The Architectural Expression of Anglican Rituals
as Disseminated Through a Photographic Enquiry
of Six Devon Churches

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Abstract

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There have been a number of publications that have set out to clarify the relationship between architectural, liturgical and ritual developments within the nineteenth century Anglican church; especially that part of the Victorian Gothic Revival where fundamental developments in architectural design and doctrinal change occurred - 1840 to 1900. A variety of graphic illustrations have supported these texts and as a photographer who has had a long standing interest in visual forms of religious expression, it has raised the question as to whether new meanings of the architectural/ ecclesiastical relationship could be established through a photographic-based research investigation.

During the MPhil stage of the project the research brief was directed towards the selection of churches for detailed investigation and the construction of the photographic methodology appropriate to the research. Within the national developments of this period, Devon was a particularly significant county in respect of nineteenth century architectural and ecclesiological advancement, containing individual buildings such as St Andrew's Exwick, the presence of architects such as William Butterfield and George Edmund Street, and one of the most active ecclesiological groups to exist outside that of the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Tractarians - the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society. It was from this basis that the subject of the PhD has been developed.

Using photography as primary material the methodology utilises physical and conceptual viewpoints to explore the uses of spatial configuration, light, structural forms and colour, surface and texture within each interior. This work has provided the visual form through which it has been possible to re-examine the visual and symbolic use of architectural expression and make direct visual comparison between the churches. At the same time the photographic images are important pieces of design work which will be presented as both visual documents and creative interpretations.

The final thesis has been constructed from an exhibition which uses the formulations of panoramic, composite and sequential photographic imagery and a critical text that aligns the elements of historical contextualisation and analysis of the photographic enquiry. The research argues that the photographic works, by applying contemporary practices in the form of reconstructions, re-establishes the meaning and purpose of the architectural designs and promotes the use of photography as primary research.

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Figures & Plates

The images used within the thesis are indicated as either figures or plates. Figures relate to historical/contextual imagery taken from a variety of sources. The plates are the author's photographs, presented as primary research material. The plates include developmental as well as final photographic works, the latter of which form the images used in the final exhibition.

Figures

Figures & Plates

Plates

Acknowledgments

The primary reason for undertaking this project has been to develop postgraduate tuition and supervision at MA, MPhil and PhD level within the Design:Photography programme of the University of Plymouth's Exeter Faculty of Arts & Education. Through the development of such supervision the intention is to develop further the possibilities in the use of photography as primary research material. In this respect the plans outlined in the final Chapter of this thesis indicate ways in which the methodologies developed in this project are to be extended into future publications.

As is the case in project work of this nature, support in many forms has made the project possible. The members of academic staff at the University, the librarians, archivists and research students are unfortunately too numerous to mention individually but sincere thanks are offered to each and everyone for their comments and discussion. The work of the supervisory team has of course been invaluable. To Professor David Jeremiah as Director of Studies and Jem Southam as Supervisor grateful thanks are extended. The transformation in the practice and the writing is in no small part due to the expert guidance and experience of this team. Thanks also to David Smaldon who took over the burden of the scanning of so many 5"x 4" negatives for the purposes of this submission.

It is in many ways sad that in contemporary society so many churches have to be kept locked to avoid vandalism and theft. Access to each of the six churches has, however, been made very simple by the generosity of the incumbents and their staff. Special thanks are extended not only to all those who have so readily granted access to the churches but who have also provided such intelligent and informed discussion on aspects of nineteenth century liturgical and architectural practice. Thanks in particular must also go to John Henton and Mary Quest for their support and enthusiasm in the exhibition concept for St David's Church. The final exhibition, that became such a vital part of the research output, took enormous effort from a number of people. To those who gave their valuable time, I am extremely grateful.

The project has taken a great deal of time to resolve, involving the support and patience of a great many friends and family members. Again particularly in the latter stages of the project my partner Catherine Cooper has offered the practical and emotional support for both my daughter and I, that has been so crucial in the resolution of this thesis.
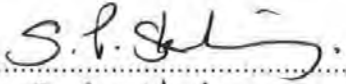
Finally special thanks must go to Julie, Stuart and Joanna Mitchell, who have helped me through particular personal difficulties during the project. It is no exaggeration to say that without their continuous and unfaltering assistance this project would had to have been abandoned long ago.

Author's Declaration

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award.

This study was financed with the support of the University of Plymouth as far as tuition fees are concerned. Research funding was also made available for the purposes of exhibiting the work both for the *viva voce* examination and the subsequent touring exhibition to British cathedrals.

Relevant seminars and conferences were regularly attended both internally and externally and at which work was often presented; external institutions were visited for consultation purposes and a paper on the relationship between 'making & writing' was given.

Signed....S. P. Stri....

Date....12 April 2000....

Introduction

Victorian church architecture is a well established area of
historical study and through a number of publications,
nineteenth century church design and liturgy has been a
frequently revisited area of research for architectural and
ecclesiastical historians.[1] These histories have used a variety
of graphic illustrations to support the written debate and as
a photographer who has had a long standing interest in the
architectural and decorative forms of religious expression,
this raised the question as to the possibilities of elaborating
new meanings of the architectural/ecclesiastical relationship
if the design questions were to be re-examined through a
photographic research investigation. In this respect the
photographs were to be developed as textual statements
that could exist in their own right and as primary research
material, could be used to introduce new meanings and
re-establish the significance of the original designs. The
expectation was that the enquiry would provide new
understandings of photographic methodologies of research,
including the documentary and interpretive functions and
the exploitation of the creative axis between photographic
technologies and traditions of architectural photography. It
was also anticipated that these methods of enquiry would
highlight the ways in which the architectural expression was
used to secure the developments in Anglican doctrines.

Focusing on the manner in which the photographs have revealed the expressive purpose of the designs, the mechanics of the non-liturgical aspects of the church designs; the ante-rooms, loft spaces, undercrofts and vestibules have been excluded from the enquiry. They have been made subservient to the key doctrinal statement concerning the Eucharist articulated within the main body of the building. The alternative liturgical spaces such as side chapels, found in most larger churches and used for minor offices of the day, have also been omitted from the study, although they formed part of the early enquiry.[2] Therefore the commonality shared in the architectural functionalism of the nave, chancel and sanctuary has provided the core content for investigation.

The project has taken the architectural design problem of expressing ecclesiastical ritual through structure, space and decoration and has set about making an analytical and interpretive assessment of its methodologies and outcomes through a design/craft-based photographic methodology and critical text. The photographs exist as objects of pleasure, occupying the same aesthetic values as the architectural and decorative art work of the churches and provide a discourse on the architectural/ecclesiastical relationship. As visual expressions the photographs act as a commentary on the qualities of architectural expression, but require the accompaniment of a critical text as far as the theological issues are concerned.

The photographs have reinforced the understanding of the relationship between individual elements of the building, such as between the position of pulpit and reading desk to allow a view to the altar. These aspects of nineteenth century Anglican design have been well established through written analysis, most recently by Nigel Yates in *Buildings, Faith & Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600-1900* (Oxford Clarendon, 1991) and Anthony Symondson, one of a group of contributors to *The Victorian Church: Architecture & Society,* (Manchester, 1995). The photographic works however bring a new understanding to the way in which the physical and practical placement of 'liturgical centres' is not the most significant aspect of the changes in liturgical arrangement expressed in the architectural design.

As an investigation of the spatial arrangements of the ritual of worship this enquiry has not engaged with the reconstruction of the processes of worship or the design and use of Victorian ecclesiastical dress.[3] The project is ultimately concerned with the concept of worship through the

material and structural architectural expression of ritual. More precisely it is a study of nineteenth century Anglican churches that were constructed for a new movement in liturgical thinking; buildings that secured the position of the new liturgy and which were capable of expressing its doctrinal authority within the diocese and the parish.

While the research is not about the history of style or of architectural movements, it has drawn on the established architectural histories and histories of photography as a way of setting the parameters of the enquiry and identifying the buildings for detailed investigation. Similarly the individual photographic research methodology has been developed from an understanding of a variety of historical precedents and debates within photographic practice. One of the recurring issues that surrounded the development of the methodology has been the alignment of design and art based practices. The photographic works have been developed from a clearly defined, design-based, methodological process, of problem identification, research, practice, analysis, resolution and presentation.

Although the photographs are not intended as a religious polemic, as a practising Christian the alignment of a practice based research project with the potency of Christian belief

was taken to be an important facet in the development of a photographic research methodology and the nature of the research outcomes, in particular influencing the photographic discourse on the relationships of architectural expression and ecclesiastical ritual. As such the programme of work has explored the methods of enquiry and the means whereby the photographic documentation and interpretation could bring about new understanding of this relationship.

The critical text investigates the historic precedents in the developments of the nineteenth century Anglican Church, from which an understanding of the conventional approaches to the analysis of the relationship between architecture and ritual has been drawn. It then describes how specific case studies were selected and the research methodology formed in order to provide a re-examination of the architectural expression of Anglican rituals.[4] Due to the nature of this practice based project the debates within the photographic work have been outlined through a critical text with accompanying graphic illustrations. It should be emphasised that although all images within this text may then be perceived as illustrations, whether primary research photographs or not, the intention of the original photographic works as described in later sections has always been

to use them as visual and conceptual evidence. It is the photographs that have led to the formulation of the final argument, providing the conclusions on the re-examination of the architectural expression of Anglican rituals and the use of photographic form in architectural representation.

It was anticipated that a critical text and some form of exhibition would be required for the final presentation, but it was only as the research enquiry progressed that the shape, particularly of the exhibition, became apparent. The original photographic works will ultimately be presented as an exhibition installed in one of the churches chosen for study, thereby allowing for the photographic interpretations to be reconsidered within the architectural framework.[5]

1   A number of these established texts have been used to outline the doctrinal and architectural framework in the first part of this thesis. The historical context of the developments in church design and liturgy obviously have to be initiated before the methodologies developed in this study can be effectively understood

The publications drawn on are key texts published in the twentieth century. The earliest text on the Gothic Revival, Charles Eastlake's publication of 1872, has not been used as an individual exemplar as it was clearly written while the Revival was still developing. Most of the chosen texts refer to Eastlake in some capacity

In the introduction to the 1995 reprint of Kenneth Clark's pioneering work *The Gothic Revival* (first published in 1928) Joe Mordaunt Crook proposes that "there is still no sharper introduction to the mindset of the ecclesiologists....' This book is now in its fourth edition and remains a seminal work on 'the history of taste'. In this respect the book primarily discusses issues surrounding the Gothic Revival through the ideals which Kenneth Clarke felt produced neo-Gothic buildings rather than exploring the buildings them selves

Basil F L Clarke's *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century*, published in 1938 (the 1969 reprint has been used here) set out to provide a more specific account of the development of church building, starting from the seventeenth and eighteenth century precedents

Owen Chadwick's *The Victorian Church* is in 2 volumes, covers the periods 1829-1859 and 1860-1901 respectively. First published in 1970 these volumes cover a broad social and political context in which the Victorian Church developed

The Victorian Church:Architecture and Society is a group of essays edited by Chris Brooks & Andrew Saint (Manchester,1995). It is one of the latest attempts to rewrite the history of this period. It is indicative of a number of publications that revisit the development of nineteenth century church building through social and economic references

W Nigel Yates's *Buildings, Faith & Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600-1900* (Oxford Clarendon, 1991) provides the most specific reference on the developments in architectural style and liturgical planning in the Anglican Church

These have become the most significant texts from which the understanding of the history of the nineteenth century Gothic Revival have been articulated here. The Bibliography contains the further sources too numerous to mention

2   The details of this work are discussed in Chapter 5

3   Architects were occasionally asked to design vestments for churches but they have no relation to the architectural expression of the ritual

4   The responses made to the images within the project
    will inevitably vary due to the nature of those examin-
    ing the imagery. Prior knowledge will in some part
    dictate response and understanding but the comparison
    of the images, the systematic approach and typological-
    ly classified representations are also intended to operate
    as textual statements in their own right. The photogra-
    pher's concepts on the relationship between expression
    and ritual being those disseminated

5   The eventual significance of the exhibition is discussed
    in detail in Chapter 5

The Nineteenth Century Anglican Church
The Doctrinal Framework & Architectural Demands

The beginning of the nineteenth century had seen a general decline in attendance within the Anglican church that had begun during the second half of the eighteenth century and which had been initially attributed to the emergence of non-conformist denominations.[1] The established church attempted to retrieve the situation by constructing new buildings that would house the increasing rural and urban population that was evident in the first decades of the new century. In 1818 the Church Building Society was established in an attempt to address this lack of facility. Ensuing government grants of £1,000,000 and £500,000 to build churches in urban districts instigated a large church building programme of which a significant proportion were in the then called Gothic style although the correct usage of the term Gothic was part of a wider architectural discussion of style and national identity.

The outcome of this expenditure was a dramatic increase in the number of churches, the number of clergy and the number of adult communicants during the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century. 3,765 new or rebuilt churches were consecrated in just forty years, between 1835 and 1875. This was coupled with a rise in clergy numbers (14,613 in 1841 to 24,968 in 1911) and the recorded numbers of adult communicants, which on Easter Day 1831 was 605,000

and on Easter Day 1871 of which the numbers had risen to 1,110,000. These figures also reflect that a greater percentage of the population was Anglican in 1911 than was the case in 1831.[2] The aim of the Church Building Society's building programme has already been stated as one of practicality, derived from the need for more churches. The motivation, however, has also been seen as being born of a fear of "the revolutionary potential of the godless masses".[3] It is interesting to look at an aspect of nineteenth century church building as also being driven by a fear of a repetition of the French Revolution and that religion could be the antidote to the crowds of "rough, working people, ignorant of religion and influenced by seditious teaching" who could be "capable of anything".[4]

The Anglican church of the nineteenth century developed against a backdrop of social and cultural change, the primary results of which have been summarised by Chris Brooks in *The Victorian Church* (Manchester, 1995) as an increase in population from approximately 25,000,000 in the 1830s to over 41,500,000 at the turn of the twentieth century and the change from an ostensibly agricultural to industrial and commercial society and social structure. The advent of the railway also provided mobility and access for those who lived in the countryside to experience the city and for those

who lived in the cities it brought the possibility of economic travel to the expanding tourist resorts. This in turn led to what has been termed by social historians as cultural diffusion.[5] Although it is with these social and cultural developments in mind as well as the pragmatic motivations of the Church Building Societies that the details of the doctrinal framework of the Anglican Church are discussed, it is in the effects of the passionate rise of ecclesiology[6] which is of specific importance when exploring the relationship between a church building and the worship that took place within it.

At a time when the new taste for medieval art and literature was immediately linked with a Roman Catholic revival, one influential figure emerged in the development of Gothic Revival architecture. In 1792 John Milner designed a chapel in Winchester that is considered the first example of Gothic applied to ecclesiastical architecture during the revival and is important due to Milner's motives for the chapel's construction.[7] During the late eighteenth century, the common formula for a church was a building of "generally square chambers, with small sashed windows, and fashionable decorations hardly to be distinguished.....from common assembly-rooms." (Figure 1). Milner drew on the models that could be seen in the medieval churches where he

believed "our religious ancestors...applied themselves with such ardour and unrivalled success to the cultivation and perfection of ecclesiastical architecture."[8]

This ideology was reflected in the writings of Milner who caused great problems with the orthodox clergy of the turn of the nineteenth century through the articulation of his Roman Catholic views. This relationship between the protestant and the Catholic church is important. Gothic architecture, with its use of deep chancels, high rood screens and symbolism was intrinsically linked with what was termed 'popery'. These features had no place within the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Anglican churches in which the emphasis was that "all could see and all could hear".[9]

It was in the period 1840-1900 that these major doctrinal changes took place and on which this project has focused. Early nineteenth century England was dominated by two doctrines - the Utilitarian and the Evangelical, both of which were opposed to the established church. Kenneth Clark postulates that the established church dealt with this opposition badly, by preaching "cautious sermons in bleak churches."[10] By 1833 the decline of the Anglican Church had become a desperate situation. The turning point is

historically documented as the month when John Keble stood and gave his assize sermon on National Apostasy and a group of scholars met to discuss the problems, from which tractarianism and the Oxford Movement began. The devices that the tractarians, of which J H Newman was a key figure, used in order to revive worship inevitably drew on historical precedents, just as Lutheran and Wesleyan worship had. The fundamental difference lay in the Movement's wish to move the imagination through symbols and symbolic devices. The Tractarians of the Oxford Movement wanted to revive ritual, but to do this they required churches in which this ritual could be performed. This in turn inevitably caused problems because to the protestants the church of the Middle Ages again represented 'popery', the associations of which the movement tried to deny throughout the 1830's. Although Newman was at the heart of this denial and felt that the stance of the tractarians was derived from the history of Anglican divines, he eventually realised that "it was impossible to form any such theory without cutting across the teaching of the Church of Rome."[11]

The form of worship at the beginning of the nineteenth century was that clergymen wore black and read the communion service from the pulpit. No one knelt during the prayers. No one stood when the choir entered - if there

was a choir at all. The old medieval churches were adapted to this form of worship and features such as the piscina and sedilia were abolished. Altars were seldom used and therefore chancels were either abandoned or turned into vestries. Whatever symbolic sculpture existed in the nave was covered by pews for the rich and galleries for the poor. It is generally accepted that if Anglican requirements for their churches had remained the same then Gothic would have been abandoned.

However during the 1840s and 50s two doctrinal controversies, on Baptism and the Eucharist, ensured that Anglican requirements did not remain the same. The latter especially had a major effect on church planning. The controversy was that of the Real Presence in the Eucharist (the actual and objective presence which was traditionally the ideology of the Catholic church, over that of the symbol of the presence in the Anglican church). Even though high churchman of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had accepted the Real Presence the notion of receptionism was still prevalent. This was that the process of transubstantiation only happened for the worthy. The Oxford Movement challenged this precedent by declaring that no matter what the perceived moral situation was, all those who received the bread and wine also received the Body and Blood of Christ.[12] After a heresy charge in 1859 was brought against the Bishop of Brechin for defending the doctrine of the Real Presence there was a gathering reaction in its defence which "encouraged the rite of ritualism as an expression of eucharistic doctrine in ceremonial form and broadened the principles of the Oxford Movement into Anglo-Catholicism." [13]

In discussing the development of ritualism in the nineteenth century Anglican Church the role of the Cambridge Camden Society (later renamed The Ecclesiological Society) cannot be ignored. Established in 1839 by John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb, two undergraduates of Trinity College, the Society also moved to reform church architecture and revive ritual arrangements. It did this initially through the publication of such pamphlets as *Hints for the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, A Few words to Church Builders, and Twenty-three Reasons for Getting Rid of Church Pues*. 1841 saw the beginnings of the *Ecclesiologist*, (the Society's major publication) with the statement "it is rather [the] intention to dwell on the catholick, than on architectural principles, which ought to influence the building of a church."[14] This was followed two years later by Neale and Webb's published translation of Durandus (the chief expounder of medieval

symbolism) and to which they added an introduction on the place of ecclesiology in architecture. They set out to prove that correct symbolism was crucial in Christian architecture. For them this was the quality that separated the good 'old' churches from the bad 'new' ones. But it is not entirely clear what the ecclesiologists meant by symbolism and a great deal of harm was felt to be done, certainly in restorations of old churches, where genuine features were destroyed to make room for what the Society's leaders felt were more symbolic forms. However, because the members of the Camden Society were extremely confident and vocalised their beliefs strongly and because many clergy were carried away with enthusiasm, the usage of the term correct was again possible and "Ecclesiastical correctness [had] become an essential part of architectural excellence."[15]

The completion in 1848 of *Hierurgia Anglicana:Documents and Extracts illustrative of the Ritual of the Church in England after the Reformation* was another important publication that was the first work to be both archaeological and practical and which was designed to be immediately viable. It was in this form of scrapbook, as instigated by J R Bloxam in his *Book of Fragments*, a collection of extracts on historical rites and customs, that the Camden Society also exerted ritual influence through the promotion of the restoration of daily prayer, more frequent Communion, use of the appropriate vestments, altar candles and altar dressing.

The Camden Society was using historical precedents to engage with, to make sense of and to develop their criteria for the 'modern' church, just as the Oxford Movement were and indeed as did A W N Pugin. The same strategy of the use of the past and its link to the idea of the present can clearly be seen in the 400 year comparative imagery of a Catholic town in *Contrasts*. Here Pugin, through his wish to "re-create the churches of the Middle Ages and to revive the ceremonial that once took place in them" is considered by architectural historians such as Nigel Yates, as the 'mentor' of the ecclesiologists. Although remembered for his work with the Catholic Church Pugin found greater favour with members of the Anglican Church; with those who felt that his stated ambitions, which were both architectural and liturgical, could effectively be achieved within the established church.[16]

Similar societies, although none so strong as the original in Cambridge, developed across the country. That these societies were influential in the construction and ordering of churches from the 1840s is undeniable. The records of the Oxford Architectural Society used as exemplars by Kenneth

Clark show the way in which architects and clergy alike sought clarification on what was 'correct'.[17] The chaplain to the Bishop of Exeter, William Maskell, was also influential through two major contributions to Anglican liturgical study. In 1844 he published *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England according to the Uses of Sarum, Bangor, York and Hereford, and the Modern Roman Liturgy, arranged in parallel*. In 1846 *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* was published in three volumes. These works again highlighted the wish to draw on medieval precedents of ceremonial and where the Anglican Eucharist could be revived as the focus of worship.

There were also important changes in terminology and usage of objects at this time, at which the Camden Society was at the heart. Changes from that of 'communion-table' to that of 'altar' for example hinted at the significant change in the doctrine of the Sacraments. The Society not only wished to change the name to that of 'altar', they also challenged the delicate nature of its definition. A solid block of stone was undoubtedly an altar, whereas a slab of stone on a wooden support was an altar-table. In their church in Cambridge the Camden Society used a stone slab supported on stone. Other features of arrangement were equally involved with doctrine—the placement of the pulpit for example which if placed in the centre, the building was a

mere preaching house. If however it was situated to the side it was a catholic church. With these changes in mind there can now be seen a parallel issue to that of earlier debates in the doctrinal issues of the Real Presence in the Eucharist and confirmation of the theological and physical alterations that took place in the planning of the church.

There were two particular ecclesiological developments that were fundamental to the design and function of the Anglican church. One was in the use of symbolism and the other was in the role of the clergy in both the design and maintenance of their churches. Until the mid nineteenth century churches were designed around practicality. The ecclesiologists, however, moved away from a concern as to whether the implications of their requirements were practical or otherwise. Receiving a great deal of guidance from the 1842 translation of William Durandus's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, the ecclesiologists felt that a 'correct' church should be one that was based on medieval precedents as far as symbolism was concerned. Therefore the "nave and two aisles represented the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, octagonal fonts were symbolic of baptismal regeneration, a cruciform shape reminded the worshipper of Christ's atonement......"[18] The ecclesiologists also wanted to allow the clergy to have more control and a wider

responsibility over their churches, so that rather than merely being someone who took the service and preached they should become responsible for every facet of worship, upkeep of the fabric, alteration of liturgical arrangements and authority in parochial administration.

Critical to the emergence of these doctrines was the publication in 1858 of *Directorium Anglicanum; being a manual of Directions for the Right Celebration of the Holy Communion, for saying Matins and Evensong, and for the Performance of other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the Ancient Uses of the Church of England. With Plan of Chancel and Illustrations.* When published it became the definitive document on Anglican ceremonial, the resulting tendencies of which had profound implications for the planning of the late Victorian church and the effects of which lasted for over fifty years.[19] The work was seen as a manual for clergy. It outlined the provisions for priest, deacon and sub-deacon, as well as giving instructions for servers and the correct appointment of churches. The second edition of *Directorium* was revised by F G Lee in 1865 included in which were illustrations by the young architect Edmund Sedding. Edmund's brother John was closely involved with ritual through associations with G E Street whose offices he joined in 1858 and from worshipping at St Mary's Crown Street, Soho - the

church which became a centre of ritual practice. "In this way the Roman strand of liturgical influence entered the stream of late Victorian church architecture and planning."[20]

In 1870 English church architecture took a new direction. It did not happen overnight, nor were its causes purely stylistic. Theological, liturgical and social factors determined change. The religious and aesthetic mood of England in the 187's and 1880s was profoundly influenced by the Oxford Movement and Anglo-Catholicism. These movements had stimulated and reawakened a Catholic spirit of sacramental faith and worship."[21] The influence of the Oxford Movement, the Cambridge Camden Society and figures such as Pugin were again highlighted in 1879 by the formation of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society, where members were reminded of the work of their Cambridge forebears forty years earlier. As a Society it once again reappraised the requirements for churches of the time and disseminated its opinion. Function, style and beauty are said to be the factors which were most influential in these minds in the initiation of late Gothic.[22] Certain churches manifested these ambitions and were at the forefront of Anglo-Catholic advance. All Saints' Margaret Street and St Alban's Holborn were two such buildings, both of which were designed by William Butterfield.

Another publication that was influential in the development of the late Victorian Church, written by J T Micklethwaite in 1874, was *Modern Parish Churches*. In this work Micklethwaite proposed a return to the masters of utility and style such as Pugin, advocating three ways in which the late Victorian church could develop and meet the liturgical needs of contemporary worship. The first was to return to rational church design (rather than what he regarded as antiquarian ideologies); second was to concentrate on the function of worship when planning a church and thirdly to look to the future, a theme which grew more prevalent towards the end of the decade and one that was reflected in many late Victorian architects' designs for churches.

Between the last decade of the eighteenth century and the last decade of the nineteenth century the radical ideological changes in Anglican thinking provided an equally radical development in the approach to designing Anglican churches. A worshipper in what Milner described as a mere preaching house (figure 1) would have primarily received and dealt with religious doctrine through hearing what was being said - a predominantly singular mode of reception punctuated only by the singing of hymns and the receiving of communion if at a Eucharist, although as previously described this was a rarity before the early nineteenth

century. This form of worship required attention and concentration but little else. The worshipper in an Anglo-Catholic service however would have been increasingly involved as both passive onlooker and active participant in an intricate variety of ceremony and ritual. The move was from the liturgical role and architectural presence of the three decker pulpit to the visual and symbolic focus of the altar; the emphasis was now firmly being placed on the central doctrine of the Anglican Church - the sacrament of the Eucharist.

These developments in ceremonial aspects of worship provided the designers of nineteenth century churches with the challenge of enhancing the activity within an appropriate architectural setting; a setting that would provide the visual and symbolic key to understanding the ritual that was taking place (figure 2). In order to do this they utilised historical architectural models in ecclesiastical building design which were individually interpreted and which ultimately fashioned nineteenth-century stylistic taste.

One element that links Gothic Revival churches, from whatever period of the nineteenth-century they were built, was the provision of a clear view to the altar, by moving the

position of the pulpit and reading desks. Even though Victorian architects were not the first to separate the pulpit, reading desk and clerk's desk to give a clear view of the altar, the nineteenth century saw a significant preoccupation with the relationship between the nave and chancel (and eventually the sanctuary) and their liturgical function.[23]

Just as there were key individuals and movements that were fundamental in the development of the doctrinal framework of the Anglican Church, there were also a number of buildings which were highly influential in the planning of the late Victorian Church. In particular Albi Cathedral, in its interior planning and design, is regarded by architectural historians as being the provider of an economic solution to the problem of accommodating larger congregations. The undivided structural compartments of this cathedral (achieved through the use of internal buttressing combined with the absence of a chancel arch) with the earlier influence of the cathedral at Gerona provided not only more space but also good visibility in order for the congregation to have an uninterrupted view to the altar (figure 3). These two buildings were studied closely by many architects, providing a fashion for broad, spacious churches in the late nineteenth century. [24]

The ecclesiologists of the early nineteenth century demanded that the medieval arrangement of churches had to be scrupulously replicated. One of the important features of this demand was the use of a long chancel, in which stalls for clergy and choir were to be included. This revisited the pre-Reformation use of this area rather than that of the pewed chancels seen after the Reformation. A piscina for washing the communion vessels and a sedilia for seating the celebrants who officiated at the altar were also fundamental facilities for the ecclesiologists' ideal chancel. The ecclesiologists also advocated a distinct separation between chancel and nave, either by a chancel arch or a screen and raised floor.

The liturgical arrangements required by the ecclesiologists were fully embedded by about 1870 and did not really develop after this time. Even though stylistic changes in furnishings did obviously occur, the interiors of the late-nineteenth-century Anglican church "were still arranged liturgically in a manner sanctified by the ecclesiologists, with stalled chancels, and with the different liturgical centres of the building (altar, font, lectern, pulpit) placed individually, so that aesthetically one is led through the building from west to east and the symbolism of each liturgical centre is separately identified."[25]

The main break from the influences first of the Decorated style, advocated by the ecclesiologists and of buildings such as Albi Cathedral became evident with the association between the architects Gilbert Scott the younger, G F Bodley and Thomas Garner who shared a drawing office in London during the 1870s. Scott, who first instigated a move away from earlier-nineteenth-century stylistic precedents in his design for St Agnes's, Kennington Park, introduced John Dando Sedding to his associates. Sedding's faith was founded on an ardent belief in the Incarnation. "From the Incarnation flowed the sacraments, God working in and through matter, reaching their fulfilment in the sacrament of the altar, the centre of Christian worship.....Christ was in art and architecture 'all in all or not at all'."[26] Sedding adopted the perpendicular style of the early Italian Renaissance in his design for Our Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell; something that was inconceivable earlier in the century due to the ecclesiologists passionate and seemingly authoritative advocation of the medieval Decorated style. At Clerkenwell Sedding put the worshippers in direct sight of the altar without any visual or symbolic interruptions of the use of a screen or indeed a choir (who were placed in a west gallery along with the organ). This plan was again used when he designed Holy Trinity Church, Upper Chelsea, for The Earl of Cadogan in 1888 (figure 4). "Stylistically,

Sedding's experiments led to what became known as late Gothic freely treated."[27] It was also in the liturgical arrangements of Holy Trinity, where Medievalism was replaced by the intent for the ceremonial of High Mass of the Catholic tradition, which was most radical and which for Sedding was the form of ceremony that would meet the requirements of modern worship.

The nineteenth-century Anglican church can therefore be seen to have evolved through the century from the medievalist beginnings of the tractarians and ecclesiologists into Anglo-catholicism and Catholic ritualism in the later decades of the century. The liturgical and architectural developments were rapid and radical. Within sixty years the Anglican church had transformed itself from a basis of the spoken word being the predominant form of religious expression, to one of sacramental worship being theatrically enacted in highly decorative, symbolically conceived spaces, with the clear emphasis being placed on the role and design of the liturgical centres of nave, chancel and sanctuary. Through this doctrinal development the nineteenth-century Anglican church re-emphasised the fundamental importance of the sacrament of Eucharist.

Figure 1 The three decker pulpit and galleried interior of the church at Fylingdales, N Yorkshire; indicative of the pre-ecclesiological Anglican interior
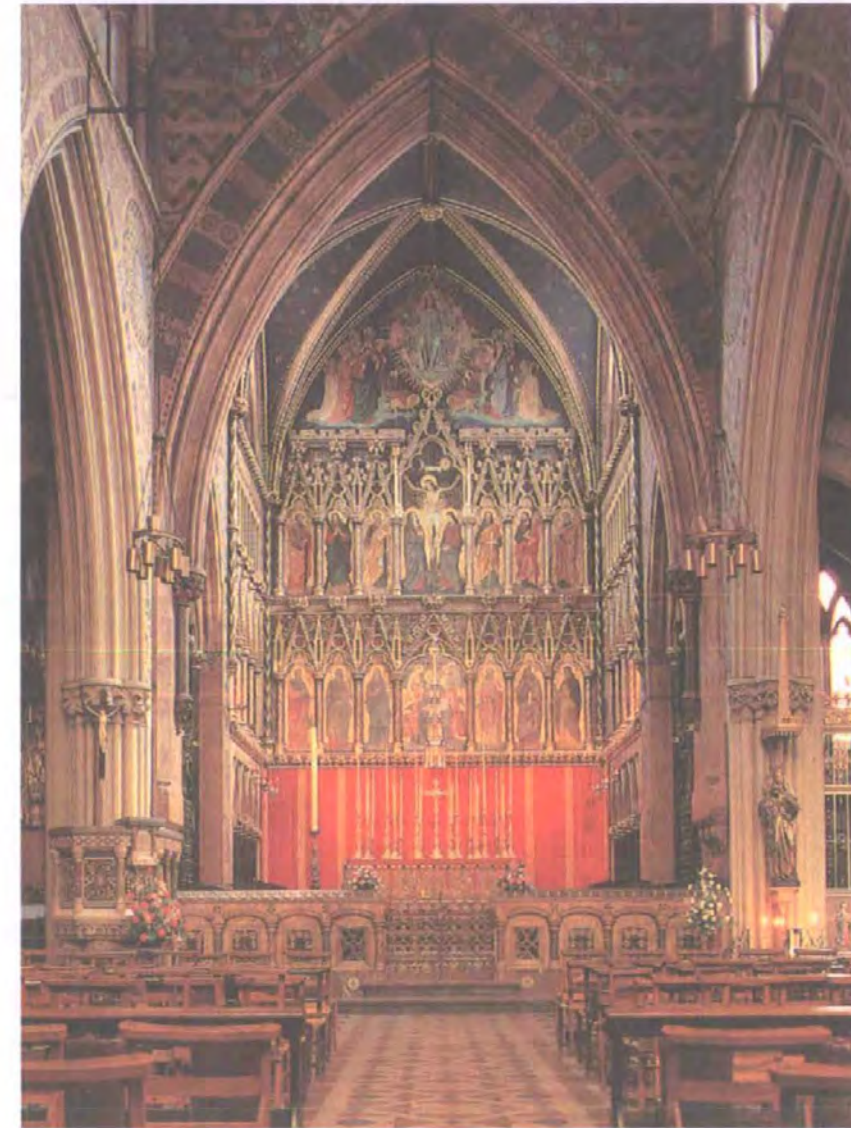
Figure 2 The highly ornate interior of All Saints' Margaret Street, London, 1850-53. The focus of the building is clearly towards the altar

ST. AUGUSTINES CHURCH, PENDLEBURY, MANCHESTER.—Plan.
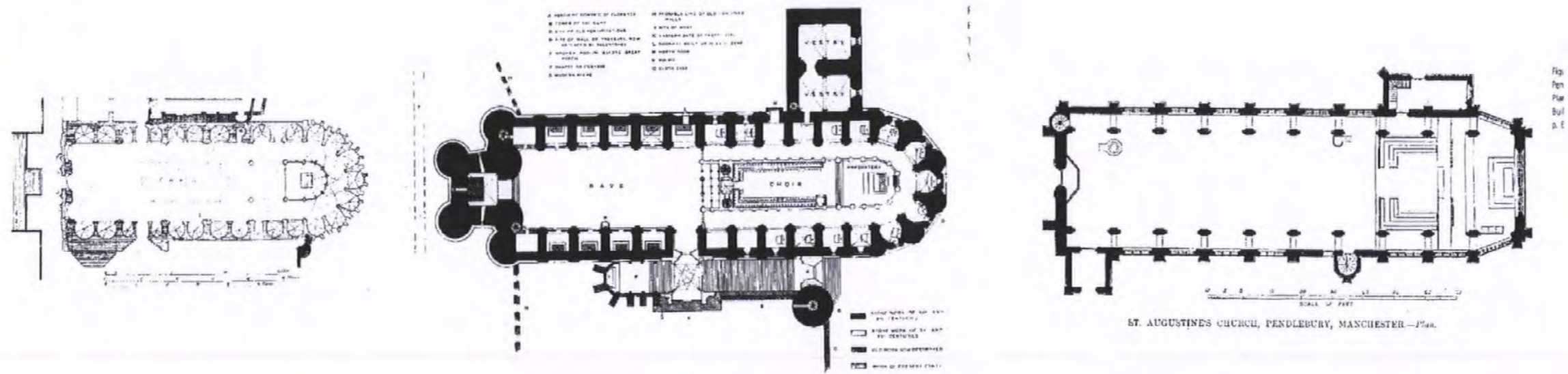
Figure 3

Architectural plans:
left   Gerona Cathedral
middle   Albi Cathedral
right   St Augustine's, Pendlebury

Photographs:
left   Albi Cathedral
right   St Augustine's, Pendlebury

+ CHVRCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY VPPER CHELSEA: Now in Covrse of Execvtion for THE EARL of CADOGAN +
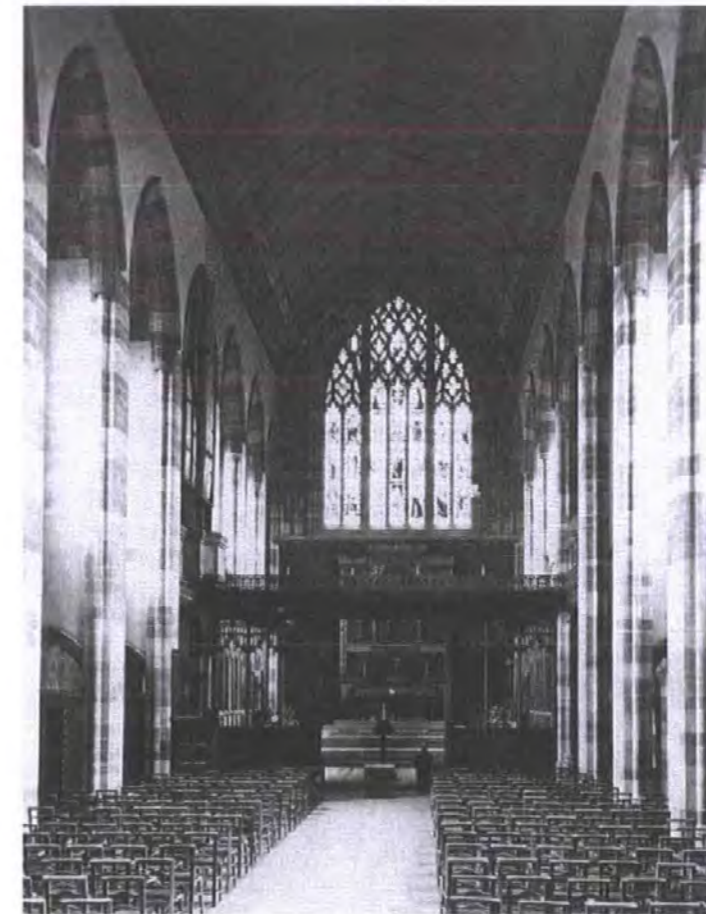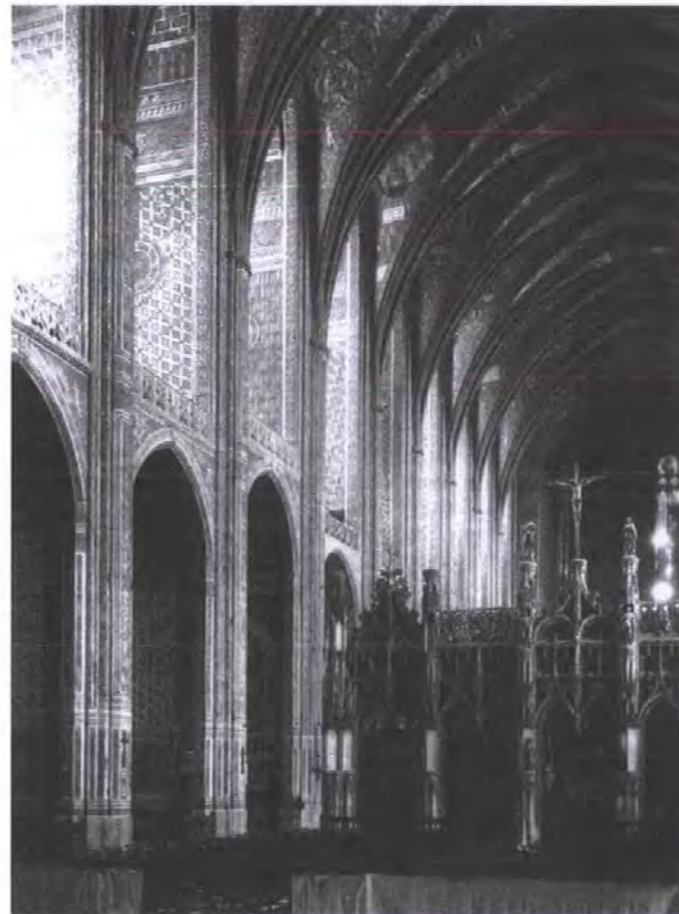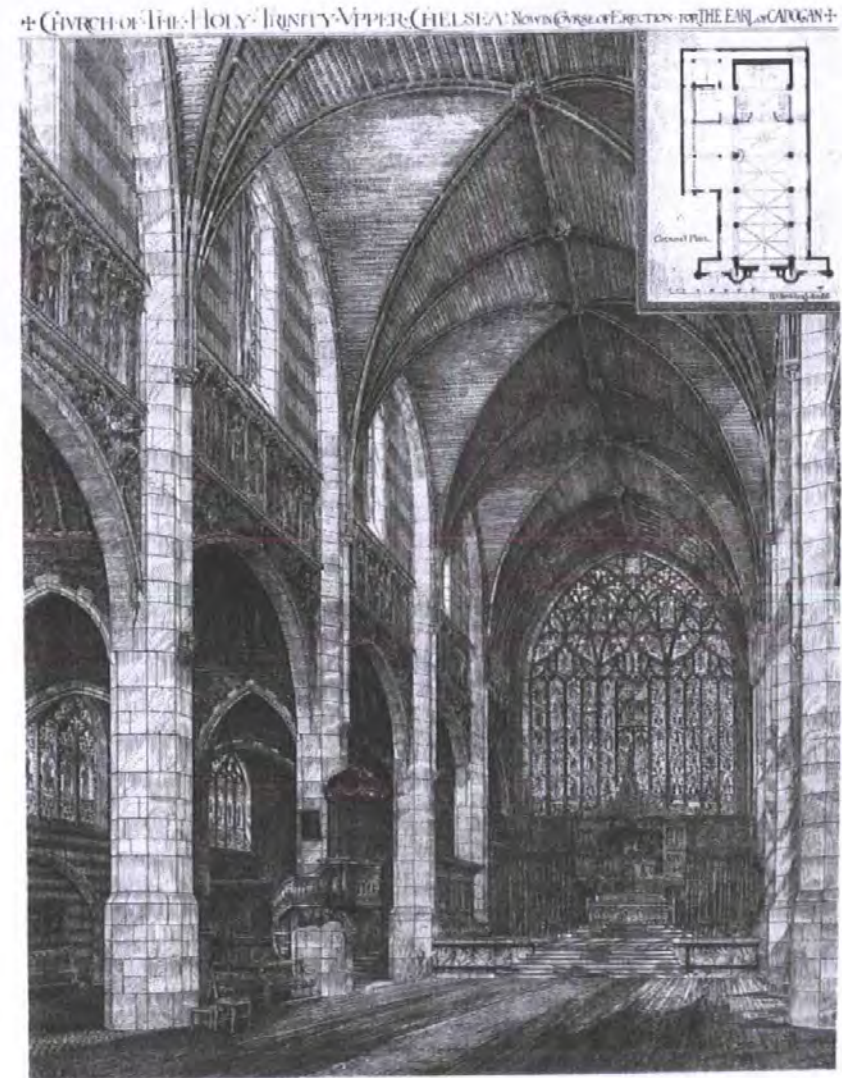
Figure 4   Holy Trinity Church, Upper Chelsea
                                Architect: J D Sedding

Using the Devon edition of *The Buildings of England* as a
handbook, the initial part of the enquiry was concerned
with a consideration of whether it was possible to take
churches from within a specific area as exemplars of a
national movement, around which detailed photographic
investigation could take place. From a preliminary survey it
seemed possible that there existed in Devon a range of
churches that could provide the necessary material with
which to examine the emergence of the ecclesiological
movement in the 1840s and its development through to the
last decade of the nineteenth century. This was a period in
which Devon embarked on an extraordinary range of
remodelling, restoration and extensions to its churches. No
church remained untouched and some were even to be
pulled down to make way for new designs. Major architec-
tural figures were attracted to the county such as William
Butterfield, John Loughborough Pearson and George
Edmund Street and local practitioners benefited from the
wideranging patronage. Noteable examples were the
architectural firm of Hayward & Sons and the decorative/
sculptural workshops of Harry Hems, whose reputation was
to achieve national and international status.

In terms of alterations and restorations it is difficult to make
a list that is meaningful, but particularly successful were

churches such as: St Peter and St Paul, Barnstaple; St John the Baptist, Bishops Tawton; St Mary, Bideford and St Lawrence, Bigbury. Exeter city churches were no exception to the regional patterns of restoration, remodelling and new building: St Michael and All Angels, Heavitree was rebuilt in 1844-6; when built between 1897 and 1900 St David's Church replaced the neo-Georgian building of 1816; St Leonard's medieval church was replaced by a classical building in 1831 which in turn was rebuilt between 1876 and 1886; St Michael's, Mount Dinham, 1865-8, was a new church, as was St Andrew, Exwick, 1841-2, a church praised as a notable example of a new church built with ecclesiological correctness. In terms of architecture and liturgy, Exwick and St David's were therefore seen as usefully positioning the emergence and the refining of the movement.

Devon's population during the nineteenth century followed the national pattern, increasing rapidly due to the advent of railway communications, the subsequent increase in travel and tourism and the ensuing wealth from industrial expansion at this time. The need was clearly evident for the construction of new churches to house the increase in numbers of inhabitants and to cater for the social and cultural changes of Victorian England.

Between 1830 and 1900 there were over sixty new Anglican buildings designed and constructed in Devon, the vast majority of which were constructed in the 1860s as was the case nationally. An extensive editing process was, therefore, necessary to achieve a group of churches around which the core objectives of the research enquiry could be developed. As with any part of the English landscape a number of these churches were destroyed during the two World Wars and some have been converted for alternative secular use.[28] The county also provided recognised examples of the effects on Anglican church building of the national shift in economic climate, from agriculture to industry and commerce, within which the fervent rise of ecclesiological symbolism could be compared to the secularly influenced estate churches that were built in the earlier decades of the century for wealthy landowners.

In the 1840s Devon contained a wealth of ecclesiologically-minded churchmen. Exeter not only had an influential High Churchman in Bishop Phillpotts (from 1830 to 1869) it also had one of the earliest and most assertive ecclesiological societies that existed outside that of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (EDAS). With its Camdenian ideology EDAS proclaimed the national intent at diocesan level to place the

emphasis on "sacraments, not upon sermonising; chancels must be distinct and fully developed...and the whole physical focus of the interior shifted from the pulpit to the altar".[29] Therefore the significance of the Cambridge Camden Society's principles could be explored regionally given examples of early ecclesiologically advocated churches of the 1840s in the county.

It was not just in the emergence of the Camden Society's objectives that gave Devon a national importance or relevance. Liturgically, the diocese of Exeter was at the forefront of controversy in the adoption of principles of the Oxford Movement. Under Henry Phillpotts, one of only two High Church Bishops in the country, the diocese of Exeter became steeped in ritual and ceremonial dispute. In 1844 the Bishop issued an order that a surplice should be worn for preaching, rather than the usual black gown. Perceived in the diocese as a severe act of popery, riots broke out in such places as St Sidwell's Church, Exeter for example, with any-where up to 3000 people barracking the Rector on his way home after the Sunday service.[30] These 'surplice riots' and the associated diocesan and parish disputes subsequently attracted national interest, through publication of articles in *The Times* newspaper. Devon therefore quickly became a nationally recognised county for High Church practices, in

which at diocesan level through both EDAS and the Bishop, like-minded High Churchmen were able to instigate the building of radical modern churches using highly controver-sial but equally radical ceremony.

The influence of these two major contributors to church remodelling, restoration and extension provided the foundation for Anglican church development in the county. The commissioning of nationally recognised architects subsequently brought metropolitan ideas to church design to an predominantly rural county, as seen in the major com-missions from the 1860s and the development and use of such devices as constructional polychromy. The subsequent break from ecclesiological thinking, seen nationally in the 1880s in the preference for more eclectic historical influences and the emergence of Arts and Craft design, was also evi-dent in a number of important Anglican Church commis-sions in Devon, confirming the importance of the county throughout the period 1840 to 1900.

Although the importance of a number of churches became evident, a percentage of new Anglican churches built in Devon between these dates were seen to have very little historically documented significance above that of being

built to accommodate an expanding population. In the
initial research into the established history of these new
churches approximately one third of the sixty buildings were
recognised as being of architectural or ecclesiological signifi-
cance.[31] It will be seen from the introductory notes on the
churches selected for a detailed photographic enquiry, set
out later in this section, that the established architectural
appreciation of the qualities of the designs have been both
accepted and taken to be representative of the key stages in
the stylistic expressions of the ecclesiastical movement; they
take established positions of buildings which are historically
documented as being outstanding. The questions of the
research have been directed to understanding how the
buildings respond to a detailed photographic scrutiny and
interpretation of their historically accepted importance.

All the churches that have been studied during the selection
process were new buildings, constructed in response to the
national needs of the nineteenth century Anglican Church
and the perceived requirements of specific parishes and
congregations who wanted to be part of the new move-
ment. As such they were radical in their stylistic and func-
tional adaptation of medieval precedents and represented
the 'modern' nineteenth century church. In making the
selection of churches for the case studies the intention was

to establish a framework through which it would be possible
to consider the development throughout the century.

After completing a general survey of the buildings it became
evident that the photographic enquiry could be best
achieved by taking three pairs of buildings that represented
the key stages of the architectural/ecclesiastical debate.
These stages have followed the historically recognised stylis-
tic developments of the Early Victorian, High Victorian and
Late Victorian expressions of the architectural/ritual
relationship. As an investigation of the conceptual relation-
ship of ritual and architectural expression the final choice of
buildings was also influenced by a desire to elaborate on
both the diversity of interpretation and the contribution/
reflection of the national programme.

The final selection would therefore provide buildings for
study that were indicative of:

1   the origins of a new movement, being churches
     designed and constructed at the outset of the develop-
     ments in doctrinal change, between 1840 and 1850; the
     Early Victorian period. The Cambridge Camden
     Society and the Westcountry-based equivalent, the
     Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, were beginning
     to exert their pressure on priests, patrons and architects

to build ecclesiologically correct churches. The effects of this pressure were not confined purely to urban churches or parishes; the relationship between priest and squire in the country parishes and the building of estate churches for wealthy landowners were an important part of church building nationally at this time.

2   the refining of the new movement, reflecting the out come of the ecclesiologist's stronghold on architectural and ecclesiastical developments; the High Victorian period. During the 1860s and 1870s architects such as William Butterfield and George Edmund Street have been documented by historians as consolidating their individual approaches to the ecclesiological debates, as well as broadening the stylistic influence beyond England into northern Europe. The use of construc t- ional polychromy was at its height at this time and the ritualist movement was beginning to vocalise its intent to restore the Eucharist "to its historic place as the heart, centre and objective of worship."[32]

3   the move away from what became perceived as the dogmatic and restrictive influence of the ecclesiologists. These buildings would then reflect the developments of the final decades of the nineteenth century, where freer interpretations of Gothic language were developed by architects such as George Gilbert Scott the younger and John Dando Sedding. The influence of the Arts and Craft design also became an important factor in the

churches of the third part of the revival; the Late Victorian period of Anglican church design.

The following six buildings were finally chosen for detailed study covering the sixty year time span of the enquiry with- in these three categories.

1   St Andrew's, Exwick, 1841 and St Mary's, Bicton, 1850.
2   St John's, Torquay, 1863-81 and All Saints', Babbacombe, 1865-74.
3   St Peter's, Shaldon, 1893-1902 and St David's, Exeter, 1897-1900.

The first group of churches provide an interesting compari- son of architect designing an ecclesiologically correct building that reflects the national emergence of Pugin and Camdenian principles and the height of the assertion of wealth and power by the squire in the rural parish.

St Andrew's, Exwick, Exeter 1841-42

This small and insignificant looking building (figure 5) was designed by the Devon-based architect John Hayward, who was the appointed architect of EDAS from its inception. Constructed in a rural setting almost 1½ miles from the city of Exeter, soon to be confronted by the GWR line and station that would separate it from the city, it has become

associated nationally with the emergence of ecclesiological principles. According to Dr Chris Brooks of the Victorian Society the building's importance lies in the assurance with which Hayward uses 'his Gothic vocabulary' and that the building is the first example of the application of Pugin's principles to an Anglican building.[33]

St Andrew's, Exwick is a building representative of the early part of a long career. Hayward was in his thirties when he designed St Andrew's and had been working in the county since the mid-1830s. Before this he had begun his career as a pupil of Barry, to whom he was related by marriage. It has been suggested that Hayward could have been working for Barry when the drawings were being prepared for the Houses of Parliament, "with Pugin somewhere in the background" and where he may have developed his Gothic vocabulary.[34]

The year following its completion, the church was heralded in the *Ecclesiologist* (the journal of the Cambridge Camden Society) as being "the best specimen of a modern church we have yet seen".[35] Although the architect was Hayward the influence of Reverend John Medley, a primary figure in the forming of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, was an important factor in the design of the building. A compari-

son between the un-ecclesiological interior of Hayward's earlier church at Tipton St John, built only two years previously, and the acclaimed building at Exwick illustrates the incredible speed with which he developed his understanding of Camdenian Gothic (figures 6 & 7). It was John Medley who exerted great pressure on High Churchmen in the county to follow the ecclesiologist's ideals. Medley was also secretary to EDAS, Hayward was its architect and they were both members of the Camden Society. This was clearly an important partnership.

The church was enlarged in the 1870s but details of the 1840s structure remains, including the liturgically daring stone altar and reredos carved by Simon Rowe of Exeter.[36]

St Mary's, Bicton 1850 (figure 8)

The site of this church is important due to its juxtaposition with a mausoleum built by A W N Pugin. An influence on the church, designed by John Hayward, is therefore almost certain bearing in mind Hayward's membership of, and associations with the principles of, the Cambridge Camden Society and their relationship with the ideas of Pugin. By this time Hayward's practice was well established and influential through his appointment as Diocesan Architect.

Bicton was a rural estate church commissioned by Louisa, Lady Rolle, whose family were closely involved with the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society. Lord Rolle (for whom the mausoleum was built in the 1840s) was the largest of the Devon landowners and the alliance built between the clergy and the financially and socially powerful laity was something that the Cambridge Camden Society were actively encouraging within the Anglican Church nationally.

The Church of England preferred the control that it could exert over small parishes, as anything much over 2,500 acres was deemed problematic to manage in this respect.[37] Two types of parish existed at this time - 'open', which was a parish with a fragmented landholding and 'closed', with principly one dominant figurehead. The latter, as at Bicton, was much preferred by the Anglican Church. The individual, resident, landowner could exert leadership and influence from his position as squire.

Churches such as Bicton were expensive to build and their funding by the powerful landowner was a direct assertion of wealth, yet associated closely with ecclesiastical correctness. Bicton is therefore indicative of the relationship between clergy, squire and patron. The relationship between these figures produced an alternative iconographic programme

and interior organisation that was very different to those of the ecclesiologically correct churches such as at Exwick. The interior of Bicton Church is rife with assertions of the wealth and patronage of the squire. The chancel floor in particular is an array of references to the family and the monarchy in Hayward's inclusion of insignia and family crests (figure 9).

The Second group of churches represent the metropolitan nature of church design arriving in Devon at the height of church building commissions nationally and locally. Babbacombe was a new church in an emerging development, while Torquay was a new church that replaced an existing neo-classical chapel in the centre of the town.

St John's, Torquay 1863-81
The current building dedicated to St John was designed by George Edmund Street, a leader of the High Victorian generation of British architects. In the mid 1800s he became a central figure in the shaping of architectural design. His work is indicative of a number of architects who expanded the horizons of High Victorian design through travel and writing. He employed constructional polychromy early in his career, as did Butterfield, but he soon declined from this practice and a number of his later works stem from a

fondness of French influences. Despite a long building programme covering four stages Street's plans were adhered to very closely, giving a cohesiveness to the interior.

The history of St John's is steeped in the controversies that surrounded the Anglican Church nationally during the emergence of tractarian and ecclesiological thinking. The church designed by Street replaced an earlier chapel of 1822 (figure 10) which initially conformed to the use of a reading desk, clerk's desk and pulpit, with movable seats for the clergy and an "exceptionally wide seat for the use of the Bishop."[38] It was the developments driven by the occupant of this latter seat that are of particular interest. The Bishop was Henry Phillpotts, already established as a significantly controversial figure in the 1840s. The Bishop was a regular Sunday preacher at the Chapel and instigated a number of changes to the interior that reflected his own preferences for ceremony, of which the articles in *The Times* newspaper already referred to are worth revisiting. The editor of *The Times* selected the Diocese of Exeter as a case study concerning the dissemination of important national issues within the Anglican Church. Over a two month period the paper devoted thirty one major articles on Bishop Phillpott's actions and innovations in the diocese, in which the editor strongly condemned the prelate's stance. The national focus

on Torquay eventually culminated in a further review in *The Times* in 1845, where a reporter was sent down from London especially to comment on the ceremony that had been adopted at the chapel and a subsequent review of which provides an interesting insight into the alterations made under the influence of the Bishop.

The reporter observed that the clerk was no longer used - he had been replaced by three clergymen who between them read the prayers, lessons and epistle, and the communion and the gospel respectively. Part of the prayers were read facing east, with the clergy's backs to the worshippers. If the Bishop was not preaching then the priest who was would wear a surplice, reactions to which have already been mentioned. Such alterations to the liturgy ultimately required changes to the building. The reading desk was removed and replaced by a lectern. The sanctuary chairs were also replaced, in this case by carving out a sedilia for three clergy and a Bishops' throne was introduced. Such changes caused widespread anger amongst a number of members of the congregation. The reporter from *The Times*, evidently enjoying his role as investigative journalist, describes a letter of protest concerning the current ceremony that had been sent to the incumbent, signed by "45 of the principal heads of families and seat-holders out of about 70

who attend the church..."[39]

It was despite this controversy and dispute that the eventual development of a large new building took place. The population of Torquay had expanded greatly during the first half of the nineteenth century and the relatively small chapel was soon outgrown. It is not surprising to find that Bishop Phillpotts expressed his approval of the building of a new church to replace the chapel. Once the bishop had given this approval the incumbent, the Rev. Parks Smith published a list of subscriptions that had been given for the building. The architect chosen had local connections in that he had designed a house for an influential Torquay family who recommended him for the commission. It is also likely that the realisation that George Edmund Street was becoming the leading ecclesiastical architect of the time would have been a major contributing factor in the choice. The site was not the most suitable for designing a large building as it stands on a steep slope above in the hillside above the town centre and was surrounded by properties. The space for the new church had to be enlarged by demolishing two houses to the east end of the chapel and by cutting out the necessary ground space from the hillside. This enabled the new chancel to be constructed first and the subsequent completion of the rest of the building undertaken when finances

allowed, a process which took nearly twenty years to complete to Street's plan.

The situation of the church was important. The chapel had held an insignificant position in the terraced configuration of the Torquay landscape, as can be seen in figure 11. The postcard of Cary Parade (figure 13) provides a useful reminder of how the new church of St John continued to dominate the central commercial area of Edwardian Torquay, highlighting the elevated presence of the new church overlooking the town. The comparison of the images of the 1822 Chapel and the completed church of 1881 seen in figures 10 to 13 shows a remarkable transformation in the presence and nature of this rebuilding programme. This building is therefore representative of a significant construction by an architect who was a major influence in design during the mid to late nineteenth century and which would provide an interesting comparison to the influence and the emergence of another major new metropolitan building only two miles away at Babbacombe.

All Saints', Babbacombe 1865-74

This is one of William Butterfield's most important churches, second only to All Saints' Margaret Street, London. Butterfield revolutionised Victorian architecture with his use

of Constructional Polychromy of which the interior at Babbacombe is unique in several respects. All Saints' is simple in plan but the interior is more complex in colour and pattern than any other of his polychromatic interiors.[40] Particularly ornate are the font and pulpit which introduce a variety of colour from the quieter nave colouring. They are strongly architectural, extremely intricate and they exploit a whole range of polished marbles. The chancel is a climax to the interior, mixing decorative and constructional elements (figure 14). Paul Thompson describes this church as displaying "the rare brilliance and subtlety of Butterfield's sense of colour."[41]

With St John's, Torquay, All Saints', Babbacombe illustrates the consequence of Devon's major church commissions being given to nationally renowned architects during the 1860s. Butterfield and Street have been linked by the historian Anthony Symondson due to their position of "unassailable orthodoxy".[42] In choosing All Saints', Babbacombe and St John's, Torquay there was the possibility of investigating the relationship of these two architects building churches in very close proximity, both in terms of time and location. Unlike St John's, Torquay however, All Saints' was a new church on a new site. As can be seen from figure 15 the church, when completed, was situated in a large open expanse of parkland "in a .... situation among trees and villas".[43]

The third group of churches, comprising St Peter's, Shaldon and St David's, Exeter represented similar aspirations to those of Babbacombe and Torquay. Both were new churches, with St David's replacing an existing neo-classical building and Shaldon meeting the needs of an expanding parish.

St Peter's, Shaldon 1893-1902

This church was designed by Edmund Harold Sedding (1863-1921), nephew to John Dando Sedding, one of the foremost architects of the late nineteenth century. It is regarded by J M Slader in his book *The Churches of Devon* as one of three outstanding churches of the late 1800s and by Jennifer Freeman, in referring to Caröe's work at Shaldon in her biography of W D Caröe, as being a church that "marks the high point of the flowering of Arts and Craft design".[44] It is a unique building in that it is effectively a tunnel of stone, with a wagon roof, stone apse, stone altar and a stone rood screen of three bays (figure 16) The church is full of ornate marble work, including the base of the screen and the pulpit, a direct consequence of the travels to Italy of the first incumbent.

St Peter's was built at a time when the population of

Shaldon was outgrowing that of its Parish Church, St Nicholas, at Ringmore. The Reverend Richard Marsh Marsh-Dunn was inducted vicar of the parish of St Nicholas in 1890 and it was his decision to move the centre of parish worship to Shaldon and build a large new church. The land for the new church was given by the incumbent and being the garden of his house, was directly adjacent to the site.

The church has not been without problems. The design was submitted to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and was referred to W D Caröe as its chief architect. Caröe indicated that there would be significant problems if built to the designs of Sedding, as there was insufficient provision for supporting the weight of the stone roofing. The plans were therefore rejected by the Commissioners. On intervention by the Bishop of Exeter, who was eager for the church to be built, Caröe is quoted as saying 'If this church is built it will fall down'.[45] The Bishop nevertheless overruled the Commissioners and work started on the new church. It was only thirty years on from completion before the problems became such that Caröe was approached and asked to make the church safe. The weight of the stone roof had indeed made the church dangerous and external buttresses were added to the nave walls in 1932 (figure 17).[46]

This building is interesting for its relationship to the influences of Late Victorian design and the fascination with the sacrament of Eucharist. Edmund's uncle John Dando Sedding worked in the offices of George Edmund Street in the 1850s and both worshipped at St Mary's Crown Street, Soho, one of the most active ritualistic churches of the time. The youngest of the Sedding family was influenced by the debates of Anglo-Catholicism and of the Eucharistic rite. The design by E H Sedding is important therefore for its development of Arts and Craft design and late nineteenth century debates on the doctrine of the Eucharist.

St David's, Exeter 1897-1900

Designed by William Douglas Caröe, St David's, Exeter is thought by architectural historians such as J M Slader and B F Cresswell to be the best-built church in Devon (excluding the cathedral). Caröe was architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from 1895, a year before he started on plans for the church in Exeter. As was the case at Torquay, the church of St David in Exeter replaced an earlier nineteenth century building, in this instance a classical design of 1816 (figure 18). From the Parish files held in the Devon and Exeter Records office, a perception of this building can be ascertained that reflects the rural nature of its situation. The

church is illustrated as being on the periphery of the city and one which is approached by walking through 'path fields' (figure 19). The nature of the church's liturgical preferences is not discussed in the parish files but what became important in the subsequent selection of Caröe's church, was the parish's demand for a new building to replace a church that had existed for only eighty years.

St Michael & All Angels, Mount Dinham, Exeter, was built between 1865 and 1868 as a chapel of ease to St David's. St Michael's, less than a mile from its neighbouring church, was a building designed by Rhode Hawkins. It was built in the Early French Gothic style and was a particularly dominant building with a 220ft Gothic spire. This was an intensely Gothic building with a tall chancel and intricate internal detailing, indicative of contemporary architectural design. In comparison the classical building of St David's was not generally liked by many in the parish and was soon perceived as being out-dated. The congregation and incumbent at St David's did not wish to remain in this position and so began proceedings to rectify this issue. The result was the planning of a new Gothic building that would once again position St David's as a 'modern' church (figures 20 & 21).

It is an unusual and striking building both externally and internally. On completion the *Devon and Exeter Gazette* referred to debate on the mixed reaction to the exterior. There was a misconception that the tower was intended to have a spire to match those of the west end. Internally, however, the church met with universal praise.[47] Restrictions were imposed by the Chancellor of the Diocese requiring the architect not to exceed the dimensions of the previous building's foundations (in order to leave the grave-yard untouched). This meant that Caröe had a particularly challenging task of conceiving a building that met the brief given him, part of which was to design a church that would seat 800 people. Caröe's answer was to use internal buttress-es, possibly in reference to Albi or Gerona Cathedrals, which created passage aisles around a broad nave. A chapel was built into the space created by the internal tower supports and ambulatory aisles were introduced either side of the chancel stalls. The effect of this planning restriction was therefore a use of space that Caröe directly related to the way in which the building could be used for ritual.

St David's is therefore a significant building in many respects. Not only was it considered an important building at the time of its completion, it has remained an outstanding

The Rationale for the Selection of Churches

example of the work of an important an influential architect, being heralded as Caröe's most important building.[48] It is also another indicator of how an architect dealt with a very particular spatial restriction to achieve his aims (St John's, Torquay being the other) while attempting to meet the requirements of a parish that wanted a modern, stylistically and ecclesiastically correct church to replace a building that was in itself a relatively new building.

Figure 5 St Andrew's, Exwick c1840s
Architect: John Hayward
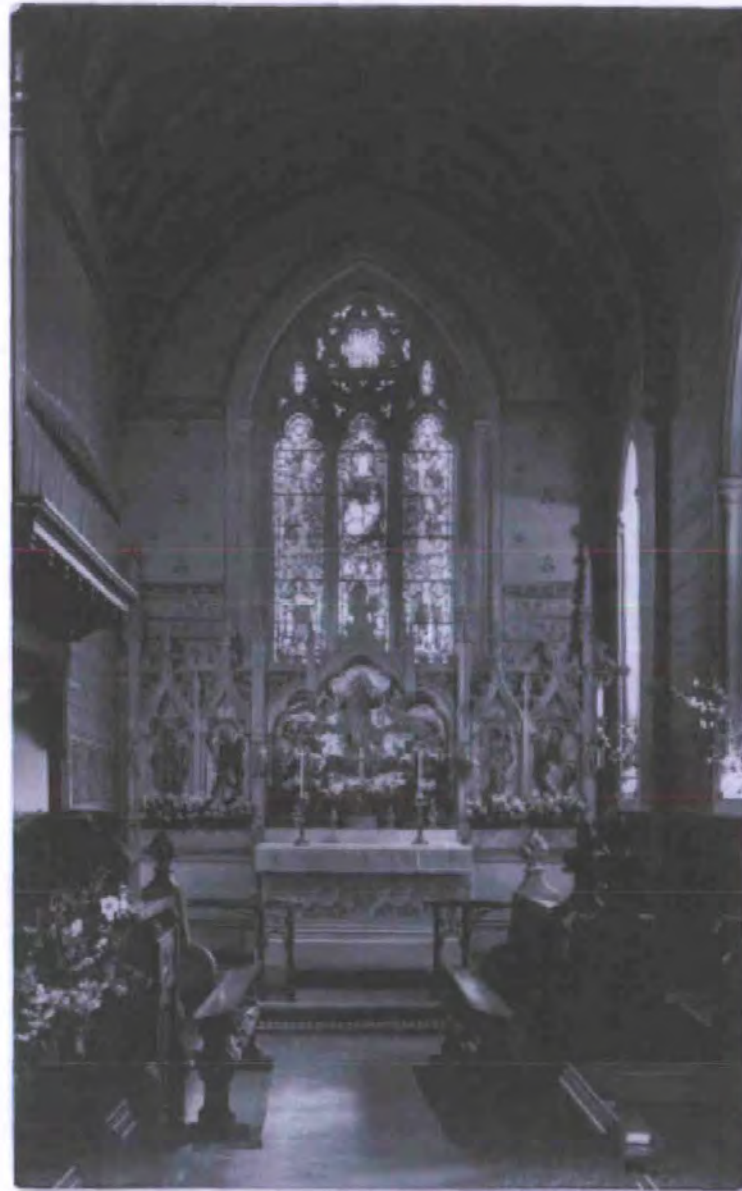
Figure 6   Interior of St Andrew's, Exwick c1870s

Figure 7   The un-ecclesiological interior of
Tipton St John's
Architect: John Hayward

Figure 8   St Mary's, Bicton c1850s
Architect: John Hayward

Figure 9   Detail of the patron's insignia in the floor
decoration of St Mary's, Bicton

Figure 10 *Top*   The interior of the Chapel 1863
just prior to the rebuilding

Figure 11 *Lower*   Torquay harbour with the chapel c1830

Figure 12 *Top*   St John's, Torquay
Architect: George Edmund Street

Figure 13 *Lower*   Postcard image of Edwardian Torquay
with its dominant new church
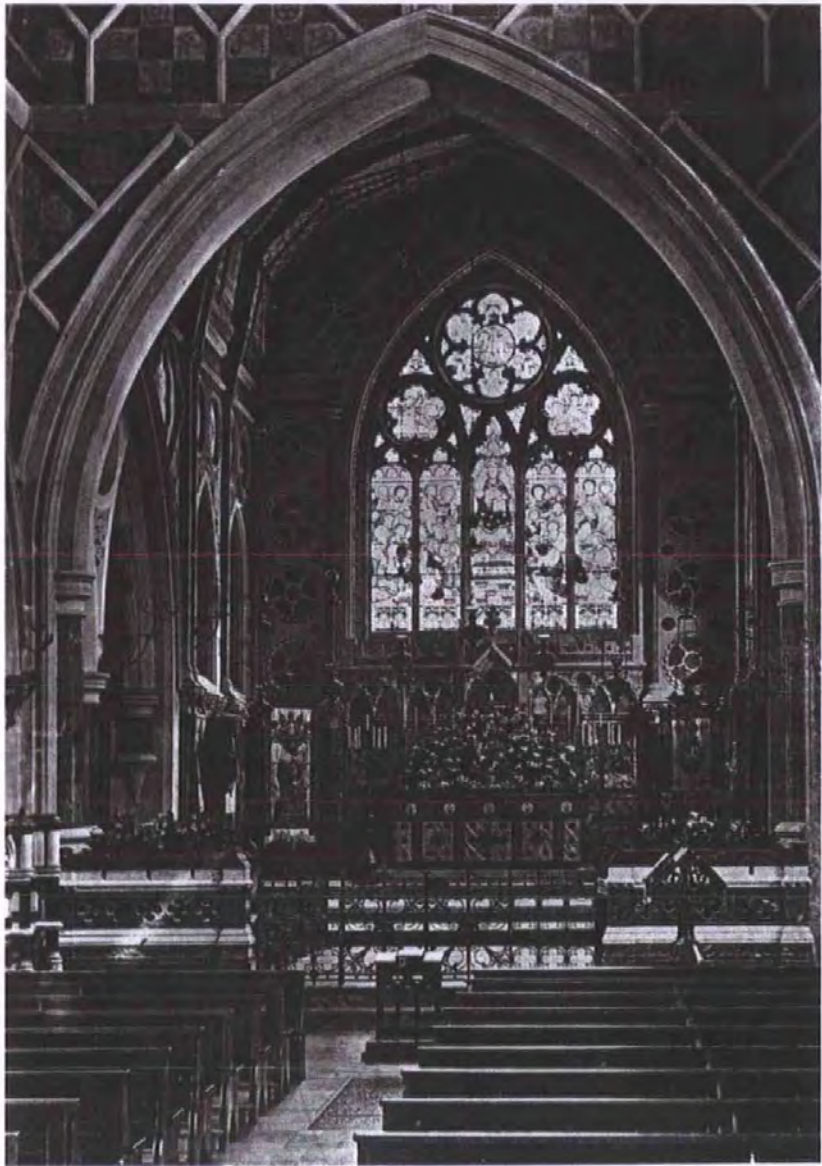
Figure 14 Interior of All Saints', Babbacombe
as depicted in the Edwardian era

Figure 15 All Saints', Babbacombe 1865-74
Architect: William Butterfield
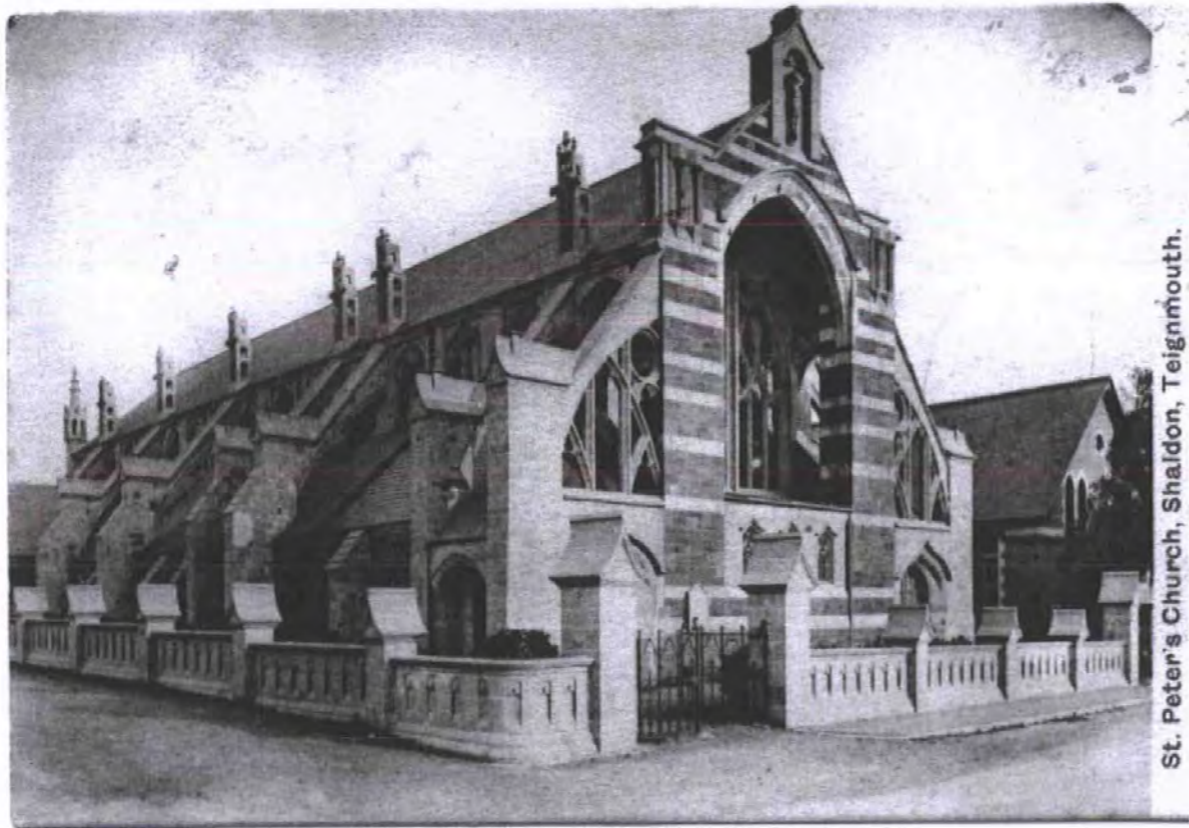
Figure 17   Exterior of St Peter's, Shaldon 1893-1902
Architect: E H Sedding

Figure 16   Interior of St Peter's, Shaldon showing the
stone roof and screen
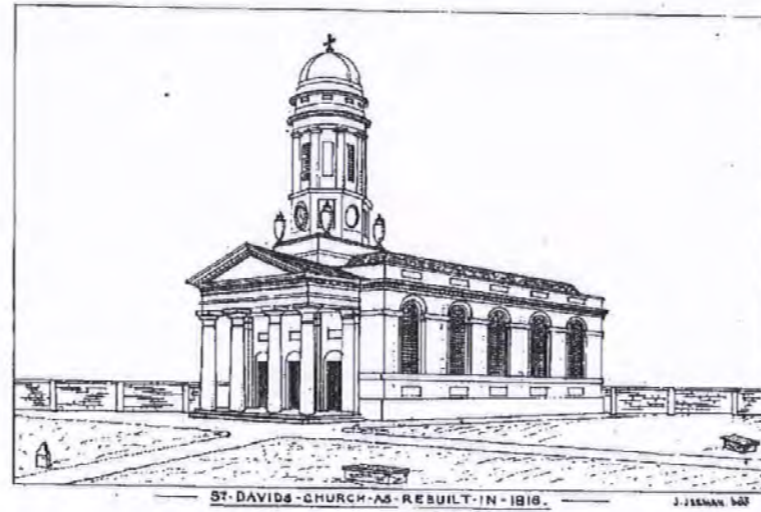
Figure 18 *Top left*   St David's 'old' Church 1816

Figure 19 *Lower left*   The classical building in its rural setting
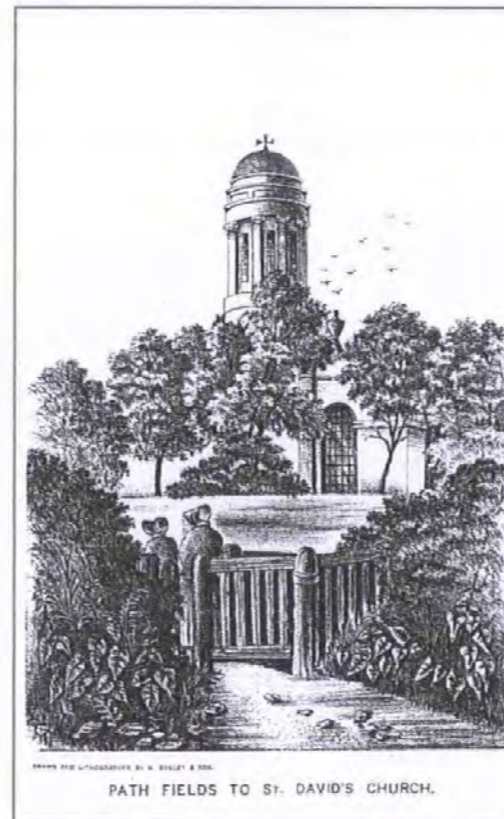
Figure 20 *Lower right*   The 'new' St David's, Exeter 1897
Architect: William Douglas Caröe
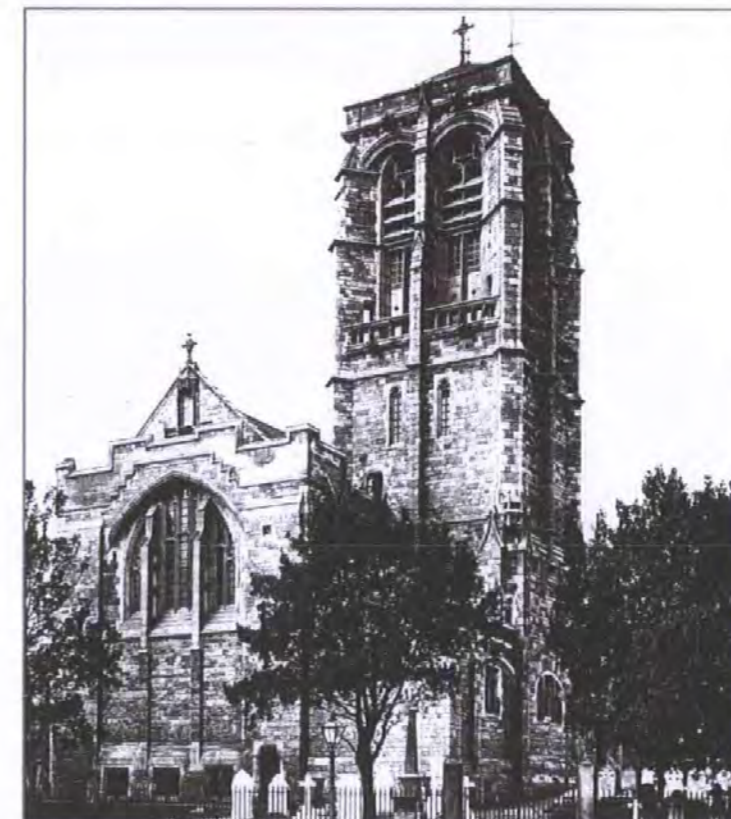
Figure 21 *Top right*   The pulpit and chancel of Caröe's building
prior to the addition of the nave altar

Section 2.1

1   For a concise portrayal of the relationship between the established church and the nonconformist denominations, see Chris Brooks, Chris Brooks & Andrew Saint (eds), *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, Manchester,1995, 'Introduction', pp4 & 5

2   ibid, pp9 & 10

3   ibid, p7

4   B F L Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century*, David & Charles, 1969, p20

5   see Chris Brooks's 'Introduction' to *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, p1. He also makes reference to a useful summary of the changes in society and culture at this time, in John C McKinney's introduction to *Community and Society*, New York, 1963

6   The word ecclesiology is defined in *Chambers Dictionary* as: the science of church forms and traditions and of church architecture and decoration. For an interesting explanation of the derivation of the word, see B F L Clarke's *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century*, pp75 & 76

7   It is important to remember that the style now referred to as the Gothic Revival was not just confined to the nineteenth century

8   Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, London, 1995, (First published 1928), p102

9   ibid, p106

10 ibid, p151

11 ibid, p152. It should also be noted that Newman converted to the Roman Church in 1845

12 W N Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600-1900.* Oxford, Clarendon, 1991, p132

13 Anthony Symondson, 'Theology, worship and the late Victorian Church',*The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, Manchester, 1995, p193

14 Kenneth Clark, p156

15 ibid , p161

16 W N Yates, p133

17 Kenneth Clarke, p161

18 W N Yates, pp160 & 161

19 Anthony Symondson, p197

20 ibid, p198

21 ibid, p192

22 ibid, p199

23 See W N Yates, *Buildings Faith and Worship*, p116.
    "From 1800 a growing number of churches.....began to
    break up the old three-decker arrangement and place
    the pulpit and reading-desk on opposite sides of the
    nave so as to permit a clear view to the altar." In this
    chapter Yates goes on to explain that the clerk was
    often "relegated" to a pew

24 For a particularly interesting analysis of the importance
    of Albi Cathedral, see John Thomas, *The Journal of
    Architecture*, vol 3 Summer 1998, 'The influence of
    Albi Cathedral: the use of historic precedent in nine-
    teenth century & twentieth century design', pp85-105

25 W N Yates, p169

26 Anthony Symondson, p208

27 ibid, p208

Section 2.2

28 It should be noted that with all the churches built
    throughout the century in the county the greatest con-
    centration of building was in the southern and eastern
    areas. North Devon had only a very few new churches
    built at this time as the expansion of population was

insignificant compared to that of the increasingly
popular resorts around Torquay and the South Hams
and the agriculturally dominated areas of East Devon.

29 Chris Brooks, Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint eds., *The
    Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, Manchester,
    1995, 'Introduction', p7

30 R J E Boggis, *A History of St John's, Torquay*, Torquay,
    1930, p61.

31 A list of the most significant surviving Anglican
    Churches built between these dates forms Appendix i

32 Anthony Symondson. 'Theology and worship in the
    late Victorian church', *The Victorian Church: Architecture
    and Society*, Manchester, 1995, p196

33 Quoted here from Chris Brook's description of St
    Andrew's Exwick in *The Faber Guide to Victorian
    Churches*, edited by Peter Howell and Ian Sutton, 1989,
    p 43 The article on the Exwick Church is in *The
    Ecclesiologist*, II, 1843, p23

34 ibid, Martin Cherry, 'Patronage, the Anglican Church
    and the local architect in Victorian England', p176

35 ibid, p180

36 Camdenian principles such as the use of ornate carving
    with sculptural references on a solid stone altar was

seen by many as an example of the 'popery' so hated by the ostensibly protestant position of the Anglican Church in the 1840's, making this altar and reredos an extremely daring feat for its time

37   This was at a time of course when the parish priest was assisted in his pastoral duties by his wife and daughters

38   R J E Boggis, p17

39   ibid, p67

40   Paul Thompson, *William Butterfield*, London, 1971, pp140-142

41   ibid, p243

42   Anthony Symondson, p199

43   Paul Thompson, p328

44   Jennifer Freeman, *W D Caröe: his architectural achievement*, Manchester, 1984, p162

45   ibid, p162

46   It is unclear as to whether the replacement of the original nave roof's stone slabs with thinner, lighter alternatives, or indeed likewise the replacement of the stone in the north and south aisles with a timber roof, dates also from this time

47   *Devon and Exeter Gazette*, 9 January 1900. The research by Jennifer Freeman indicates that the competition rules for the building of a new church were quite clear: that there had to be a tower and belfry but no spire. The report in the Gazette therefore seems to have been somewhat inaccurate in this respect

48   Chris Brooks refers to St David's being one of Caröe's finest churches, as does Jennifer Freeman who (until Elizabeth Townsend completes her current thesis on this architect) has been the main published authority on the life and work of Caröe

"Photography of architecture has been central to the development of photography itself, yielding a wealth of extraordinary images in a period of little more than one hundred and fifty years."[1]

It was important to consider the traditions of photography and the ecclesiastical interior as part of the formulation of the photographic methodology for the research project and the extent to which the research practice would need to respond to these traditions. In its widest sense architectural subject matter was an obvious and necessary form of practice in the early years of photography. Buildings provided subject matter that could be handled by the emerging technology and which, in issues of scale and decoration, enabled a whole range of technical and pictorial experimentation to take place. At the same time photography became a natural extension for the 'sketch' that could record excursions and tours undertaken by the aristocratic practitioners, as well as being a useful tool for archaeologists and historians. Because of technical limitations few images of architectural interiors are to be found during early explorations of subject matter. There are well known accounts of early architectural photographers battling with the problems of both low light levels and their available technology, where exposures inside churches particularly could take anywhere between two and five days.[2]

As technology developed through the nineteenth century architectural photographs of interiors and exteriors were used to record both new building and historic monuments

as well as being used for aids in restoration. However, although engravings of ecclesiastical interiors had been used since the mid nineteenth century in such journals as the *Ecclesiologist* and *Builder*, it was not until the advent of half-tone printing that the possibilities for extensive reproduction of architectural photographs could be fully utilised. With this printing revolution came a series of new publications in the 1890s; *Studio, Builders' Journal* (later *Architects' Journal*), *Architectural Review* and *Country Life* all became extremely influential in the development of architectural photography as they employed leading practitioners of the time. At this stage ecclesiastical interiors were only a minor element of the content of such publications but the predominant approaches to the photography of buildings were evident in the nineteenth century and debates and issues initiated during this period have remained central to the debates on photography and architecture ever since. These debates and issues centred on the approaches to photography being concerned with either the effective recording of detail or the development of a Pictorialist aesthetic.[3]

The photography within these journals was very much controlled by editorial philosophy and readership prefer-ences. In the 1850s for example the Pictorialist approach, associated with the amateur photographer, was openly disliked by such architects as George Edmund Street who in a letter to the *Builder* in 1859 expressed his frustration at the lack of sculptural detail in architectural photography.[4] Street's view was indicative of the split between the amateur and the professional photographer. This split was also very evident in the debates within the work of the Architectural Photographic Association, founded in 1857.[5] Later in the century *Architectural Review* and *Country Life* still reflected these two philosophies, the former being primarily con-cerned with requirements for detail and information - the documentary image as seen in figure 22 while the latter was concerned with a more Pictorialist view of "an idyllically tranquil and reassuringly unchanging world that [the editor] knew would appeal strongly to the readers"[6] and which was achieved through images such as 'Silver light so pale and faint' by Frederick H Evans (figure 23). Evans's principle aim when photographing ecclesiastical interiors was to convey a spiritual and aesthetic emotion - an ostensibly interpretive vision.[7] This debate between information and interpretation has been a fundamental part of architectural photographic history and although these two approaches initially seem opposed both are expressive, as Cervin Robinson observes in his introduction to *Architecture Transformed*, "one formula stresses the factual component of pictures, and the other, their emotional content, both expressive devices."[8]

The Pictorialists took photographic practice away from its origins of definition and clarity as a photo-mechanical medium in favour of using techniques such as gum bichromate, oil pigment, gelatine carbon and hand painted photo-gravure. In their wish to express a relationship with the origins of art, the Pictorialists generally associated their work with accepted images and accepted aesthetic traditions in art practice. In this respect they also drew on themes from literature and history in the portrayal of personal sentiments through the active use of symbol. It was in this use of sentiment, emotion and symbolic motif rather than what was seen as academic or intellectual justification, as well as in technical approach that manifested the divides within the architectural press and that of professional and amateur photographic practice. This divide has not been restricted either to British photographic history or to nineteenth century practice in general. In 1920s America the photographer Edward Weston, writing on the state of photography in America at that time, referred his dislike of the Pictorialists in being amateurs who resorted to 'impressionistic blur'.

In opposition to this tradition of impressionistic representation was the use of photography to record and document, at the heart of which were architects themselves, who in their travels, made and collected photographic records for use in restoration and new commissions. Again the photograph became an alternative to the 'sketch' as a device to effectively render information and which could be analysed at a later date through the compilation of photographic albums

Again in 1859 but this time in *Building News* a comment was made on the uses to which photography could be put by the architect. These included "acting as a guide to their own works in progress; as illustrations of new techniques in construction; as means of duplicating......all kinds of office documentation; and as an aid to restoration."[9] Eugéne Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc and George Gilbert Scott have often been referred to throughout debates on architectural photography as notable examples of people who have used the medium as a form of visual research before and during restoration.

"The search for precedents underlay the architectural creativity of the Victorian period and photography......greatly expanded the available supply of such precedents."[10] Many nineteenth century architects such as John Loughborough Pearson and G E Street travelled extensively, using sketchbooks and cameras to document buildings of interest, collecting and producing imagery that when brought back

to England was exhibited, published in journals or, as it was in most cases, used privately for reference. Pearson's albums are now held in private collection but other architects' work such as that of Ninian Comper is held at the British Architectural Library (photos collection) and the photograph albums of W D Caröe are held at the National Monuments Record (NMR) at Swindon. These archives form an important insight into the way in which the camera has been used by and for architects in order to provide a visual document. There are a number of techniques used by architects in the photographs of ecclesiastical subject matter that are relative to establishing this research project methodology which are discussed later in this section.

Viollet-le-Duc however is an example of an architect who was not only concerned with the use of photography in recording a building for the purposes of restoration or for its use in architectural drawing (where drawings were made from traces of photographs from which he selected what was required to portray his understanding of a subject).[11] More importantly he professed the possibilities in the use of photographs as an analytical method of representation. Viollet-le-Duc felt he understood the potential of the medium in gleaning a greater understanding of history through the analysis of photographs. In a recent article an example is

given by Lauren O'Connell of a rare occurrence where an architect takes this theory a step further by declaring a belief that evidence provided by photographs can actually answer questions of historical uncertainty. Figure 24 shows a photograph from the expeditionary photographer Désiré Charnay's 1862 album of Mexican travel photographs *Cités et ruines américaines*, from which Viollet-le-Duc hypothesised a drawn reconstruction of what he felt was evidenced in the photograph (figure 25). Although Viollet-le-Duc's conclusions on the original construction of a Mexican Palace depicted in the ruins of Charnay's photographs have since been challenged, the importance of the architect's use of photography are important - "Photography becomes [this] history's primary source, and insights gleaned from photographs are used to confirm or correct information provided by texts, which take on a supporting role."[12] Viollet-le-Duc's process can therefore be seen to use visual records produced from direct photographic observation of sites and buildings to provide insight into history.

Photography as documentation is well illustrated by the work that William Douglas Caröe instigated as architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from 1895 until his death in 1938. The NMR has recently restored the six albums of photographs that were originally compiled by Caröe and

which comprise both secular and sacred buildings and monuments. Particular photographers are not credited but there are a wide variety of sources evident through the range of photographic quality and types of print. A number of images within these albums are records for restoration purposes, reinforcing this particular documentary use by architects. An example of a page with Caröe's own written notes, such as "Before restoration."can be seen in figure 26. On close examination of the albums and in discussion with the curator at NMR it seems that these images are possibly photographs produced by the architect himself.[13] There are a number throughout all the albums which are made in the same way, using the same camera, including images such as figure 27 where the camera has been placed on the end of a pew in order to steady it sufficiently. It is unlikely that a professional photographer would need to resort to this technique.

All the albums contain a mixture of general and detailed shots, drawing very clearly on traditional methods of photographing interiors. General shots were either made centrally or from an angle, encompassing as much of the interior as possible in one image. The vast majority of images however are of details such as; screens, stalls, altars, reredoses, arches, statues, church plate, crosses and

crucifixes. The techniques and approaches used in photographing these individual elements are intriguing. A series of images from the Caröe albums (figures 28, 29 & 30) show different ways in which photographic records have been made. A recently completed or restored screen in a workshop (figure 28) is photographed before being transported and installed. Here the photographer has documented a commission for the designer's record and portfolio. The photographic approach shows the use of viewpoint in relation to the available light source in order to render the intricate carving in detail and relief. On closer inspection a peculiarity emerges; the use of dark canvases behind the screen. In a further example of a screen photographed out of context (figure 29) the image might indicate a solution to the use of canvases, as the photograph is clearly a cut-out. The dark drapes have allowed the photographer to cut around the relatively simple shapes of the outside dimensions and contact print the image, thus producing a detailed photographic rendering of the screen without any surrounding distractions.[14] The third method for selecting singular items for photographic recording where the screen is shot in place can be seen in figure 30. The available light here allows the photographer to separate the screen from the visual confusion of the chancel. There

seems no requirement from the architect using the photograph to wish to represent any symbolic significance of the presence or position of the screen; again the image is produced purely as a record.

The practice of producing multiple views of major buildings, notably churches and cathedrals also had positive connections with the aesthetic traditions associated with artists' and architects' sketch books. At the same time it provided an opportunity for photographers to explore the techniques needed to overcome such difficulties as viewpoint, light and focus. As the technical difficulties were resolved and the core aesthetic established, the photographic output was still only available to a restricted audience. This changed with the advent of half-tone printing. Not only did this increase the possibility of economically reproducing a wider range of photographs of the subject, the opportunity to explore architecture through multiple views rather than by a single all-encompassing image brought the second major approach to the interpretation of architectural subject matter. Through the pages of journals this new understanding of the ways in which buildings could be recorded was then taken to a wider audience of both amateur and professional practitioner.

This approach of producing multiple views of a building was developed out of necessity early in the history of photography due both to the difficulties of successfully depicting the spatial and formal complexities of a built structure and the technical limitations of the medium in the first half of the nineteenth century.[15] One of the most common examples used to illustrate the way in which these problems were overcome has been to reference a series of images produced of Chartres Cathedral by Henri Le Secq (figure 31). In these images the photographer initially used general views and then built up the details of the cathedral's façade as a way of exploring the relationships between the whole and the parts.[16] Frederick H Evans also began to use a fragmentary approach when photographing the interiors of cathedrals and churches. The all-encompassing images, characteristic of his earlier work, were eventually replaced by more fragmentary views indicative of his individual interpretive vision [17] (figures 32 and 33). Both Frederick Evans in his work for *Country Life* and Henri Le Secq at Chartres were exploring the notions that "serial imagery functions sequentially, as each image adds new information to complete, through a gradual unfolding, the picture of the whole."[18]

This 'gradual unfolding', indicative of multiple views and based on the physical understanding of architecture, was an

important facet of the ecclesiastical photography of Frederick Evans. He was fascinated by the journey through an interior space, believing that the more individual views better suggested the "space, the vastness, the grandeur of mass, the leading on from element to element, that so fascinates one in going through a cathedral."[19] This unfolding of a building has remained a primary device through which ecclesiastical buildings have been photographed.

Historically another important form of publication that has drawn on the use of multiple views to provide visual and theoretical understanding of buildings has been the architectural history book, through which the inclusion of photographs ensure that the reader and the critic have some form of shared visual experience. The two examples given here being particularly interesting not only for their use of multiple views but of the comparisons that are drawn through visual statements. *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, first published by Batsford in 1896 (figure 34) shows the way in which photography provided perspectival illustrations alongside architectural drawings in the form of plans and elevations. The drawings were used to support the theoretical understanding of the building where the photographs confirmed the formal arrangements.[20] Any number of examples could be used to illustrate the

photographic qualities of this tradition and the blend of images with the strategies varying according to the purpose of the work. For example figure 35 is taken from *English Cathedrals: The Forgotten Centuries* written by Gerald Cobb (Thames & Hudson, 1980). In this publication a variety of sources have been used to chart the history of restoration and change from 1530 to the present day, again highlighting the historically prolific use of photography as records for archival and restoration purposes as well as indicating the use of photographic juxtaposition in supporting comparative analysis.

Publications for the tourist have made extensive use of multiple views, documenting the major features of buildings or building types, to be consulted whilst walking round the building and visually directing attention to key points of interest. These would also support the memory of the experience. In the most widely published example of the ecclesiastical Guide Book, the Pitkin series, a specific formula has been used for each building. First the ground plan indicates the layout and position of the constituent parts of the building, after which general historical points of interest are outlined. Then a journey ensues - a tour of the interior (and facets of the exterior) - using general all-encompassing photographs and images of significant details. Once the tour

has finished the final sections often describe the contemporary work that a cathedral undertakes in society.

As a formalistic approach the question is whether this visual standardisation detracts from the experience and may even be hindering the visit. Take for example the guide book for York Minster where a general view, a more particular view and details can be easily identified (figure 36). The interpretive vision expressed in the work of Frederick Evans has no place in these visitor publications. The photographs are required to reveal detail primarily as information and are very obviously images which are both documents and illustrations; documents because they record and illustrations because they work in conjunction with the text for which they supply a visual understanding of the points raised. Details are used in this context as photography offers the possibility of revealing features that cannot otherwise be seen (due to the scale of the building for example), or cannot effectively be reproduced due to the scale of the publication.

Because of the requirement for revealing detail in this form of publication photographers have used particular technical devices in order to produce clearly defined and illuminated interior images. This has normally meant the use of daylight in combination with the control of additional light such as flashlight or tungsten light to increase illumination and keep detail in darker areas of the image. The results of this method of working are well defined images of great clarity with sometimes little or no indication of the ambient quality of illumination of the ecclesiastical interior but which effectively confirm the integrity of the written commentary. The choice of light form and the way in which it has been controlled to illuminate a subject is also an important factor in the definition of documentary or interpretive photographs. More often than not, when additional light has been used to illuminate a dark or overly contrasty object or view, this alternative light source becomes an equal or predominant form, such as illustrated in the centre page of figure 36. Here the consequence of this approach is the reduction of the ambient quality of the light in the building and the creation of an artificial illumination. Devices have been used in this illustration to render detail and information as clearly as possible, as the guide book continues to be concerned primarily with the ability to see detail.[21]

One of the most prolific strategies used throughout the history of photography when producing interior views have been those images made from a single viewpoint in an

encompassing image of wide view. This form of wide-angle, general image, falls into three distinct approaches; the *central*, the *angled* and the *elevated* views (figure 37). The application of this approach can be clearly seen in the different forms of publication, whether these are the journal, the general history book, the church guide book, or the photographic archive. An aspect that unifies all these approaches has been the recognition of the need to effectively render volume.

Edwin Smith, an important exponent of ecclesiastical photography in the twentieth century occasionally chose a viewpoint in order to accentuate parts of a building and to relate these parts to the general interior (figure 38). Although the photograph uses an element of architecture associated with the ritual function of Baptism, the image is not concerned with the choice of viewpoint to interpret ritual arrangements of the building or to express aspects of ritual through architectural expression. Its central concern is the appreciation of detail and decoration of one object in relation to the general space of the nave and screen which divides the interior space. It remains a documentary image even though it uses viewpoint to describe volume in a more visually dynamic manner.

Viewpoint, not just documentary but interpretive, has been the other significant area of practice in the history of architectural photography. Again the work of Frederick Evans illustrates the effectiveness of this practice. It can be seen in figures 32 and 33 that two very different methods of approach have been used. The former image uses the conventional wide-angle viewpoint while figure 33 relies on the selection of a view that accentuates height and quality of light, deliberately denies the viewer the totality of a space and thus forces the viewer to imagine the enormity of the rest of the interior. This illustrates the interpretive viewpoint which was so much part of Evans's photographic vision as previously described, as does 'In Sure and Certain Hope' (figure 39). The sculpted figure lies facing the large window at the entrance to the Chapter House in York Minster. Evans's description of the making of the image gives the clear indication of his interpretation; an interpretation that is illustrated through the text but which is actually achieved through the photographic treatment:

"This subject fascinated but troubled me. I at once saw the making of a picture within it; the great sombre door that might open and lead - anywhere; the fortunately recumbent figure with the pathos of uplifted folded hands; the lofty window above; all these were fine and right; but to make

the whole cohere, speak, escaped me. But one day I saw what it must mean - to me at least. As I was studying it the sun burst across it, flooding it with radiance. There is my picture; "Hope" awaiting, an expectancy with a certitude of answer; and the title seemed defensible, if a little ambitious."[22]

The title of the image is taken from the burial service in the Book of Common Prayer. Evans is also making a statement concerned with the central belief of salvation in Christian doctrine - "the embodiment of belief by which fear of death is overcome. The narrow strip of window is not just the revealed radiance of Divine Grace but a glimpse of eternal life."[23] His own description and this quote by Anne Hammond shows Evans as a spiritual man, who would not have been driven to produce imagery of spiritual places in the same way had he not held some form of Christian belief. Where he has stood and how he has controlled the photograph through the choice of camera lens and use of light has enabled him to portray his emotive response; a physical viewpoint that embodied the conceptual viewpoint.

'In Sure and Certain Hope' also provides an indication of the way in which photographers control the image through the use and manipulation of light as an interpretive methodology. In the work of Joseph Sudek, as shown in an image from the series 'Contrasts' (figure 40), light was exploited to add a romantic veneer. A stream of light floods through the hazy atmosphere of an interior both delineating the spaces and creating a contrast between them; the juxtaposition of the spiritual grandeur of the architectural space and the toil of the workmen. Sudek often used devices to help create this visual effect of streaming light, an account of which tells how he and a colleague had set up the tripod and camera and were sitting talking, when suddenly; "Sudek was up like lightning. A ray of sun had entered the darkness and both of us were waving cloths to raise mountains of ancient dust 'to see the light' as Sudek said. Obviously he had known that the sun would reach here perhaps two or three times a year and he was waiting for it."[24] Here, as with Evans's work, an individual interpretation of the nature of the building was evoked by the methodology of photographic practice. Sudek deliberately uses his photographic understanding of the control of time of day, viewpoint, camera, light and photographic materials to create a required effect.

All the methodologies discussed so far have been developed from the specifics of motive and context. The key feature of the research strategy has been the amalgamation of studio-based techniques in the control of light with the conceptual

base of the documentary investigation. In this respect the research uses the term documentary as embracing recording and interpretation.

Perception of architectural space, its detail and meaning, is fragmentary. The traditional form of two-dimensional representation of three-dimensional space in order to understand the totality of a building's interior has been achieved through the production of orthographic projections. In these forms of architectural drawing the horizontal plane of projection creates the plan, the vertical plane produces either the elevation or, if sliced through the fabric of the building, the section as seen in Palladio's *Quattro Libri* of 1570 (figure 42) which illustrates this method of architectural representation. Referred to as the orthographic set, this group of drawings has been used to present an integrated and consistently scaled three-dimensional picture of a building through a set of independent but related projections. In isolation a plan, elevation or section only represent one aspect of three-dimensional spatial understanding and although abstracted from the reality of the building itself; put together they become an "analytically powerful method of representation."[25] In developing the photographic strategies the intention was to provide the same comprehensive visual representation, embracing space, scale and detail.

It is for this reason that photography has been used as an interpretive mode of representation of the complex three-dimensional relationships of a building's individual parts, responding to the three-dimensional form and space, colour and decoration. Using the documentary photographic traditions of direct observation in conjunction with the control of light, colour and viewpoint, the photographic works enhance the perception and experience of the conceptual properties of the architecture. It is through the alignment of the documentary and interpretive visions that the relationships between the architectural representation and ecclesiastical concepts have been re-examined.

The relationship of a photograph to its subject is different to that of other graphic work of any kind, as these forms are a reconstitution of a place. A photograph is a form of trace. The camera, like the eye, records appearances through the mediation of light. The camera, unlike the eye however, fixes the set of appearances that it records or interprets. A photographic image keeps these appearances while the eyes' views of a subject continually change.[26] This point, expressed in the writings of John Berger, is echoed similarly by Professor Gombrich when talking of the eye and its ability to shift focus. Gombrich states that "...we can shift the point of focus at will, but in doing so we lose the

previous perception, and all that remains is its memory."[27] Photography, through tracing the subject and fixing it, offers a unique insight into the perception of architectural space.

Photography can also compensate for *prospettiva de perdi - menti* - the perspective of disappearance. This is the theory that "eyesight, illumination, atmospheric conditions, the nature of the objects themselves - their colour, their texture, their contrast with their surroundings"[28] all have major implications in the ability to render information. Even allowing for the understanding that an image cannot give any more information than the medium can carry, the processes of photography (and in this case the process of large format photography using enlarged prints) was seen to offer an opportunity to record a greater amount of detail and clarity across a broader view than is possible by almost any other means, even that of physically standing in the building.

There are of course limitations of the medium of photography due to its technological base, issues which have always provided challenges for the photographer. Édouard Baldus, one of the most prolific architectural photographers in France in the nineteenth century, in producing an image of the cloister of Saint-Trophîme in Arles, was faced with a

technical challenge beyond that of technology of the 1850s (figure 43). Baldus's realisation was that "his lens could only encompass a small portion of the total space, that the chemistry of his negatives could record only a limited register of the broad tonal range of lights and darks, and that his negatives .... were too small to convey the scale of the site or to allow vicarious entry into the space."[29] The eventual solution to these problems was to photograph the view a number of times, compensating for exposure and focusing difficulties in each version and from which he assembled a final print that was an montage of ten negatives (figure 44). The photographs of this enquiry have likewise utilised composite forms of practice. Unlike Baldus however, whose aim was clarity of information purely for documentation purposes, the works from this project have consciously used fragmentation in order to re-constitute spatial and expressive awareness.[30]

The aspects of a physical journey through the building have become a critical element of the development of the photographic discourse. The viewer of the subsequent portrayal of work through an exhibition is offered the possibility of approaching the building through the position of the worshipper, taken through the systematic representation of the architectural spaces and their reference to the manifestation

of spiritual ideology. In this respect the research practice owes much to the expressive sensibilities as seen in the works of Frederick Evans where the photographic representations have been aligned with the personal expressions of Christian ideologies. Consequently, the photographic works of this project are initially most closely aligned to a form of practice that has been central to debates on the credibility of photography as an expressive art form. The Pictorialist ideals first articulated by Henry Peach Robinson in 1869, of the reflection of personal and national ideologies, have been a constant form of photographic practice.[31] The works of this project return to motifs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in their reflection of "a world restored by Christ's intercession"[32] such as witnessed in the topographic works of Roger Fenton and Carleton Watkins and, later, in the ecclesiastical settings of Frederick Evans's photographs of medieval cathedrals and churches and of whom it could also be stated that they share an interest with bringing a Gothic past into the present.

Referring to Fenton's image of Wells Cathedral (figure 41) it can be seen that the quality of light for example, was crucial not just for the process of making, but for the sought after aesthetic values, in particular the 'atmosphere' associated with the subject. This aesthetic value of light was also part

of the Pictorialist methodologies expressed a decade or so later in the writings of Robinson. Fenton used strong sunlight to provide the necessary contrasts when recording the façades of buildings and to penetrate the interiors in a manner that silhouetted the structure and highlighted the monument in a way that was indicative not just of the picturesque but of nineteenth century reflections on divine intercession. In an analysis of figure 41 Mike Weaver has referred to the relationship of Fenton's image to the Oxford Movement and the revival in aspects of ritual, in the division of the photograph around the central pillars, "on the one side the back-projected illumination of a stained glass window with figures, and on the other side clear glass through which a blinding flood of light pours in", reflecting the preferences for the visual nature of the sacraments and the literary authority of the conversion of St Paul within the Catholic and Protestant branches of the Anglican Church respectively.[33] The motifs explored in the visual representations of Fenton's work can also be seen within Frederick Evan's image in York Minster (figure 39).

The use of motifs of self-expression hase provided mixed responses throughout the history of the medium. Throughout central Europe the Pictorialist movement at the turn of the twentieth century, in returning to painting as a

source for subject matter and technique, used processes such as gum bichromate in order to express their aesthetic; processes which a minority of photographers avoided, such as Frederick Evans, Clarence White and P H Emerson.[34] In their use of a naturalistic approach these photographers' works, and subsequently others including those of this project, display a preference for "a photography free from technical tricks and incoherent emotionalism". This view, expressed here by the American photographer Edward Weston, went on to advocate that the finished photographic print should be "previsioned on the ground glass while focusing, the final result felt at that moment, - in all its values and related forms, - developing [,] printing becomes only a careful carrying on of the original [photographer's] idea."[35]

The artistic statements of this project do not deal with the notions of 'equivalents' as described by photographers such as Alfred Stieglitz in the mid twentieth century or of the construction of meaning from appearances - the mechanics of signification - as seen in the late twentieth-century emergence of conceptual art practice. The statements are based on a self-expression of personal opinions on the ideas expressed by the architects. In this respect the images are an amalgam of nineteenth century sensibilities with the

Modernist ideal "that a work of art should not deceive but take its place in the world of things as an object in its own right."[36]

However, in a number of instances the photographs within this research project, particularly in the control of light as an expressive aesthetic, may at first seem to owe little to these traditions and more to the technical qualities of the commercial popularisation of the guide book. For example, in a variety of images additional lights have been used in the interiors of the churches in order to transform and activate architectural space. Through the additional use of colour as an aesthetic metaphor the use of light has been intrinsically linked to the control of colour temperature. The intention has been that the personal expressions, achieved through the use of viewpoint, lighting and photographic printing have established an understanding of the spiritual qualities of light within the nineteenth century ecclesiastical interior. The studio-based control of light brought into the location-based practice has provided the basis of an extension of the contemporary forms of photographic approach to ecclesiastical subject matter as seen in the conventional guide book publication. It is from this understanding that although the research methodologies utilise alternative photographic strategies to those of Frederick Evans, there is clearly a

sharing of the spiritual objectives of photographic represen-
tation. In the narrative of detail (rather than 'impressionistic
blur'), a control of natural effects that heighten the symbol-
ism, present in Pre-Raphaelite works, has been taken over
by the methodology to assert the qualities of architectural
symbolism. This has meant that when additional light
would have been fundamental to a particular element of
ritual practice, such as the use of candle light, additional
light has been used within the photographic interpretation
to reflect this use. If the ambient light of the building was
considered the primary mode by which an architect con-
trolled illumination then the natural effects of the ambient
light have been used in the photograph. Using these
methodologies the photographs have been constructed to
find answers to the ways in which architectural language
has effectively expressed ecclesiastical ideology.

The first section of the photographic enquiry developed
from a necessity to compare the individual buildings across
the sixty years encompassed by the study and to instigate a
preliminary assessment of the issues concerning the archi-
tectural expression of ritual. The comparative material made
it possible to consider such issues as scale, configuration, use
of materials, position of artifacts and use of light, as a way of
understanding developments in architectural and liturgical

concepts. This is a process of selection and transformation
of the interior by extracting the relevant information with
the intention of establishing a new understanding of the
architectural expression of ritual. Although the methodolo-
gies that have developed in this study are deliberately
employed in order to render detail, this detail is not that
required by the architect or archaeologist, where individual
carvings and minute details are recorded as individual
objects. It can be seen that the photographs allow for a close
examination of the details of construction, surfaces and dec-
oration, but the primary interest is the interaction of the
details rather than an analysis of the parts.

In that the photographic works are images made from direct
observation they have drawn on traditions in documentary
practice, being precise, immediate and detailed pieces of
information. They do not use the objective of making
imagery that is as artless as possible in order to be purely
factual in their direct observation, nor are they derived from
the practices where the documentary photographer's pres-
ence is as discreet as possible, as seen in many nineteenth
century photographers' images and in those particularly of
such photographers as Walker Evans in this century. The
methodology developed in this project does however utilise
the theory of the camera being the mediator of 'symbolic

actuality'[37] and should be seen as aligning the physical and symbolic world, ultimately providing both intellectual and emotional appeal.

The practice owes much to the understanding that the choice of technology is most effective when driven by artistic intent, which in this case is the use of an empathetic mode of representation to that of the craft-based nature of the designs and construction of the nineteenth century church. At the same time starting a research project in the late twentieth century offered new possibilities with the opportunities to explore the technological advances that have allowed the photographer to successively work in colour and digital image production, manipulation and output. Digital cameras, especially those which are portable and therefore suitable for location work, have only recently become of sufficient quality to be considered for professional practice but still do not offer the potential of the conventional camera system when studying architectural subject matter. The control of perspective and scale requires versatile cameras where both lens plane and film plane are separately controlled. Conventional camera systems, in their use of emulsion-based image capture, also continue to offer considerably more qualitative resolution than the digital equivalent.

In photographing buildings that have been constructed for over one hundred years there have been changes to the fabric of each building from successive technological advances, developments in national liturgical and architectural thinking and from individual preferences for decoration and furnishings. Although some churches have gone through major changes of redevelopment, expansion or even change to secular use, alterations have most commonly been either in the addition, removal or replacement of fittings. Removal or replacement of original furnishings such as pews and stalls has also been part of the changes to the contemporary fabric of many ecclesiastical buildings. The extent to which these subsequent changes in the arrangement and uses of the churches have obscured the radical nature of the new buildings created some interesting problems for the photographic methodology.

Contemporary developments in liturgical thinking have meant that many churches have been reordered to meet new requirements and preferences of liturgical practice, leading to the removal of original features or the change in position of liturgical fixtures. The most obvious example of developments in the Anglican Church in this respect has been the repositioning of the altar where it has been brought closer to the congregation and placed in front of

the chancel step. This form of reordering has completely altered the original planning of the building, where the sections of the interior followed the pre-Reformation configuration of a nave, stalled chancel and then sanctuary with altar (often with a reredos behind) as both a practical and symbolic plan. Consequently, much of the original meaning has been lost. The photographs have therefore used strategies that have made it possible to restate the purpose and position of nineteenth-century ritual in the late twentieth-century church. Modern developments of liturgical thinking in the use of historic buildings have not been a concern of this project in its origination, even though it produced personal reflections on the contemporary use of church buildings and the benefits or otherwise of the requirements and ideologies of Anglicanism in the twentieth century. The limitations of conventional photographic practice in respect of these physical alterations had to be recognised but have been minimised. An element of the intent of the research was to find ways in which the photographic approach using a design/craft-based methodology in the interpretation of ecclesiastical architecture could effectively represent the architect's vision.

In the final selection of churches for detailed study each building had to be taken individually in respect of changes from the original design and planning concept. Where possible, contemporary additions or changes to the fabric of the interiors were either removed completely or returned to their original position. If for example the original configuration of pews could be produced this was undertaken, as was the removal of any excessive clutter such as noticeboards, carpets and the paraphernalia of contemporary church life. This process of ordering and rationalisation became an important consideration in the contemporary photographic interpretation of historic buildings. One of the most evident technological alterations found in any nineteenth century church has been the installation of electricity. However while original fixtures and fittings have been replaced by modern equivalents, this was an aspect of a contemporary investigation that has not proved to be problematic, for although the inclusion of lights and heaters were visual pieces of design work, their function was not considered part of the expression of ritual.

Drawing from the historical research and the evidence of the buildings themselves it became clear that the doctrinal changes concerning the Eucharist were fundamental to the developments in the planning of the Anglican Church during the period of study. The nineteenth-century publications

and the contemporary established texts referred to in Section 2.1 refer almost exclusively to the importance of the sacrament of the Eucharist, its revival as the focus of worship and the relationship between the altar, pulpit and reading desk/lectern. The titles of the publications, such as *Directorium Anglicanum* identifies the importance of certain rites, including that of Holy Communion and confines others, including Baptism, to a generic label of 'other Rites'. Changes in terminology from communion table to altar have also been seen to be clearly involved with doctrinal change and the Ritualists saw ceremonial as a way of educating the congregations again specifically concerning the Eucharist. It has been from this understanding that the importance of the relationship between the place of the worshipper to that of the clergy has been the central focus of the enquiry, through the relationship of the expressive functionalism of the nave, chancel and sanctuary and the specifics of pulpit, lectern, altar and reredos. Taking the physical manifestation of spiritual ideology as the core element of the research, it was evident from the preliminary enquiry that this particular form of functionalism was dependent on two key areas–the divide between nave and the chancel and the visual and conceptual focus of the sanctuary.

However, just as photography is a series of decisions made because of photographic intent and context, in this study a process of selection of which parts of the interior could be photographically treated in respect of these key areas of the divide and the sanctuary was needed. When exploring the architectural expression of an architect's concept using contemporary practice in a nineteenth century building, it became evident that St Andrew's, Exwick and St Mary's, Bicton could not be interpreted in the same manner as the later churches. In St Andrew's Exwick for example the church which was originally identified as an extremely important and influential building nationally in architectural and ecclesiological terms, has not figured in some aspects of the later development of the photographic enquiry. Due to the various building programmes and re-orderings through-out the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including the removal of chancel stalls and complete carpeting, very little of the original architectural expression is available to view anywhere in the building other than in the sanctuary. St Mary's Bicton has also not figured in the later works, but for other reasons.

Being primarily an estate church St Mary's, Bicton reflected the influence of the patronage of the landowners of the Bicton Estate in which the church was situated, with seating

being incorporated for the patrons close to the sanctuary.
The predominance in the early nineteenth-century church,
especially the estate church, was of a social hierarchical
design where the 'important' members of the congregation
sat towards the east end of the nave, closer to the high altar.
This facet of the ordering of a church interior can be clearly
seen in the pew numbering in the final image for example.
Normally this would have been achieved simply through the
occupation of the front pews. At Bicton separate pews were
created in the transepts in order to accommodate Lady
Rolle and other family members or guests.[38] The result was
that the different social classes would have had a varying
experience of the ritual. The patrons would watch the
clergy move past them. The members of the congregation
who were sat in the nave would watch everything unfolding
in front of them. The issues that surround this orientation of
space and its subsequent impact on architectural require-
ments has not been furthered. St Mary's Bicton therefore
became a church that could form an extension to this study,
but which would need to draw on other examples of this
form of relationship between the patronage of the squire
and the subsequent architectural expression manifested in
the practical and conceptual planning of the church interior.
St Mary's, in employing a very different architectural
programme, encompasses an alternative ideological stance

from the ultimate focus of this work. If the project was to
develop the investigation of such issues as the relationship
of patronage, agriculture and the rural church to develop-
ments in nineteenth-century architectural expression of
ritual, then this building would become important. What
has transpired is the importance of understanding the effects
of the ecclesiological expression of ritual–a facet that is not
part of the symbolic conception of St Mary's, Bicton.

Each of the concepts concerning the use of the divide and
the sanctuary has necessitated the development of individual
photographic treatment and has been explored within a
typological framework. Within the traditional applications
of typological methodology, the identification and under-
standing of type is achieved through the development of a
method by which the assembling process of classification,
ordering and dissemination of findings provided a deeper
understanding of the subject under scrutiny. In recent years
there have been a number of broader applications of typo-
logical study to those of the precedents within archaeologi-
cal and scientific research. In 1986 for example a group of
contemporary photographers including Bernd and Hiller
Becher, Thomas Struth and Judy Fisken were brought
together in a touring exhibition and book publication of
photographic work entitled *Typologies:Nine Contemporary*

Photographers.[39] It is from the particular use of a visual form of study encapsulated in the work of these artists that my own project utilises such a method of classification, ordering and dissemination where "the full significance of architectural imagery can best be recovered within the serial context of [a] group."[40]

The research has used a number of photographic typologies to provide the framework for the enquiry. Initially each building needed to be visually portrayed in order to allow the study of the individual characteristics. One particular method was developed for this purpose - a use of panoramic photography in triptych form. The first typology then became 'The Interior Panoramas' where six buildings spanning a sixty year period could be viewed in juxtaposition in an exhibition using a uniform and systematic photographic approach. From these preliminary explorations stemmed further typologies: 'The Divide Between Nave and Chancel/Sanctuary, which used a variety of photographic methods to explore the way in which the symbolic divide is resolved by each designer; and 'The Sanctuary as Visual and Conceptual Focus', where the interpretation of the sanctuary was undertaken using a form of triptych, but each one different in response to the visual and conceptual rendering of these areas by individual architects with individual ideas.

These typological sections of the enquiry deal with the way in which each architect has visually expressed concepts within specific features, their relationship to other features and to their surroundings.

This project explores the theory that the challenge for architecture is "to heighten phenomenal experience while simultaneously expressing meaning; and to develop this duality in response to the particularities of site and circumstance."[41] The typological form that the presentation of work ultimately takes then explores the relationship of this duality through the theory that just as in "direct perceptual experience, architecture is initially understood as a series of partial experiences, rather than a totality"[42] so the final exhibition of work places together the individual perceptions created through the photographic representations to create the understanding of phenomenal experience, in this case the experience of a spiritual site, in relation to the meaning (ritual) expressed through the architecture.

The research practice draws on these established photographic methods of architectural representation by developing a systematic approach based on direct observation and comparative analysis. However, through the use of personal expression and the exhibition format of presentation, the

The Photographic Strategies

placement of the photographic works in the context of ecclesiastical site has allowed the significance of the physical and spiritual journey to be developed. Through a gradual unfolding, the perception of the church design concept has been developed further than the possibilities inherent in the printed page, where scale and sequence are limited. It is the ability to relocate the photographic imagery in the location of the church interior through the construction of the exhibition that has enabled the presentation of visual and conceptual information to take place and through which there are implications in reaching a wider audience. Constructed within an ecclesiastical building, the exhibition has the potential to reach not only those interested in the specifics of research practice and historical study, but also the users of the buildings, the worshippers who frequent the churches on a regular basis and to whom the buildings have become familiar. The project has been concerned with the re-evaluation, through visual expression, of nineteenth-century dogma. Through the development of the format of exhibition presentation, the photographs act as a religious tract and have become an assertion rather than purely an interpretation.

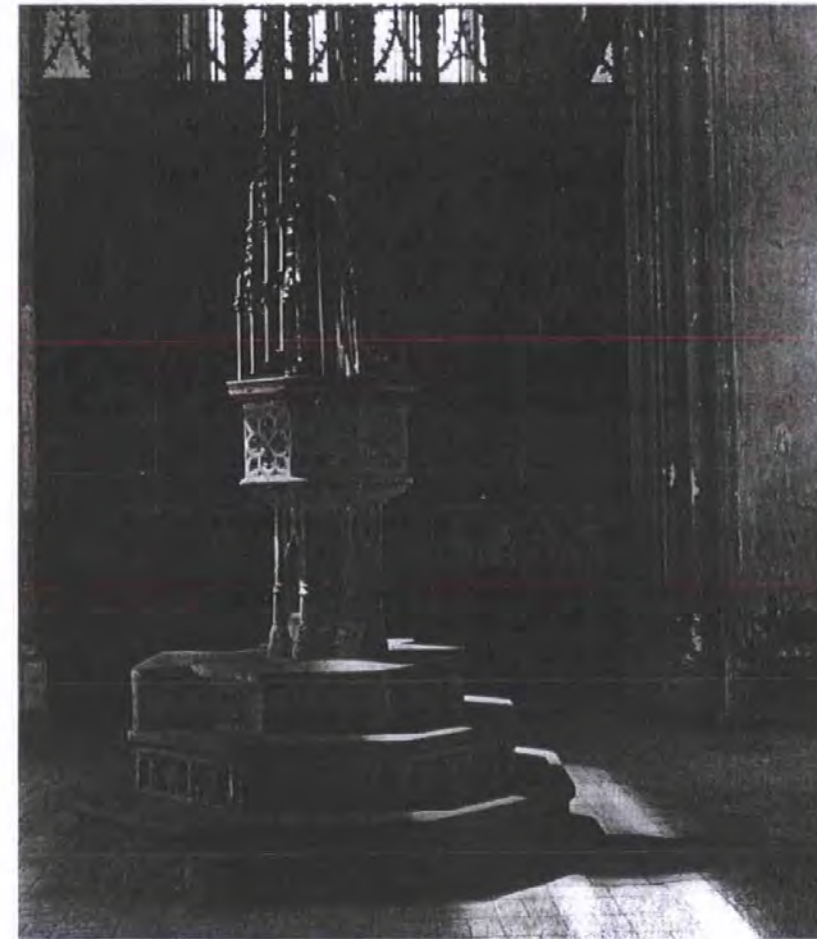**Figure 22**   Slinton Church, Staffordshire, from *Architectural Review*
Photo: W D Horn

Figure 23   *"Silver Light so Pale and Faint"*
Frederick H Evans, *Country Life*, 1906

Figure 24   Desiré Charnay's photograph of a Mexican Palace, 1862;
from which Viollet-le-Duc engraved a hypothetical solution
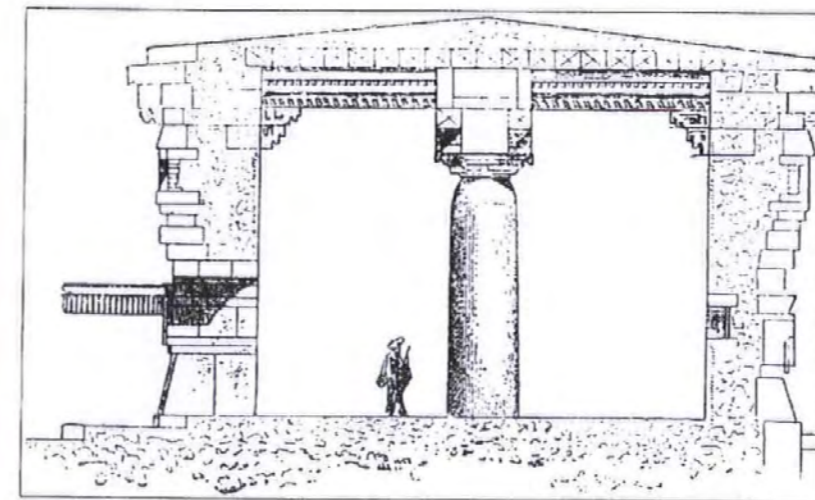to its original construction, seen in figure 25 opposite

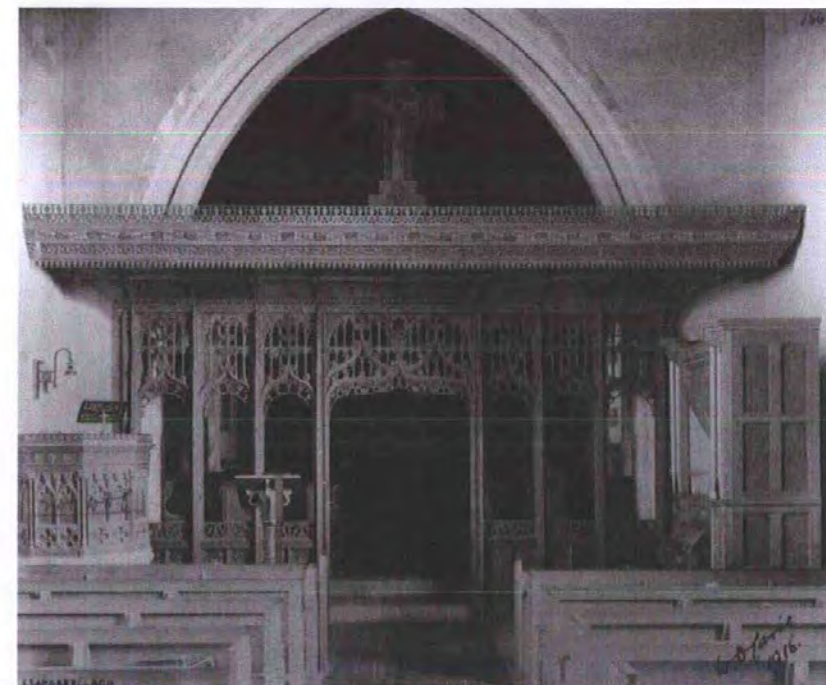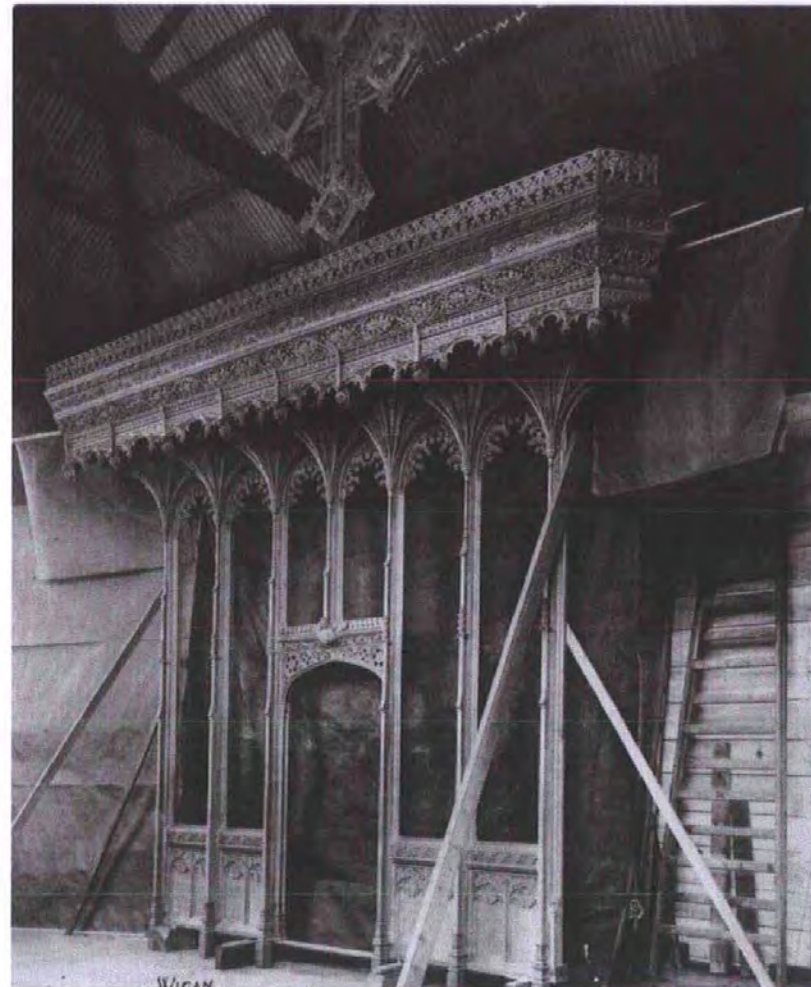**Figure 25**   Viollet-le-Duc's reconstruction

Figure 26 A page of images from the National Monument Record albums of photographs in which there are many photographs collected by Caröe, used to aid restoration

Figure 27 *Canterbury Cathedral. Altar in Kings School Chapel*
From the NMR Caröe albums

Figure 28   These three figures illustrate photographic techniques used in the recording of architectural details of screens. Figure 28 shows the use of a cloth background to separate the screen from its surroundings

Figure 29   has been 'cut out' from the negative

Figure 30   uses the light of the building to delineate detail 'in situ'
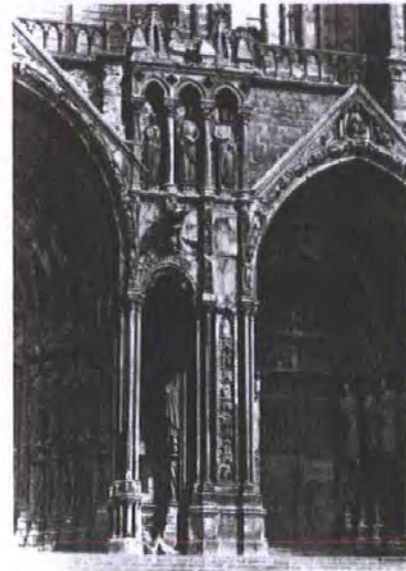
Figure 31 *Top*
Chartres Cathedral Portals
Henri Le Secq

Figure 32 *Far Left*
Lincoln Cathedral
Frederick H Evans

Figure 33 *Left*
Bourges Cathedral
Frederick H Evans

Figure 34   Two consecutive pages from Batsford's
*A History of Architecture on the Comparative
Method*, published in 1896

Figure 35   A double-page spread from *English Cathedrals:The Forgotten Years*
illustrating the use of the photographs to compare developments
in the screen and reredos of Beverley Minster.

The Choir

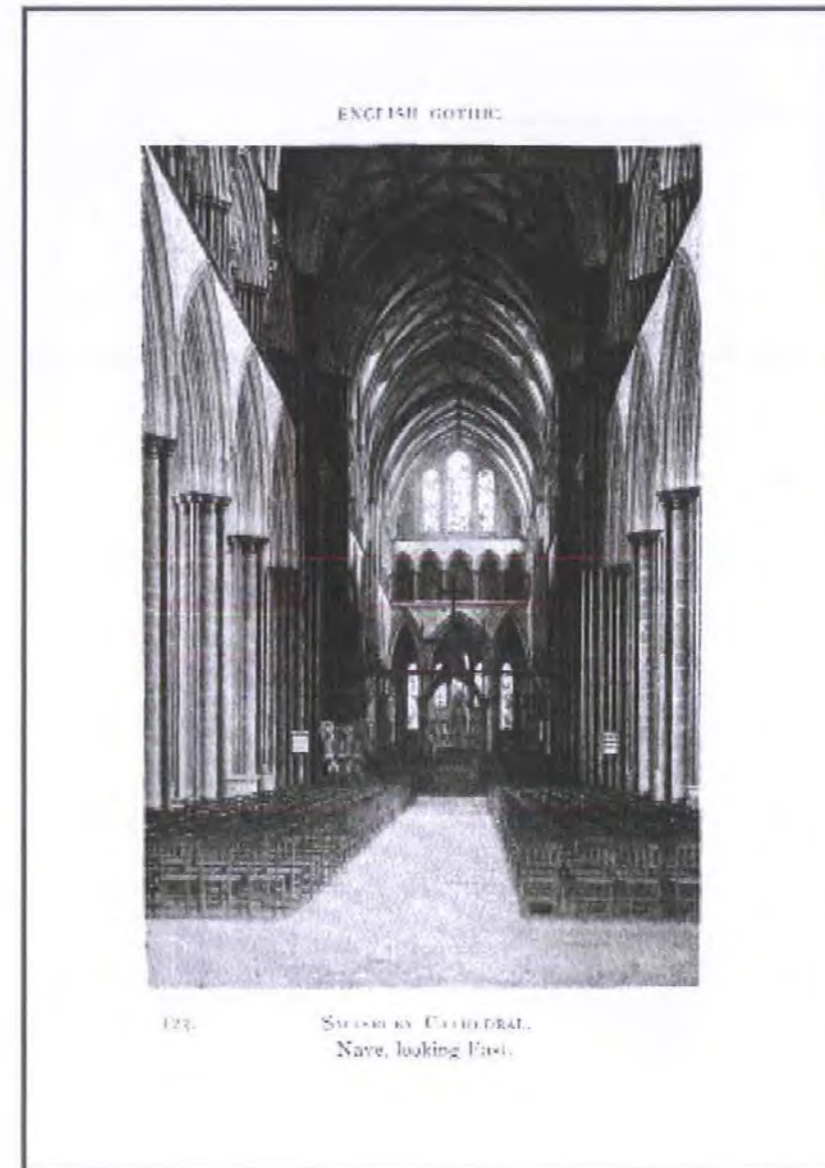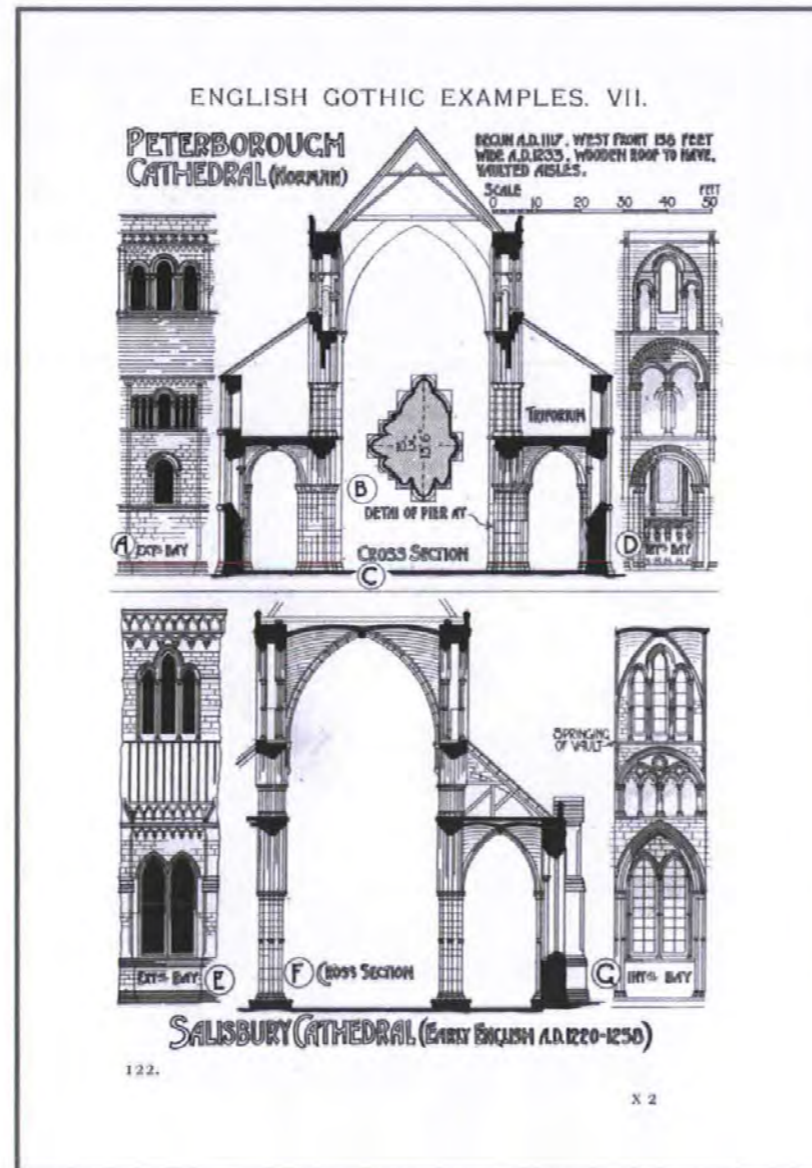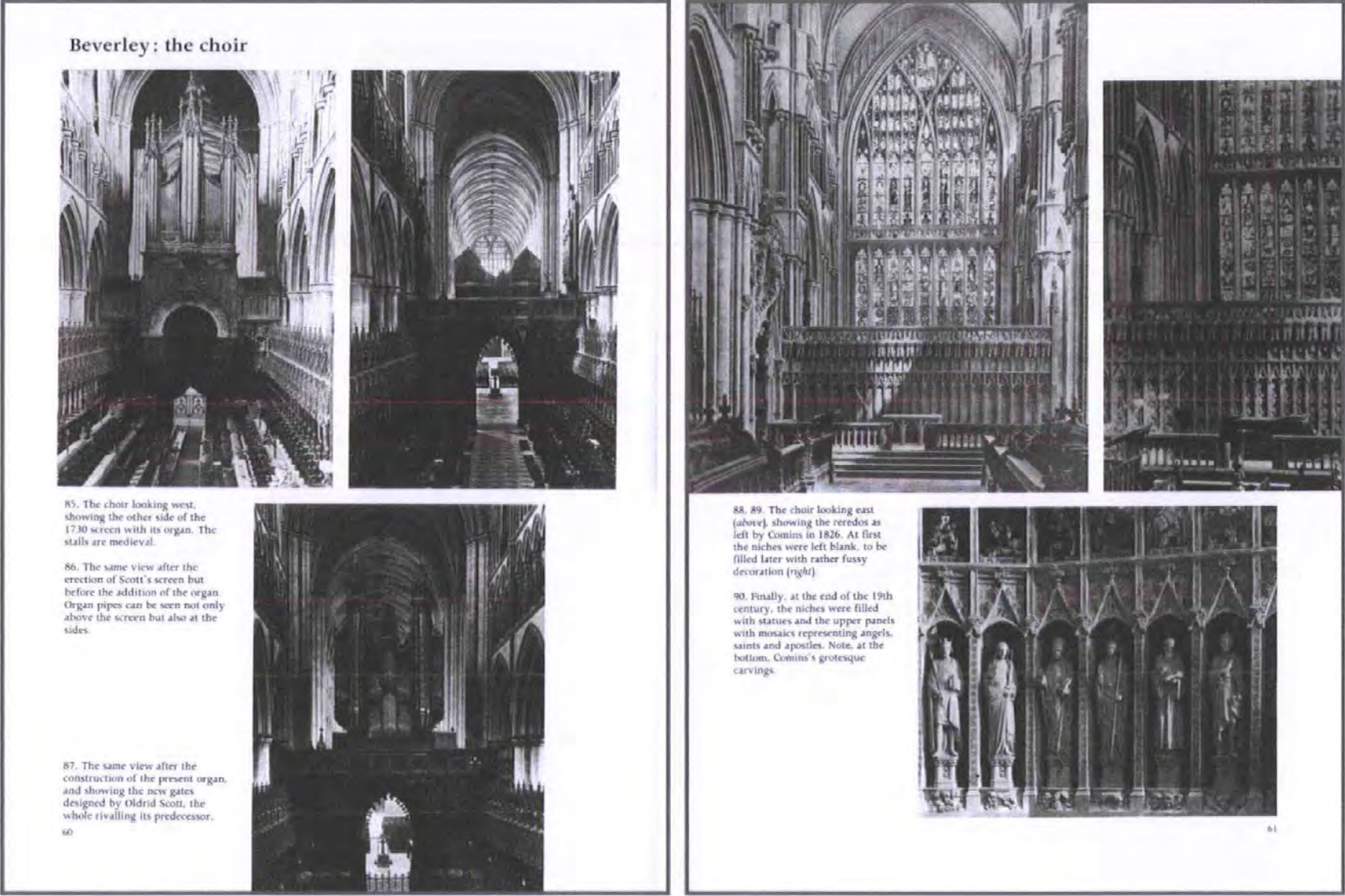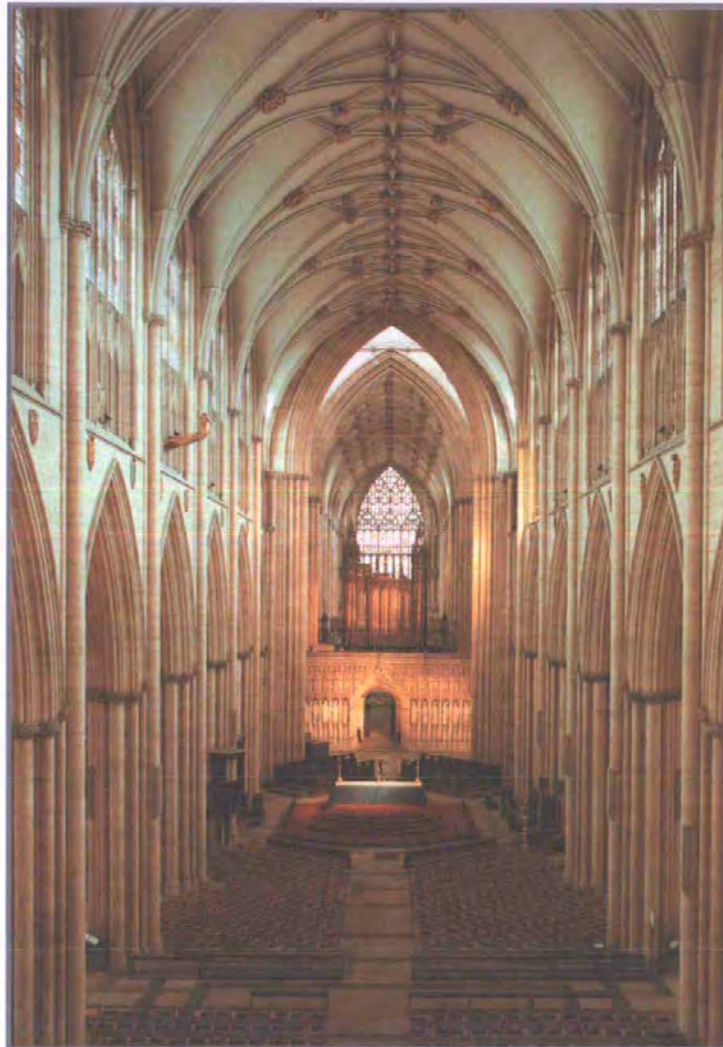As with many cathedrals, York Minster has a choir that is enclosed by screens. The choir is the traditional place for services to be sung and is the location of both the *cathedra* (seat) of the Archbishop and the stalls for the Chapter. Above these stalls are plaques, originally created to protect the wood from the hair oil of the canons. These illustrate, with an heraldic or symbolic design, the saint associated with the prebendal churches.

All the woodwork in the choir had to be replaced following the fire of 1829. The floor too needed to be rebuilt. At that time a plain one was laid, but in 1993 a generous legacy made possible a new floor which echoed William Kent's patterned design of the 1730s. In the same year the organ was also refurbished and now has over 5,300 pipes. The largest of these can be seen in the north choir aisle.

The choir looking west. Every day the Minster is used for the worship of God, for which it was built. The evening service is sung here by the choir of 12 men and 20 boys accompanied by the organ.

23

The all encompassing view of the nave, from a central, elevated position

The selection of a more detailed view, using a combination of daylight and artificial light

The detail; showing the technique often employed in the guide book for the selection of a small detail
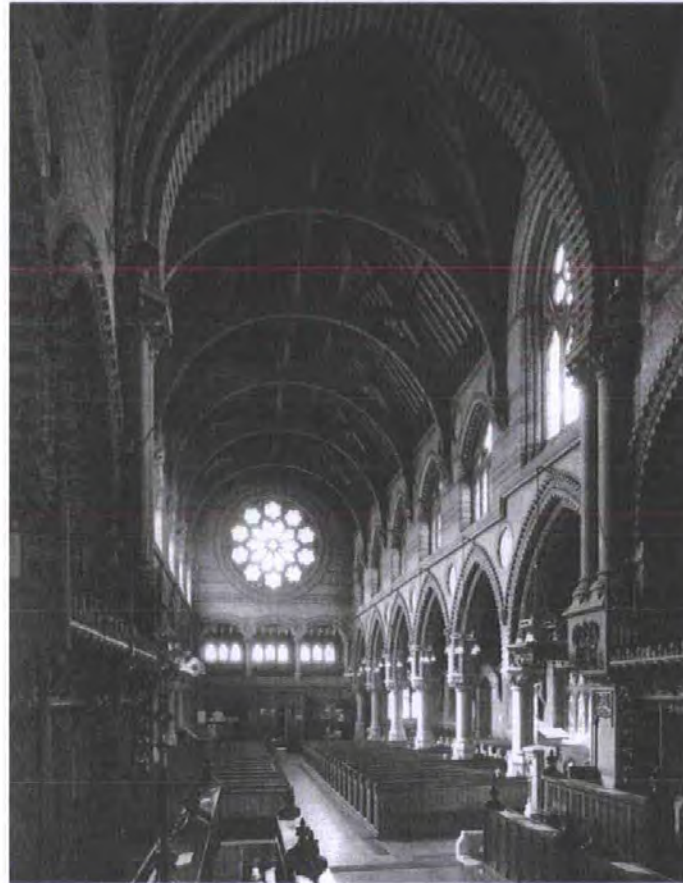
Figure 37 The central, angled and elevated viewpoints; those most commonly used in the depiction of the interior

Figure 38   Photograph by Edwin Smith
St Mary's, Wellingborough, Northants
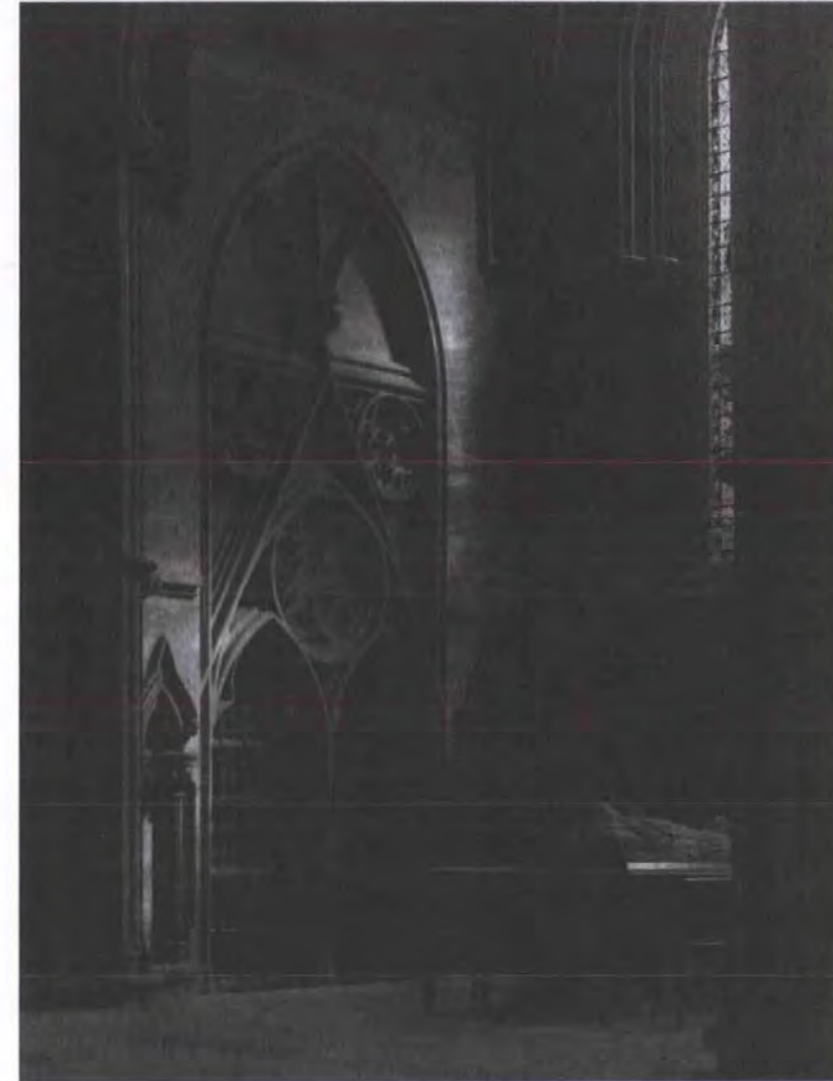
Figure 39   Photograph by Frederick H Evans
"In Sure and Certain Hope"
York Minster, 1902
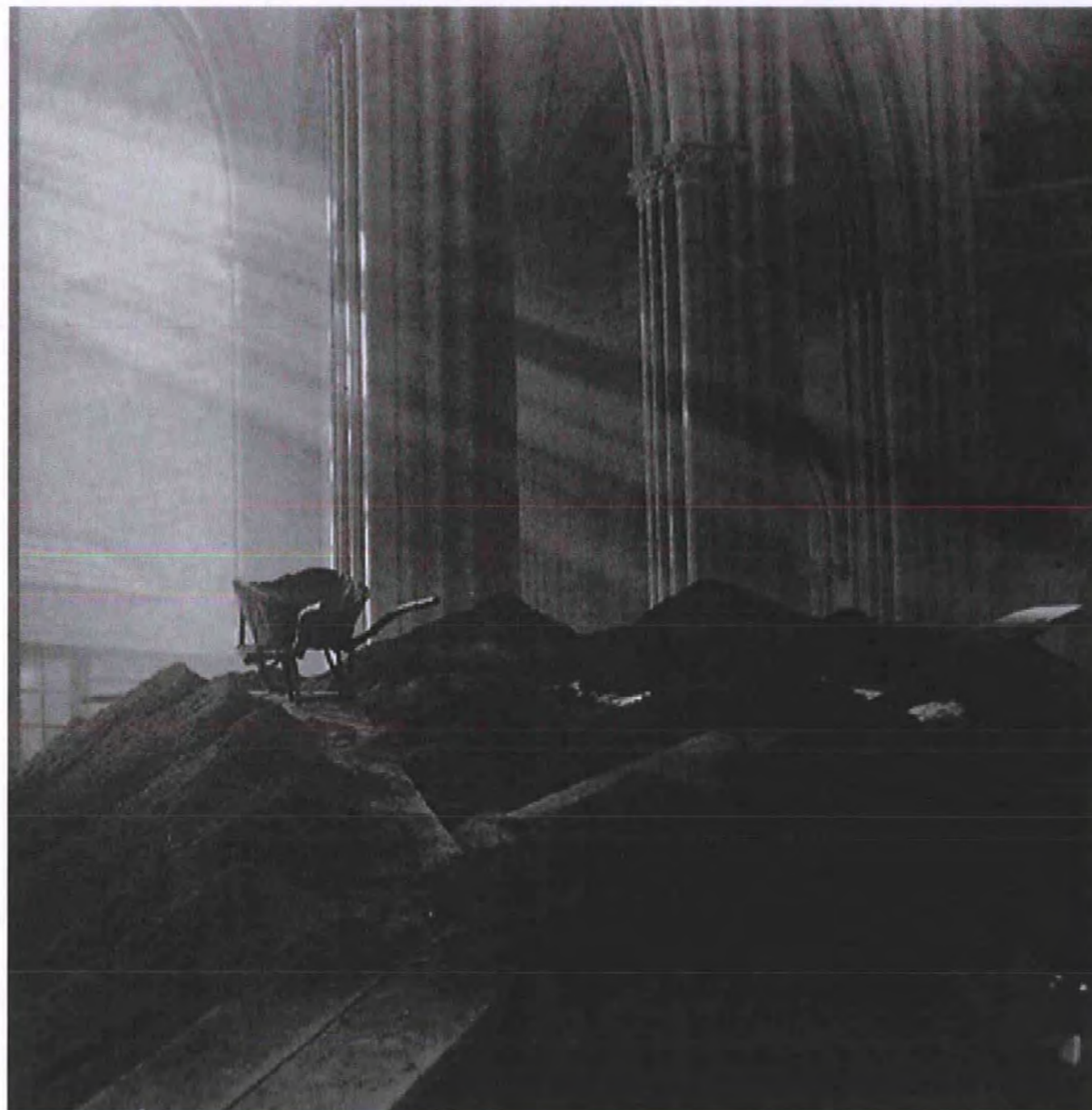
Figure 40

Joseph Südek
from his series *Contrasts*
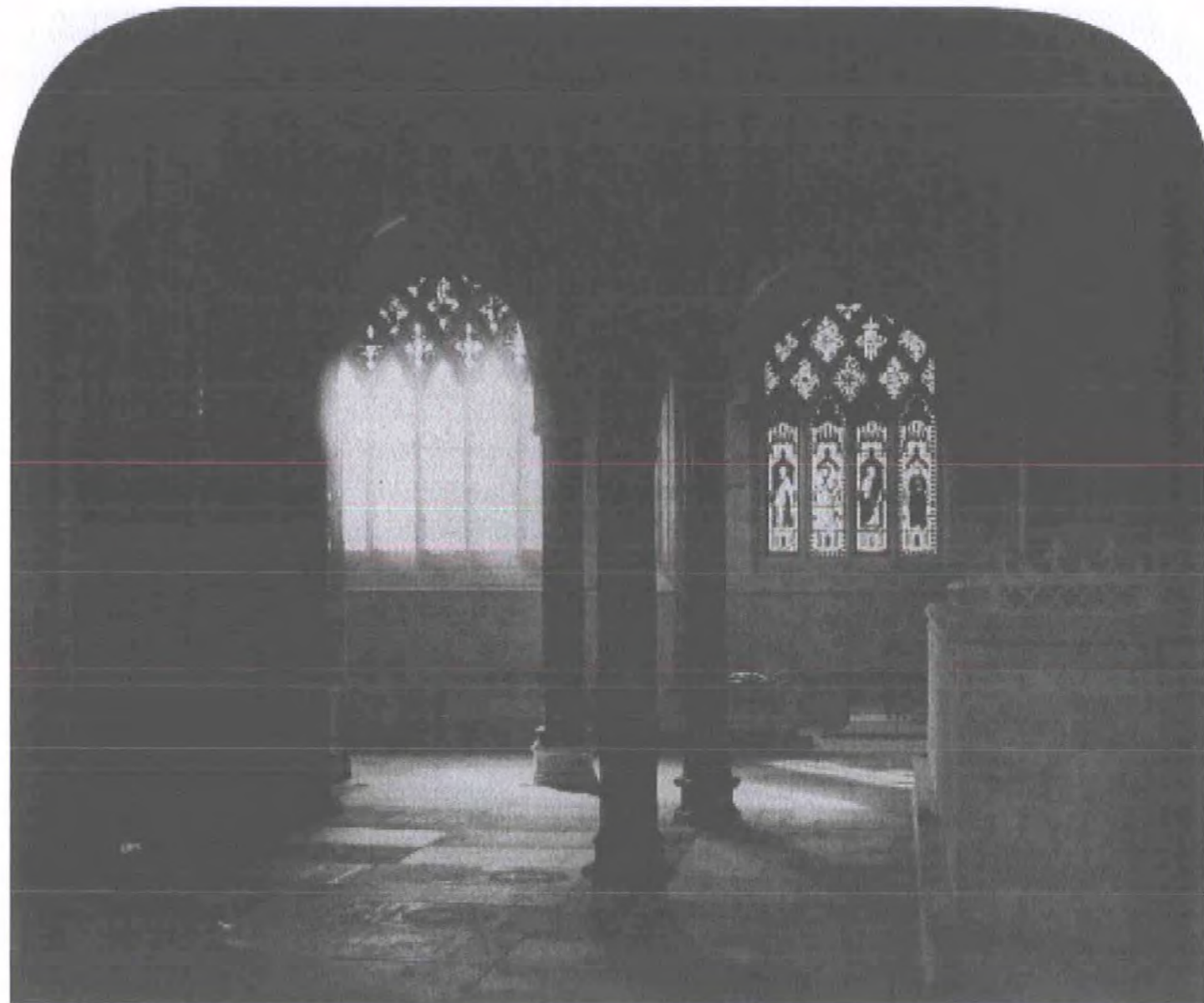
Figure 41

Photograph by Roger Fenton
Wells Cathedral
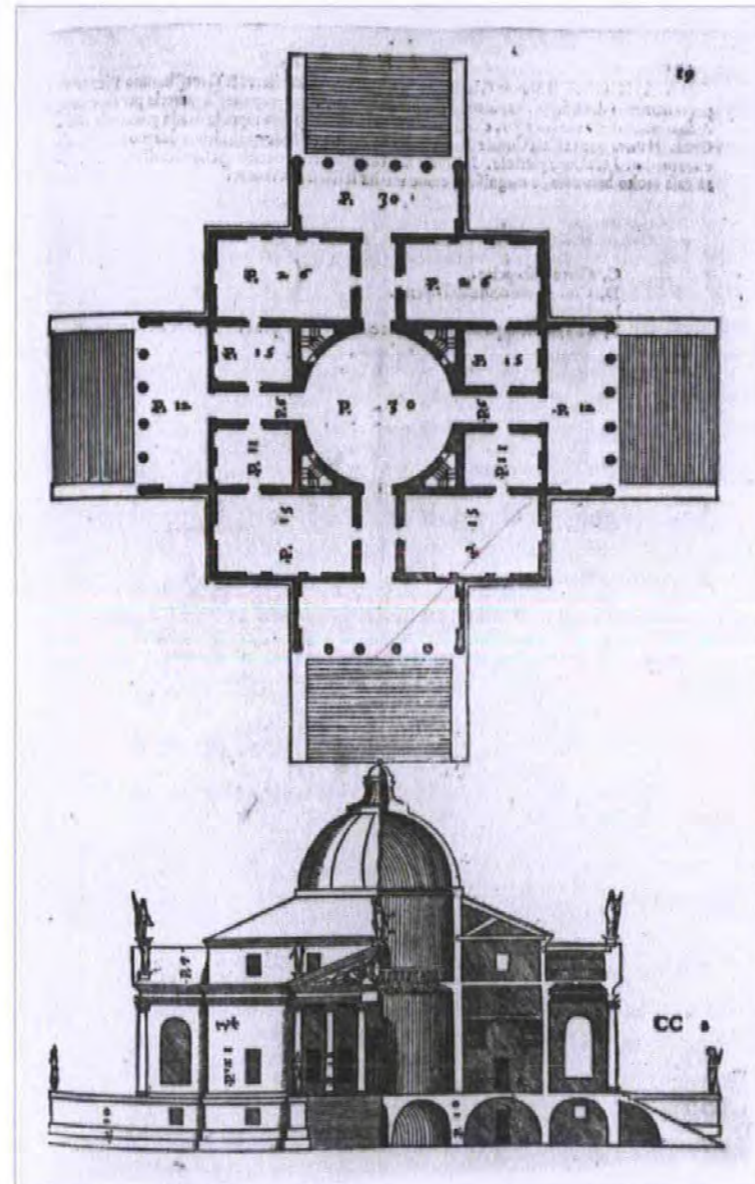
Figure 42   Palladio, *Quattro Libri*, 1570
Orthographic projections - plan, elevation
and section

Figure 43 *Top*   Edouard Baldus
Cloister of St Trophîme at Arles, 1851

Figure 44 *Lower*   The joins in Baldus's negatives

1   Richard Pare, *Photography and Architecture: 1839-1939,* Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1982, 'Introduction' by Phyllis Lambert, p12

2   Robert Elwall, *Photography Takes Command: The Camera and British Architecture 1890-1939* , Exhibition Catalogue, RIBA Heinz Gallery, 1994, p15 and

    Richard Pare, *Photography and Architecture: 1839-1939,* Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1982, p15

3   As a definitive movement in photographic history Pictorialism lasted from the early 1890's to the end of the Great War. The objective of the movement was to develop an international awareness and acceptance of photography's ability to represent personal expression as an art form and for the medium to then effectively sit alongside traditional forms of art practice

4   *Builder,* vol 17, 1859 Jan 1, p6

    Views still held later in the century: 'An Architectural Causerie': A letter in *Builders' Journal & Architectural Record,* September 26, 1900 expresses similar views

5   For details of the Architectural Photographic Association, see Robert Elwall, pp13 to 18

6   Robert Elwall, p37

7   Robert Elwall, p39

8   Cervin Robinson, *Architecture Transformed: A History of the Photography of Buildings from 1839 to the Present,* Mit Press, 1987, page *x*

9   Robert Elwall, p24

10 Robert Elwall, p25

11 Viollet-le-Duc was using photography in his restoration work only three years after the process was declared, most noteably in his work on Notre Dame in Paris, 1842

12 *History of Photography* , Mike Weaver & Anne Hammond eds. 'Photography and Architecture', Guest editor Daniel Naegele, Summer 1998. Article by Lauren O'Connell, 'Viollet-le-duc on Drawing, Photography and 'The Space Outside the Frame' ', p142

13 This seems logical as the cost and logistics of hiring a professional photographer to make seven reference images of this screen would prove restrictive. It would be much simpler and cheaper to have a camera and undertake the task yourself. Jennifer Freeman, in her biography *W D Caröe:his architectural achievement,* (Manchester, 1990), states that the architect did indeed call on professional photographers in some cases

14 There are indeed other examples of this draping technique in the Caröe albums, confirming this as a relatively common strategy

15   Eve Blau & Edward Kaufman eds, *Architecture and its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation*, Canadian Centre for Architecture/Mit Press, 1989, p159

16   see *Architecture and its Image, Photography and Architecture 1839-1939*, and *Photography Takes Command*

17   Robert Elwall, p39

18   Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman eds, p14

19   *Photograms of the Year*, 1903, p24

20   There are also other interesting comparisons made in these publications where comparisons are made using models, but which are not relevant to this study.

21   This is not to suggest that this form of photographic practice is other than of high quality photographically. The skill in lighting the central image of Figure 9 for example is technically exemplary

22   Beaumont Newhall, *Frederick H. Evans* , Aperture Monograph, 1975, p 92

23   Anne Kelsey Hammond. 'Frederick Evans: The Spiritual Harmonies of Architecture', *British Photography in the Nineteenth Century: The Fine Art Tradition*, ed. Mike Weaver, Cambridge, 1989, p255

24   Sonja Bullaty, *Sudek*, New York, 1978, p14

25   Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman eds, *Architecture and its Image*, Canadian Centre for Architecture/Mit Press, 1990, pp158-159

26   *Camerawork*, John Berger: 'Ways of Remembering'. July 1978

27   E H Gombrich, *The Image & the Eye: Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, Phaidon, 1982, p270

28   E H Gombrich, p262

29   Malcolm Daniel, *The Photographs of Edouard Baldus*. Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, 1994, pp21-23

30   Baldus was one of five photographers who were given responsibility to document the historic structures of France that were in need of restoration. Their brief, given by the Historic Monuments Commission, was termed The Mission Héliographique

31   In 1869 H P Robinson published *Pictorial Effect in Photography*, a publication that focused on the aesthetics of picture-making for the amateur, using accepted principles of art practice from the Renaissance to Ruskin

32   Mike Weaver, 'Le Gray-Fenton-Watkins', from *The Art of Photography*, Royal Academy of Arts, 1989, Chapter 4, p96

33 Mike Weaver, 'Familiar and daily occurances', from *The Photographic Art: Pictorial Traditions in Britain and America*. London, 1986, p 109

34 A second major publication that considered Pictorial aesthetic and the blending of science and art was produced by P H Emerson in 1889. *Naturalistic Photography* put forward the notion of intentional creation, from which each element of photographic practice, from choice of theme, viewpoint, camera lens and photographic materials all became decisions "made out of knowledge and out of the determination to make visible the expressive aim of the artist." Peter C Bunnell 'Pictorial Effect', from *The Art of Photography*, Chapter 6, p157

35 Quoted here from *The Art of Photography*, p192, of a republished 1929 manuscript by Edward Weston

36 Mike Weaver (ed) *The Art of Photography*, Chapter 15 'Construction and Appropriation' by Chris Titterington, p432

37 This was a phrase used by Walker Evans to indicate the potential for the camera to be an instrument that could provide representative meaning from a directly observed subject

38 Except the children who were relegated to the back where, presumably, they would not be seen to interfere with the proceedings of the services

39 *Typologies: Nine Contemporary Photographers. Essays by Marc Freidus, James Lingwood and Rod Slemmens*, Rizzoli, 1991

40 Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman, *Architecture and its Image*, p *x*

41 'Questions of Perception. Phenomenology of Architecture', *Architecture and Urbanism*, July 1994, Steven Hall, Juhani Pallasmaa and Alberto Perez-Gomez eds., p42

42 ibid p42

4

The Photographic Works
The Interior Panoramas

From this point the thesis explains the development of the photographic enquiry using reduced copies of the original works and analyses the original intention of the project through an explanation of the way in which the photographic works have re-examined the understanding of the architectural expression of Anglican rituals.[1]

Crucial to the understanding of the photographs is an awareness of the control of the technical processes that were needed to give visual shape to the ideas of architectural expression as well as to the viewpoint and light. In simple terms it was a process of manipulation. Having explained the processes of origination it is then essential that there is a similar level of understanding of the ways in which the images have been and can be used through changes of size and juxtaposition. For example, images that have been reproduced to a size of 4'x 5' for the exhibition have a different purpose to the same images at 8"x 10" duplicated in this text. It is the further stages of control and manipulation that underline the distinctiveness of the research through practice, allowing for the alignment of written and visual text into a unified statement.

The initial enquiry centred on developing a methodology through which the visual comparison of each interior would

be possible in order to provide an understanding of the liturgical viewpoint of laity and clergy, the use of materials, and of space and decoration. The development of the practice utilised a rationalist approach in that each building could be viewed at a scale that would reveal details, that the photographic constructions would allow critical comparison, that the control of light would confirm detail, spatial configuration and ambience. Consequently this group of photographs presents two contrasting viewpoints; one from the west end of the building, the other from the east (plates 1 to 6). The view to the east end describes the building from the perspective of the worshippers (the laity) while the west view is taken from the sanctuary as the place of the clergy. Social hierarchy has been ignored in these images. The concern was not what class of citizen sat at which point in the nave due to their status, but that the nave was the place in which the congregation sat as a collective group. Likewise the sanctuary is the domain of the ministers. Each building therefore reflected the notions of 'liturgical territory'. As outlined in Section 2.1 the research centred on the developments that took place in the nineteenth century specifically in relation to the sacramental worship of the Eucharist and therefore the areas of investigation have centred on the roles of the nave, chancel and sanctuary.2

When initially visiting the churches one of the most apparent design features was the varying levels of the floors and the effect on the understanding of the users of the buildings. The development of dual repetition in the panoramas has allowed an understanding not only of the position of minister and laity from the west or east point, but also in presence, through level. Given the precise repetition of camera height and the comparison across the six buildings the clear variation and scale of change in floor level became evident.

All the photographs produced for this project have used the optical definition that is inherent in the focus of the lens, the quality of the optics and the format of negative, as devices to render detail clearly from the direct observations of the subject. All the images therefore clearly have a documentary capacity. The camera is recording information through the mediation of light and we are able to view the subsequent record physically as a photographic print and those images which are later referred to as primarily interpretive therefore also have a documentary capacity.

In providing a written text on the images, there is a danger that the photographs could be conceived as illustrations to the written argument. It is important to understand that

each of the images provides a record of information from which the visual juxtaposition provides the development of the argument. The images provide their own text due to the way in which repeated cross-referencing through a systematic approach to representation provides cumulative information from individual images. If the images were seen in isolation then the argument would not necessarily be evident. The ultimate presentation of the work in an exhibition format creates the context in which the photographs can be understood as textual statements. The responses made to the images within the project will inevitably vary due to the nature of those examining the imagery. Prior knowledge will in some part dictate response and understanding. The comparison of the images through a systematic and typologically classified representation also operate as textual statements in their own right.

One of the central themes that emerged from the preliminary photographic explorations has been the way in which the architects made abstract concepts tangible to the worshipper. For example, light was used to enhance symbolism to impart spiritual knowledge and through which device nineteenth-century Anglo-Catholic architects drew significantly on medieval precedents. Subsequently the research methodology has visually interpreted these conceptual elements, through what has been generically termed 'the physical manifestation of spiritual ideology'. The churches have been individually interpreted to see in what way the architects had reflected this ideology. [3]

The chosen method to establish each building has been drawn from the use of photographic panoramas. There are a number of ways in which panoramas can be produced. The simplest form in contemporary photographic practice is referred to here as the 'conventional' approach. This is where an image is produced from a single viewpoint using a fixed wide-angle lens, resulting in a wide field of view as a continuous, seamless image. An alternative method to this, still producing an image from a single viewpoint, can be achieved with a camera that uses a small horizontally-panning lens with a coupled vertical format aperture and an alternative form of which has been used for the traditional school group photograph. Again this is still made from a fixed position of viewpoint, normally facilitated by the use of a tripod, but the whole camera pans across the field of view over a time span of several seconds. These latter two examples require the movement of the film at an equivalent speed to the movement of the lens but in the opposite direction. As a result of this two-way movement between film and lens a seamless still image is produced. [4]

While adopting aspects of these strategies this project relies on a more direct use of the traditions in which the multiple still image is placed together in linear sequence as seen in the works of such figures as Edweard Muybridge, Carlton Watkins, Jim Dow and Mark Klett (figure 45). All these photographers have produced work that uses the principle of an apparently singular viewing position from which the camera is rotated across the chosen field of view. The subsequent set of individual images is then placed in linear sequence in order for the unfolding panorama to be viewed. The method adopted for this project places three individual images together in the form of triptychs. These images are made from an apparently 'single' viewpoint and it is because of this deliberate use of apparent singular viewpoint and wide field of view that they are referred to as a form of panoramic image. There are, however, simple but funda- mental differences between seamless images and those made by encapsulating a wide field of view through the juxtaposition of multiple images.

When cropped to the same vertical view the 65mm lens used to produce plate 7 gave a very similar angle of view to that of three images taken with a 150mm lens on the same format (plate 8). The single panorama (the seamless view) has been enlarged to approximately the same lateral dimen- sion (an enlargement of twice linear or four times the area of the triptych for clearer comparison) and this in itself illus- trates one reason for using the approach. In their final form these triptychs have been printed to approximately 14"x 33". The detail in an enlargement from the chosen method will be substantially greater due to the relative negative size.

The viewpoints chosen to establish the church interiors provided technical challenges, for which plates 9 & 10 are ideal examples. The wall on the right of the building came to within two feet of the lens. Combined with the furthest point of approximately 80ft it became impossible to render the whole of this space in focus, even with the very small apertures available with the lens used. A shift in focus was possible with the strategy used in plate 10 that enabled everything from the closest part of the wall to that of the far end of the building to be absolutely sharp in terms of focus and therefore definition. Because each individual image could be dealt with separately, the methodology has been used slightly differently across a variety of scales and propor- tions of interior; it became far more versatile than the single image panorama.[5]

On closer inspection plate 9 displays forms of distortion characteristic in the use of a wide angle lens, most clearly

illustrated in the proportion and subsequent relative scale of the window in the left hand image. Due to the nature of the position of the window (at the edge of the image) it appears wider than in the triptych of plate 10. This visual distortion creates the illusion of an enhanced scale differentiation between close and distant facets of the interior. The problems of the visual 'stretching' that occurred at the edges of such imagery has been reduced by the rotation of view achieved in the sectioning of the triptych. The second benefit of this use of a moveable viewpoint has been the reduction in the apparent widening of the interior. If the centre photograph is produced first, followed by the outer images, a simple lateral movement of 12" or so can have a beneficial effect on the rendering of perspective, reducing the distortion. This change in the perspective has also been desirable when deliberately wishing to alter visual emphasis of certain parts of the image. Again plate 10 illustrates this point in that the wooden panels seen within the right hand frame are not original. With the sideways movement of camera position this space could be laterally reduced in visual terms, so as not to emphasise an unoriginal facet of the building.[6]

The ability to move tripod position also assisted in overcoming other problems. In photographing church interiors one of the greatest technical challenges has been dealing with the significant difference in light values between a dimly lit interior space and the bright windows. The human eye is more sensitive to the differences between light and dark than even modern photographic film and printing paper emulsions. In the east to west panorama of St John's Torquay (plate 3) it became possible to position a problematically bright window behind a nave pillar as well as reducing the distortion of the interior that occurred because of the wide field of view.

These are small but not insignificant elements of the methodology that become more significant when referring to the east/west view used in this section of imagery. Plate 8 shows the interior of St David's Church, Exeter, one of the larger buildings photographed within the project. It has been used as an example of how, in the churches which have aisles, a further use of the physical change in viewpoint was not merely useful - it became fundamental to a knowledge of the configuration and spatial understanding of the interior. With the lateral re-positioning as used in plate 8 a view through the south aisle has been made possible; the impact of this strategy was the ability to visually understand a very particular characteristic of the design of this church. Each building, whether it dates from the early, mid, or late

part of the nineteenth century achieves a physical and symbolic focus towards the east end of the building by the change in use of height, width and sometimes quality of illumination through the chancel and sanctuary. The repetition of viewpoint through each building and the deliberate visual juxtaposition of the subsequent twelve panoramas has been used in order to allow an understanding of the relationship between the position of the laity and the clergy within each individual building and in relation to the other interiors. Through this juxtaposition a comparison could be made across all six churches; a form of comparison that has only been made possible in this way through the use of the still photographic image. Aspects of scale, proportion, form, influence, stylistic developments, use of materials, use of colour and surface, all become immediately visible through the methodology employed.

Throughout the early development of the use of forms of panorama to establish the interior, a number of types of groupings were tried from which the triptych was deemed the most successful solution. Given the nature of photographing from two contrasting viewpoints and due to the nature of these buildings being ostensibly rectangular, splitting the space into three for each view provided an initially logical solution. Simply put, this is seen in the

configuration of two sides and an end wall. Photographing with more or less images across the span, say with four or two images, would have produced a view which was either too fragmented or problematically interrupted by the perspective planes of the interior space.

The term or title 'triptych' for these images has caused some discussion over the period of research. Taken literally, as a dictionary definition, a triptych is a set of three painted panels, hinged together as one work of art. Through history this term has been applied in and to a variety of religious works of art, forming a historical precedent that could cause confusion in the usage within this project. The initial reason for the use of the term triptych in the context of the interior panoramas clearly stems from the bringing together of separate parts in order to make 'one work of art'.

The final triptychs have been deliberately kept with blank space between each element as they have been constructed from a composition of three individual images. The understanding of the individual characteristics and details of each building has been heightened by the fragmentation but not at the expense of reading the total panorama as a single view. The space between each frame has allowed for a less distracted view of each element than that if the views were

made using a seamless form of panorama. The possibilities for cross-referencing similar areas of buildings across each triptych has also been heightened. For example in the west to east views as seen in the top images of plates 11 to 16, specific comparisons of the arcading and capitals, the pews, scale of nave, the nature of the method of divide between nave and chancel,the form of aisle space (if indeed there is one) and its configuration can be examined in the left, middle and right frames respectively. The three frames of each triptych total a field of view that would be outside that of foveal vision, the extremities being perceived peripherally, if stood in the building. Printing the images at a particular scale then also became important so that this cross referencing could still take place across all six buildings and that each triptych could be scrutinised as a complete panorama. Subsequently by using the same methodology applied to each church, comparisons across the six buildings in respect of relative scale and interior configuration, use of materials, colour and surface and use of light could be achieved.

The specific positions from which each panorama has been taken are both relative to the project's central issues of viewpoint of clergy and laity and (in certain instances) the ability to hide unoriginal features. The placement of the tripod in the west to east panoramas has been as close to

the end wall of the building as possible given the need to move laterally across the building during the course of the visual sweep. In the smaller buildings (the two earlier churches) there was nothing behind the camera of any visual or symbolic importance. In the larger buildings there are elements of the interior that have not been depicted, most significantly the font and/or narthex. As already stated the focus of attention in the project centres on the effects of the architectural responses to the doctrinal changes regarding the Eucharist. Consequently the relationship of the relatively passive space of the nave to that of the active space of the chancel and sanctuary and the focus of the altar became central to the enquiry. In the west to east views the specific choice of camera position has heightened the visual focus through the nave due to the absence of such aspects as font and narthex. In the east to west series the camera has been positioned to the side of the altar, again as close to the end wall of the building as was feasible. In all but one of the churches the altar has been moved forward from its original position against the east wall by the current incumbent due to the nature of contemporary west-facing liturgical practice.[7] The decision was made not to include a corner of the altar in the right hand image of these views in order to keep the space immediately in front of the camera clear of visual obstructions. The barrier of the altar rail separates the

sanctuary from the chancel at this stage of the project. Access is denied to the sanctuary as indeed was (and still is) the case within a service. This heightens the sense of liturgical territory and spatial use of the building, again strengthening the issue of the viewpoints of the laity and clergy in this initial group of images. This has been a process of selective documentation, realising that further images would be necessary in order to explore other concepts not visualised in these panoramas.

The control, and the use of, a variety of light sources has been central to the development of all images within the project. In The Interior Panoramas the primary light source used has been sunlight in combination with flashlight which has been used in a number of the views in order to control the excessive contrast of the church interior. Due to the colour balance of flashlight to that of the film, the only real effect of this use of flash has been to render details in shadows that would otherwise not record on the film and would produce too many dark and empty spaces in the final print. Over the course of the developments in the panoramas (which entailed the interpretation of the very different ambiences of the chosen buildings) it became clear that these images could effectively reflect aspects of the quality of illumination and the impact of this on the interpretation

of the interior. For example in the initial attempts at photographing the west to east view at St David's a great deal of flashlight directed into the roof space was used in order to render as much detail in the dark wood as possible; an approach that negated the very heavy quality of the interior of this particular church. This became a critical decision of whether the intent of these initial images was to document the interior in the sense of revealing as much detail and information as possible or whether they were to instigate aspects of architectural expression.

The results from three successive shoots illustrate the development of the role of the panoramas. The first triptych (plate 17) was produced early in the research development and used a great deal of additional light, by using both flashlight and the tungsten lights of the church. The effects on the colour balances, seen in the sanctuary particularly, dominated the interior with a problematic colour cast. In the second attempt (plate 18) the additional light was greatly reduced. Flashlight was still used in order to maintain detail in the darker areas of the interior, but not in the roof, and the tungsten light in the sanctuary was removed. The effects of these alterations was a greater expression of the dark mass of the roof and the shift in ambient light from the bright nave to the chancel and sanctuary. Because the

tungsten light in the chapel and the ambulatory aisles was still very dominant and by that stage in the research the importance of creating a sense of order in each building had also become an issue, a third and final version of this triptych was produced (plate 19). In this panorama the lighting balances were addressed and the pews returned to their original position, much the same as in the panorama at All Saints, Babbacombe (plate 14). With a greater understanding of the technical control that has subsequently been developed through the research practice, the use of less additional light became necessary. Therefore a gradual transformation has occurred from the first experiments to the final printed triptych, where the extensive use of artificial light has been reduced in order to more actively use the available light in the building. This in turn made the differences in light level of the various areas of each building more evident. It became clear that the control of light in these panoramas could then interpret an important aspect of the design of these churches.

In a number of the churches a warm, tungsten-based, light source has been used (see plates 1 to 6). This light form has been used to activate those parts of the building that fall outside the available view from the chosen viewpoint. One of the characteristics of the design at St David's for example

(plate 6) is Caröe's use of passage aisles and walkways that connect the various parts of the building. These areas are often significantly darker than the more open spaces of the interior. The use of the warm light then accentuates the areas of the building where activity was more pronounced or where additional light would always have been necessary due to the building's design. This can again be seen in the east/west triptych of St Peter's where in the left-hand image panel the warm light indicates the presence of a chapel and what is also an access point to the chancel.[8]

It became clear that the use of the roodscreen at Shaldon also has a major influence on the effects of light. Sedding had not been able to include a large east window in the sanctuary due to the church having to be built extremely close to an adjacent house.[9] This logistical design issue was evidently not a concern for the architect, as he did not attempt to address the lack of light that is a consequence of this, using small lancet windows throughout the chancel and sanctuary. The effect is a dramatic change in the ambient light levels between the nave and the chancel; one that is enhanced by the lack of illumination in the chancel/sanctuary and by the scale and design of the screen and is more than any of the other buildings. The marked contrast can be seen when all the triptychs are compared.

The earlier buildings at Babbacombe and Torquay were then explored in reference to these spatial considerations. In both these churches no additional light was used other than a small amount of flashlight to counter the contrast of the daylight.[10] In these churches the general illumination of the chancel and sanctuary are brighter than in comparison to the nave. In St John's Torquay the side chapel remains the same in quality and amount of illumination to when the building was first constructed. No tungsten light was used here as the level of illumination suggests more concern with designing as bright a lit chapel and chancel as possible. There seems little concern with the use of light by the architect in order to create significant differences within these two buildings.[11]

The two earliest churches have not received any additional light in this respect either. The use of the available daylight in St Andrew's has heightened the enclosed nature of the chancel from that of the bright nave and the expression of a different quality of light from the nave is very apparent. Even though the original fittings of the chancel have been removed in subsequent reorderings, the level of illumination suggests that Hayward was concerned with creating a controlled difference in the ambience of these two sections of the building.[12] St Mary's, Bicton has been interpreted as

being a more passive church that would not have practised the same level of liturgical ritual. The ambient light effectively rendered the nature of the two transepts as being those places where the laity would sit, stand and kneel throughout the services. The light is very much more even throughout the whole interior. No elaborate ritual activity would have been evident in these spaces - none would have been possible due to their configuration.

The role of the Interior Panoramas can therefore be understood from a second perspective. Not only do they document the physical properties of detail, through the development of an interpretive methodology but they enhance the architectural expression of territory and activity. The four earliest churches, through no use of tungsten light, are interpreted as being more passive (in the case of Exwick and Bicton) or more concerned with colour, surface and pattern (as in Babbacombe and Torquay). It is only the panoramas of the two later nineteenth century buildings that have utilised this alternative light form, as they have been developed from the response of what is seen to be a greater concern for symbolic concept in the architectural expression. The use of light therefore became of paramount concern in the development of the further photographic enquiry. The subsequent predominant use of daylight drew the work back to the

Pictorialist traditions where the control of existing interior illumination was the method not only of producing an image, but also for expressing personal interpretations. The natural light of the building was only enhanced when technological intervention was necessary to achieve in the final print what otherwise would not be recorded on the negative. Additional tungsten light was used as an aesthetic metaphor in the activation of symbol, in response to the way in which extra light would have been part of the ritual practice. The use of studio-based practice in the control of additional light has, therefore, been used in combination with the natural illumination of the building in order to explore light, viewpoint, colour, space and detail.

How then should these panoramas be read? What can be learnt from the straight visual juxtaposition of these triptychs? Initially the panoramas provided the vehicle through which the use of space, colour and decoration could be scrutinised across the six buildings. Taking the west to east views first (plates 11 to 16) due to the chosen viewpoint the clarity of the colour and type of material used in the nave and aisles has been made apparent. Bicton stands out in these images for its simplicity of colour and space. The image clearly reveals the numbering of the pews down the length of the nave and provides clear information of the

layout of the building. This church is seen to be neutral in colour, with stark contrast between the whitewashed walls and the warmth in the colour of the woodwork. The evidence for the popularity in the use of dado panelling is seen and the single-cell structure of the nave for the congregation is evident, as is the smaller scale of the building when compared to the larger urban Parish Churches in the other buildings. In the four later churches the contrasts of colour through use of material then become very evident. Babbacombe displays a reddish pink hue, Torquay is warmer, but with a greater contrast between pillars and edging than in Butterfield's church. It seems that Street used complementary colour to add contrast, as he used a particularly blue/grey marble for the pillars. When studying St Peter's, Shaldon, the very individual use of blue/green hues in combination with the red colour below, is evident throughout the building. The green colour of this particular Polyphant stone is even carried through into the nave roof. In Sedding's original plan this same stone was also used to roof the aisles but the enormous weight meant that the church was unsafe and Caröe was in fact asked to provide a solution.[13] The effect on the eventual design of the building can be clearly seen in the west/east triptych. Described in the church's guide as 'a tunnel of stone' this use of material

seems significant as an aquatic colour, in reference to the position of the church at the estuary of the Teign River.

At Exeter Caröe used a more neutral limestone from floor level to roof, throughout the main fabric of the building.[14] On closer inspection the individual colours of stones can be seen, as well as the meticulous attention to detail that is a trademark of this architect. The right-hand panel of the west/east triptych of St David's Church (plate 16) clearly documents the quality of stone cutting. Every piece of stone is individually representative of Caröe's preference for hand-tooled workmanship in its precise but irregular patterning and placement and is once again indicative of the Arts & Craft influence in this building. What has also been portrayed in this particular image is the subtle variation in the colouring of the limestone. There are both warm and cool variations in the hue.[15]

In one respect these interiors can therefore be regarded as colour swatches. If each of the panoramic views is seen alongside the others, the eye is provided with an overall indication of colour across the buildings. On closer inspection, the variety of use of materials across the buildings becomes apparent and on very close inspection the enormous variety of individual stone within one interior has also

been made possible. One significant aspect of the images as documents has very clearly become this ability to reveal detail on a variety of levels through the clarity of definition available with the chosen method of representation.

The two viewpoints chosen for these panoramas also provides the understanding of the use of space and the way in which colour, material and decoration are used in different parts of the interior to delineate territory. Again the particular nature of Bicton stands out in this respect, as the chancel flooring in the east/west triptych reveals the use of an iconographic programme that reflects the assertion of the patronage of the Rolle family (plate 2). The coat of arms can be seen in a prominent central position in the chancel floor, as can the use of the family's insignia placed in conjunction with the reigning monarch's. This viewpoint also reveals the patrons influence and requirement within the planning of the interior. The family pews and separate entrance from the estate's garden are clearly depicted. In stark contrast the interiors of Torquay and Babbacombe (plates 3 & 4) respectively) reveal the change in use of colour in the building materials, combined with an increase in pattern and form seen especially in the flooring. The visual effects of the use of constructional polychromy are an important facet of the two High Victorian churches of

Butterfield and Street. A variety of colour has been used throughout the buildings; each constructional facet being treated differently both in terms of use of material and consequently colour.

At St David's, Exeter, (plate 6) Caröe has used the same stone from the west end to the east and from floor to ceiling. This is the only example of this uniformity of basic building material in the six churches. Even so, the indication of the use of sculpture alludes to another facet of use of space in which ecclesiastical architects have been able to actively separate areas of the building, through the development of decoration. This is evident both in the change in materials and in the use of use of sculptural form. The particular use of figurative sculpture in the central triptych panel at St David's reveals the interest with iconographic narrative, each figure representing a particular reference. This can be clearly seen throughout the chancel within the stalls, the two figures either side of the chancel gates and high up at the intersection of the walls and the roof. The west/east triptych shows clearly that there was no attempt to provide complex sculptural decoration up until this point in the chancel. This building also reflects Caröe's combination of Gothic and Arts & Craft form, seen especially in the proportions of the arches, the window designs and the pew

and stall ends. [16]

At St Peter's, Shaldon (plate 5), built during the same period of the nineteenth century as St David's Exeter, the blue/green stone with the lower red hue, is carried through into the chancel and sanctuary walls as well as figurative sculpture in the wall niches, giving the interior a highly individual colour. This sculpture would have originally been planned for the whole nave and it is presumed that these were not completed only because of a lack of funds. Their presence is certainly implied through the incomplete niches between each nave arch as seen in the west/east view. Shaldon is seen to be a highly individual building, not just in its use of colour, but also in the use of a rood screen. The triptychs emphasise the 'crown of thorns' motif that is employed throughout the building and which is most evident in the dark, silhouetted form as depicted in the east/west view.

The same development of figurative sculpture is seen at St David's, but predominantly within the choir stalls. In the earlier churches at Torquay and Babbacombe (plates 3 & 4) the sculpture is non-figurative. The use of foliation, pattern and colour are the devices by which Street and Butterfield were able to develop decorative use of materials, colour and pattern towards the east end of the building.

Each building reflects the architect's use of proportion, scale and light. The panoramic images clearly demonstrate the variety of design approaches in the use of the above so that it becomes clear that Street designed a building where height was a paramount concern. Street's interior reflects a grandeur of space that is heightened by the vertical nature of detailing, as seen in the banding of the nave piers for example (plate 3). Butterfield's use of horizontal banding in the layers of the piers and the low chancel arch at Babbacombe provides a visually squat nave and which in combination with the use of rougher cut materials for the wall construction, giving this building the appearance of a medieval parish church (plate 4).

The interior of each nave has been designed ostensibly to maximise the amount of light for the congregation.[17] Again the evidence that light was used as a device to delineate space can be seen. The panoramas indicate the difference in approach by Sedding at St Peter's, Shaldon (plate 5) with the extremely dark east end to that of the nave, with that of the more even light in the majority of the other interiors. The individual nature of the Shaldon church once again becomes apparent.

The continuation of the use of the triptych became more significant as the research developed, especially within the representations of the sanctuaries, where the configuration of the three individual image panels of the triptych created a central focus. The visual emphasis of the centre of a triptych image is a practical phenomenon that has been developed, in this case, into a conceptual interpretation of spiritual ideology, the significance of which is discussed in each of the individual sections that have used this device. The Interior Panoramas have used a triptych as a unified and consistent approach to the rendering of space, viewpoint, light, colour and detail. The subsequent triptychs and other composite imagery are a form of fragmentation in which a view has been broken into sections and then reconfigured in order to create an alternative method of perceiving and understanding architectural space and detail. This process of fragmentation has been developed as a mode of interpretation for every image within the enquiry but developed to individual requirements within the remaining typological sections.

Plate 1 *Top*   St Andrew's, Exwick 1841   West to East
         Lower St Andrew's   East to West

Plate 2 *Top*   St Mary's, Bicton 1850   West to East
         Lower St Mary's   East to West
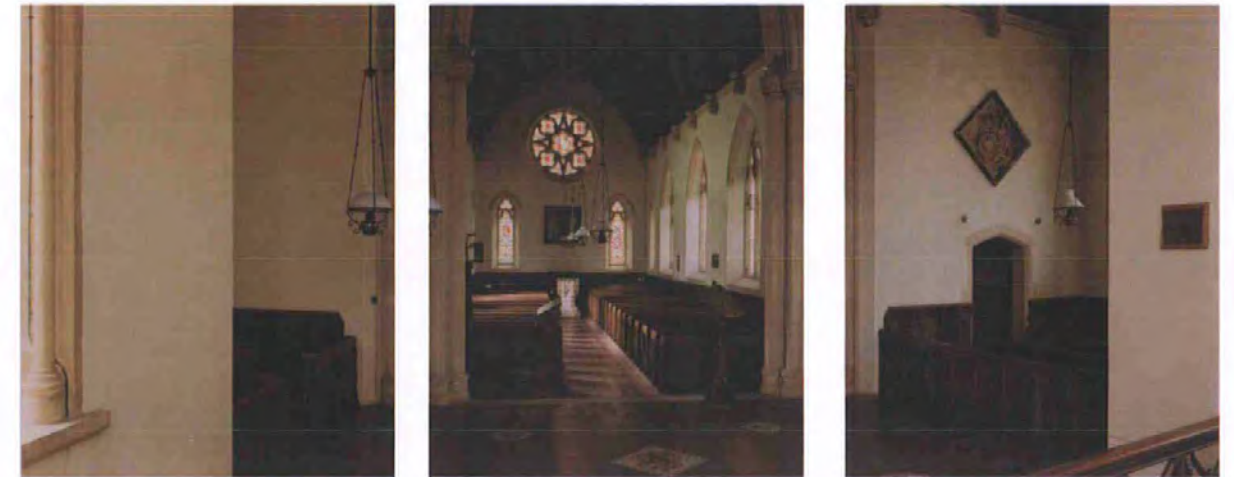
Plate 3 *Top* St John's, Torquay 1863-81 West to East
Lower St John's East to West

Plate 4 *Top* All Saints', Babbacombe 1865-74 West to East
Lower All Saints' East to West
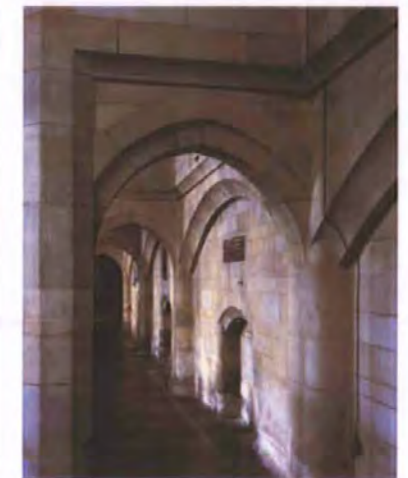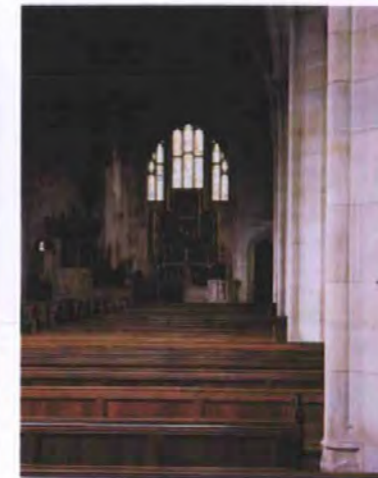
Plate 5 *Top*   St Peter's, Shaldon 1893-1902   West to East
        Lower   St Peter's   East to West

Plate 6 *Top*   St David's, Exeter 1897-1900   West to East
        Lower   St David's   East to West

Figure 45

Above   Mark Klett
Panorama of San
Fransisco from
California Street
12 April 1990 (4 of 13)

Right   Jim Dow
Bush Station, St Louis,
Missouri 1982
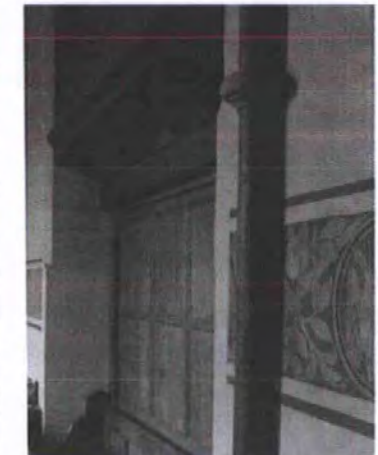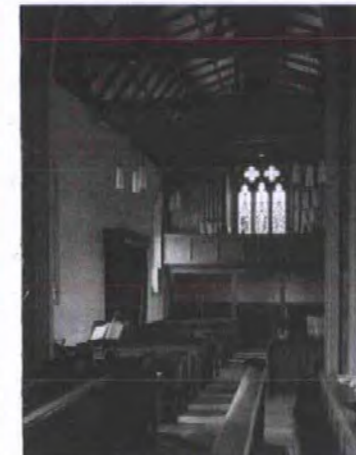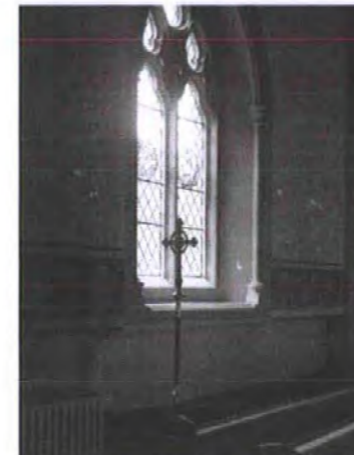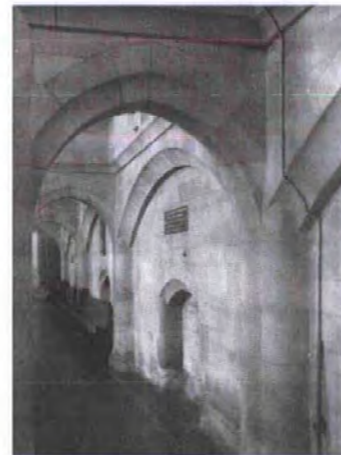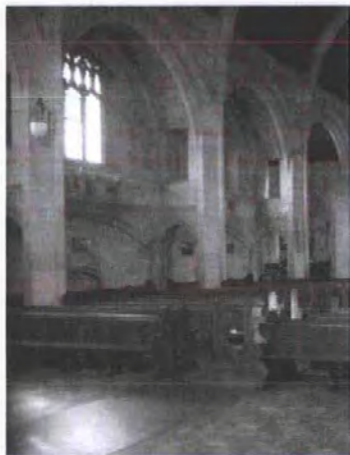
Plate 7 *Top*   A seamless panorama using the 65mm lens on 5"x 4"

Plate 8 *Lower*   The equivalent view as a triptych using the 150mm lens

Plate 9 *Top*   The distortion of the wide-angle lens at the edges of the image

Plate 10 *Lower*   The alteration of scale and perspective distortions
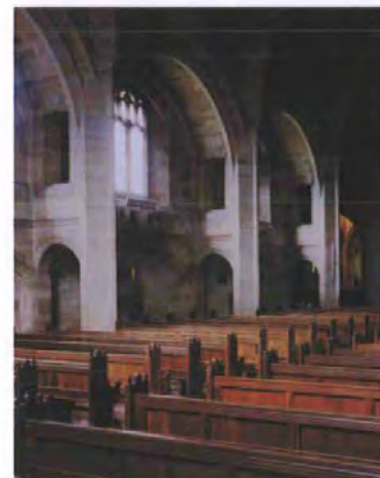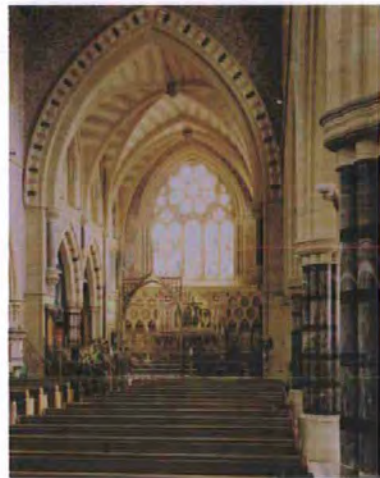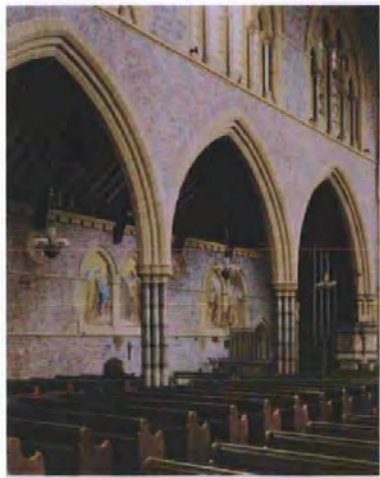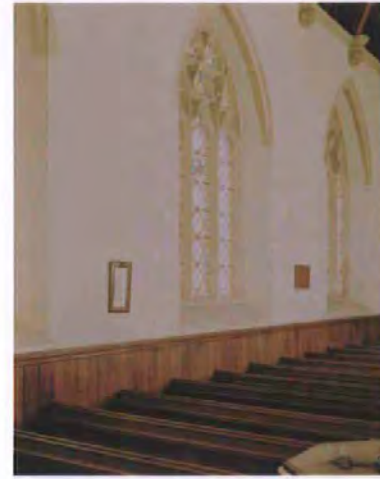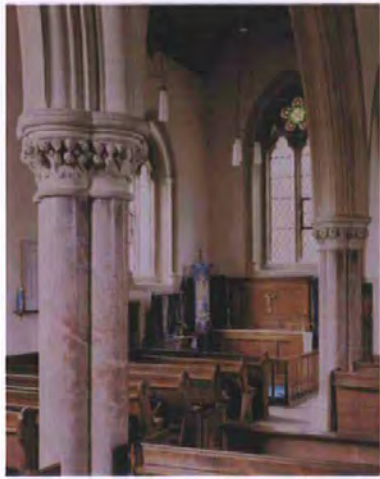
Plate 11 *Top* St Andrew's, Exwick 1841
Plate 13 *Middle* St John's, Torquay 1863-81
Plate 15 *Lower* St Peter's, Shaldon 1893-1902

Plate 12 *Top* St Mary's, Bicton 1850
Plate 14 *Middle* All Saints', Babbacombe 1865-74
Plate 16 *Lower* St David's, Exeter 1897-1900

Plate 17

1st shoot
Tungsten light was used extensively
in this first trial, giving problems
with the balance of light in the shot

Plate 18

2nd shoot
At this stage of the research
enquiry the use of light was
still being explored, as was the
rationalisation of space.
Subsequent to this attempt it
was decided to reinstate the
pews to as original a
formation as possible

Plate 19

Final shoot
The pews were reconfigured
and the use of lighting being
controlled to reflect the
heaviness of the roof and the
passage spaces throughout the
interior space

It has been widely accepted that the divide between nave and chancel was a fundamental piece of architectural symbolism of the ecclesiological movements, signifying the hierarchy of ecclesiastical order and symbolism of worship. Rooted in medieval traditions it was structurally to dominate the interpretations of ecclesiastical correctness and these photographs have been used to explore how this was manifested over the period.

The two earliest buildings of St Andrew's Exwick and St Mary's Bicton had no perceived barrier between the spaces of nave and chancel. As can be seen in The Interior Panoramas (plates 1 & 2) these two interiors reflect the tradition of the visual narrowing and raising of floor level towards the east end but do not use any other form of divide such as in the use of gates or screen. Those later buildings where a physical and symbolic device of separation was used, as advocated by the ecclesiologists, therefore became the focus of the photographic enquiry.

In terms of its construction and monumental scale, it was the screen at St Peter's, Shaldon that provided the initial stimulus for photographic exploration. In St Peter's, Shaldon (plate 5) it was quite clear that Sedding had intended the screen to act as a prominent physical divide between the

spaces of the nave and those of the chancel and sanctuary. The physical nature of the divide becomes of visual significance due to the architectural control of light - the nave being light and the sanctuary dark. Early in the research this was initially perceived to be reminiscent of a photograph of the choir and screen at Ely Cathedral, by Edwin Smith (figure 46). Because of the building's situation being adjacent to the vicarage the architect could not include a large east window in the sanctuary but instead used an apsidal design with small lancet windows and a greater amount of artificial light in the area where the symbolic rituals took place at the altar. From the initial explorations of the screen's significance it was felt that this was more than merely an architectural device, but in what manner it was anything other than such was not clear. In this respect the church at Shaldon became a testing ground for the development of the photographic methodologies of the divide, from which the applications of conceptual interpretations were attempted in the other churches.

Photographic exploration at the very beginning of the research enquiry had provided the possibility of investigating the screen from two views, one from the nave and the other from the sanctuary. It was clear that the difference in architectural design of these liturgical territories was an important factor in the design of the screen. Consequently the first significant step in the development of an interpretive methodology had become evident in the exploratory work using an instant Polaroid (plate 20).

The Polaroid image had been produced from a position halfway down the nave. The choice of viewpoint and subsequent use of lens had produced an image where the screen had little physical presence other than that of its scale and detail. On moving nearer to the screen it became apparent that an increased dynamic could be created. The experience of being close to the screen forced a fragmented understanding where the eye had to pan across the view in order to take in the whole object, as would be the case when approaching the screen during the journey to the altar. A subsequent experiment was carried out through which it was attempted to reflect this fragmented perception. The results were a radically alternative approach to the imaging of the divide. As can be seen by comparing plates 20 & 21, using the new strategy the central archway was placed centrally to the composition and brought forward by the photographic distortions, the screen no longer being parallel to the picture surface. At the same time it became possible to isolate the screen from its surroundings.

The colour image (plate 21) had utilised the lights of the building in order to explore the possibilities of their use, as at this time in the research practice lighting techniques and variations in colour temperature were still at an unresolved stage of development. The subsequent drama created by the use of fragmentation, light and colour was a significant moment in the project. What, until this time, had been a project influenced primarily by a conventional documentary use of photographic practice in the representation of space and detail, suddenly had the possibility of being developed as a highly individual, interpretive research methodology that actively used distortion in order to perceive spatial delineation of objects and their surroundings. The photographs could introduce a new visual language which would break up the unity of the screen, making it more fragile, but more expressive.

On further exploration a series of tests were made in which the deliberate fragmentation and visual repetition of parts of the screen and its surroundings were developed in conjunction with the use of light to explore the significance of this new visual language. Using a variety of lighting possibilities, from the predominant use of the ambient light within the building to the utilisation of the church's own lighting systems (plate 22) the difference in the ambient light

between the nave and the chancel, an immediately evident aspect of the building's design, was re-emphasised and re-interpreted. The first pair of images produced (the two left-hand images of plate 22) represented the predominant use of existing ambient light, reflecting the illumination created by the architectural design. The second diptych (central images of plate 22) used the tungsten lights of the chapel to provide a small amount of illumination to the stalls and reverse side of the screen. The final test (right - hand images of plate 22) used every available light in the building, as had been the case in the earlier exploration (plate 21). This final diptych, although extremely dynamic, became problematic in retaining any understanding of the original design concept for the screen due to the saturation of artificial light and subsequent array of different colour temperatures. What had become significant was the use of the tungsten light from the chapel which provided a warmth reminiscent of the incandescence of candlelight. The use of additional light in the production of the photographs could therefore be used to interpret the way in which additional light would have to have been used in the building, given the architect's deliberate control of light levels, the final photographic solution of which is clarified later in this section. Within these tests, what had initially been regarded as a visual and physical barrier to divide the

nave from the chancel, had been transformed by the photographic assemblage into a 'corona' - a crown of thorns itself, encompassing references to a fundamental doctrinal belief in the Christian faith - the crucifixion. The two viewpoints therefore also became of fundamental importance in representing physical and conceptual viewpoints in reference to the Eucharist. This was the position leading to consecration (the preparation for the act of receiving) and then the reverse view, after having received the bread and wine. This symbolically represented the entering into and out of the presence of Christ.

Having decided that these two viewpoints would form the basis of the photographic interpretation of the screen, printing tests using the initial experiments were undertaken in order to develop the final requirements of photographic form and scale. It became clear that the images required clarity and detail in order for the impact and presence of the screen to be maximised and would benefit from being enlarged to a scale that reflected the screen's presence.[18] The subsequent development of the methodology involved a more critical control of camera viewpoint, photographic assemblage, focus and depth of field, for which a 5"x 4" monorail plate camera was used (plate 23). This camera system had the possibility of controlling the angles of both the lens and film planes to control scale, proportion and depth of focus, as well as being able to use instant Polaroid materials - something that was vital when developing critical control in the composition of a multiple image. The lens used for these tests had a focal length of 150mm. The aperture was set at f45 for a large depth of field as it was crucial for the furthest and nearest points to be in focus. From these tests, the planning for the final images could be made.

A 10"x 8" camera was used for the production of the final negatives. The corresponding lens (300mm) was chosen as the most suitable focal length lens. This would achieve the same field of view from the same viewpoint as the 150mm lens on the 5"x 4" camera in the Polaroid tests. In effect what was being recreated was an adjusted position between the expressions shown in plates 21 & 22, finally arriving at was regarded as an interpretation that sustained an effective representation of the original architectural expression.[19]

The negative film and the paper printing process used throughout this project required control of contrast at the photography stage of image production. With colour printing there is no control over contrast in the darkroom other than 'accurate' resolution of colour. With black and white materials for example filters or graded paper are used

for this control. Likewise changes in exposure and process times to alter contrast in the negative are not as successful with colour materials as they are with the black and white equivalent. Light sources in this project have been used both as technical devices to control contrast and as sources of interpretation. The process used for these technical and conceptual elements in this first view was the additional use of flashlight in combination with the ambient daylight.

A small flash unit was placed behind each of the statues either side of the gates of the screen, to provide increased illumination in the dark chancel and in order to retain enough detail in the negative so as to be printed effectively. (Any dark areas of a picture that remain completely devoid of any detail in a print reduce the representation of three-dimensional space in a photograph). The lights were direct-ed towards the roof and overspilled onto the underside of the central arch, highlighting the crown of thorns motif. An additional flash unit was placed in the side chapel to stop this area becoming the only densely black area of the image, and independent battery operated units were placed on stands behind the uprights of the side arches in the nave, again to reduce contrast in these areas.[20] The flash units in the chancel and chapel could be operated by connecting one to the electronic lightmeter, the light from which was

picked up by remote sensors on the other units. With a single press of a button all the mains powered units would be activated simultaneously during the exposure. The inde-pendent units in the nave arches had to be triggered by hand, as all the portable remote sensors were used on the other lights. This meant that there was a complex operation involving triggering five flash units during the exposure.

The exposure time had been calculated at twelve minutes for each individual section of the six elements. This was due to the level of ambient illumination, the type of film used and the use of a very small aperture on the camera lens. f64 was the aperture chosen, calculated to provide depth of field from the closest to the furthest point of each section. The total exposure time was therefore over an hour, not includ-ing re-setting the camera for each new section - a complex task when having to build a composite image that had to fit together in a very particular manner in its final form. As the exposure was so long, movement in and around the view of the camera without being recorded on film was possible, in order to trigger the flash units. Because the aperture setting on the camera was so small and the filter used to correct the film to the colour temperature of daylight was fixed to the lens, the amount of flashlight required to have the desired effect was considerable.[21] The calculation for the flashlight

was possible in using the electronic light meter. The ambient light was measured first and balanced with the meter's reading of the flash light at the given aperture setting. The result was an exposure of twelve minutes for the daylight during which time the flash units had to be fired thirty two times. During the exposure it was then possible to walk around the shot firing the flashes while either hidden behind various pillars or crouched between the choir stalls and the statues.[22] After each individual negative was exposed, the camera was tilted to its new position and the assemblage gradually built up.

One of the effects of the time scale involved in this method of photographic practice is the way in which the direction of light changes within the interior. This image encompassed the movement and changes in light over a three or four hour period. The image therefore becomes a form of time-based still photography. Each image is not then a decisive moment in time but is more a frozen amount of time, encapsulating sometimes drastic changes in illumination or, certainly, changes in the direction of light during the exposure time. These changes can be seen in the subtle differences in the quality and direction of light on the stone in the left-hand images to those of the right-hand side, where the light has moved around the building considerably

over the time span.[23] The evidence of the changes in light can be seen in the bright highlight on the floor both in the centre of the 5"x 4" test shot (plate 23 left) and in the final image (plate 24), where the sun has moved behind and in front of clouds during the exposure. The pattern of the window is subsequently repeated several times.

The reverse view from the sanctuary through to the nave posed more complex technical problems due to the way in which the concept of the transfigural experience of the Eucharist was being interpreted (plate 25). A greater mixture of light sources was used in this image to represent the glow of incandescent light that would have been a feature of this part of the building. Even on the brightest of days the chancel and sanctuary would always require extra lighting to that of the nave. Three different forms of illumination were ultimately used in the making of this image; daylight, flashlight and tungsten, of which the daylight was given predominance in the final exposure in order to maintain the ambient light of the nave.

In comparison the level of light in the chancel and sanctuary is very low, producing a great deal of contrast in this particular view. The dark woodwork of the stalls and organ case would therefore become completely black on the final print

unless additional light was used to balance the exposure for
the nave. A single flash unit was used by the camera to
provide enough light into the chancel to retain some detail
in the dark areas of the shot and so maintain relief in the
carvings and sculptural form of these areas. This was a
relatively simple balancing act to reduce contrast to a
manageable level for printing, using a light source that was
notionally the same colour temperature as the daylight.[24]
The third light source, tungsten balanced floodlights, were
used in the form of an aesthetic metaphor in order to
produce a warm glow.[25] If these had also been used from
the camera position the dramatic effect of the contrast of
light in this part of the building would be lost. The tungsten
lights were therefore placed on the nave side of the screen at
angles to the lens that gave detail to the relief of the wood
carving and increased the perception of perspective due to
the direction of the shadows created by the path of light.
The tungsten lights were eventually hidden by the thin
uprights of the screen. The final task was to expose the
various light sources so that the right balance between all
three were correctly recorded on the negative for final
printing. The final daylight exposure was calculated as thirty
minutes per negative and the flashlight was balanced in the
manner described in the first image. If the tungsten light
was kept on for the whole duration of the daylight exposure

it would have become too strong and dominant. These
lights were therefore switched off halfway through each
thirty minute exposure.

The use of light to interpret the chancel had been developed
to activate this space beyond that of a purely documentary
record of its features. The technical manipulations and final
composites have allowed for a new understanding of the
space, that as photographic interpretations of this screen
allow the perception of the significance of Sedding's design
to be portrayed beyond that of human perception possible
in the building.

The research ambition was to work on a scale that would
enable the opportunity for a representation of the two
distinct interpretations of the screen still to be viewed simul-
taneously from a distance but also scrutinised in great detail
at close quarters, a form of experiential immersion in a
photographic representation of this church's primary
feature. Consequently, having had the negatives processed,
the results from the shoot were initially printed as same-size
contacts where exposure, focus and lighting issues could be
scrutinised in addition to the success or otherwise of the
conceptual representation, sometime after which the final
prints could then be made. The optimum scale of these two

images for the exhibition was finally calculated as being 5'x 4'. This meant that each individual panel would be enlarged to a 20"x 24" print. The final exhibition piece when placed in diptych format would therefore be 10'x 4'.

The significance of the divide between the nave and the chancel had therefore been established and further investigations could be instigated in the remaining churches where the original features were still evident. The same methodology to that of the interpretation of St Peter's screen was attempted at St John's, Torquay and All Saints', Babbacombe (plates 26, 27 & 28) from which the design and use of dividing mechanisms in the High Victorian churches at Babbacombe and Torquay were clearly seen to owe much to the precedents mentioned above, but in photographically interpreting these features it became clear that the use of materials and the form of design overtook the spiritual and symbolic rationale for their inclusion; they were predominantly used as architectural enhancements of the interior. The composite images of the screen at St John's seen in plates 26 & 27 in reducing the presence of the screen to a point of near disappearance did little to represent the decorative nature of these design features. In the two High Victorian churches the screen and/or gates being included as a symbolic device to divide the two liturgical spaces was

clearly secondary to maintaining maximum visibility to and from the altar. As with the screen at Torquay, the gates at Babbacombe (plate 29) are also highly ornate. Two distinct methods of composite imaging were ultimately developed for these two buildings that interpret the architect's primary concern of use of decoration and geometric pattern.

At Babbacombe the final photographic method for interpreting the pattern and decoration was to emphasise these features using a short depth of field and a laterally-moving camera position across the four panels of the gates (plate 30). This enabled white space to be kept behind the patterns by making four individual exposures. By re-assembling the separate images and controlling the density in the final print the patterns and shapes were enhanced. A similar method of short depth of field was used at St John's, Torquay (plate 31). Here the central arched section which enclosed the gates added an imposing aspect to the design that again reflected the vertical nature of Street's design. These two photographic interpretations have been deliberately kept in isolation of other facets of the interior in reference to the way in which architects visualise individual design features of a church interior within architectural drawing; perspective and location are reduced and detail and decoration are enhanced.

With the initial replication in St John's, Torquay of the methodology that had been used at Shaldon (plate 26), the fragmentation was again used to interpret the screen. The nature of the delicacy of design and materials used by Street, as well as the fact that the gates were left open, meant that the screen became visually confused within its surroundings. The repetition caused by the fragmentation process of assemblage in the interpretation at Torquay caused confusion rather than expression. The tall central section which encompassed the arch, cross and gates, seen in the final image (plate 31) provided the central axis to the screen, flanked by the two structurally supporting elements either side. In closing the gates, reducing the amount of repetition in assemblage, configuring the final image from four rather than six elements and using a short depth of field produced an alternative visual language that effectively rendered the screen as a decorative, aesthetic design device rather than the powerful expression of the mystery of sacramental faith as perceived in the screen at St Peter's. In Shaldon, as previously described, the design of the screen was seen to represent the transfigural experience of the Eucharist, hence the two physical and conceptual viewpoints. At Torquay and Babbacombe, the emphasis was clearly placed on the focus towards the altar and so single viewpoints have been developed, emphasising the clear west to east inflection of the interiors.

St David's in Exeter became the final building to explore in reference to the divide between liturgical territories. The panorama at St David's had provided the understanding of the importance given by Caröe to the use of iconographic narrative. The incumbent at the time of construction, the Rev C Valpy French, drew on his theological knowledge and in conjunction with the architect and the sculptor Nathaniel Hitch, he devised an iconographic programme throughout the building. The main outlets for this sculpture are in the stalls, reredos, pulpit and reading desk.[26] In conjunction with the reredos, the stalls demonstrate the wish to disseminate religious thinking through the iconographic details of the building.[27]

The divide between nave and chancel is a prime example of this, especially when comparing the use of sculpture and iconography with St Peter's, Shaldon. In St David's the two figures on either side of the gates are the Angel Gabriel and Mary, Mother of God. This narrative is of the visitation of the angel to tell Mary the news of the immaculate conception - what is referred to as The Annunciation. In passing this point the symbol of this central Christian narrative is reflecting the imminent birth of Christ. Christ is not yet depicted but His presence is implied. The visual background to this narrative then becomes a great deal more potent.

The reredos, with the iconographic depiction of Christ in majesty over the crucifixion scene then places His physical and symbolic presence directly in our view at the altar. This development of the representation of narrative is completed only during the ritual of the receiving of the elements at the Eucharist and once again confirms the importance of the developments in this doctrine.

Using elements of Christian scripture also ties in with the reading desk and pulpit - those places from which both scripture and spiritual authority is disseminated. Here a much greater dichotomy of roles within the late nineteenth-century buildings was evident, in that St David's emphasises the spoken word in a way that is not as present in St Peter's. The relationship of the pulpit, reading desk and chancel steps/gates then became of paramount interest in the image produced at St David's. The relative presence of the pulpit and reading desk has been heightened by the architect in St David's due to the scale of both, the fact that the reading desk has been 'built in' and that the pulpit has a large sound board. In an architectural sense there is a uniformity to the presence of the pulpit, reading desk and gates through which the presence of the sanctuary (particularly the altar and reredos) can be viewed but in their visual focus the altar and reredos remain at the visual centre, while the pulpit and

reading desk remain on the visual periphery. During a service visual focus would have been relative to the ritual at any given moment - when the preacher spoke, the pulpit would be the visual focus - when biblical narrative was read, the reading desk would be the visual focus, but always with the reredos very evidently in its own clear central space.

The triptych again became the method chosen to interpret the divide at St David's, as this emphasised the importance of the centrality of the reredos while allowing the uniformity of the four elements of pulpit, gates, reredos and reading desk to be explored. The first photographic responses then centred on the juxtaposition of these key elements by testing the relationship between viewpoint, scale and light (plates 32, 33 & 34). A central viewpoint was considered the most appropriate, to emphasise the planal design of the pulpit, gates/statues and reading desk, which act as a single wall. These three features of the divide, which form a screen in themselves, are provided with a backdrop - the reredos. The polaroids of two tests (plates 32 & 33) illustrate how the central section could be photographed using a longer focal length lens than the outer images in order to increase the dominance of the reredos, the effect of which has been to increase the scale of the central section of the triptych against the two elements either side. (Plate 32 used a 210mm

lens, while plate 33 used an equivalent of 240mm). Using this technique of separating the elements in the triptych and manipulating the perspective enabled one form of accentuation of the central section. The second possibility, and that which was eventually chosen, was to remain with the same focal length of lens for all three images and enlarge the central negative to a greater extent than the outer images (plate 34). The benefit of this third strategy was the ability to increase the dimensions of the central image, reflecting the influence of the triptych in the design of the reredos. The reredos can be seen to have a taller central section with the significant iconographic narratives which are flanked by shorter sides. In the earlier tests (plates 32 & 33) increasing the presence of the reredos by length of lens meant that the outer dimensions of the images remained constant, reducing the significance of the triptych form. The eventual methodology chosen for St David's has manipulated the spatial relationships in order to emphasise that the reredos dominated the divide at this position in the interior.

An additional device by which the relationship between these elements was interpreted was through the use of light. The natural light of the building was such that the windows of the north and south aisles and the west window produced the illumination for the pulpit, gates and reading desk. The reredos is lit in part by the windows in the sanctuary. As there are no windows in the chancel, the ambient light naturally segregates the elements of chancel divide, the chancel itself and the sanctuary. For the final triptych (plate 34) flashlight was used to reduce the dark wood of the soundboard of the pulpit, so as to retain its shape and detail, but otherwise the choir and clergy stalls in the chancel were left deliberately dark in order for the focus of attention to remain on the juxtaposition of the foreground to that of the sanctuary.

Although the technological methodology chosen for this project has been constant and uniform in that the silver-based chemical process was used throughout and the large format camera became the tool used for producing the negatives, the ability to develop an additional level of interpretation has been possible due not only to the use of light but also to the enlargement process and control of the visual composition. This pattern of creative interpretation became evident throughout the development of this typological section of work, enhancing the individual characteristics of the churches. In moving away from the free assemblage of the Shaldon diptych to the geometric composites of Babbacombe and Torquay and to the triptych at Exeter, the final images have ultimately used highly individual

methodologies of visual and conceptual photographic language to interpret the architectural language of the interior.

This typological section develops the understanding of the individual characteristics of each interior both in terms of the physicalities of space, decoration and materials, as wells as the identity of the architectural concepts used for dealing with a fundamentally symbolic facet in the nineteenth century Anglican church design that is the divide between the nave and the chancel/ sanctuary. The section has shown the common purpose underlying the individual interpretations. From the simplicity of St Andrew's to the monumentalism of St Peter's, the divide retained a strategic place in the order of worship and the architectural expression.
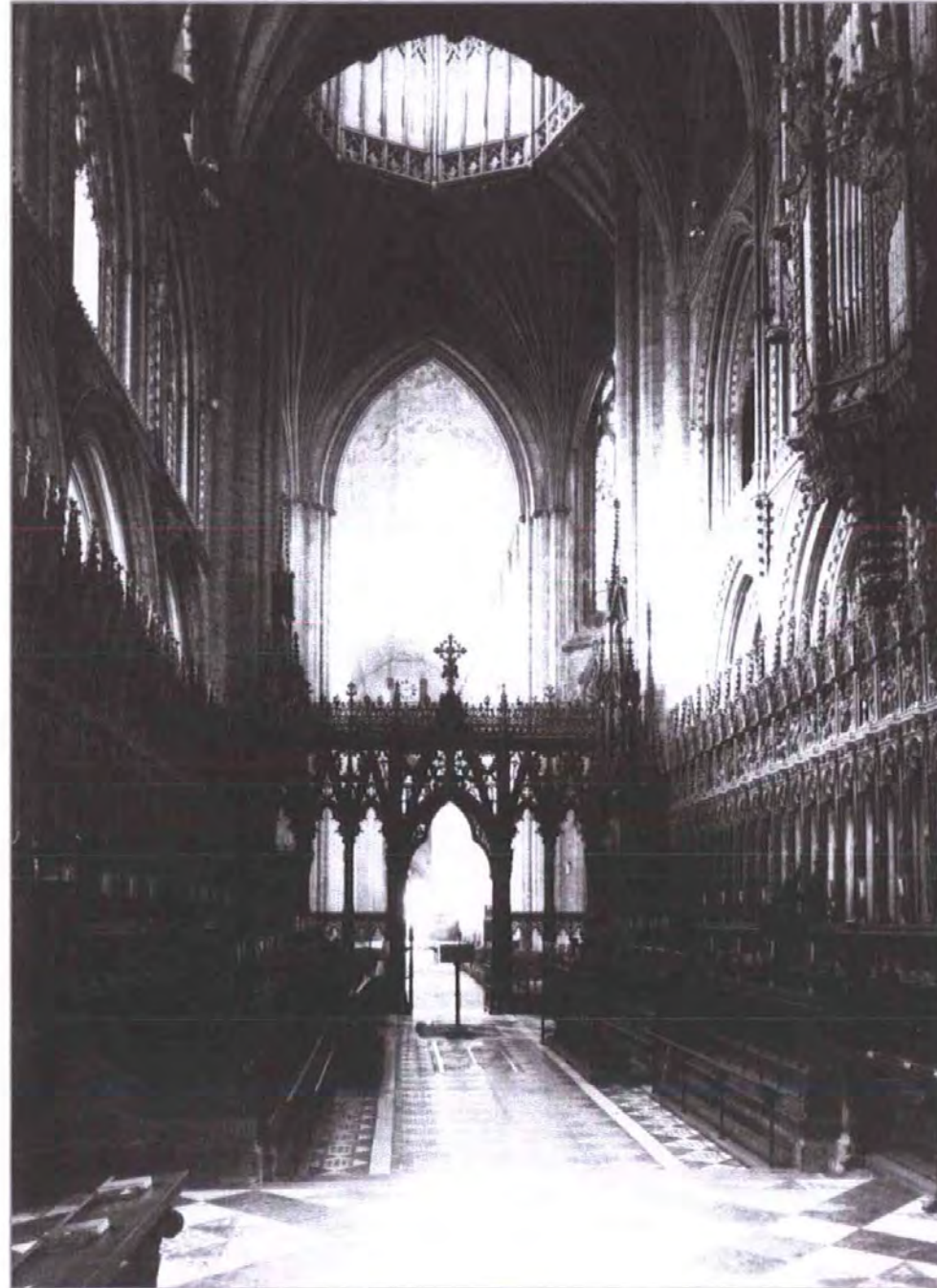
Figure 46

Left   The choir and screen at Ely Cathedral by Edwin Smith

Below   The choir and screen at St Peter's, Shaldon

Plate 20

5"x 4" Polaroid
The first photographic record
of this dominant feature of
St Peter's, Shaldon

Shot using a long lens
(240mm) from half-way down
the nave

Plate 21

First colour assemblage
Using a medium format
camera, daylight balanced film
(with the artificial lights of the
church) and moving closer to
the screen provided an
explosion of dynamic colour
and perspective

Plate 22

Left   The interior with little additional lighting   *Middle*   The use of the tungsten light in the chapel   *Right*   The variety of interior lights

Plate 23 *Left*

Final test on 5"x 4" Polaroid to confirm viewpoint and to consider
lighting and issues of contrast. From this image the alterations to the
building could also be confirmed (such as removal of carpet)

Plate 23 *Right*

The reverse view, highlighting the issues of contrast and exposure control
needed for the final assemblage.

Plate 24

Plate 25

Plate 26 St John's, Torquay
Plate 27

Plate 28 All Saints, Babbacombe
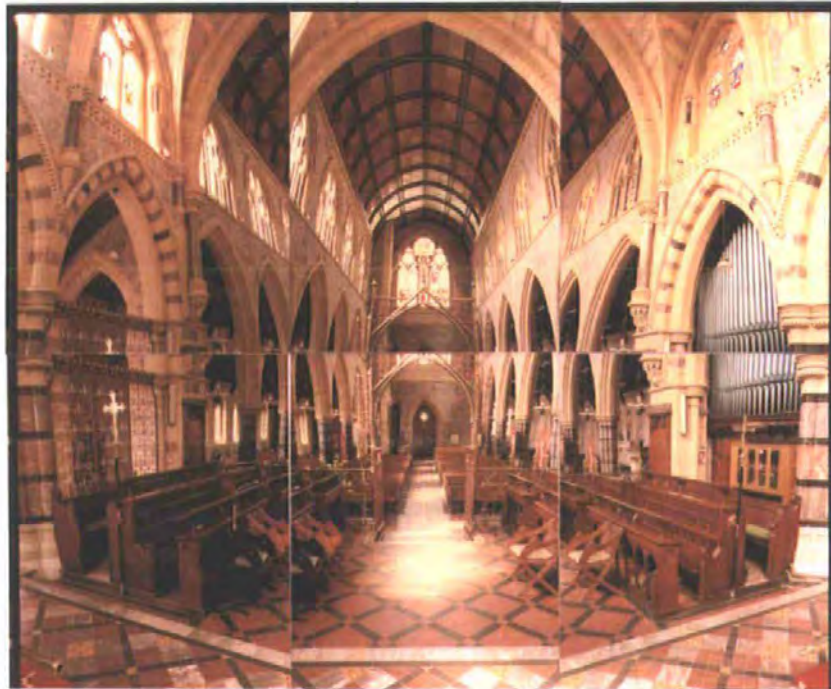
Plate 29 The brass gates at Babbacombe
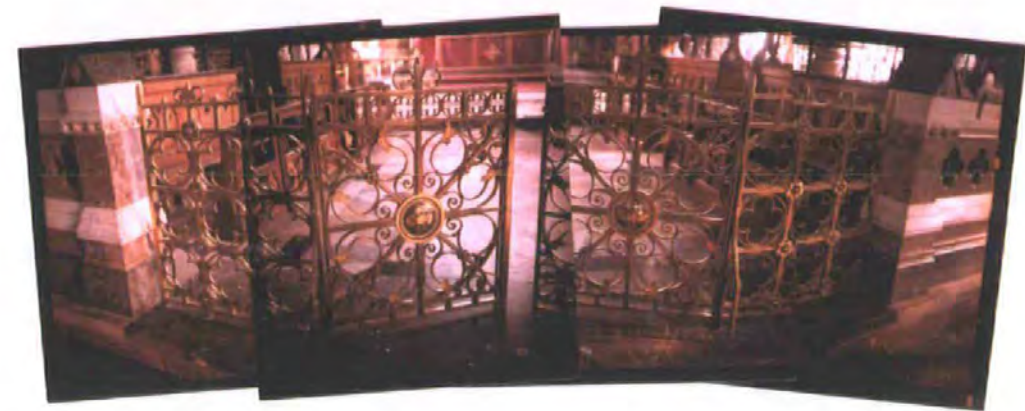
Plate 30 The final image assemblage of the screen at All Saints, Babbacombe

Plate 31   The final image of the screen at St John's, Torquay

Plate 32 *Top*   The first Polaroid test of the divide at St David's, Exeter, using a 210mm lens for the central image in conjunction with a 180mm lens for the side images

Plate 33 *Lower*   This second test used a 240mm lens in the centre, to increase even further the scale of the reredos
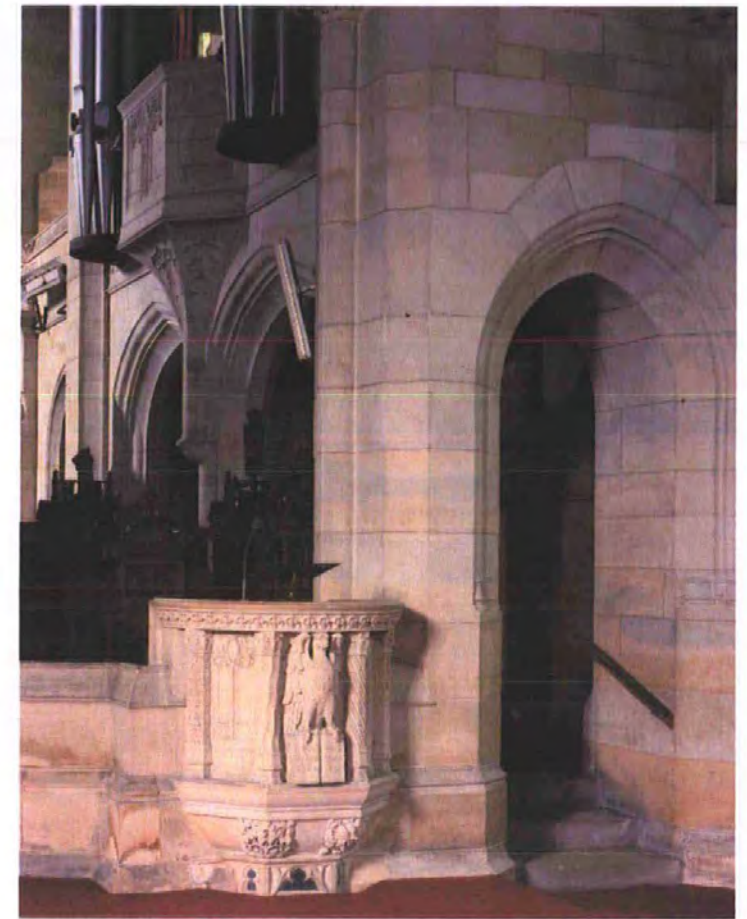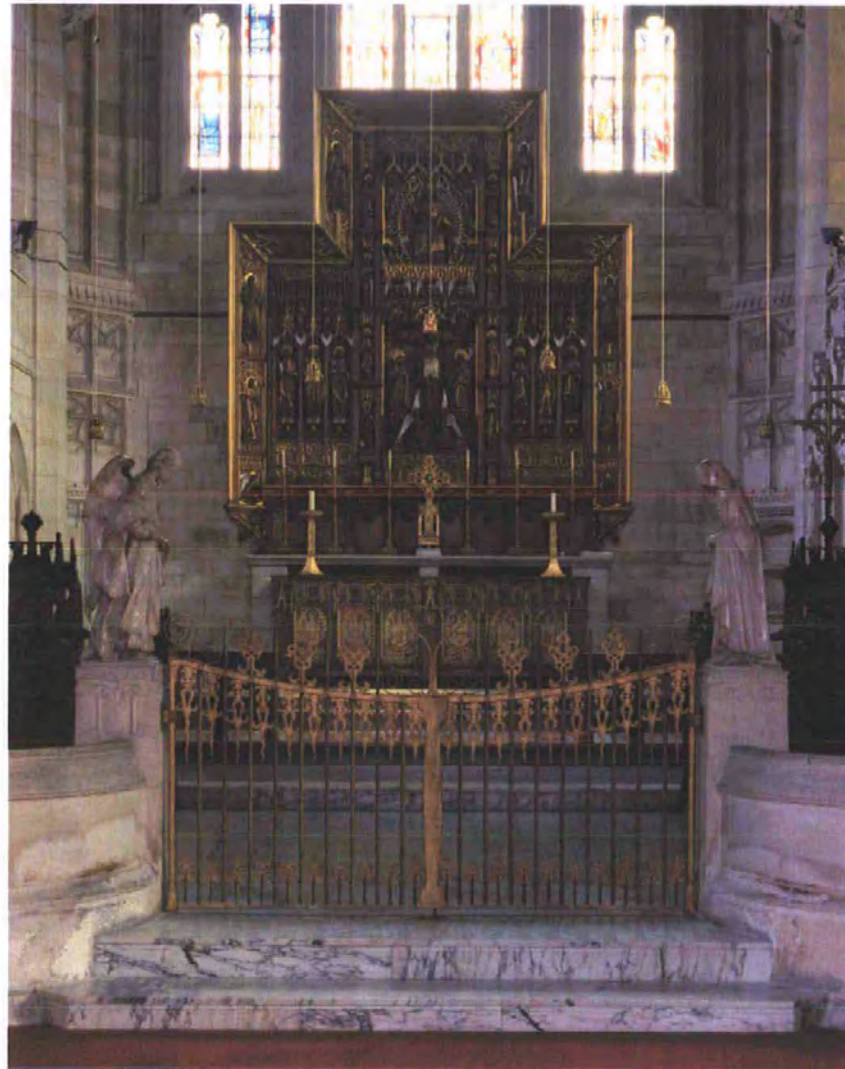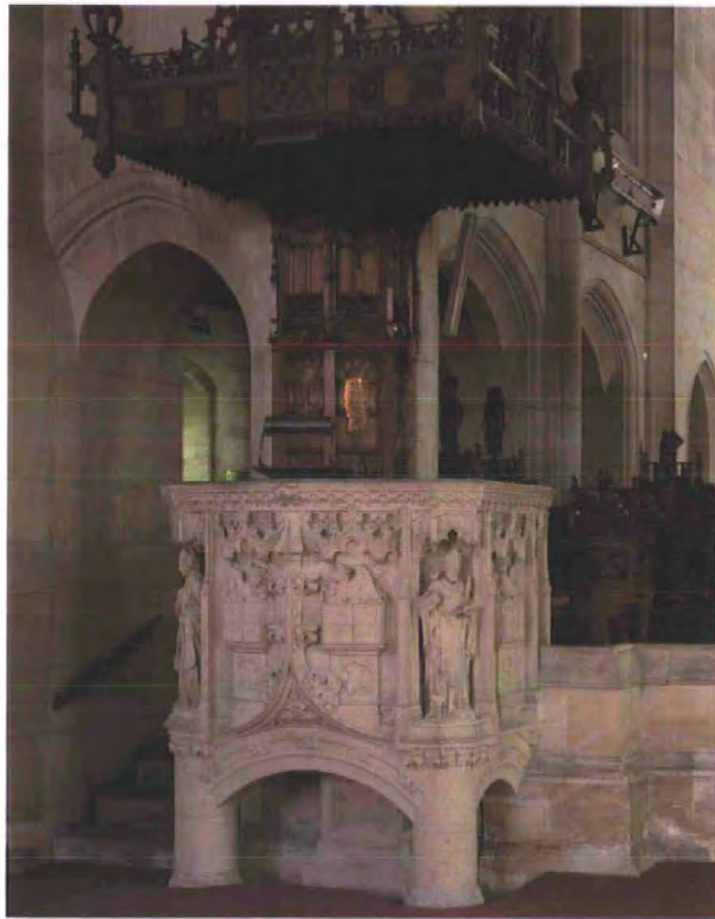
Plate 34
The final triptych of the divide at St David's, Exeter

The Photographic Works
The Sanctuary as Visual & Conceptual Focus

During the development of The Interior Panoramas it became clear that the emphasis placed on the sanctuary was of paramount importance in the understanding of these buildings. In the texts referred to in Section 2.1 it has been established that clearing a visual pathway through to the altar and the heightened use of the chancel and sanctuary were important developments in Anglican church design during the nineteenth century. When visiting the churches selected for study and in beginning a photographic exploration it became clear that there was a greater significance in the symbolic nature of these particular areas of ritual; greater than those historically explored through the established written accounts of nineteenth century architecture and ritual.

The sanctuary has been established as a visual focus, with the liturgical elements of pulpit and reading desk being placed to the sides of the building to allow for a clear view to the altar. This visual emphasis has been well established both in text terms by historians, as well as in photographic terms by photographers as seen in figure 47. This clearly and effectively illustrates the detail and physical presence of this sanctuary at All Saints', Margaret Street, London. It is a single image in isolation and is used in the traditional photographic role as illustration to historians' written description

of this famous church. There could be countless examples of this method of photographic treatment throughout the history of photography used to make this point, where the documentary image works very well.[28] What has not effectively been disseminated up until now is the spiritual nature of the sanctuary in any other way than dry textual analysis. Taking the sanctuary at St David's, Exeter as an exemplar, the significance of the photographic methodologies can be established.

A useful parallel can be drawn here to the development of the diptych of the screen at St Peter's, Shaldon, as described in Section 4.2. The attempt to interpret the reredos at St David's provided an opportunity to attempt a similar approach to that used in Shaldon and which had provided the initial possibilities of the photographic methodology of 'the physical manifestation of spiritual ideology'. What was seen to be a successful representation of one building was initially thought to be a possibility for a positive solution in another. A series of photographic explorations were then made in an attempt to replicate the composite methodology used on the Shaldon screen (plate 35). This initial image at St David's failed to effectively represent the symbolic focus of the reredos and altar. It became immediately clear from an analysis of these first results that the sanctuary would require an alternative method of representation, the reredos being a solid object against a wall. The nature of the position of the reredos and its focus was very different to that of the 'walk-through' divide of the screen.

Further tests then centred on the importance of the representation of the iconographic symbolism in the reredos and altar using alternative lighting strategies (plates 36, 37 & 38). These experiments provided a key element to the eventual interpretation of this feature. When in the building the use of additional lighting (plate 36) appeared to create a greater clarity of definition than the ambient daylight illumination.[29] Two variations, one adding extra light to the altar, were produced in order to see how this aided the presence of the sculptures (plate 37). The effects of the additional light indeed highlighted the detail of the figures but, detrimentally, the representation of the three-dimensionality of the whole screen was reduced. Due to the position of the lights the wall behind the reredos was bleached by excessive overspill which again destroyed the presence of this ornate feature. As these images were being shot however the sunlight became stronger and the direction of which was seen to be moving steadily towards the altar.

A third attempt was then made using only the ambient daylight (plate 38). The effects of the light in this image were instantly more successful. The relief of the carving was enhanced, as was the concave nature of the design achieved by Caröe's use of tapered edges - a feature completely destroyed by the artificial lights. The presence of the cross placed directly over the altar was also significantly enhanced. It is seen to stand proud of the dark backdrop of the base of the reredos, the golden colour and the coloured jewels shining in the centre of the image. The gold painting on the altar panels likewise were radiant in this image rather than dull and flat in appearance as in the previous tests.

The most dramatic effect was in the revealing of the two main iconographic sections of the reredos. The path that the sunlight had taken had fallen directly on these two crucial elements of the design of the reredos. The images were taken towards midday in December, the test shots for which had highlighted the direction and height of the sun at this time of year. The exposure of the photograph seen in plate 38 took several minutes. This allowed the sun to move across the reredos and highlight a greater area than would be perceived at any one time with the naked eye. What had ultimately been revealed through the photographic methodology was an interpretation of the symbolic significance of the iconography in being central to the position and presence of the reredos in the sanctuary and in the church as a whole. The revelation was a heightened appreciation of the two central iconographic panels which display two of the most significant narratives in Christian belief. The photograph has been constructed as an image of enlightenment; Christ in ascended majesty seated on the throne of heaven over the sacrifice of crucifixion below - activated through illumination.

The final representation of the sanctuary extended this phenomenon by increasing the presence of the reredos and altar in the production of a triptych (plate 39). This has confirmed the focus both by providing a central image with two accompanying side images, as well as increasing the relative scale of the central section. Although the final scale could not be resolved prior to the knowledge of the specifics of the exhibition venue (as was the case at this time), as with the photographic representations of the screen at St Peter's, Shaldon, the sanctuary image at St David's would be a large scale print. It was therefore decided to photograph the final image on the 10"x 8" plate camera that was used at Shaldon.[30]

The eventual methodologies employed in the construction of all the sanctuary photographs have again actively drawn on the use of the triptych. Due to the effective nature of the sanctuary being a room without a front wall, three image frames break up the space in a logical manner - left-side, back and right-side. The use of the triptych was not just a logical configuration for photographic purposes however. Because the sanctuary was a room consisting of an end wall and two sides, the architect had very little alternative but to use this configuration to house elements of architectural design concerned with ritual practice. Therefore a sedilia for example could be conveniently housed in the south-side wall so that the officiating clergy could reside there until required to move to relevant parts of the sanctuary. A piscina could also be placed conveniently to the altar for preparation at the Eucharist.

Although initially seeming simple in construction, the development of the individual triptychs in this typological section contain subtle but significant individual variations in their final form. While using a uniform method of interpretation the structural changes across the individual triptychs have been made from a direct response to the architectural structure of each building, so that the relationship between the central section to that of its sides became of paramount

concern. Photographic structures of representations of scale, proportion and vertical/horizontal configuration have all been used to reflect the architects use of the same devices. Subsequently the forms of triptych have varied accordingly. For example, the central section of the triptych of St David's, Exeter uses a greater scale and a vertical format for its central image, whereas All Saints', Babbacombe provided an equal vertical scale across the triptych but a horizontal configuration for the image of the altar and reredos. The variations of structure can be understood using the following comparisons:
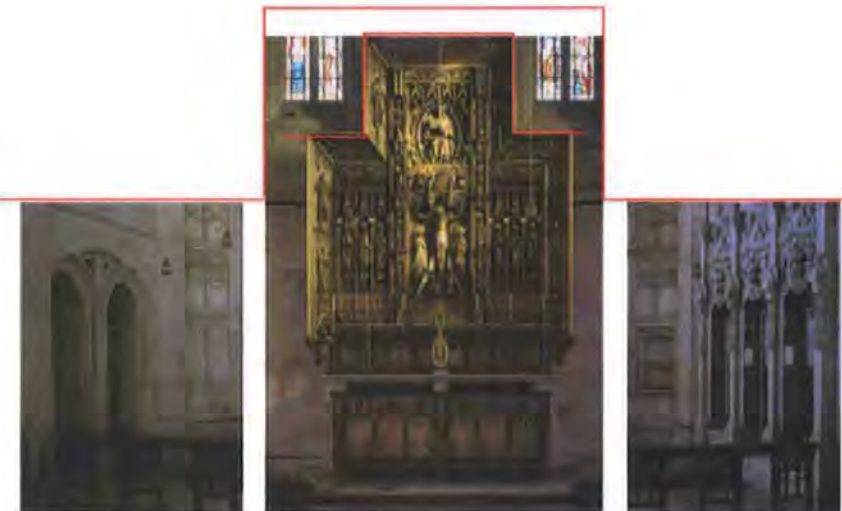
St David's, Exeter

St Andrew's. Exwick

St John's, Torquay

All Saints', Babbacombe

The sanctuary designed by William Butterfield at All Saints', Babbacombe relied on different sources for its impact as focus to the building (plate 40) to that of St David's described previously. In utilising the High Victorian devices of colour, pattern and material throughout the building to provide visual stimulus, Butterfield developed the use of colour and decoration throughout the building, reaching its height in the sanctuary. In photographing the sanctuary at Babbacombe, the area was divested of all moveable objects apart from the candlesticks, crucifix and Bishop's Throne. This rationalisation of the space heightens Butterfield's particular use of constructional polychromy. The ornateness has been revealed in terms of colour, material and juxta-position of pattern. The walls contain a strong horizontal movement forming a striped pattern due to the banding of the materials. This has been placed in conjunction with a geometric design in the lighter marble floor. The subse-quent visual interference creates an alternative form of activation to that of the symbolic form seen in the previous example. At St David's the activation has been manifested through light. At All Saints', Babbacombe, it has been increased by stripping the space to reveal the underlying use of colour, material and pattern; surface design solutions and devoid of any symbolic reference other than the mosaic panels above the altar.[31]

The sanctuary at St John's, Torquay (plate 41) was photographed in direct comparison to that of All Saints', Babbacombe. The two churches have been closely linked throughout the research due to their architects' shared preference of constructional polychromy. The individual nature to the treatment of this device by the architects was however particularly evident in the details of the sanctuary. The symmetry of Street's sanctuary at Torquay was clearly manifested in the use and number of recessed mosaic panels, the uniformity of pillar and arch height, the lack of distinct seating for the clergy in the form of a sedilia and even the use of alternate shades of coloured marble in the pillars around the side and back walls. The even light and uniform banding of the gilt carving on the end wall produced a horizontal emphasis to this part of the interior. The altar was given emphasis in Torquay through its placement two levels above the floor whereas at Babbacombe, even though there are two steps up to the altar, the first rise in height stretches the whole width of the sanctuary, in turn creating a sense of space around the altar. Prominence has also been given to the altar at Babbacombe through the breaking of the horizontal line of foliated carving along the back wall with a taller reredos. As discussed previously the increase in scale of the central print of this triptych became an important part of the resolution of this interpretation of

the sanctuary. Likewise at Torquay the relationship between the central and side panels has been critically controlled to reflect the nature of the design, with the height of the horizontal lines being kept uniform across the width of view. Possibly as a consequence of the proximity of the adjacent buildings to the east end of St John's, Street had to consider the proportion of the sanctuary to that of the chancel and the nave. The pillars at the edges of the triptych have therefore also been included to emphasise the shallower depth of Street's sanctuary, which feels compressed compared to that of the relative vastness of Butterfield's treatment of the same area at Babbacombe.

The sanctuary at Shaldon has not been selected for interpretation in this typological section as it had not been constructed as a visual and conceptual focus to the building. The altar of St Peter's was not seen as the focus, but it was the act of transfiguration after receiving the sacraments at Eucharist, as discussed in Section 4.2 previously. However, the sanctuary at Exwick has formed the final image of this typology and the exhibition (plate 42). In returning to the earliest church and using the same methodology of the triptych at St Andrew's, Exwick, the whole sequence of imagery has been brought back to the earliest example of the developments in ecclesiological and architectural

demands. The radical nature of Exwick stands out in comparison to the churches which were built much later, but which did not break new ground with the same intensity. The 'daring stone altar' referred to in Section 2.2 was clearly as ornate as anything that was produced subsequently. The methodology used at Exwick to interpret the focus of this sanctuary provided a particular challenge that was unique to this church, in being considerably smaller than any of the later churches. The resultant triptych reflected the use of materials and the developments in usage within the influence of the ecclesiologists, the primarily stone construction in the 1840s being embellished by the addition of mosaics in the 1870s for example. The relative scale and prominence of the altar and reredos become particularly evident, as they can be seen to occupy the total end wall space. The altar stands clearly defined in the centre of the frame, lighter in tonality and richly carved. The significance of the major doctrinal change in the use of, the construction of, and the terminology of 'the altar' finalising the journey through the church.

Just as the sanctuary is a visual and conceptual focus of the building that concludes the journey to the altar, so these photographs have become a visual and conceptual focus in the project and a conclusion to the journey through the

argument. It was at this stage that the possibility of using the exhibition as a way of further exploring the questions regarding location and relocation became evident and the conceptual significance of the journey to the construction and interpretation of the photographs began to take shape.
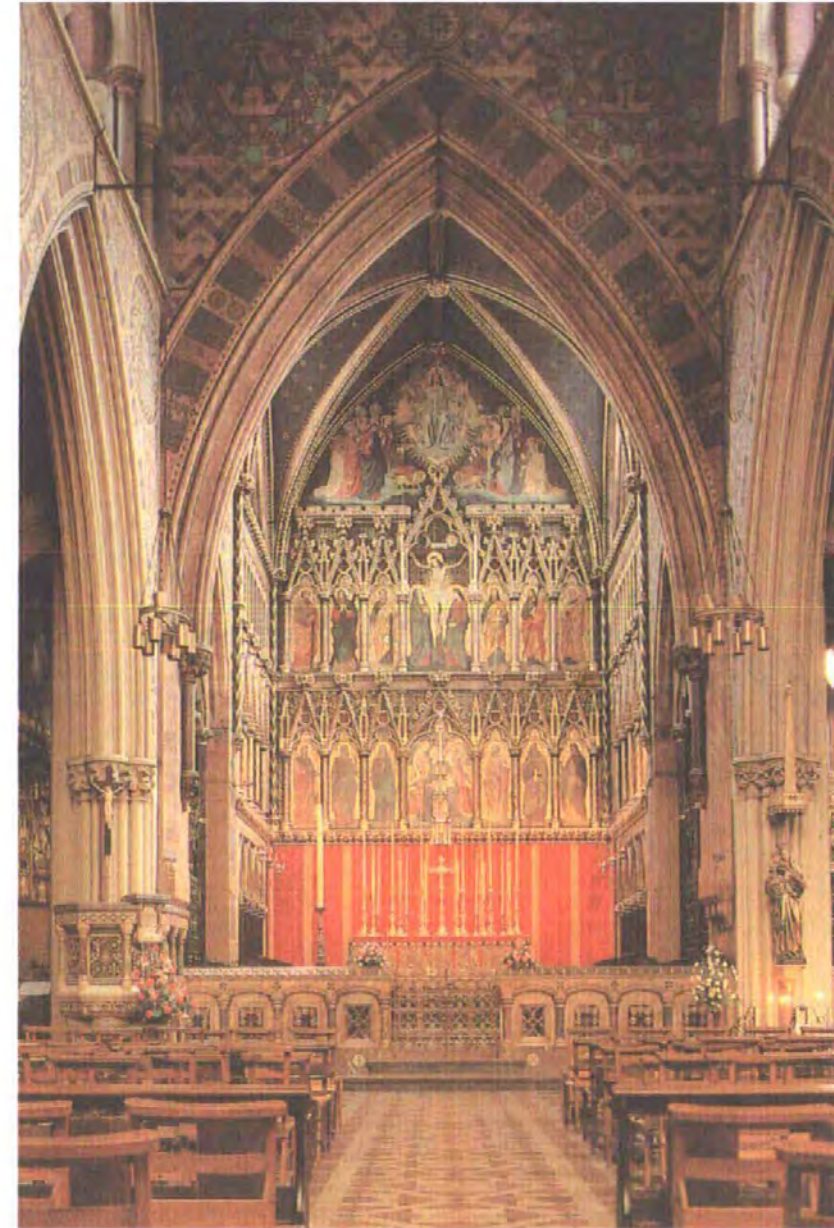
Figure 47   All Saints' Margaret Street, London
            William Butterfield
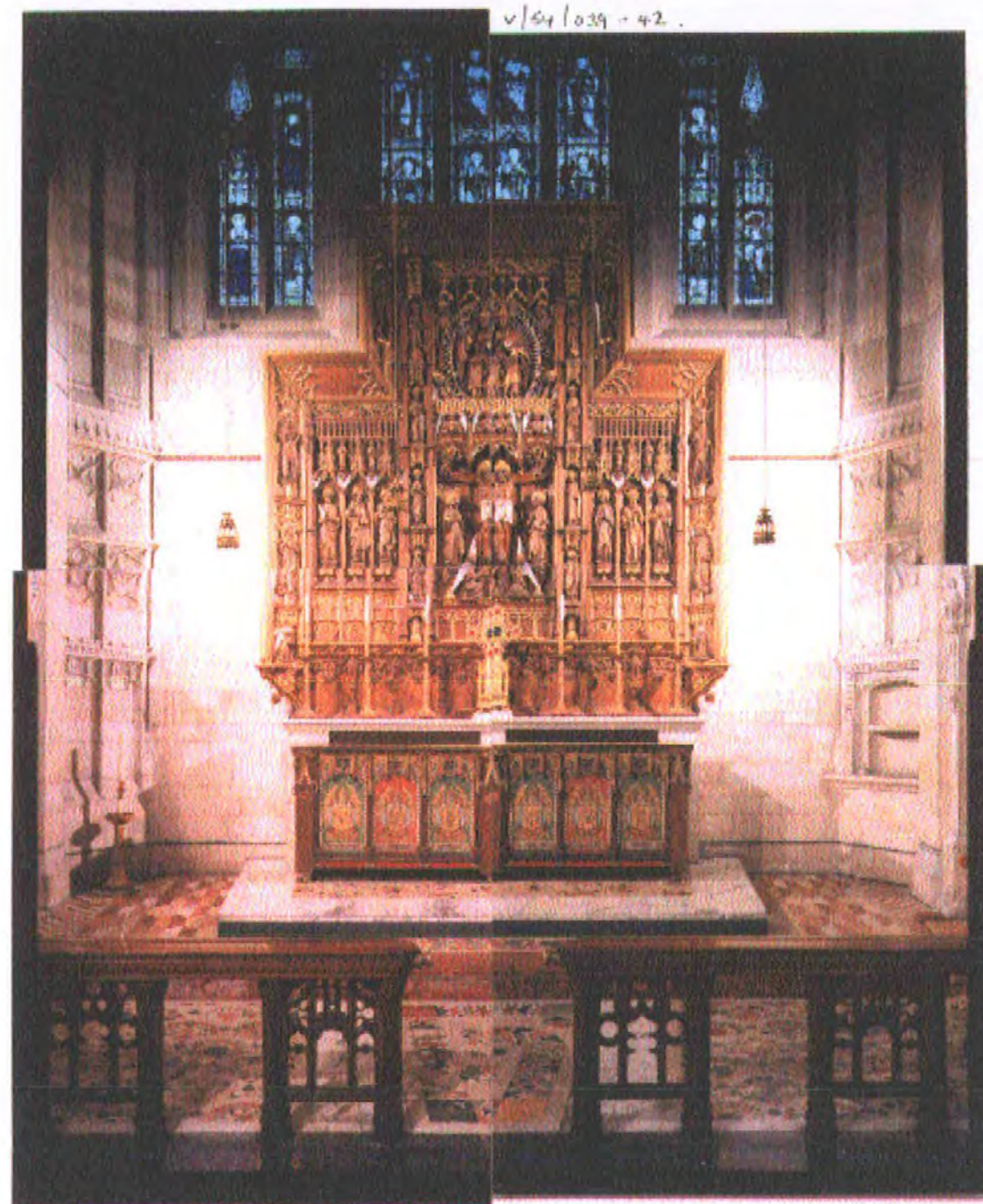
Plate 35   The reredos of St David's, Exeter.
An attempt to replicate the methodology ussed for the Shaldon
screen diptych

Plate 36

The reredos lit by the church spotlights

Plate 37

Additional light on the altar panels

Plate 38

Daylight illumination only
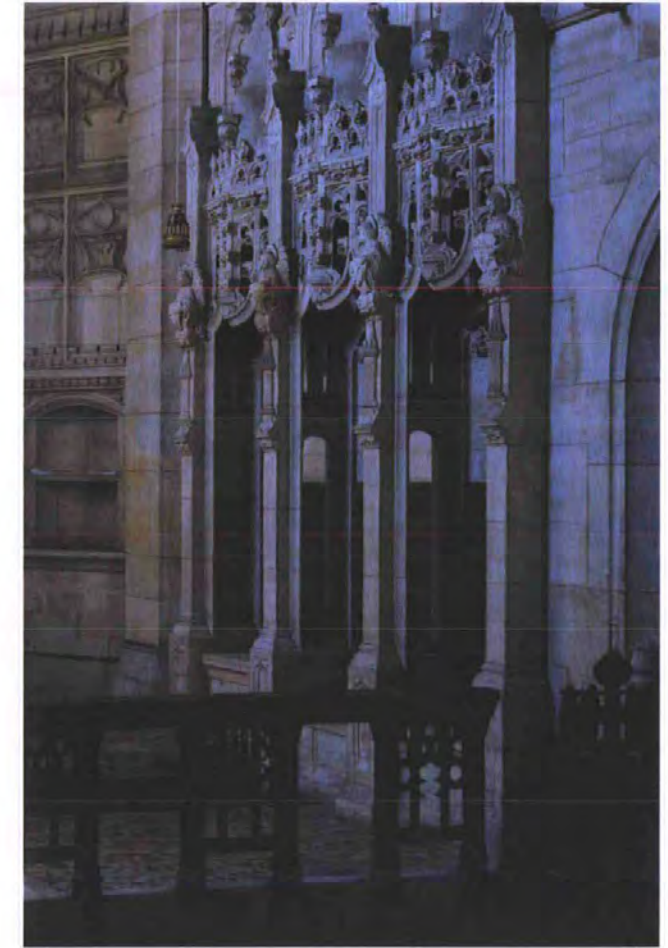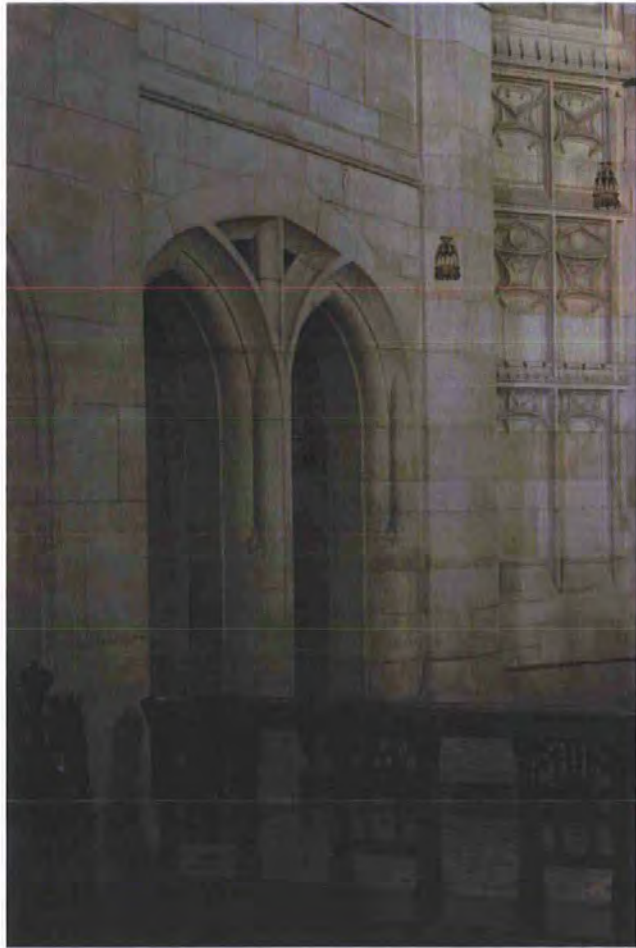
Plate 39

The final triptych of the sanctuary at St David's, Exeter
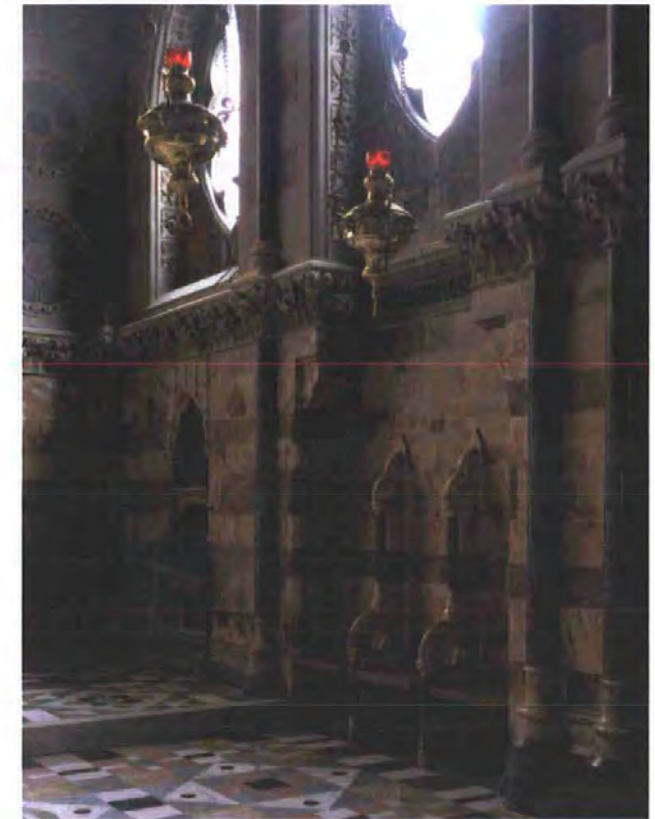
Plate 40

The sanctuary at All Saints', Babbacombe 1865-74
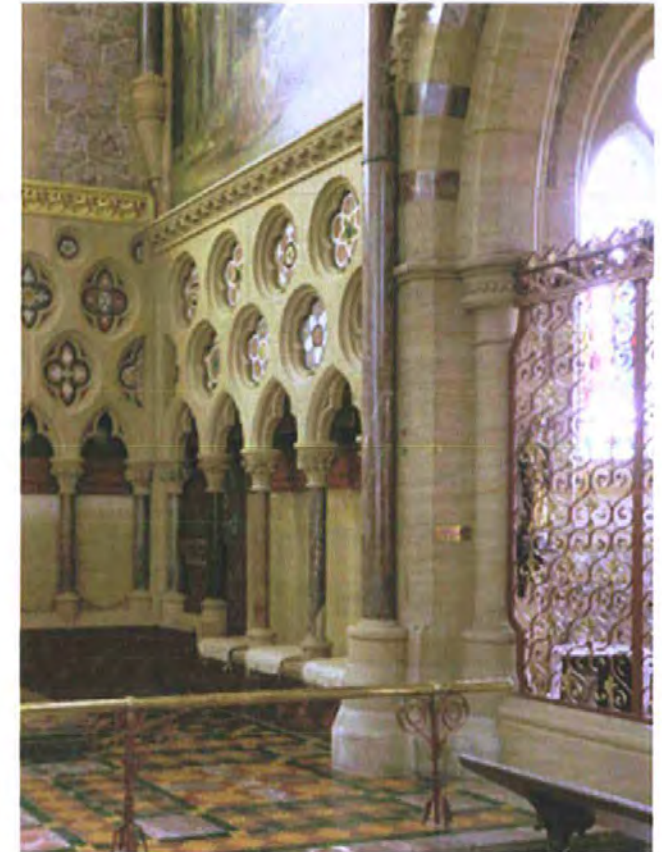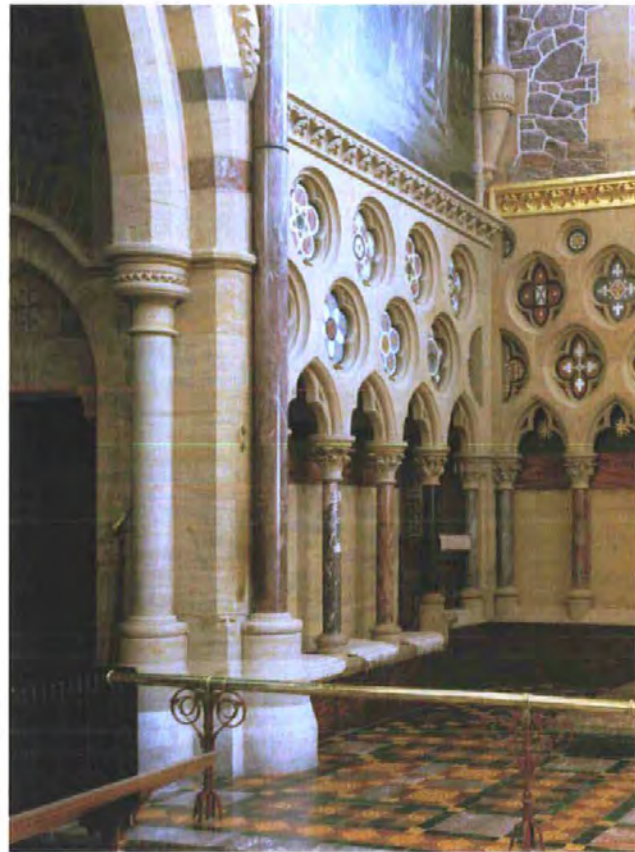
Plate 41

The sanctuary at St John's, Torquay 1863-81
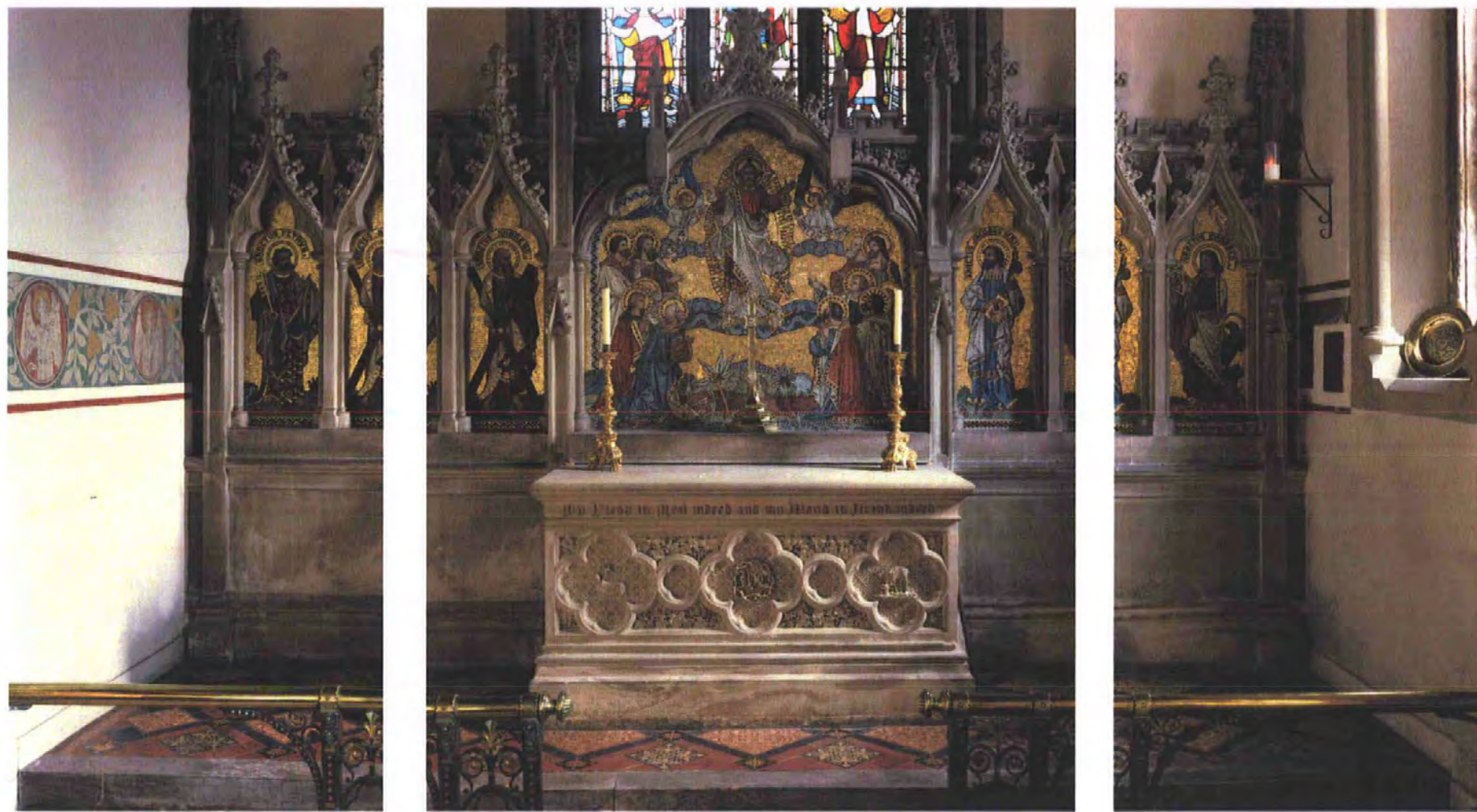
Plate 42

The sanctuary at St Andrew's, Exwick 1841

Section 4.1

1   It should be stressed that the copies are used here as exemplars only. They are scanned from the negatives and digitally printed for the purposes of this document. The final photographic works will ultimately be viewed in exhibition form in St David's Church, Exeter

2   On entering any church in the late twentieth century a visitor is faced with a large amount of contemporary paraphernalia such as noticeboards, guide books, Parish Magazines, or childrens toys and books in a specially designated and carpeted Sunday School area. It became important to reconstruct a sense of order in each interior that would prevent any unnecessary visual distractions of ancillary, contemporary aspects of the use of the building. A reordering and 'cleaning up' process was therefore instigated. Through simple techniques such as the removal of surplus items and the repositioning of pews it became possible to move closer to the original configuration of the building, as discussed in the Introduction. This procedure has a long, well documented history

   See Beaumont Newhall, *Frederick H. Evans: Photographer of the Majesty of Light and Space of the Medieval Cathedrals of England and France*, Aperture Monograph, 1973, p12. The anecdote given by the author talks of Evans's battle with the staff at Ely Cathedral in trying to reorganise the interior, even to the extent eventually of the removal of the gas fixtures, which were all replaced in time for the Sunday offices

3   Again Exwick did not figure in this study to begin with, as little evidence was available to interpret. The importance of this aspect of the inclusion or otherwise of this church is referred to again later in this section

4   In recent years photographers such as Tim McMillan have taken some of the principles described in the above examples and developed new strategies for producing panoramic forms of image. One such development was made from the principle of the opposing movement of film and exposure, where instead of producing an image from a fixed tripod position, McMillan built a camera which allowed him to move horizontally in front of his subject, the effect of which was a remarkably different rendering of space (and time). The method he used was mechanical and operated manually, the effect of which was a distorted and variably exposed image

5   The large format 5x4 monorail camera was ultimately chosen as the most versatile system for this work. With the appropriate use of focus, depth of field and lighting to reduce contrast, the ability to see the fine details of almost any aspect of the interior become greater than that of the human eye even if standing in the building itself

    These technical difficulties are not new. There is an interesting example of a nineteenth century photographer's battle with just these problems - an

image by Edouard Baldus of the cloister at St Trophîme where a single final image was made up of ten different negatives due to the technical limitations of the medium is referred to in Chapter 3 (see also figures 43 &44)

6 The choice of viewpoint in plate 1 was also dictated by the addition to the church of a north aisle in the 1870s. Placing the camera on the north side of the sanctuary allowed the aisle to be hidden. The organ and the west gallery could not be avoided

7 In St Andrew's Exwick it has not been possible to provide the same level of comparison, as the twentieth century changes throughout the nave and chancel are extensive. In photographing this particular building the choice of methodology remained the same due to the necessity for a systematic approach to the representation of the interior. Any variations in the methodology due to the individuality of a building would have destroyed the form of comparative study

8 Even on a bright day this chapel is extremely dark. Whatever time of day or year, additional light would always be necessary

9 The Reverend Marsh Marsh-Dunn gave the land for the building of the church that was the garden to his property. The church was eventually designed to fit almost the whole length of this land

10 Flashlight has been used still in a number of the west facing triptychs, the intention being to control light for the purposes of the technology used, rather than to alter the visual appearance of the available light

11 G E Street, the architect at Torquay, had a similar problem to deal with at St John's as Sedding did at Shaldon. To the east end of Street's church was a tall building. He had to consider the scale and design of the east window in order to let enough light in to illuminate the chancel and sanctuary

12 This would certainly have been one of the qualities that the Cambridge Camden Society found particularly pleasing

13 More details of this part of Shaldon's design history can be found in Section 2.2

14 The use of Devon limestone was not Caröe's original choice. When he submitted competition plans for the church he outlined the use of Bath limestone. James Brooks, the competition judge, proposed Caröe's plans on the condition that Devon limestone was used, with Bath used for the carved work. This was agreed by the architect

15 Scale of representation is obviously a critical issue in the photographic works. It must be understood that certain points discussed in this thesis will not be fully realised until the final prints are seen in the format of

the exhibition. Suffice-it-to-say that the scale of print ultimately used for The Interior Panoramas required the images to be closely scrutinised but not at the expense of being able to be cross referenced effectively

16   Any documentary list of features could go on and would develop if made by different writers who had alternative specialist knowledge: the stylistic influences could be outlined; the iconographic references could be discussed in all the stalls. It should be restated here that this project is not concerned with the significance of every individual object in its own right - it is concerned with how the details work within and form the whole

17   Remembering that the nave at Babbacombe had to be adapted after the completion of the church as it caused great problems (hence the pierced roof lights) confirms this theory

Section 4.2

18   The tests seen in plate 22 had been undertaken on a medium format camera using a relatively small depth of field, the consequences of which were that on enlargement the images very quickly became blurred, reducing the visual impact. It was also evident that the images would greatly benefit from the effective render ing of the intricate details that are a feature of this building

19   In the first of the two final images (plate 24) there were several alterations required to the interior of the

building before the final images could be produced. For example the blue carpet in front of the screen was removed, as was excess clutter from the choir stalls and organ console. When the fabric of the building was ready, the photographic process of translating the symbolism of the screen into a photographic image could take place

20   Battery powered units often have to be used when power cables cannot be hidden from the view of the camera lens. This was the case for the two flash units in the nave arches

21   160 ASA Type L film, which is balanced to tungsten light, has been used throughout this project as it is extremely stable over long exposure times. An 85b filter then has to be used in order to correct the colour temperature back to that of daylight, the effects of which are a relative film speed of 32ASA

22   This was a particularly fraught experience, as half-way through one of the latter exposures of the series of six, the batteries of one of the units failed. If one of the negatives was not correctly exposed, the whole series would be useless. You cannot return to shoot one mistake at a later date as the amount of and quality of light is very difficult to replicate exactly, especially considering that the whole image takes many hours to set up and shoot. The only solution was to replace the batteries. This required leaving the church, visiting the local store in the village and returning with the

batteries before the exposure had to be terminated!

23   These effects in the direction and quality of light in the separate images can cause problems when printing the images, as change in time of day and quality of light alters the colour temperature of the light. This has to be compensated for in each of the sections when finally printing

24   The film used, when combined with an 85b filter, is balanced to 5500° Kelvin (calculated to be that of sun light at midday on a summer's day). Therefore no adverse colour shifts would take place using this form of additional light

25   This use of colour temperature as an aesthetic metaphor is similar to that used in map design for example, where yellow, orange and red are used to indicate warm climates

26   The building is highlighted in many of the histories on churches in Devon as having a notably coherent and complete iconographic programme that runs through out the interior. All the figurative work for example is carefully planned in reference to its placement and inclusion in the overall plan of the building. This is well illustrated in a booklet that was produced by the Revd C V French, the incumbent at the time, which describes the figurative references in the chancel stalls

27   This ideology was drawn from the medieval cathedral where iconography was used to teach. The idea was to enlighten the illiterate masses through the glories of visual scriptural narrative and to stimulate the senses through the splendours and richness of light and colour

Section 4.3

28   See also the figures accompanying Chapter 3

29   The reredos was gilded in the 1930s, some thirty years after the original designs were drawn by Caröe. In Jennifer Freeman's biography of Caröe *W D Caröe: his architectural achievement*, Manchester, 1984) she states that the architect self-financed a number of developments in the building. It is not stated whether the gilding of the reredos was part of this work, but it would seem probable that the painting was an attempt to reveal more of its sculptural content and therefore enhance the focus of this important interior feature

30   This was to create significant problems in that the number of sunny days when the height of the sun was in the right position in any one year are limited. In fact a whole year passed between the first attempt and the production of the final negative

31   Many comparisons can be drawn between the images in this, or indeed any, section but not all can be written about within the thesis of a research through practice project. The purpose of the text of this thesis is to disseminate the main issues within the research, which can be extended during the examination process. In this case, the final exhibition

While the photographic strategies have been used to re-establish the original purposes of the designs, it is evident that a far greater emphasis has been placed on the interpretive function of the photographs than on their use as documentary evidence. The photographs are both records and interpretations which allow for a complementary examination to that which can take place on site. The photographs have allowed for the interpretation of space, form, style, material and decoration through selective representation that have used physical viewpoint to embody symbolic and conceptual viewpoint. This has made it possible for the images to be used as signifiers of the debate on the functionalism of the architecture, clarifying the visual expression and revealing what would otherwise be hidden.

The typological sections of the work utilised systematic methodologies in their representation of the architectural functionalism which, in the images of the divide and the focus of the sanctuary, established individual responses to each church. However, across all the work the same technological methods of production in the use of large format colour negative materials have been used. This visual evidence has then been manipulated by changing compositional and proportional relationships through the image

resolution in print form. In this way greater or lesser importance has been placed on the architectural features, as the critical argument has drawn on the evidence of the photographs as primary research material.

As already explained, the direct influence of architectural photographers such as Frederick H Evans and to a lesser extent Edwin Smith is undeniable. The position of self-expression as a powerful intellectual and aesthetic form of production, deriving symbolism through the direct observation of ecclesiastical subject matter, has produced a body of work which has re-addressed the frequently overlooked architectural language of spiritual identity. Specifically within the history of architectural photography the images have been developed as methods of presentation and representation that have not been attempted within the visualisation of ecclesiastical architecture.

Reflecting on the photographic methodologies used in this research project, it has become increasingly clear that the use of the photographs as visual discourse has taken the strategies close to the practices and objectives of the commercial studio work that first emerged in the 1920s. At a time when increasing use was being made of photographs in advertising, in an essay 'Photography for Publicity - E O

Hoppe's Posters', (*Commercial Art*, vol 1, New Series, July 1926), C Maxwell Tregurtha talked about the staged photograph that would go beyond simple representation. It would embellish, it would have action, for it was "not what a picture shows but what thoughts it generates that matters".[1] Whether it has been as visual text or icon, the photographs of this enquiry are similarly concerned with the visual communication of ideas.

The detailed analytical scrutiny and the reduction of architectural scale into a two-dimensional pictorial scale has allowed a visual comparison of each interior to take place. It has also made it possible to perceive architectural space as a harmony of fragments. Through the comparative analysis, these elements have been highlighted in a way that provides a clearer indication of the nature of nineteenth century architectural articulation of the significance of the Eucharist.

Due to the manner in which the initial historical research was carried out, what was not foreseen was the way in which this focus would also reflect the development of personal emotional and aesthetic responses to the buildings. Ultimately, the photographic explorations of the liturgical

territories has brought new understanding to the fundamental importance of the symbolism of the sanctuary in terms of an understanding of the ecclesiological expression of a spiritual enlightenment.

One of the key achievements of this process of architectural representation has been a renewed understanding of the visual and symbolic nature of the architectural expression of ritual, even in buildings that had been significantly altered. For example, in the photographic enquiry of the earliest church studied, St Andrew's, Exwick, it seemed that no significant new understanding of the individual importance of this church could be established.[2] At first the photographic enquiry appeared only to confirm aspects such as that the solid stone altar was important due to its inclusion in a church of this date, that the preferences for sanctuary decoration became more exuberant at the height of ecclesiological influence and that the church needed to be enlarged due to an increase in population thirty years after its original construction. However, while it was not possible to study the symbolic nature of the divide, ultimately St Andrew's became significant in the continuous importance of the visual and conceptual focus of the altar. Interestingly, by the return to the photographic representation of the building in the final part of the exhibition installation, it has meant that

the earliest church in this study has become the final image within the exhibition. What was at first seen as a potential weakness of the research methodology had eventually become its strength. The consequences of applying the same photographic languages and technologies irrespective of changes in style, scale, design and alterations has ensured that the individuality of each building could be understood from the same intellectual and aesthetic premise and, most importantly, a comparative study across the six churches could be sustained.

In the buildings from the second and final typological sections the research methodology has highlighted the ways in which the architectural expression was focused on the liturgical significance of the altar. At Babbacombe and Torquay colour and material were used to develop a predominantly visual focus to the altar. The decorative elements of foliation around the walls, the development of colour in the walls and floor, as design features, reveal a heightened sense of ornamentation from the relatively quieter decoration of the nave to the sanctuary (common motifs in all Anglo-Catholic churches of this part of the nineteenth century). The ultimate response to these two buildings has been to develop photographs which emphasised the decorative nature of the

dividing features of the nave and chancel, thus enhancing the practical and physical properties which pervaded these buildings.

Throughout the research there have been a number of occasions where the practice could have developed into further explorations of the expressive purpose of the designs. In St Peter's, Shaldon for example the Lady Chapel was initially investigated as a microcosm of the main building (plates 43 & 44) which reflected the nave and its focus towards the altar. Plates 43 & 44 represent early explorations with the control of viewpoint and light to create an interpretive response to the architectural space. The relationship of the subsidiary altar to that of the high altar became important, as did the deliberate quality and amount of illumination in reference to that of the adjacent chancel and sanctuary. A further exploration (plate 45) focused on the use of the lights in the church, which created a heightened awareness of the decorative ironwork that enclosed the chapel as well as a representation of the ambient glow of incandescent lighting such as candles. These explorations occurred simultaneously to the first experiments of the screen in this church (see Section 4.2).

All the larger buildings chosen for study have or had chapels. At Babbacombe, the current chapel was not the original, the organ having been relocated to the north side of the building. St John's, Torquay no longer uses the original Lady Chapel as it has been converted into a memorial chapel with commemorative floor plaques. St David's, Exeter is the only other building within the study which has a side chapel configured as the architect intended.[3] Various photographic explorations have been undertaken here also, but these centred predominantly on the use of views *from* the chapel rather than interpretations of the chapel itself, as seen in plates 46 & 47. Plate 47 represented the nature of the view across the chapel through to the nave, chancel and sanctuary in a continuous panorama. Plate 48 encompassed the views as above but from the position of a member of clergy from the altar and was again seen as a potential microcosm of the main building, as at St Peter's, Shaldon. At St David's, Exeter the use of the ambulatory aisles and passages became an evident design feature of the building.

The subsequent design of views through from one space to another also became evident and instigated a further photographic enquiry that engaged in Caröe's combination of this use of view and the building's iconographic narrative.

During early explorations of the importance of this chapel it became particularly significant as regards views through to the sanctuary. Movement through the buildings from west to east had been begun throughout all the churches and was subsequently explored within the chapel at St David's. It became evident that the view through the ambulatory aisles changed dramatically when moving towards the east end of the chapel. The final image (plate 48) was developed as an interpretation of the way in which St David's Church in particular reflected the use of iconography. The first panel of the triptych denies any view through the portrayed architectural space, representing the conceptual position of the unenlightened. On moving further eastward, a small element of what lies beyond the initial perception is displayed, providing partial access and direction towards the east end. This series finally ends with the right hand image of the triptych where the reredos is partially revealed with its representation of the central Christian themes of salvation and sacrifice, made accessible through the continuation of the journey encompassed in the previous images. Although this triptych has been an influential and successful photographic representation of an important element of this building it has not ultimately been able to be located into any of the three main typologies of The Interior Panoramas.

In all other respects the triptych became the overriding form of photographic method of representation, permeating the vast majority of images finally produced in the project. Initially developed as a device for the way in which space, colour and decoration of each interior could be effectively compared and the form of conceptual enquiry instigated, the symbolic value of three individual panels ultimately producing one visual statement became increasingly significant. Repeatedly using the three elements of the triptych subsequently heightened the perception and presence of the altar and has confirmed the potential for the photograph to become not only evangelistic but venerative; as icon. Within the research programme the exploration of this possibility became a recurring preoccupation and one that eventually fed into the development of the exhibition.

During the development of the photographic strategies it became evident that a dialogue was being established between the buildings and the photographic interpretations, even to the extent that the architectural forms directly influenced the formal constructions of the photographs. Noticeably the architectural craft-based ideology inherent in the buildings imposed itself on the photographic practice. For example, with the geometry and polychromy of the sanctuary at Babbacombe it was felt essential that the space

was cleared in a way that would allow the pattern and form of the underlying architectural structure to be revealed. At St David's the evident triptych form within the reredos became very positively reflected in the form of the photographic triptych that was ultimately produced. Also, the very active use of the triptych form throughout the work is clearly not just a device for rendering space. This feature of the imposition of the building onto the research methodology was not foreseen, but has become one of the strengths of the research.

It was not an initial intention to express strong personal Christian belief but the integrity of the enquiry was dependent on the accepted interaction of belief and the academic and artistic judgements. This meant that 'belief' was sustained as the core of the research. However much the nineteenth-century churches utilised architectural trends or fashions, they all remained buildings of religious significance and although most of the buildings chosen for study are understood as places of architectural and social history, the intention was to place the emphasis in the visual identity of the underpinning ideology of the Christian faith that was inherent in the design, construction and ritual uses of the churches. The development of the photographic enquiry has actively drawn on personal beliefs and their basis in an

empathetic Anglo-Catholic background. In this respect the research reflects a desire to restate the Christian doctrines that were at the core of the architectural briefs.

The proclamation of spiritual belief through the manifestation of symbolic enlightenment and divine presence have become important to the resolution of the imagery and the ultimate choice of photographic strategies employed in the individual churches. The works have thus become a form of pilgrimage in the articulation of the personal belief in the Real Presence manifested through the doctrine of the sacrament of Eucharist. In the process of revisiting the physical and conceptual journey to the altar, the project has not only confirmed but heightened an appreciation of Anglo-Catholic belief that is still a fundamental part of contemporary Christian life but which seems to have been eroded with forms of religious emancipation and fundamentalist teaching of the Evangelical movement.

In the series of images that explore the significance of the divide between the nave and the chancel/sanctuary, varying methodologies have deliberately reflected the individuality of the designs in the churches and the way in which each designer dealt with the multiplicity of liturgical function at this point in the building. The photographic works and the

exhibition format present this point of divide only as serving a secondary role in the architectural expression of ritual. Ultimately the architectural and liturgical significance of the pulpit, lectern/reading desk and gates/screen are depicted as aspects of preparation for the primary focus of the building - the sanctuary. When constructing the images of the sanctuaries, the triptych once again became prevalent, re-enforcing the importance of the altar and reredos through its central position in the set of three panels. Given symmetry of image scale either side of a central panel this will always be the eventual resting place for the eye when viewed. The return to a single methodology in the representation of the sanctuary also reflected the more unified appreciation of the significance of the sacramental function inherent not only in this part of the building, but in the focus of the building as a whole.

The installation of the exhibition in one of the churches, St David's, Exeter, has allowed for an alignment of the architectural perceptions of a site visit with those of the photographic interpretations of the research enquiry to take place. It was during the contemplation of the potential of exhibition format that a second significant process of dissemination became possible; the visual journey could be perceived as a primarily symbolic rather than practical

journey. Within the final exhibition the photographic works have evolved as celebrations of Christian ideology through the development of this symbolic journey and have become representative of spiritual pilgrimage.

Effectively a journey from the west to east end, the notion of journey is a central belief of the Christian faith, ultimate salvation being an historical preoccupation with Christians. The Eucharistic rite is a fundamental part of this belief. Each building within the study has ultimately been constructed as a visual and conceptual journey to the altar. The view from the nave not only disseminates the physical viewpoint of the laity, but the symbolic and conceptual notion of the catalyst for this journey, through transfiguration and enlightenment, to salvation. The worshipper is directed through the nave to the gates–the historical point of divide. Each building represents a variation on the theme of development towards the altar. The next step was then to consider the ways in which the worshipper would be confronted by the focus of the building–that part where the communicant received the bread and wine. The photographic enquiry has therefore been related to the ways in which the architecture expresses this doctrinal significance. Consequently the final exhibition actively uses the form of this journey through a series of typological sections, starting

with the triptychs, moving through the images of the divide and the issues of the physical manifestation of spiritual ideology, finally concluding with the physical and symbolic end–the arrival at the sanctuary.[4]

The final presentation of the photographs was always intended to be achieved through an exhibition format. However, during the latter stages of the project it became evident that the exhibition would be a vital part of the resolution of the enquiry, becoming the primary focus for the development of the photographic discourse. By placing the photographic interpretations within the location of the architectural space and form of the church, the exhibition allows for yet further consideration of the relationships between image and place. Furthermore, placing the works throughout the spaces of a church interior has offered the possibility of taking the viewer on the conceptual journey that has been represented by the photographs and developing further the primary use of the works as a discursive medium in their own right.[5]

However difficult, most logistical problems with exhibiting in a church have been overcome and the exhibition has been organised around the typological construction of the photographic sections (plan 1). The interior panoramas provide the initial body of work, as both documentary and interpretive representations, detailing the scale, materials and colour of each interior (see plates 1 to 6 Section 4.1). Each triptych of the panoramas has been printed and mounted uniformly to a scale that enables the details to be seen clearly and a comparative analysis carried out.[6] Having established each building, the exhibition leads directly to the second typological sequence, those images which interpret the divide between the nave and chancel/sanctuary. The two High Victorian churches of St John's, Torquay and All Saints', Babbacombe have been developed to appear adjacent to each other in exhibition, highlighting the two individual interpretations of the metal screens (plates 30 and 31, Section 4.2). The image of the divide at St David's appears after having moved through an arch of the nave aisles created by the internal buttressing (plate 34). This in turn produces the perception of moving from one space to another; a significant part of the images being their portrayal of liturgical territory and physical and symbolic movement through architectural space.

Proceeding down the south aisle of the church the exhibition introduces the series of tests that were the precursors of the diptych of the screen at St Peter's, Shaldon; the fourth Divide image. These test images explore the original

development of the interpretations of this screen as a corona, symbolising the crown of thorns and its implied sacrificial symbolism. They also represent the use of photography as a discursive medium in the constructions of photographic interpretation through developmental practice. This process of testing out the use of photography, in the translation of a range of visual expressions, has been a core issue of the research enquiry.

Having viewed these preliminary images the photographic discourse moves to the south transept where the final diptych of the screen has been placed, allowing the final resolution of the images to be considered in relation to the interpretive developments (see plates 20 to 25). The final diptych is the largest piece of the exhibition and has been constructed to reflect the presence considered to be part of the significance of this design feature. Located adjacent to the point of divide in St David's provides further opportunity to explore comparative aspects of the research, through an ability to scrutinise the location of the interior and the relocation of the photographic works.

Moving across the building to the north transept introduces that part of the research that was specific to St David's. Views from the Lady Chapel have been placed here in

relation to the area of the building where the photographic interpretations were produced. The conceptual photographic journey that is represented in the imagery can therefore be explored in the context of the physical equivalent. The physical journey that has been undertaken by the viewer can then be understood as the symbolic journey that was felt to be the architect's intent in this building (plate 48, Chapter 5).

The final typological study, The Visual and Conceptual Focus of the Sanctuary, is approached by returning to the central aisle of the nave. Again the movement of the physical journey becomes an active part of the exhibition experience taking the viewer towards the opposing end of the church. The journey down the centre of the building ends with the sanctuary image of St David's Church (plate 39, Section 4.3). This process of moving towards the reredos and altar heightens both the physical and symbolic design of the interior. As the viewer moves closer to the image so the content and presence of the altar become manifested. The image has been printed to a scale where the central section of the triptych forces the viewer to look up. The triptych nature of the image focuses attention on the central panel and the experience of viewing the photographic interpretation reflects the nature of the experience of arriving in the

sanctuary. At a distance the reredos can be perceived as a whole structure, but without being able to see the full detail. When the journey has finished, the iconographic detail is made evident. In this process of journeying through the building, which is through the exhibition, the 'viewer' becomes 'worshipper'. In this respect the evangelism that has become an element of this project is inculcated within the exhibition framework.

The sanctuary image of St David's Church introduces the final typology of the exhibition; the Visual and Conceptual Focus of the Sanctuary. Three photographic works conclude this final group of images; the sanctuary images of All Saints', Babbacombe and St John's, Torquay are viewed first (plates 40 and 41) with the interpretation of St Andrew's, Exwick finalising the sequence (plate 42). These images have been placed in a similar exhibition context as the Divide images on the south wall. The Babbacombe and Torquay images have been positioned adjacent to each other for direct comparison of the individual polychromatic treatment by the architects. The final Exwick image is then approached through the arch of an aisle and the prints of which are enclosed in a smaller, more intimate space. The use of space and environment for this final triptych is again representative of the physical and symbolic nature of the architectural

space in St Andrew's. When built, St Andrew's was considerably smaller than any of the other buildings chosen for study. The photographic representation of the sanctuary has been installed in a space that becomes indicative of the move from the reality of a larger space of the nave into the enclosed space of the chancel of this church. The exhibition journey ends with the earliest church, which in many respects was the most radical, and returns the viewer to the height of ecclesiology in the interpretation of the solid stone altar and reredos of 1841 with its 1870's mosaic decoration. The importance of the ecclesiological movement is therefore re-emphasised in the final photographic interpretation.

Through the course of the research a number of issues have also arisen as to the use of the photographic works outside that of the specifics of the enquiry. An on-going question has been whether the themes and strategies of the exhibition could be translated into the portable form of the published guide, developing further the format popularised by the illustrated architectural guide, ultimately creating a guide to the architectural/ecclesiastical relationship as seen in Appendix ii. The sanctuary image of St David's, Exeter has provided a second issue. In the research this photographic representation has eventually taken the form of a triptych, interpreting the significance of the altar and reredos. Light

has been used to reveal the iconographic conclusion to the building's programme of reference to biblical narrative and has been developed from previous images of the building which place this final representation in context of the planning of the rest of the interior. During tests of this image, referred to in Section 4.3, the central panel of the triptych was first developed in isolation, the notion of the use of a triptych form having not been contemplated at this stage. Various members of the church community became interested in the use of this image for a postcard and after being approached by Reverend John Henton, vicar of St David's, this was indeed undertaken. The result is a highly emotive image of the reredos which visitors to the building can purchase as an *aide memoire* of a significant feature of this particular church. The same image is, therefore, able to exist in two distinct forms, one as a piece of academic research and one as a postcard. Although the subsequent triptych is a more effective representation of the nature of the sanctuary as a whole, the reredos being only one aspect of a more complex plan, the use of light and photographic resolution of detail have produced an image that works effectively at a small scale for an alternative use. This flexibility of outcome is seen as one of the benefits of the photographic process.

In discussing the work in progress with worshippers from the churches and members of other congregations, it has become evident that the photographic works have a powerful effect on those who are not familiar with the possibilities that the photograph can give to the representation of concepts. Most members of any church congregation would be familiar with small scale, machine printed photographic images of events from their everyday life and it is little wonder that the worshippers' perceptions of their churches have been significantly challenged by photographs from this project. It has also been interesting to note the reaction of the members of clergy in their response to the project and its visual nature. A common reaction has been to see familiar subjects with a new understanding. Canon Geoffrey Walker, currently in residence at Wells Cathedral, had no hesitation in accepting the concept of the work for exhibition in the cathedral after completion of the project. He found an interesting parallel in the work to current debates in church planning, aspects of which are again focusing on the relationship between practicality, function and symbol. The reactions from the priests who have seen the final images has often been one of a reawakening of the understanding of the significance of the individual elements and the holistic whole.

The responses by both laity and clergy have also proved to be significant in respect of issues of conservation. All nineteenth century buildings have been altered from their original form; some more than others. An outcome of the project has been a personal clarification of the significance of the way in which these buildings have been adapted for modern liturgical use and the way in which some have further plans to develop. Prior to the project, the belief was that major changes to the fabric of the building were seen to be disadvantageous. The outcome has proved that if dealt with sympathetically the addition of a nave altar for example can diversify the life of the church.[7] It is envisaged that the exhibition of work will also instigate debate on the issues of liturgical reordering to meet the needs of the modern day church for the worshippers and users.

In summary, developing new photographic research strategies from the traditions of architectural photography and contemporary studio practices, has been an essential part of a project that set out to re-establish the quality and importance of the architectural expression of Anglican rituals. The core of any critical understanding of the architectural and ecclesiastical functionalism is dependent on visual interpretation, so it is that through the documentary and interpretive processes of selection, ordering and

relocating the photographs it has been possible to provide a new insight and enhanced awareness of the nature of this relationship. What has been particularly revealing is the way in which the photographs have been used as icons and tracts, establishing and interpreting the ecclesiastical/architectural debate. For the future, it will be the thematic structuring of the exhibition of the research enquiry that will be central to the continuing use of the research and its methodologies outside that of the submission.[8]
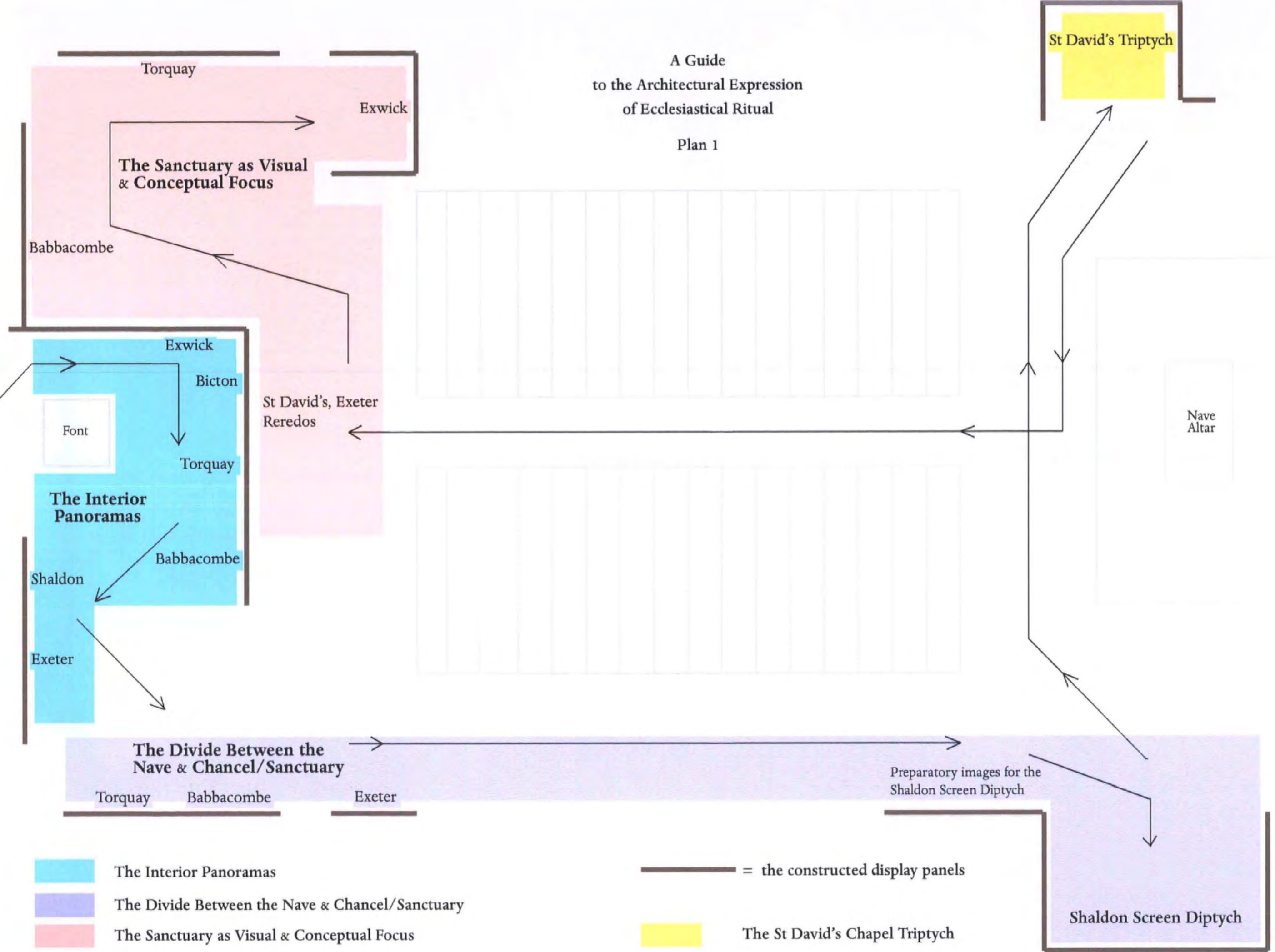
Plate 43 *Top*
Plate 44 *Middle*
Plate 45 *Lower*

Explorations of a concept not furthered; the chapel as a microcosm of the main interior

All images are of the Lady Chapel at St Peter's, Shaldon
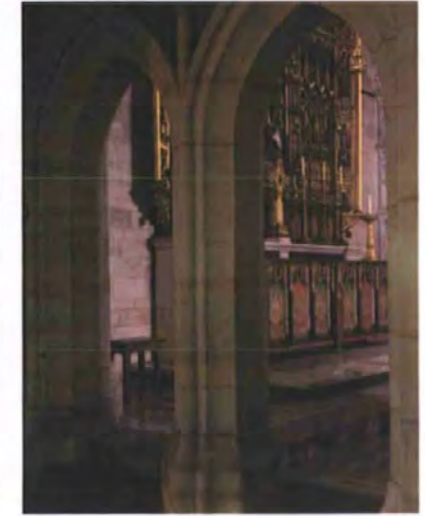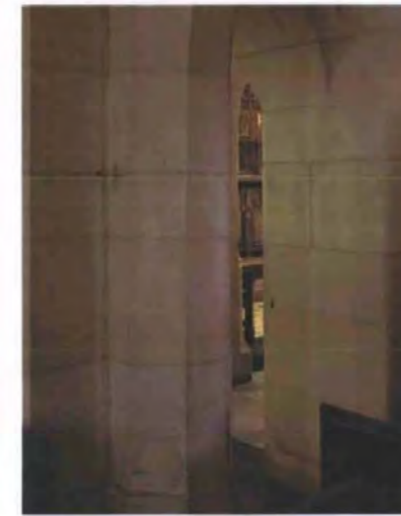
Plates 46, 47 & 48 *from top*
Explorations in the use of space and movement through the Lady Chapel at St David's, Exeter.

A Guide
to the Architectural Expression
of Ecclesiastical Ritual

Plan 1

St David's Triptych

The Sanctuary as Visual & Conceptual Focus

Torquay

Exwick

Babbacombe

Exwick

Bicton

Font

St David's, Exeter
Reredos

Torquay

The Interior Panoramas

Babbacombe

Shaldon

Exeter

Nave
Altar

The Divide Between the Nave & Chancel/Sanctuary

Torquay   Babbacombe   Exeter

Preparatory images for the
Shaldon Screen Diptych

The Interior Panoramas

The Divide Between the Nave & Chancel/Sanctuary

The Sanctuary as Visual & Conceptual Focus

= the constructed display panels

The St David's Chapel Triptych

Shaldon Screen Diptych

1   C Maxwell Tregurtha, 'Photography for Publicity -
    E O Hoppe's Posters', *Commercial Art*, Volume 1,
    New Series, July 1926, p28

2   Although much of the initial work of the 1840's has
    survived in the sanctuary, the nave and chancel showed
    little if any relation to the first building programme.
    The whole church is carpeted, the original choir stalls
    are no longer in evidence, the walls contain none of the
    initial painted decoration and the organ has been
    removed from the chancel and now resides in a con-
    temporary west gallery construction

3   This was so at the time of writing this text. As of
    October 1999 plans had been passed to remove some of
    the original pews and to develop the use of this chapel
    as a meeting room

4   St David's has a prominent city centre position and has
    a close relationship with the adjacent FE college and a
    variety of local schools. Many community activities
    occur in the building organised by these and other
    institutions and organisations. It was therefore also
    possible that the exhibition could have a role to play in
    the locality as well as internally for examination pur-
    poses. It is expected that a symposium or lecture will be
    organised during the course of the exhibition, allowing
    members of each of the church's congregations to visit
    and discuss their views on the work, as well as research
    groups from the University and historical organisations
    across the region. In this way the research could be
    presented to worshippers, FE, Undergraduate and

Postgraduate students and historians, providing an
important post-script to the research

A photographic record will be made of the exhibition,
to be included in the final thesis submission as
Appendix iv. It is expected that this will provide insight
into the ways in which practice based research projects
require more effective ways for practitioners to present
their research to those of the conventional forms of
written presentation

5   A variety of exhibition spaces has been investigated,
    ranging from conventional museum and gallery spaces
    to rooms within the University buildings. It became
    increasingly apparent that the constrictions of many
    conventional 'square rooms' would not provide the
    potential to develop anything other than a convention-
    ally constructed exhibition. The relationship of the
    viewer to the work in respect of the understanding of
    the spiritual journey became of paramount concern.
    In investigating the possibility of using an ecclesiastical
    building, it was evident that the relative architectural
    space of the church interior could be a powerful and
    vital part of the research project and its outcomes

St David's, Exeter became the most appropriate venue
for the exhibition due to a number of factors. Firstly,
the location of the building was convenient for the
examination process, being close to the city centre and
the University's photography building where the
supervisors have a base. Secondly, the current
incumbent has instigated a variety of contemporary
developments in the building in order to meet the

requirements of the modern Anglican Church. One such development has been the removal of a series of pews at the west end of the nave. This has created a large, clear space that is used for a wide variety of church activities and in which a significant part of the exhibition could be installed. On further investigation it became clear that the two small internal transepts could also be utilised as display areas and could enhance the relationship between the photographic interpretations and the architectural setting.

6   The plan provided in Figure 49 shows the way in which the building allows the typological framework of the photographic works to be placed within the interior of St David's Church. Final details of position of the twelve Interior Panoramas cannot be discussed at this point as the nature of exhibiting necessitates develop-ment during construction.

7   Taking St David's, Exeter as an exemplar, the removal of pews that otherwise encroached on the chancel steps has meant that the additional space can be beneficial within the liturgy. This would give increased access and manoevrability particularly at the Eucharist, that other forms of ceremony, particularly weddings can be more effectively accommodated, and community activities such as concerts, recitals, and plays can also be under taken given a readymade platform of the nave altar now placed between the pews of the nave and the chancel steps. Such accommodations of a variety of events has to provide a new and important direction for the contemporary church.

8   It is, for example, already planned to install the exhibition within a number of cathedrals. A tour of the work starts in the Chapter House at Wells Cathedral. The exhibition then tours a number of other venues - so far confirmed are Canterbury and Ely. The work to be exhibited at these venues draws specifically on two themes from within the research. The focus of the sanctuary and the physical manifestation of spiritual ideology have been used as sections to enable the cathedral visitor to re-evaluate their understanding of ecclesiastical architecture.

The photographs from the submission could of course potentially travel to each of the selected churches. A development of further individual enquiry could be undertaken in order to provide a fuller investigation of particular and detailed aspects of each of the churches. An alternative chosen extension of the methodologies has however been initially discussed with a number of cathedral staff. Two possibilities will be explored after the completion of this project. The first is an additional form of guide book that uses photography in an interpretive mode rather than the traditional use of the medium where images have been used to document buildings as an *aide memoire* for visitors. For many years the Pitkin form of architectural publication has been the primary visual form of guide to the history of the cathedral available when visiting these buildings. As outlined earlier it can be argued that the methodologies of this project could provide an alternative convention-ally printed but new form of guide book that uses architectural and ecclesiological expression inherent in

the existing architecture of Britain's cathedrals, as opposed to a record of historical development and visual 'list' of features.

The second possibility would be to develop aspects of digital photographic practice. Digital technologies are now sufficiently advanced to allow for the reconstruction of aspects of the history of the building of the cathedrals in an interactive CD Rom publication. Rather than a simulated 'virtual' mapping of the construction of a cathedral where surfaces are digitally fabricated and modelled on a frame, the qualitative visual nature of photographic representation could now be combined with the movement through a building. This could lead to digitally-based interactive learning facilities as a part of the contemporary cathedral visit, combining both education and evangelism.

Naturally, prospects also exist outside that of the context of the ecclesiastical building. Other forms of architectural edifice could be examined using interpretive photographic methodologies to represent architectural expression. One possibility would be the castle. The ancient fortress or country house castles that exist in contemporary society have similarly gone through massive changes in use and form from their original construction and provide an interesting secular parallel to the cathedral.

The use of photography as an interpretive method of research does not have to be linked with historic buildings, and spaces for other forms of contemporary ritual such as offices, supermarkets or airport terminals could provide interesting alternative subjects for photographic enquiry. However, in personal terms it is likely that the subject matter for future photographic research projects will be centred on ecclesiastical subjects.

Conclusion

The architectural response to the rise of ecclesiology is a well established part of the histories of Victorian church architecture and decoration. Predominantly, these histories have been devoted to architectural style and taste, rather than to a study of the key principles of design relating to the new ecclesiastical rituals. In being an essentially visual experience, it had become increasingly apparent that the radical nature of this movement was being obscured by the processes of modernisation of the interiors and the patterns of worship within them. The primary question of the research was whether it was possible to restate the intrinsic qualities of the nineteenth-century architectural-ecclesiastical relationship through a photographic enquiry that would use processes of reconstruction and interpretation.

Following the doctrinal changes in the Anglican Church, from their emergence in the 1840s through to the end of the nineteenth century, it was necessary to develop a rationale for the selection of churches on which it would be possible to base photographic case studies and establish that a movement of national significance could be effectively examined through examples in Devon. Both these objectives were ultimately achieved through conventional academic methodologies and preliminary photographic research.

What was to emerge from the initial enquiry was a recognition that from the simplicity of Exwick, to the extravagant decoration of Babbacombe and monumentality of St David's, Exeter, it would be possible to develop a photographic methodology that would show the extent to which the underlying concepts of design had remained the same. In other words, while the architects exploited architectural language in form and decoration to position the radical doctrinalchanges within the contemporary social framework, the photographic argument would show that it was the 'divide' which separated the laity and clergy and the movement to the altar which remained as the core principles of the design of these buildings.

Once these two principles had been identified as the key elements within the design, the research was then to be dependent on being able to develop a photographic methodology that would demonstrate and interpret the effectiveness of the architectural expression. In retrospect, it is easy to under-estimate the complex processes of creative experimentation on issues of viewpoint, light and composition, through which it became possible to arrive at a series of visual statements that would clearly set out the relationship of doctrine and architecture. Therefore, it is important to underline the critical and creative contribution of the

supporting workbooks, from which extracts have formed part of Sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3. They show the key stages of analysis and selection that had developed through the technical and conceptual interface of my own creative practices on issues of viewpoint, light and composition. Concurrently, the project gave attention to the established models of photographic practice in relation to the representation of ecclesiastical interiors, notably the works of Frederick H Evans and Edwin Smith, and made use of practices closely associated with those of studio work. In constructing effective interpretive photographic methodologies, the final piece drew on an active relationship between the architectural subject, the photographic processes and the incorporation of my own spiritual identity as a practising Christian. The outcome was a set of images which in the context of the research brief, could be used as icon and tract.

Having developed a series of methodologies whereby the relationship of architectural expression and ritual could be examined, the intention then was to find ways in which these images could be used to underline the qualities of this relationship. Three strategies were to emerge. First there was the compositional manipulation of interior space, based around the triptych format. This made it possible to produce comparative panoramas as an establishing visual

discource and individual studies in which the introduction of changes of perspective and scale were to enhance the architectural symbolism, while presenting the viewer with a pictorial representation that sustained the integrity of the original design. Photographic interpretation had become expressive in ways that enhanced the architectural expression. Secondly, there were the pictorial assemblages which, in the case studies of the Shaldon divide, revealed a new level of visual meaning. Thirdly, and possibly most significant, was the final decision to construct and locate the exhibition of the photographic enquiry in a format that would increase the awareness of the spiritual journey identified with the Eucharist. It was this presentation of the photographic enquiry within St David's Church that demonstrated how the thesis had effectively exploited an intellectual and expressive engagement with a significant design problem of Anglican church architecture and had made the reinterpretation accessible to a wider audience. The fact that this part of the submission has had to be retained only as a documentary account in Appendix iii should not be allowed to undervalue its importance to the research output.

The development of the photographic methodologies has resulted in a range of primary material which can exist outside the specific parameters of the project, while providing a visual concentration of photographic interpretations through which the ideas of spiritual identity as the core of architectural design expression can be effectively appreciated. It is this duality of purpose that underscores the distinctive character of this research through creative practice.

The churches are placed in chronological order for clarity of information. These notes were researched from various sources, including personal site visits, archives within records offices and a variety of publications on nineteenth century church building in Devon. The comments made against each church are therefore the views of a combination of a variety of sources. The list was also referred to Dr Chris Brooks of The Victorian Society after completion.

1836   **St Paul's, Honiton**
         Built by Charles Fowler. This building is in the
         Romanesque revival style. Details show little
         concern for historical accuracy. A galleried build-
         ing with much reordering and alteration. The
         church was added to in the late nineteenth century
         but remains Romanesque rather than Gothic in
         approach and style.

1839   **St John's, Tipton**
         John Hayward's first church (important local
         architect). Built for important patrons - The
         Coleridges of Ottery St Mary. Quite an important
         church in respect of the architect and patron
         relationship but is notable for its blandness. It has a
         west end gallery and rose window. Hayward was a
         very influential figure in church design in the
         1830's to 50's. This is a very unecclesiological
         building.

1839   **Killerton Chapel**
         Built by Cockerel. Built in Norman revival style
         for the Aclands at Killerton House. There is some
         interesting documentation on the building in

The Victorian Church:Architecture & Society
ed. by Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint but again
this sits outside the remit of this project being
Norman in influence.

1840   **Smallridge Chapel, Chardstock**
         Built by Arthur Acland (high church patron)
         Architect - Benjamin Ferrey.
         Considered historically unimportant

The above churches were designed and constructed before the ideologies of the ecclesiologists and Tractarians had evolved. It is unlikely therefore that any would figure in the final selection of churches.

1841   **St Andrew's, Exwick, Exeter**
         The architect was John Hayward. Built in the
         Decorated style (advocated by the Cambridge
         Camden Society). It is a very early example of
         Pugin's and Cambridge Camden Society's princi
         ples. It is a noteable national example. Within the
         building there is a stone altar (extremely rare for
         this early in the century). There is also work by
         Simon Rowe and Salviati who were very impor-
         tant masons/sculptors at this time.
         The Ecclesiologists revelled in this church.
         St Andrew's was enlarged in the 1870's. (The north
         aisle was added and the chancel extended due to
         an increase in population and church attendance).
         It is also important for the relationship between
         architect and priest in its design.

1842   **All Saints', Dunkeswell**
Benjamin Ferrey. An uninspiring and unimportant
building historically.

1843   **St John's, Plymouth**
Again by Benjamin Ferrey - built in decorated
style. Plymouth had a strong evangelical tradition
and was resistant to the revival in the Exeter area,
(which had a High Church Bishop).

1844   **St Michael's, Sowton, Exeter**
John Hayward again - an important Tractarian
interior but it is a medieval building.

1849   **St Matthew's, Landscove**
John Loughborough Pearson designed this church
in purer historical Decorated style. It was built for
an important local patron - Louisa Champernowne

1850   **St Mary's, Bicton**
Architect: John Hayward. Built in geometrical
Decorated style. It is supposedly his best handling
of space and mass. The church contains very
original iconography involving the English monar-
chy. It is also noteable for its elaborate sculptural
detail. The site of the church is also very important
- there is a mausoleum by Pugin adjacent to the
Hayward church. There is again an interesting
relationship between architect and patron here,
reflected in the iconographic content and the lay
out of the building.

1854   **St Peter's, Tiverton**
A building by Edward Ashworth. Good glass but
otherwise not an important church.

1851   **St Barnabas's, Brooking**
Architect unknown. A rural and eccentric church
built by brother of Louisa Champernowne.

1856   **St James's, Ilfracombe**
John Hayward. One of his most ambitious but
uninspiring churches. One of only a few Victorian
churches in North Devon. A grim interior.

1861   **All Saints', Babbacombe**
Architect: William Butterfield. This is one of
Butterfield's most important churches. A definitive
statement of the Victorian High Church. An
important example of this architect's use of
Constructional Polychromy.

The church contains work by internationally
renowned designers such as Salviati and Gibbs.
The building is full of Devon marble. It is a build-
ing that reflects the use of nationally / internation-
ally known architects being used on the prime
developments in Devon at this time.

1862   **St John's, Torquay**
By George Edmund Street.
The church has an impressive Devon marble
interior and again the architect has used the tech-
nique of Constructional Polychromy. The building
also contains: one of only 15 immersion fonts in

England; a fine pipe organ of 1873; mosaics by Salviati; and stained glass by William Morris.

The church was completed after several building programmes but Street's original plans were followed throughout. The building has also recently been restored by a specialist conservator.

1862   **Luscombe Chapel**
By George Gilbert Scott. This is the private Chapel for Luscombe Castle (a Nash building).

1863   **St Mary's, Down St Mary**
Remodelled under W T A Radford between 1849-90. Work by a great deal of well known architects and designers over a long period, including Hayward, Street, Gould, Clayton and Bell, Earp & Salviati. It is, however, a medieval building.

1865   **St Mary's, Collaton St Mary**
Architect: J W Howell (of Newton Abbot). It is built in the Decorated style and is eccentric in detail. There are important fittings by J F Bentley and Earp.

1867   **St Michael's, Mount Dinham, Exeter**
Architect: Major Rhode Hawkins. This church is built in the Early French Gothic style. Important national patron - William Gibbs of Tyntesfield. It is the only major church remaining by this architect. The mural and stained glass in the Chancel (1883) is by Frederick Drake of Exeter. The Byzantine style reredos is by Caroe (as is St David's Exeter).

St Michael's was built as the chapel of ease for St David's Church of 1816.

1860   **Sidford Church**
Lavish chancel but otherwise an unimportant building.

1860   **Chardstock, Parish Church**
Regarded as unimportant

1871   **Maristow, Chapel**
James Piers St Aubyn. A polychromatic interior but not regarded as important.

1874   **St Pancras, Rousden.**
Architects: Ernest George and Thomas Vaughan. The church is now used as a storage shed on the estate.

1874   **Colaton Raleigh**
Architect: R M Fulford. This church has a Scraffito interior (a painting and plastering technique from medieval building regarded by some historians as the greatest atrocity of Victorian Church design).

1876   **Beer**
John Hayward. Another of his most ambitious churches but lacks the ecclesiological interest of St Andrew's, Exwick

1880   **St Peter's, Plymouth**
Blitzed

1881   St Peter's, Revelstoke (Noss Mayo)
        Architect: James Piers St Aubyn who had a London
        practice but had a wealthy aristocratic family in
        Devon). Carved work is by Harry Hems who had
        an important workshop locally). Another medieval
        building however.

1883   All Saints', Torre, Torquay
        Architect: J L Pearson. Very typical Pearson in the
        mixture of English Decorated style and French
        Gothic.

1883   St Peter', Washford Pyne
        Architect: R M Fulford who was articled to
        John Hayward.

1891   Budleigh Salterton
        Architect: G H Fellowes Prynne. No details.
        Damaged in blitz.

1893   Horrabridge
        Again G H Fellowes Prynne. No important details
        found - not regarded as an important building.

1895   St Peter's, Shaldon
        E H Sedding (Plymouth). Important family of
        architects. Father (John Dando) was very prolific.
        The church is described as a tunnel of stone - stone
        altar, apse, roof, screen etc. Amazing colour.
        Huge height differentiation between nave and
        sanctuary.

1897   St David's, Exeter
        Architect: William Douglas Caröe. This church is
        regarded as his finest achievement. Some have
        even suggested that it is the best built church in
        Devon. Carvings are by Nathanial Hitch (who was
        a prolific wood carver and sculptor during the
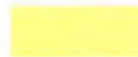   latter part of the nineteenth century).

        St David's is an amazingly broad church character-
        istic of the taste for large spacious churches at this
        time. There are many distinguishing features
        including the reredos, altar panels, carved stalls,
        stone pulpit and lecturn. The church is also
        famous for its completeness of iconographic
        programme.

'Making the Journey':
the Exhibition at St David's, Exeter
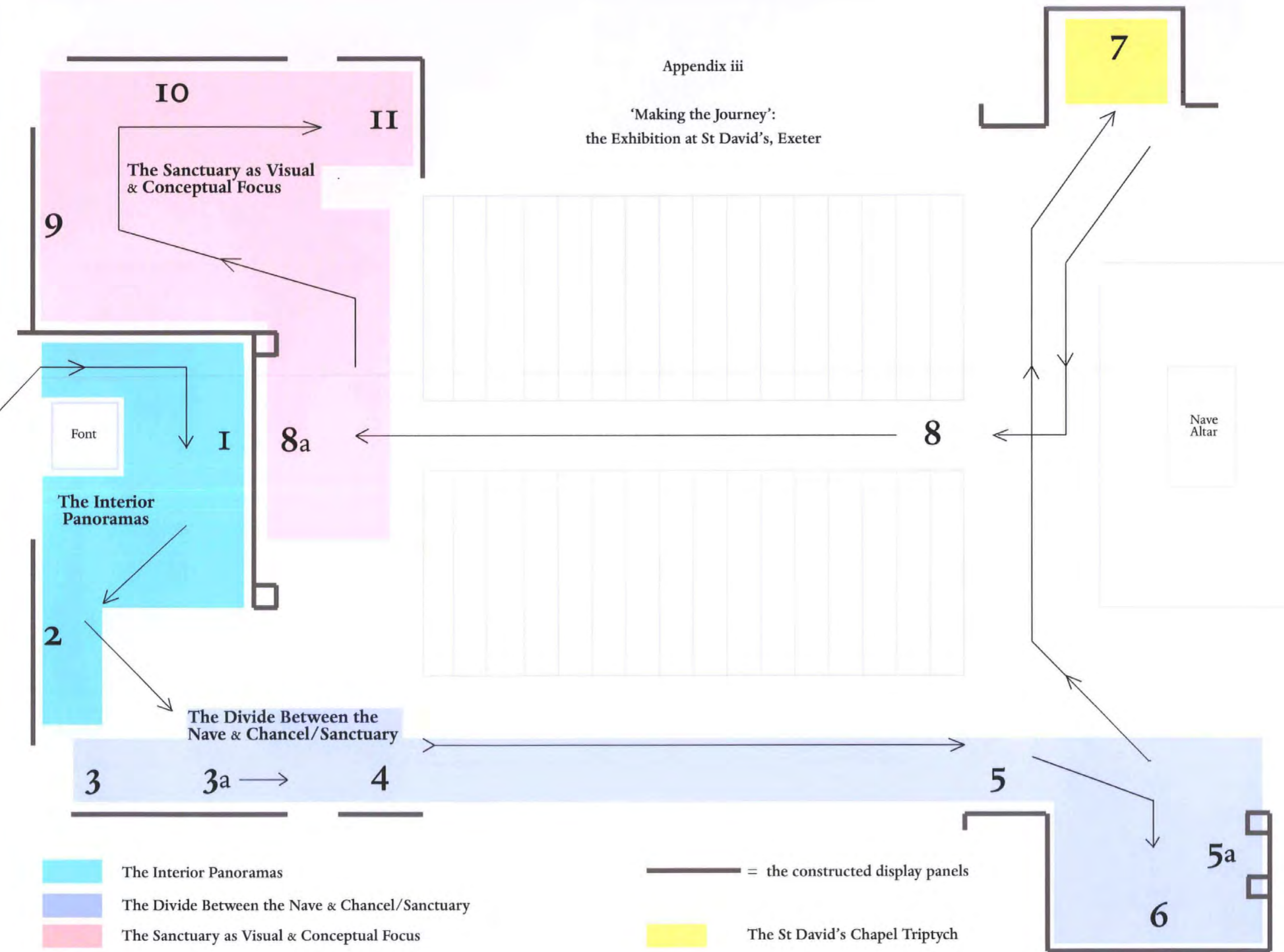
10

11

The Sanctuary as Visual & Conceptual Focus

9

7

Font

I

8a

8

Nave Altar

The Interior Panoramas

2

The Divide Between the Nave & Chancel/Sanctuary

3   **3a** ⟶   **4**

5

5a

6

The Interior Panoramas

The Divide Between the Nave & Chancel/Sanctuary

The Sanctuary as Visual & Conceptual Focus

= the constructed display panels

The St David's Chapel Triptych

Appendix iii

'Making the Journey': the Exhibition, St David's Church, Exeter

The Interior Panoramas were positioned at the west end of the
church, as the first section of the research enquiry, and were
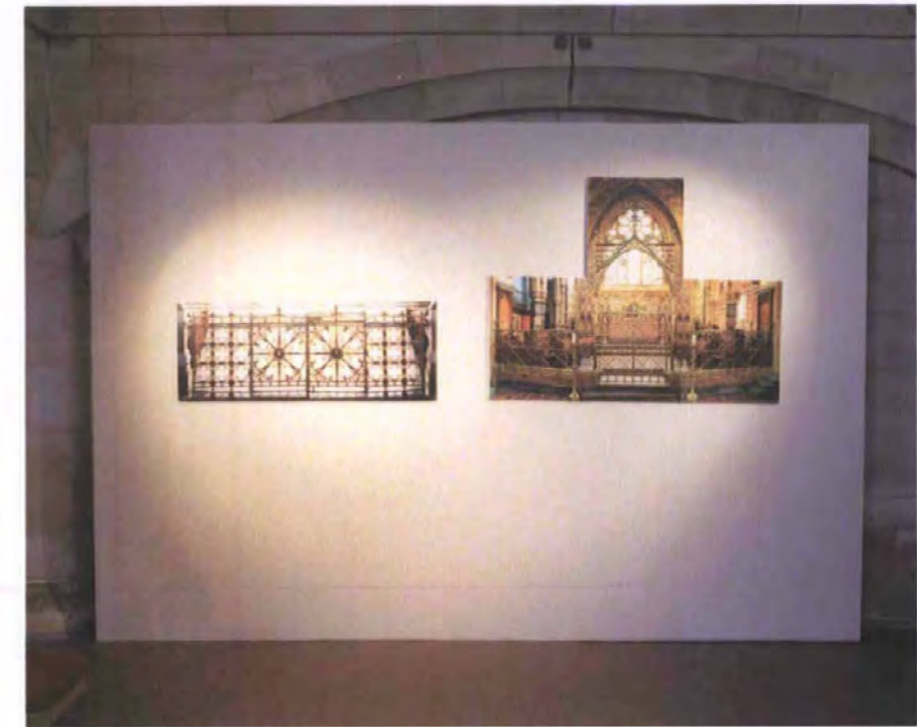placed in chronological order in two sections.

1

The numbers adjacent to the illustrations correspond to those
of the plan seen on the previous page.

2

3a

3

The second typlogical section contained the images of the divide between the nave and chancel.

All Saints', Babbacombe and St John's, Torquay were placed together (as seen above right).

The photographic interpretation of the divide at St David's (right) was then viewed having passed through the arch formed by the internal buttress (above).

4

The Shaldon Screen

On moving down the passage aisle on the south side of the church, the development of the use of photography as an interpretive method of representation for the screen at Shaldon was outlined. This was achieved by using copies of the relevant images from the work-books (Plates 20 to 25 in Section 4.2).

5

5a

6

The two final photographic works were then placed next to each other

Above: 7
The triptych of the chapel at St David's was placed in the north
transept, adjacent to the chapel itself.

Right and below right: 8, 8a
The final section of the exhibition, The Sanctuary as Visual and
Conceptual Focus, was approached by walking back through the
nave towards the west end, where the triptych of the sanctuary at
St David's was positioned.

9
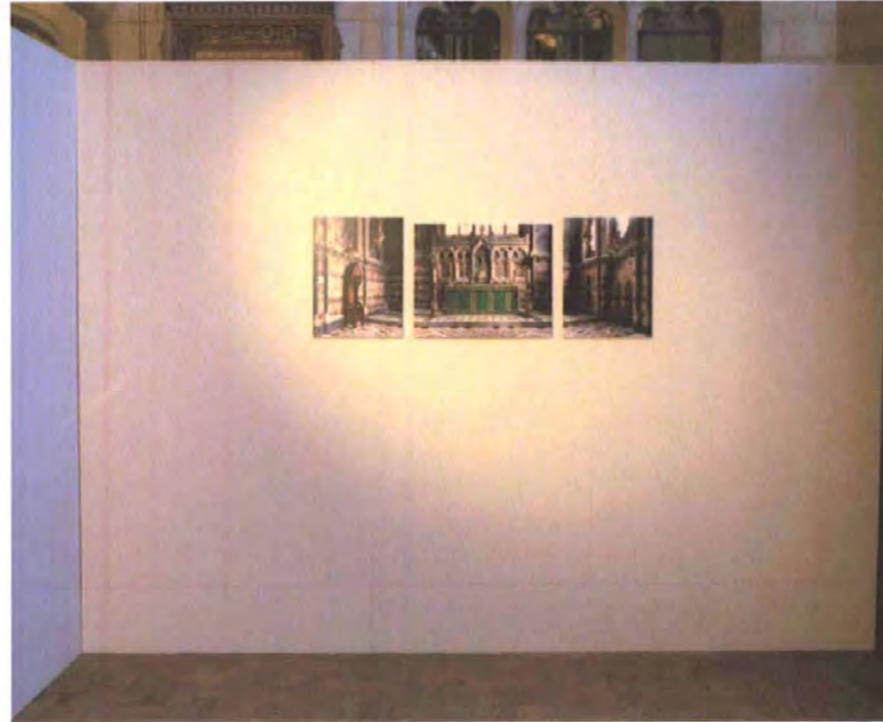
The final three images, of All Saints', Babbacombe (above),
St John's, Torquay (above right) and St Andrew's, Exwick (below
right), concluded the exhibition.

The triptych of St Andrew's, Exwick, was placed through the
north passage aisle, creating an individual and intimate space to
the otherwise open-plan feel of the other images.

10

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