the Orthodox liturgy: 'holy God, holy and strong, holy and immortal, have mercy on us' – or, in Greek, *Agios o Theos, Agios Ischyros, Agios Athanatos, eleison emas'.*
134. Wedgwood *op cit.*, 145-6
135. C.M.F. Ferguson, *S. Nicolas Guildford, A Chronicle of the Covid Year*, 4Wood Ltd: Bristol (2022), pp.1, 11-17, 21, 43, 45, 46, 62. Our experience at Farncombe was slightly different in that we never

invested in upgraded livestreaming equipment and viewers for our blurry videos fell away as soon as the church fully reopened for worship. Eventually we stopped.

136. https://www.anglicancommunion.org/media/493612/Virtual-Communion-and-the-Covid-19-Pandemic_220322_IALC.pdf
137. https://eehe.org.uk/25027/hospitalcluster/
138. https://epsomandewelltimes.com/sue-bull-a-special-lady-an-obituary, https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2023/31-march/gazette/obituaries/obituary-the-revd-susan-bull
139. *Never A Dull Moment*, Godalming (1994), 52
140. p.179 – though not by *Ritual Notes.*
141. Pevsner gives a single date of 1897 for this magnificently freakish piece, but I wonder whether it was constructed in stages.
142. *Parson's Handbook*, 110
143. *Surrey Advertiser* 7.4.1926
144. S. Riches, *St George, Hero, Martyr and Myth,* Stroud: Sutton (2005), 192-206
145. West Molesey has more of Iain McKillop's work – three paintings of the Dedication, Deposition and Wedding at Cana, framed in a gaudily-coloured 'casket' in Jacobean style which serves as an altar-table in the side chapel. This was installed in 1996.
146. Info from Damian Harrison-Miles.
147. A. Bott, *A History of the Churches of Bramley and Grafham & Wonersh and Blackheath,* Godalming (2019), 99-101
148. John Monsell wrote a hymn for the dedication of the new bells at Weybridge in 1875:

> With Eucharistic Anthem
> To Him who did atone,
> Your "Gloria in excelsis"
> Ring out to Heav'n's high Throne :
> And when the journey's over,
> And when the rest hath come,
> Ring out your "Nunc dimittis"
> To speed the wand'rers home.

(H.T. Ellacombe, *The Church Bells of Somerset*, Exeter (1875), 147)

149. Mr Arundell exchanged livings with William Rennie, who accordingly moved from Hascombe to St Jude's. There are striking press photos online showing Fr Rennie leading a protest of locals in 1937 calling for traffic speed restrictions: he marches at the head of the procession in cloak and biretta. In 1938 Mr Rennie acquired Michael Bruce as a curate, who would leave St Jude's to become Vicar of Chiddingfold.

Acknowledgements

As I described in the Introduction, this work has drawn together information from a wide variety of source material, documentary, oral, and physical. I'm hugely indebted, first, to the vast numbers of churchwardens, incumbents, and church members who have made special arrangements to open up church buildings which would otherwise have been closed, and have gladly talked to me about them, and about the history of their own church communities. In many cases I've been allowed to poke around cupboards and vestries in the awareness that liturgical kit is an important element of the story of the Catholic movement. I remember especially the colleague who I unwittingly roused from a late slumber on his day off and who nevertheless exercised Christian hospitality. I'd just assumed the church would be open …

Colleagues, some members of the SCP and others, shared their experiences, thoughts and impressions. The late Canon Michael Godwin welcomed me to his home on more than one occasion to talk about his memories of St Mark's Farnborough, St Barnabas Epsom, and Bramley. When I sent him a draft of the passages informed by his recollections he did tell me I'd got some things wrong, at least as regards the narrative of events across Farnborough and Epsom, but unfortunately died before he was able to see me again. I *think* I have corrected the errant bits but we will probably never know! Canon John Bundock was also a great help and gave me a copy of his brother's book about Sir Charles Nicholson. I'm also grateful to Mr John Hawes whose comments on items featured on my blog were most helpful and illuminating.

The staff of the Surrey History Centre indefatigably furnished me with the documents I requested (and sometimes I only needed them for a minute or two) and pointed me in the right direction when I got references wrong. For about 18 months I seemed to become quite a fixture at the Centre and I am very grateful for their professionalism and interest.

The great majority of the images in this work are either my own photographs or come from the archives of individual churches, or other cited sources. Pictures on pp.19, 21, 60, 83, 94, 95, 109, 121, 125, 135, 157, 176, 187, 193, 198 (left) & 214 are publicly available online. Other sources are p.29, A. Wedgwood, *A History of the Church & Parish of St Martin Dorking*, 1990; p.48, R. Ringshall, *Cranleigh Parish Church*, 2005; pp.51, 71 & 155, B. Taylor, *The Lower Church*, 1980; pp.84 & 201, M. Wallace, *150 Years of Service: An anniversary memento of the Community of St Peter*, 2011; p.91, D. Morse-Boycott, *A Pilgrimage of Song*, Faith Press: Leighton Buzzard 1972.

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In 1837, John Chandler became vicar of the church of All Saints', Witley, to the south of Guildford. He was the first clergyman in the area to have been exposed to the Tractarian upheavals in Oxford, which were reintroducing Catholic ideas and practices into the life of the Church of England. Mr Chandler was succeeding his father, but he was to be one of the pioneers of a shift in the entire way the Anglican Church thought about itself. In this relatively backward part of the sprawling diocese of Winchester - Guildford from 1927 - the movement caught fire in the imagination of generations of clergy and laypeople alike.

This book traces how that happened, gathering a wide range of evidence from church histories, newspaper reports, parish registers, and the physical testimony of church buildings themselves, drawing in stories of piety and rebellion, sorrow and exaltation, from those earliest steps at the start of the reign of Victoria to the difficulties and hopes of the present day.



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