IN THEIR OWN IMAGE?

CHURCH-BUILDING
IN THE DEANERY OF MANCHESTER

1847-1903

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
DONOR, ARCHITECT AND CHURCHMANSHIP

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Humanities

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<td>The Builder</td>
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<tr>
<td>DBA</td>
<td>The Directory of British Architects (1834-1914)</td>
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<td>CCS</td>
<td>Cambridge Camden Society</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>The Ecclesiologist</td>
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<td>GSD</td>
<td>George Shaw Diaries</td>
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<td>HD</td>
<td>Heywood Diaries</td>
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<td>ILN</td>
<td>Illustrated London News</td>
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<tr>
<td>JRIBA</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects</td>
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<tr>
<td>MALS</td>
<td>Manchester Archives and Local Studies</td>
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<td>MCL</td>
<td>Manchester Central Library</td>
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<td>MDCBS</td>
<td>Manchester Diocesan Church Building Society</td>
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<td>MDDCA</td>
<td>Manchester Diocesan Directory and Churchman's Almanack</td>
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<td>MLSU</td>
<td>Manchester Local Studies Unit</td>
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<td>ncRC</td>
<td>newspaper cuttings Religion Churches</td>
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<td>P53</td>
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<tr>
<td>RIBA</td>
<td>Institute of British Architects</td>
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<td>TLCAS</td>
<td>Transactions of the Lancashire &amp; Cheshire Antiquarian Society</td>
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Abstract

Between 1847 and 1903, spanning the first three episcopates of the newly-created Diocese of Manchester, 228 churches were built, or significantly extended, in the largest by far of its five deaneries, the Deanery of Manchester. Exploration of diocesan, Mancunian, and parochial archival and other sources revealed that sixty-one of those 228 building-projects – over a quarter – had each been funded by a single donor or single family. The fifty 'singular' donors (eight financing more than one project) represented a wide swathe of the middle and upper echelons of society, comprising six MPs; thirty-one industrialists, including twenty-two (predominantly textile-) mill-owners, three engineers, and two colliery- and canal-owners; and thirteen non-industrialists, including five bankers, two landed gentry and three clergics.

The scale of this aspect of industrial city philanthropy, and its lack of study are striking. Singular funding by donors of specific buildings provides a fresh angle from which to approach the reasons for philanthropy at an individual level. In each case, what role did self-interest play; what role such impulses as Established-Church-allegiance, evangelism, paternalism, territorialism, and dynasticism? Could a master driving-force, composed of a combination of some or all of those and other possible impulses, have been a donor's desire for worth: self-worth; worth in the eyes of contemporary society; and worth for remembrance in posterity? Were donors essentially creating churches in their own image?

The Introduction covers identification of the churches and the ecclesiastical, industrial and historical context of their building and of nineteenth-century Mancunian philanthropy. Chapter One, exploring the donors' biographies, includes, as potential drivers in church-creation, timing of public preferment – providing scant support for its previously identified role in other charitable giving – and alternative donor-self-image-related impulses. Chapter Two considers, as a measure of donor-church-identity, possible linkage of donor to church through dedication, proximity, iconography, memorials, armorials, dedicated space, and burial arrangements. Chapter Three uses choice of architect, their north-western oeuvre, and the balance of architects' and donors' roles, to further assess reflection of donor-self-image in the church. Finally, Chapter Four scrutinises each donor-church-architect nexus for signs of churchmanship; a quality – where present in strength and definable as donor-led – considered strongly indicative of donor-self-image.

Donor, church, architect, and churchmanship – key components of the donated church and to assessing in each their interconnections – disclose great diversity. Donor-self-image was indeed present, in its various aspects, in most if not all the churches. Its presence ranged from almost negligible or inconclusive to what amounts to its passionate expression.
Declaration

I declare that no portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Acknowledgments

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And I acknowledge the support and interest of my family, not least for their forebearance and acceptance of the competition for my attention that this study has represented over so many years. I thank especially my husband Robert – chauffeur, photographer, and much else.

Dedication

In piam memoriam John Chetwynd Talbot, Q.C. (1806-52), my great-great-grandfather who, in 1852, in the village of Mark Beech, near Edenbridge, Kent, built a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, in which I was christened and married, and where members of my extended family still worship. I dedicate it, further, to my children, Thomas, Diana and Lucy; to my grandchildren, Amélie, Luke, Laura, Freya, Kai and Kit; and to my husband, Robert.
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University of Manchester 2008-2015 – PhD studies
Introduction

1 Foreword – the objective defined

This study is defined by an arresting fact. Of the 228¹ church-building projects executed between 1847 and 1903 in just one of the then five deaneries of the newly created Diocese of Manchester (plates 1, 2),² sixty-one (over a quarter) were built as individually conceived, funded and executed creations, each financed by a single donor or by members of a single family acting in concert – here called singular funding. This very considerable phenomenon – hitherto ignored, if not unknown – is the subject the study aims to explore. What, during those fifty-six years in and around Manchester, led each of fifty donors or donor-families³ – as singular creators at their own expense – to build a church; in some cases, two or more?⁴ Specifically, the question suggested in this study's title requires addressing: the degree and manner in which each church-building project reflects its donor: was built in its donor's image.

Interest was kindled initially by knowledge of two prominent local mid-Victorian churches, each individually created – Edward Stanley Heywood's St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pendlebury,⁵ and John Marsland Bennett's St. Benedict, Ardwick. Though these iconic churches suggested relationships between private donors and their churches as a possible field for research, obscure at that stage was whether Pendlebury and Ardwick had been rarities or representative of a wider group. Preliminary investigation, therefore, was needed to establish the possible scale of such a project; only as that information emerged could essential study-eligibility criteria be identified to determine the study's scope.

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¹ Wyke, TLCAS (1997); The Manchester Diocesan Directory and Churchman's Almanack (henceforth MDDCA) (1903), 98-109.
² Manchester Deanery (the others being Blackburn, Leyland, Amounderness, and Tunstall). Easily the largest, MDDCA (1903) records it as overseeing, in 1860, 174 of 374 diocesan churches (47%); in 1903, 339 of 592 (57%) – numbers differing from Wyke (1997) – see Appendix INTRODUCTION.1. Besides the city (from 1853) of Manchester itself, it incorporated Ashton-under-Lyne, Atherton, Bolton, Bury, Leigh, Oldham, Pendlebury, Reddish, Rochdale, Salford, Swinton, and Worsley. The diocesan church-building drive over the period achieved 239 projects, with the Manchester deanery's 230 representing an overwhelming proportion of the total (96%) – Wyke (1997); Manchester Diocesan (1860), 13-17, (1903), 98-109.
³ Thirty-three single funders; seventeen family-combinations: eight of brothers (four pairs; a trio with a nephew; a quartet, a quintet; and an octet); one married- and three sister-pairs; two fathers-and-sons; an aunt-and-nephew; and two more intricately related combinations. This study examines the phenomenon in terms including 'singular funders, -funded, -funding …'; 'donor', in non-plural form, is employed to include a donor-family-consortium.
⁴ Eight of the fifty were multiple-funders: six, of two apiece; one, of three; one, of four.
⁵ Explored, as a single entity, in Boyd (2000).
2 Establishing a database of study-churches

An indispensable initial source was Terry Wyke's 'The Diocese of Manchester: an Introductory Bibliography', published as part of a collection of essays to mark the diocesan sesquicentenary. Under alphabetically-ordered parishes it lists each church with dates of administrative and structural history from consecration to (for some; most often followed by demolition) closure. But, though an invaluable record of every church with building-work – de novo, re-build or extension – occurring between 1847 and 1997 (the diocese's first 150 years), it lacks information on how that building was financed.

To limit the study to manageable scale, three further selection-criteria were added to the first of singular funding, namely: period – 1847-1903; location – the Deanery of Manchester; and building-project – new, rebuilt, extended, or substantially modified churches. Identifying churches meeting these three additional criteria was relatively easy using Wyke's chapter, aided by the diocesan directory. Thus, of Wyke's list of diocesan churches, 228 were identified – by virtue of date, location and building-project – as potentially eligible for inclusion. Establishing the first defining criterion, the funding of these 228, was a much bigger challenge. Information on the funding of churches could be accessed only through piecemeal search of multiple, non-specific archival and other sources (Appendix-INTRODUCTION.1), not helped by the absence in Manchester Libraries' collections of many, if not most, of the potentially relevant bibliographical items Wyke lists for each church.

Eighteen months into the study, the collections had supplied funding-histories of only 128 (85%) – of which forty-nine were found to be singular-funded; 144 not (usually funded through subscription, grant or both). Search for the remaining thirty-five churches' funding-histories had drawn a total blank, library avenues having, it seemed, been milked dry.

Other methods were therefore tried, sometimes leading to Wyke's bibliographical material being found in parish collections. Strategies included, for extant churches, direct approach for information to parish-representatives, first by writing, enclosing a stamped-addressed envelope; abandoned owing to paucity of result. Telephoning or emailing had a slightly higher response-rate, while attending

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6 TLCAS 92-93.
7 The tenure of the diocese's first three bishops: James Prince Lee (1847-69), James Fraser (1870-85) and James Moorhouse (1886-1903) – 'Lee', 'Fraser', 'Moorhouse', ODNB.
8 As it was in 1903.
9 TLCAS 92-93, 276-369 – those of the diocese as it was in 1926 after several boundary-changes, omitting or including some at variance with MDDCA, 98-109 (1903) – crucially identifying the deanery (and archdeaconry) overseeing each church.
10 Contact-details found on 'Church List', websites.
advertised church-services elicited an exclusion and an inclusion, St. Clement, Ordsall, funded by Wilbraham Egerton – which in turn led to discovering two further eligible Ordsall churches funded by him. A few funding-histories were found via the internet – often through church-websites – and Pevsner identifies several; a source that should have been considered earlier. Intermittently until the end of 2012 visits continued to the temporarily-relocated Manchester archives room. Thus discovered was the bizarre history of Christ Church, Moss Side, the final study-church identified.\textsuperscript{11} At the time of writing, only five funding-histories remain unknown; all of churches long since demolished. Of the other 223 churches meeting the latter three criteria, sixty-one also meet the first, singular-funding, and are thus included as study-churches. A record of sources used is set out in Appendix-INTRODUCTION.1, and, to set the scene, plates of the churches still extant in Appendix-INTRODUCTION.2.

3 Sources

The extant churches and their neighbourhoods; even the sites of churches long demolished – visible and tangible evidence of the past – represent perhaps the most valuable of all sources. The evidence remaining in and around each still-extant church (in memorials and armorials; on gravestones; in stained glass and inscription) and traces of demolished church-buildings (in street-names; a salvaged cross) is analysed in Chapter Two.

Among textual sources, primary manuscripts bring into particular focus the life and times of the study's donors, architects and clerics. The church-building drive preoccupying diocesan authorities is illuminated by Archdeacon John Rushton's seventy-eight volumes of visitation returns, sometimes with intriguing detail on a church's genesis,\textsuperscript{12} while pride in the new churches springing up is vividly expressed in Richard Loxham's illustrated descriptions [plate 3].\textsuperscript{13} Particularly valuable are seven sources, listed here in the order introduced. First is the 'Parson's Book'\textsuperscript{14} Francis Raines, kept during his (first) incumbency of St. James the Apostle, Milnrow [p46], illustrating the caprice of a donor and some of the vicissitudes that could attend church-provision. Second are diaries of donor Thomas Loxham\textsuperscript{15} (Richard's younger brother), illustrating some of his strategies for increasing church-provision in Great Lever, Bolton, of whose (non-study-) parish church he was first-incumbent.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[11] Loxham (1846-55).
\item[12] Rushton (c1840-1859); Rushton 2, 290.
\item[13] Loxham (1846-55).
\item[14] Raines (1832-78).
\item[15] Loxham, Diaries (1844-88).
\end{footnotes}
Third are diaries of donor Edward Stanley Heywood,\textsuperscript{16} casting multi-faceted light: on a church's genesis; on a relationship between study-donor and -architect and between study-donor and -first-incumbent (also his brother-in-law); on the habits and practice of the architect, G.F. Bodley; and on the social life and religious practice of a sophisticate based in, but by no means confined to, Manchester. Fourth are the diaries of architect George Shaw,\textsuperscript{17} illuminating the religious and social flavour of the Saddleworth, Oldham and Rochdale environment where he was born, raised and professionally based; on his antiquarianism; and on his friendships with Francis Raines and with the Whitehead donors. Fifth are Francis Raines' diaries\textsuperscript{18} – though a little earlier than the period covered in this study, included for their picture of local Saddleworth, Oldham and Rochdale life, besides some of the intricacies of a clerical vocation. Sixth are Bodley's letters to his patron Heywood,\textsuperscript{19} providing a glimpse into architect-donor negotiations concerning a church's detail. Seventh are letters from architect Sir George Gilbert Scott\textsuperscript{20} to his patron, donor Lord Francis Egerton, first earl of Ellesmere, illustrating some of the nuances in negotiations concerning, in this case, a study-church-extension.

Of printed primary sources, donor Thomas Greenhalgh's semi-autobiographical novel,\textsuperscript{21} dwelt on at length below, stands out as supplying first-hand evidence of the heady burst of opportunity attending the latter stages of the industrial revolution, juxtaposed with the problems also assailing those involved, while memoirs and other material throw light on several individual donors and architects and on bishops and lesser clerics.\textsuperscript{22} The Cambridge Camden Society's propagandising material;\textsuperscript{23} Grindon's chatty account of Manchester's banking families;\textsuperscript{24} and volumes of \textit{The Builder}\textsuperscript{25} provide general as well as specific information.

Parish-literature is often the only source of information on a church's funding and foundation history, and on donor and architect. A loosely-defined category of material comprising both primary and secondary material, it includes parish-histories, often contained in church-anniversary booklets; donor-family histories and

\textsuperscript{16} Heywood diaries (13 September 1860 to 8 August 1878).
\textsuperscript{17} Shaw diaries (1829-48).
\textsuperscript{18} Barro (2011): Raines diaries (18 July 1829 to 18 March 1833).
\textsuperscript{19} Bodley letters (1874-9).
\textsuperscript{20} Scott (1844, 1846).
\textsuperscript{21} Greenhalgh (1852).
\textsuperscript{22} Heywood (1825); Scott (1879); \textit{Oliver Heywood's diaries} (Turner, ed., 1882); Hughes, \textit{James Fraser} (1887); Heywood (1888); Street (1972 edn.); Crowther (1893); Darbyshire (1897); Heywood (1899); Bodley (1900); Parry (1908).
\textsuperscript{23} E (1843; 1844).
\textsuperscript{24} Grindon (1878).
\textsuperscript{25} (1843-1959).
family trees; donor-obituaries; church-guides; and journal- and newspaper-articles – indispensable sources.  

Among other secondary sources, perhaps the most crucial are those relevant to Mancunian church-building; to singular church-funding and its relationship to charitable enterprise; and to the ecclesiastical context. For the first, Wyke's chapter, already mentioned, is essential. Works of at least some relevance to the second, all discussed below, are those of J. Stanley Leatherbarrow, Arthur Dobb and Richard McEwan. For charitable funding set in almost identical time and place, Peter Shapely's work investigating charitable-involvement's connections with power and reward in Manchester, though important fails, strikingly, to address church-funding, while his earlier text, a companion-chapter to Wyke's, while acknowledging some connection – inevitably given the context – draws little in the way of implications; a lack discussed later in the section. For the third, four revisionist studies questioning the assumption of the Established Church's decline over the period are also employed in the argument below. Patrick Joyce's and Simon Gunn's doctoral theses, the latter in particular focussing on aspects of life relevant to the study over the same period and in the same vicinity, have likewise been of considerable value; use has also been made of more junior texts by the author of the current study. A final resource is the internet, including histories on church websites; 'statements of significance' for the Churches Conservation Trust; obituaries; family trees, and much else. With due caution as to reliability, they are used where no other source has materialised.

Substantial use of oral sources is made. Each site-visit – at least one to every extant church, whether functioning or decommissioned – was enabled, for the former, by one or more parish-representatives: the incumbent; a churchwarden; a local- or church-historian. During, and often following, a visit, such representatives often themselves imparted historical information, though of uncertain reliability being, understandably, rarely accompanied by documentary endorsement.

Particularly valuable were interviews, telephone conversations, letters and emails, exchanged with donor-family descendants. These were: Sir Charles Hoare, Bt., 'distant cousin' of Peter Richard Hoare (St. Cross, Clayton); Dr. Derek Heap, great-great-nephew of William and James Heap (St. Thomas, Newhey); Sir Peter Heywood, Bt., great-great-great-grandson of Sir Benjamin Heywood (St. John the

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26 Somewhere between primary and secondary sources – representing, indeed, both – they lie between these bibliographical sections.
27 Leatherbarrow (1954); Dobb; McEwan (2014).
30 Joyce (1975); Gunn (1992); Boyd (2000; 2005).
31 MANCHESTER-CLAYTON, 2.
Evangelist, Miles Platting), and great-great-great-nephew of Edward Stanley Heywood, (St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pendlebury);32 Robert Cornish, great-grandson of Ralph Fletcher (St. Michael and All Angels, Howe Bridge) and distant cousin (third-twice-removed) of Charlotte Anne, née Fletcher (St. Anne, Clifton); Alice Ramage, née Mellodew, great-great-niece of Thomas Mellodew (St. Thomas, Moorside); Elizabeth Coomer, great-great-granddaughter of Josiah Radcliffe (St. Mary, Balderstone); and Hilary Bach, née Birley, first-cousin-twice-removed of Hugh Hornby Birley, MP, and brothers (St. Philip, St. Stephen, St. Michael, all of Hulme), including Herbert Birley (St. Anne, Brindle Heath, Pendleton).33

4 **Context and Perspective**

**donor**

During the period, the singular donors funded substantial church-building in Manchester – itself the centre, as needs no reiteration, of a technical, industrial and commercial revolution dependent upon cotton – and its surrounding towns and countryside.34 Of the donors – including industrialists of several kinds, landowning aristocrats, bankers and clerics – almost half were textile-mill-owners. Some donors added a church to inherited works; others, usually on green-field sites around the larger towns, themselves established mills, housing and schools as well as the church and, sometimes, parsonage.35

Providing a most useful and immediate perspective on such donors' social and industrial context, and illuminating the information considered for each donor in the next chapter, is a novel by one of their number: Boltonian Thomas Greenhalgh, a mill-owner who, with his brother Nathaniel founded two study-churches in the 1880s. Described as 'of Greenhalgh and Shaw', the company his brother founded,36 and as 'a principal servant and director of Sun Mill [who had] promoted at least four cotton spinning companies, held directorships in five, and at various times managed seven mills,'37 Greenhalgh's subject in *The Vicissitudes of Commerce: a tale of the cotton trade*38 is 'the stream of invention' that,

at the commencement of its course placid and gentle … is now rolling along a mighty torrent, sweeping away through its headlong speed every vestige of the good old times. … It is our intention to follow from its source one of the streams that fed this torrent.39

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32 Correspondence in relation to Boyd (2000).
33 I acknowledge with particular thanks my debt to all mentioned.
34 Manchester became in 1847 the world's first industrial diocese – Atherton, *TLCAS* 92-93, 34.
35 The donors of fourteen churches additionally provided both a school and a parsonage, overall providing 26 schools; 23 parsonages.
36 **Bolton-Crompton, 1, 2**.
38 Greenhalgh (1852); a promised second volume never materialised.
The novel's 'stream' follows a cotton-weaver, the fictional James Morland and three generations of his descendants; the year it opens, 1779, is that of James Hargreaves' invention of the spinning jenny that introduced

an entirely new system of labour … and … a fresh style of thinking and reasoning; which in little more than half a century changed the commercial policy of an empire, more powerful than that of Rome, and converted villages … into towns with their tens of thousands of inhabitants …

Thomas Greenhalgh was far from a disinterested observer of the activity springing directly from this 'mighty revolution', but a prime mover within it. When the novel was published – some seventy years after the spinning jenny's invention – he was in his mid-twenties. The similarities between him and his fictional hero Morland-III (the unnamed grandson of Hargreaves' contemporary) are manifold. Like the author, he was a successful mill-owner; like him, it seems, this came to him through inheritance, diligence and honesty:

Of this estate, the larger portion was bequeathed to him by his grandfather; the rest he acquired by a steady application to trade, being always held in high esteem for his honourable and upright conduct.

Almost certainly like Greenhalgh, prosperity was further helped by

thorough knowledge of his business [that] enabled him to amass wealth while many others were losing it … by keeping pace with the times and adapting his machinery so as not to be left behind in the great race of competition …

which, in regard to those who worked for him, raised moral difficulties as it 'reduced alike the remuneration of labour and the value of its product.' And, also like Greenhalgh, Morland-III built and endowed a church – albeit one, not two. But for the young author all this was yet to come; indeed, it is likely that Greenhalgh drew himself partially – evading generational exactitude – as Morland-III's son Frank whom he depicts as probably (like himself) in his mid-twenties in 1847 when the Ten Hours Bill became law, and as courting a young mill-hand (though in Greenhalgh's obituary there is no mention of a wife), and that the author's Morland-III represented his own father – seemingly the Nathaniel Greenhalgh, cotton-spinner, who married Ellen Burton in April 1815, and whose son Nathaniel was christened eleven months later – or that elder brother [p60], or a blend of the two.

However that may be, what is certain is that Greenhalgh – a contemporary and indubitably an insider – voices the familiar narrative of cotton-industrial change

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40 Ibid, 11.
41 Ibid, 91-4.
42 Though Greenhalgh's parentage and background are obscure, his 'second generation man' status allowed early retirement to pursue 'novel-writing' – Howe (1984), 43.
43 Greenhalgh, 99.
44 Ibid, 100-101.
45 'Greenhalgh, Nathaniel, Ellen Burton'; 'Greenhalgh, Nathaniel, Nathaniel Greenhalgh'; 'Greenhalgh, Nathaniel, cotton spinner', websites.
in fortune and status delivering the new middle class; and of desertion of land for city, population-explosion, exploitation and misery, birthing the new urban working class. In this novel, an important vector for argument, besides narrative, is the moral dialogue Morland-III has with the incumbent of the church he had built; or with the squire who had initially leased him the land upon which to found his industrial concern. With a degree of subtlety and sophistication, Greenhalgh manages to convey the complexity of the dilemmas, moral and practical, facing an industrial employer in the late 1840s. Issues\textsuperscript{46} include children from Suffolk removed from the pauper-families for whom they are 'a clog and a burden', and trucked in to 'put a stop to turn-outs' (a manoeuvre for which Morland-III subsequently expresses remorse); dawn-to-dusk child-labour; short life-expectancy; unhealthy working-conditions; 'gloomy and unusual depression [leading to the] commercial crisis' of 1846-7; grossly overcrowded sleeping-quarters; and the mill-owner's insistence upon the competitive necessity of a workforce that, in complete subjugation to the demands of industry, could equate to West Indian slave-labour. His caveat, 'Not that I am an advocate for slavery, for I abhor it as much as any man can do', sounds at best perfunctory. Greenhalgh uses Frank's relationship with the mill-girl to explore issues of social class. The broader-minded incumbent's pessimism concerning Frank's father's reaction to any liaison:

\begin{quote}
His ideas of refinement, consequent upon his education, would revolt at the very thought of admitting into his hall a mere factory girl, for such he will naturally suppose Maria to be …
\end{quote}

expresses something of the struggle between an exploited working class and the emerging and confident middle class from which sprang most of the church-funders examined in Chapter Two.

\textit{ecclesiastical}

While Greenhalgh's novel highlights the complexity of life during this period in Manchester and its surrounding towns, donors also operated against a complex and rapidly changing religious and ecclesiastical background that, for the Church of England, constituted a transformation 'more rapid, dramatic and enduring than any which it had experienced since the Reformation' though, despite its 'state of profound and lasting transition, in other important ways [it] remained distinctly the same institution as in the past.\textsuperscript{47} Crucially, Nonconformity's gathering strength, provoking legislation conferring public-office eligibility, piecemeal, upon Dissenters, Roman Catholics, Jews and atheists, relegated Establishment to one denomination among

\textsuperscript{46} Greenhalgh, 66-85, (130), 74, 79, 146, 150-151, 263, 275-6.

\textsuperscript{47} Knight (1995), 1, 2-3.
many. These changes were, moreover, occurring contemporaneously with general upheaval and 'unsettlement' associated with a spate, from believers and unbelievers alike, of outspoken moral and intellectual questioning of biblical truth and religious dogma and doctrine contributed to by the evolving geological and biological interpretations of creation.48

For all that, as revisionist studies over the past two decades have shown, the Established Church was very far from defeated. To the contrary, the work of Arthur Burns,49 examining the period 1800 to 1870 through 'diocesan records, personal and official correspondence, reform pamphlets, newspapers, the religious periodical press, parliamentary papers, contemporary biographies, and subsequent case studies of individual bishops and dioceses', demonstrates that what he describes as a 'Diocesan Revival' owed significantly more than previously supposed both to the pre-Tractarian 'Orthodox High Church' and to local initiatives, and resulted in

attendance growing faster that that of Dissent in larger towns between 1821 and 1851; … sustained growth in the number of Easter communicants until the 1920s; an increase of over 25 per cent (5,406) in the number of clergy and of 30 percent (3,639) in the number of churches and chapels between 1830 and 1870.50

In accordance with Burns' thesis challenging the prevailing notion of Anglicanism in 'long-term decline',51 two earlier studies focus on 'the people who joined and attended churches and what they did there'52 – Mark Smith's, examining it, against Dissent, in early-nineteenth-century Oldham and Saddleworth, and Frances Knight's, on national development. The quarter of the population the 1851 census found attending Anglican worship should be seen, the latter claims, as 'impressive. No other institution could command [comparable] support'. And most of the hundreds of thousands of pounds needed for building, extending, and refurbishing Anglican churches and schools … came out of lay pockets … a commitment of a most tangible kind. Clearly Nonconformists and Roman Catholics did not have a monopoly on readiness to make material sacrifices to maintain their religion. The rapid expansion and movement of population brought challenges to which Anglican lay people strove to respond. It can be argued that the comprehensive social and spiritual networks that were in place … by the end of the period were a measure of their success.53

In Oldham and Saddleworth, local Anglicans

struggled hard to maintain … church accommodation and … resident clergy, and, if they lost ground … were at least still in the race. Full advantage was taken of the [measures] introduced by central reforms, but the impetus for change and the dogged determination that saw it through the obstacles were always local. Both clergy and laity pursued a policy of aggressive missionary activity within the parishes with considerable devotion. …54

50 Ibid, 7, 4.
51 Atherton, 41.
52 Smith (1994), 1, 3.
53 Knight, 23-4.
54 Smith, 106.
an experience, Smith believes, quite possibly representative of 'other industrial areas', including Lancashire as an example of the

vitality of the 'unreformed' Establishment as reflected in its rate of church-building and its general pastoral effectiveness …

Somewhat less in accordance with Burns, who blames the Tractarians for seriously undermining Orthodox High Church contribution to reform and thus and otherwise generating tensions that

in part at least vitiated its effectiveness as an ideology underpinning practical reform,

these two studies also question the importance of factional division, Smith suggesting that it may have been the (episcopally-influenced) preponderance of Evangelical clergy in Oldham and Saddleworth that rendered
devolution and maintenance of good relations with evangelical nonconformity, and therefore of active cooperation in evangelism, exceptionally easy

while Knight's analysis, noting that it was denominational challenge that provoked the 'spiritual revival, which manifested itself in various shades of Evangelical, Orthodox and Tractarian Churchmanship' – a topic discussed in Chapter Four – sees churchmanship as irrelevant to 'the concerns of lay members of the Church of England'.

Like Knight's study focussing on the national scene, but from a wider variety of perspectives, a collection of papers exploring later-nineteenth-century Anglican church-provision, shows how,

just at [the] point when even churchmen were gloomily prophesying the end … Anglicanism reasserted itself.

Realising that the Church could no longer depend on resource-redistribution but needed 'a massive sustained voluntary effort from the Anglican laity', Bishop Bloomfield took the initiative in 1836 with a fund for new church-building in his London diocese. The dynamic in the ensuing nationwide church-building achievement was, this work claims, the ecclesiological movement, channelled locally through diocesan bodies spearheaded by Exeter's Diocesan Architectural Society (established 1841) that

played a key role in bringing together like-minded patrons, clergy and architects, and giving regional shape to the movement.

The scale of mid-century Anglican revival was dramatic, between 1835 and 1875 averaging ninety-six churches per annum. Though the rate of increase fell after the

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56 Burns, 18.
57 Smith, 86-7, 273.
58 Knight, 2, 19.
mid-1870s, the amount spent on church-building and -restoration remained considerable, amounting to £20,531,402 between 1873 and 1891, the most remarkable aspect of this investment being that it was (echoing Knight)

almost all of it from private sources, helped out by the various Church Building Societies – which were themselves, of course, voluntarily funded.\(^{60}\)

The picture for Establishment, then, is of resilience in the face of unprecedented challenge, with extensive church-building. This was funded singularly in a significant minority, at least in the study-deanery. Non-singular church-funding is beyond the scope of this study.

### historiographical

Shapely\(^{[p17]}\) finds strong correlation between philanthropic activity and public preferment. While avoiding the problematic question of motive (as, indeed, does the present study), he assesses the advantage that might accrue from charitable involvement in terms of achieved electoral, governmental and civic roles, concluding that it became a necessary part of the criteria for 'Manchester man' in the mid to late Victorian period. It was a vital means of influencing the public sphere. … A charitable profile could be a means of influencing others and of advancing an individual's position in the community. … Charitable involvement was especially important in providing a flux mechanism for local politicians.\(^{61}\)

and again,

Studying the relationship between power and voluntary charity highlights their cultural and political significance in nineteenth-century society. It indicates that the status implications for those with a high charitable profile might be considered at least as important in cultural terms as the significance of the charitable gift for the poor, either viewed as an act of benevolence or of 'social control'.\(^{62}\)

Though emphasising the part played in charitable-giving by notions of Christian duty and benevolence,\(^{63}\) Shapely's book accords no mention at all to church-funding as a philanthropic exercise – a fact described in general terms by another social-historian as a 'significant absence'.\(^{64}\) Shapely's earlier text, examining charity in specific relation to the Anglican church, does, it is true, inevitably allude to church-building:

Of the 100 individuals most actively involved with Manchester's charities 80 had an identifiable religious affiliation and 38 were known to be Anglicans. Families such as the Birleys were partly responsible for the dramatic increase in church building in the Manchester Diocese, with over 200 new churches built in the Victorian period. Such large scale benevolence reinforced the idea of 'giving' through the Church as part of an individual's Christian duty.\(^{65}\)

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\(^{60}\) Brooks, in Brooks & Saint, 9-10.

\(^{61}\) Shapely (2000), 137; a point made even more forcefully in Shapely, theses (1993), 328.


\(^{63}\) Ibid, 63.

\(^{64}\) Gunn (1996), 22.

\(^{65}\) Shapely, in TLCAS (1977), 74, footnoted: 'See Shapely, Ph.D thesis, Ch. 4'.
Since church-provision is clearly a significant area of philanthropy, this study starts from the premise that it will be useful to extend Shapely's approach to the detail of donor-funded Anglican churches. Joyce's thesis\(^{66}\) focuses not on religious but on political practice.

There is only one comprehensive volume addressing, in the Manchester diocese, the material upon which this thesis is based. This is a privately published work by a Manchester clergyman, Arthur Dobb,\(^{67}\) which excels in comprehensive coverage of the churches built or modified during the study-period and later. The work's undoubted strengths, however, must be appreciated only for what it offers: an unabashedly anecdotal and non-analytical history of the diocese's church-building achievements from its inception; it is, moreover, without references or comprehensive index, with a sparse bibliography giving only the faintest indication of possible sources. For the diocese's 1997 sesquicentenary, a volume of *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* was published, including essays on Church and: society; charity; and expansion – the founding of an individual church within the deanery. It also contains Wyke's gazetteer [p13].\(^{68}\)

Also helpful is Leatherbarrow's work, an account, as St. Peter, Swinton's incumbent, of its 1869 public-subscription-funded rebuilding and re-consecration, masterminded by his predecessor, first-incumbent, Henry Robinson Heywood. Aided by the contemporary diaries of Charles Greville, the work brings two main strengths to this study. The first is what amounts to a contextual framework of four dimensions: 'social'; 'religious'; 'architectural'; and 'family', throwing light rich in local and diocesan colour upon the situation then prevailing in one of the deanery's parishes. The second is the relevance to this study of the Swinton church's context and history, James Robinson Heywood being the son and brother respectively of the two study-donors Benjamin and Edward Stanley Heywood, and their homes – Swinton Vicarage, Claremont, Pendleton, and Light Oaks, Swinton – geographically close. Though a work of evident scholarship, Leatherbarrow's, like Dobb's, lacks notes and precise referencing. Unlike Dobb's, however, allusions within the text often provide information sufficient to enable source-identification, further helped by a reasonably comprehensive bibliography. Finally, McEwan's just-published work covers study-churches and -donors St. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting/Benjamin Heywood; and St. Benedict, Ardwick/John Marsland Bennett; besides significantly Birley-funded non-study-church St. Gabriel, Hulme. Informative, it is reasonably well-referenced, though without index or bibliography.

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\(^{66}\) Joyce (1975).
\(^{67}\) Dobb.
\(^{68}\) *TLCAS* 92-93 (1997).
5 **Approach**

Such substantial, singular-funded church-building coupled with relatively scant literature suggests the need for deeper analysis of the relationship between donor, church, architect and churchmanship in a socially, politically and ecclesiastically changing and intricate Cottonopolis deanery. Here, the core characteristic of this study, the singularity-prism through which data is selected and analysed, presents unusual if not unique opportunities. First, in relation to its donor's biography, to consider the timing of a church's foundation, seen from two viewpoints: that of public preferment, allowing re-visititation of Shapely's conclusions; and that of what one might call 'resurrection preferment', assessed through donor-age at that time, as a surrogate for likely proximity of death. Second, to use site-visit as well as textual – historical and biographical – datasets to examine each church for evidence of its donor's involvement – the donor-church-identity, the substance of Chapter Two, representing the heart of the donor-image question posed in the study's title. Third, to examine the dataset both for expressed reasons for the donation together with more nuanced indications of what else might have been in a donor's mind determining that donor to create that church. These might include: Church-allegiance (tangible and visible expression of loyalty and commitment to an Establishment considered under threat); evangelism (drive to spread faith or specific churchmanship); paternalism (worship-provision for a dependent population, usually a workforce), territorialism (assertion of ownership); and dynasticism (assertion of family pre-eminence). These, non-exclusive, strands of exploration enable additional inferences – of at least some relevance and value, if far harder of quantification – of how and to what extent donor-self-image may have been operative in the decision to build, and where to locate, a church.

6 **Methodology**

In addition to establishing a database of eligible churches, as much information as possible was sought on donors, architects and incumbents or other clerics strongly involved with a church – most intensively for donors. Highly informative articles in *The Dictionary of National Biography* cover seven donors;
eleven architects; all three diocesan bishops; five other clerics; and three artists and craftsmen relevant to the study. Of interest were speeches with bearing on donors or study-churches, given by diocesan bishops at consecrations and other occasions. Information, of very uneven quantity and quality, on others figuring in the study was gained from letters and other documents in Archdeacon John Rushton's diocesan returns [p14]; from parish records and booklets; from internet sources; occasionally through family connections [p16]; and through continuing relationships with the parish. For the most obscure, extensive use was made of genealogical websites; for some, results were considerably dependent on intuition and guesswork. To explore Shapley's preferment theme, biographical sources were minutely checked for donors' public positions. Donors' ages at the time of church-creation were noted.

The built outcome of each donor's decision to create was clearly supremely important. Between March 2010 and July 2012, all forty-seven still-standing churches received a site-visit; eleven were subsequently revisited. Sites of demolished churches were also viewed, to aid assessment of a church's (and donor's) local impact. The primary focus of each site-visit was to assess the church for signs – in its fabric and in collective memory attaching to it (gathered through parish-opinion expressed then or subsequently) – to what extent, if at all, its flavour suggests creation in its donor's image. Detail sought, and recorded against a check-list, the most significant were, naturally, the most immediately donor-associated factors: cost; advowson; church-office-holding; churchmanship; dedication; expressed reasons for creation; proximity to residence and workplace; memorials; burial arrangements; armorials; iconography; and dedicated donor-space (donor-pew; -chapel; -chapel with private entrance). Note was taken of, in addition to the church itself, any donor-funded endowment, parsonage, school or other amenity. Parish records and booklets, maps, volumes of The Builder, and internet sites were all used more or less extensively. A church's surroundings could also prove fruitful. One example was searching for and finding the vestiges of Thomas Openshaw's residence in Pimhole and seeing, almost exactly as he himself must have a century and a half earlier, his church's spire from what would then have been his garden-terrace.

The Royal Institute of British Architects was visited more than once in person, and innumerable times on-line, in pursuit of information about architects both well known and obscure – particularly the latter, since for some it offered the

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72 George Hull Bowers, husband of Davyhulme co-donor Isabella, née Norreys; J.E.N. Molesworth and Francis R. Raines, vicars of Rochdale and Milnrow respectively; leading Evangelical Hugh Stowell; and Cambridge Camden Society founder Benjamin Webb.
73 Charles Eamer Kempe, John Roddam Spencer Stanhope and Thomas Willement.
74 Right to appoint incumbents.
only information. Eight volumes of the Pevsner series local to Manchester\textsuperscript{75} were used extensively. The first four – by Pevsner himself, or significantly so – should be distinguished from the later three, ably updating his work while failing to distinguish clearly between Pevsner's own and later editors' judgments and views. The series enables attention to an architectural practice's ecclesiastical content; the extent of its locality base; and its other commissions in the north west. Of particular interest was how Pevsner rated a practice ecclesiologically, and comparing its pronouncements on that subject – in agreement or disagreement – with site-visit observations on the presence of ecclesiologically-approved features such as sedilia, piscina, aumbry and credence, as well as architectural style and a generous chancel/nave ratio. In respect of ecclesiology, the Cambridge Camden Society texts listed were essential.

Enlightenment as to the churchmanship of a donor, an architect or a church – arguably the alchemy \textit{(pace} Knight)\textsuperscript{76} binding the donor/church/architect nexus – was hard to come by. Insubstantial gleanings, often all that existed, were found by combing through parish booklets; searching \textit{The Ecclesiologist}'s indices; eliciting and noting current parish opinion; searching a church for visual evidence of High or Low Church features; and observing current churchmanship. Strongly differing churchmanship in works by the same architect was assumed to indicate the architect had no very marked preferences in that respect.

7 Summary

Each chapter plays its part in asking and attempting to answer the question considered for each church: how far and in what respect it was created in its donor's image, broadly construed. Chapter One considers each donor for implicit signs of self-image in one or more church-building projects, noting such factors as family and social background, religious involvement and commitment, professional life, personal tastes and preferences, and more general philanthropy, in addition to date of achievement of any public-office and age at the time of church-creation. Chapter Two examines each church for signs of donor-church-identity in: donor-related dedication; proximity; iconography; memorials, armorials, dedicated space; and burial arrangements. Chapter Three considers each architect's relationship with the donor and the church, seeking to assess the extent of donor-influence therein. And Chapter Four considers any signs of churchmanship to gauge the extent to which it

\textsuperscript{75} Derbyshire (1953); County Durham (1953); Cumberland and Westmorland (1967); Lancashire: the Industrial and Commercial South (1969); Cheshire (1971); Lancashire: Manchester and the South-East (2004); Lancashire: Liverpool and the South-West (2006); Lancashire North (2009); Manchester (2001).

\textsuperscript{76} Op cit, 19.
may have been a binding factor, however tenuous, in each donor-church-architect nexus. Thus, a database established, methodology and approach are applied to sources – physical, textual, and oral; and perspectives – donor, ecclesiastical, and historiographical – to draw hypotheses concerning singular church-funding and its relation to donor-self-image in that time and space.
Chapter One  
Fifty Church-Funders

Introduction

The donors (Appendix 1.1) – focus of this chapter's exploration of implicit indications of self-image in a church's creation – are the fifty individuals or family-consortia responsible, each singularly, for building, rebuilding or extending one or more of sixty-one churches. They are categorised in three broad groups; A, six Members of Parliament; B, thirty-one Industrialists; C, thirteen Non-Industrialists, with B and C further sub-divided. A measure of arbitrariness cannot be avoided. For instance, each of the MPs could be placed in alternative groups – four with Industrialists; two with Non-Industrialists. Francis Egerton – probably the most illustrious of the six – spanned all three categories as MP then peer; coal-mining and canal-building industrialist; and landowning aristocrat. Even harder to categorise are the eight Birley brothers,¹ whose funding of three of this study's four Hulme churches – St. Philip, St. Michael and St. Stephen – was as a family of industrialists but who, owing to third brother Hugh Hornby Birley's MP-status, are considered under Members of Parliament. And, if this were not anomalous enough, another study-church, St. Anne, Brindle Heath, Pendleton,² was funded individually by fourth brother Herbert, placing him under Industrialists and resulting, effectively, in his inclusion twice, separately categorised.

Apart from a brief orientation-sketch of each donor, use of the extensive material amassed is confined to that relevant to self-image, except when further information about a donor illuminates some general aspect of singular-funding. Occasionally, inferences on self-image drawn from the biographical considerations covered in this chapter appear to impinge on conclusions discussed in Chapter Two under donor-church-identity (a specific form of donor-image related to a donor's ongoing relationship with a church); these are alluded to, with pointers to later discussion.

The groups

Group A (Members of Parliament) contains six funders. Twenty of the thirty-one Industrialists (Group B), were mill-owners in the textile business; overwhelmingly in cotton but also in fustian (containing cotton), calico-printing, silk and wool. Two further cotton-manufacturers, Houldsworth and the Birley family –

¹ 'Birley, Joseph', websites.
² Murphy (1986).
the latter producing rubberized waterproof fabric of their own invention – are categorised with MPs. Of the other eleven industrialists, one was travelling representative for his family's cotton business; three owned factories respectively producing paper, wire, and chemicals (other chemical-manufacturers being the Blair brothers, included with the MPs); two – from the same extended Fletcher family but acting separately – were engaged in the complementary industrial fields of coal and canals (as was MP Lord Ellesmere); two were locomotive engineers; four were heiresses to textile-manufacturing businesses and fortunes. Of the fourteen in Group C (Non-Industrialists), six were bankers (a seventh, Benjamin Heywood, being placed with the MPs); two, producers of the (arguably) pre-industrialisation commodities of ale and timber; two, landed gentry (two further landowners – aristocracy rather than gentry – Lord Ellesmere and Wilbraham Egerton were MPs); three clergy; and a public servant. It should be emphasized that, transcending any classification, cotton and its associated industries\(^3\) underlay almost every development in Manchester and its surrounding areas during the period; the overwhelming majority of these donors – whether textile manufacturers or not - derived the wealth that financed their churches directly or indirectly from the textile industry,\(^4\) often over more than one generation.

GROUP A: MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (6)

The work of Shapely – and to a lesser extent Joyce – implies that church-financing could have conferred electoral advantage, a theme explored in more detail below. Discussion thus starts with those whose at least willingness to accept power and status (an identifiable category of 'reward') is almost beyond question: the six donors who sat in the Commons. The degree of involvement and commitment to serving as leaders of society in this particular way differed greatly among the six, not least in duration: twenty-five years (Wilbraham Egerton, 1858-1883); twenty-four (Francis Egerton, 1822-1846), twenty-three (Houldsworth, 1883-1906), fifteen (Birley, 1868-1883); a mere four (Blair, 1848-1852) and under two (Heywood, 10 May 1831 to 3 December 1832).

Francis Egerton, first earl of Ellesmere (1800-1853)\(^5\) [plate 4], a scion of the highest aristocracy, inherited the very considerable coal and canal empire of his uncle, the duke of Bridgewater. In 1822, aged only twenty-two, he entered

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\(^3\) Including female employment, in 1881 cotton was the leading source of employment in Manchester and Salford – Gunn, *theses* (1992), 358.

\(^4\) The wealth even of the aristocrat, Ellesmere, came largely from the inherited Bridgewater fortune generated by the canal and collieries crucial to the cotton industry.

\(^5\) 'Egerton', *ODNB*. 

33
parliament, where, as 'a liberal conservative of the Canning school', he strongly advocated Free Trade and carried a motion for the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy, and where he sat, holding various posts, until himself ennobled in 1846. He was a man of letters and patron of the arts.

Egerton funded two of this study's church-building projects. First, for Walkden's escalating population of 'miners and navigators (the canal builders)', he rebuilt an earlier church, St. George's (1836) as St. Paul, Walkden Moor (re-consecrated 1848), providing also schools, libraries, pharmacies and recreational and evening-class facilities. Second, for St. Mark, Worsley, he built at least one extension (north aisle, 1851-2), and possibly also another (lengthening the Ellesmere Chapel). Situated at the gates of Worsley New Hall (1840-1845), built by the earl, St. Mark's was lavishly appointed and, especially the family-chapel, integral to Egerton's domain.

A paraphrased extract from Egerton's brother-in-law's diaries describes him as

sincerely religious, without intolerance or austerity or the slightest particle of ostentatious or spiritual pride. From the moment of his accession to the property he considered himself in the light of a trustee for working out the moral and spiritual improvement of the people committed to his charge. suggesting he may have been a serious churchman. His wife published works on the epistles and holy communion, and a Journal of a Tour to the Holy Land (1841), which included some of her husband's drawings.

Benjamin Heywood (1793-1865) was from a Unitarian banking family who set up business in Manchester in 1788, moving there from Liverpool where the considerable wealth they had acquired over previous decades owed as much to slave-trading as to banking, for which donor Benjamin later implicitly apologised. After Glasgow University, Benjamin entered his father's bank, of which he became a partner in 1814, subsequently head and, from 1828, sole proprietor. In 1831 he was elected MP for Lancashire as Whig supporter of the Reform Bill, retiring the following year on grounds of 'declining health'. Heywood lived largely, in mid-life,
at Claremont, one of his four homes, set in agreeably secluded parkland in Pendleton. Over his lifetime he acquired other property in far less gracious neighbourhoods – notably in the 'sordid area' of Miles Platting where, in the mid-1850s, he built St. John the Evangelist (1855; closed 1972; demolished).

The origin of Heywood's largesse was a diocesan approach to him as landowner for a church-plot. He wrote from Claremont to his son Percival in February 1852:

I have had an application from the Diocesan Church Building Society for land to build a church at Miles Platting. They want my only front piece. I shall gladly give it them, and I must think of a handsome money donation also. I have long wished this to be done; with a church, bath, and washhouses, schools, mechanics' institution, we shall surely make some impression. …

Contributing more than a 'handsome donation', he funded the entire church.

Though the 'long wished' ambitions he expresses for the area were no doubt partly aimed at 'civilising' his tenantry, Heywood's church-creation may have been primarily inspired by apparently genuine concern, sympathy and understanding for the working classes arguably rare among the 'commercial aristocracy' of which he was a leader, expressed in his co-founding of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution in 1825. For the underprivileged within his orbit he sought to bring 'enlightenment' - social but, above all, spiritual. Such an interpretation is supported by the apparently spontaneous affection demonstrated by the populace, upon his election as MP, during his triumphant return to Manchester from Lancaster, as recounted by his brother:

Through every village and town ... every article, pink, red, scarlet, or crimson, was put in requisition, and all the inhabitants, old and young, assembled in front of their houses, and saluted Mr. Heywood with most hearty and repeated cheers. …

ending, as the procession approached St Ann's Square,

in order to set Mr. Heywood down at his house there [with] the horses [being] taken out, in spite of all his entreaties to the contrary, and the carriage [being] drawn by the people.

There seems no doubt concerning the seriousness of his faith, described as

16 From 1828, on his uncle Benjamin Arthur's death; the others, Doveleys, a Staffordshire farmhouse Heywood bought in 1831 (after lavish alteration it became his eldest son Thomas Percival Heywood's married home); one in Hyde Park Gardens, London, succeeding one in Dover Street; and West Hey, a seaside house built in 1838 by Benjamin Heywood in Blackpool, then a newly-discovered fishing village – 'Heywood', websites, reprinted from Manchester Faces & Places 1 No. 3 (December 1889), 10; Leatherbarrow, 187-8.
17 Leatherbarrow, 49.
18 'Miles Platting', websites.
19 Heywood (1888), 208-9.
20 Leatherbarrow, 25.
21 Memoir – (1888) 40-41 – of his brother Benjamin demonstrates difference of definition – 'it had its public origin at a meeting held on April 7th, 1824, at which Mr. Heywood presided, but 'was opened (March 30th, 1825) by an address from Mr. Heywood'. ODNB's 'inception in 1825' accepts the later date. (My italics throughout.) Note successor University of Manchester's choice of 1824.
22 Leatherbarrow, 48.
23 Heywood (1888), 75-7.
strong and profound; no man was ever more fully persuaded that all religion has relation to life, and that the life of religion is to do good. In works of secret charity he was unwearied, and these were expressive of him to the end. If many rich people knew where he lived, so did a great many of the poor.\textsuperscript{24}

Personal involvement in the church-project is suggested by his use in correspondence of the personal pronoun: during construction, \textit{We} shall break the ground this month, and lay the first stone next month; '… we are busy completing'; eight years post-consecration (at a service ill health prevented his attending), \textit{We} had five clergymen …',\textsuperscript{25}

Heywood's 'services to political economy, science, and social progress' reaped a baronetcy upon Queen Victoria's coronation in 1838.\textsuperscript{26} In 1843 he was elected FRS.

Stephen (1804-1870) and Harrison Blair (c. 1812-1870) in 1826 inherited the Mill Hill bleach works in Bolton founded by their father, George Blair, originally from Wigton, Cumberland.\textsuperscript{27} After seventeen years' junior partnership with his brother, Harrison established his own vitriol works in Kearsley.\textsuperscript{28} Stephen was mayor of Bolton (1845-6) and then MP in the Conservative\textsuperscript{29} interest (1848-52), besides serving county and borough magistracies, while Harrison served as magistrate (from 1850) and Kearsley Local Board chairman (1865-8). Both were Freemasons, Stephen in 1856 succeeding Lord Ellesmere as Provincial Grand Master of East Lancashire Lodge.\textsuperscript{30} Stephen never married, remaining at Mill Hill House near the expanded bleach-works,\textsuperscript{31} while Harrison, upon marrying Frances Jane Mann (Fanny) in 1851, left Kearsley House (thenceforth his works office) for Outwood, the couple subsequently living near Clitheroe and finally at Peel Hall, Little Hulton.\textsuperscript{32}

The brothers funded the building of St. Stephen, Kearsley Moor (1871), completed after their deaths in 1870 by Harrison's widow and daughters. The initiative was possibly more Harrison's who is said to have wished to provide the people he had once lived among with a local place of worship for whose inhabitants, mainly employees, it was his 'dream' to build a church instead of their having to walk to Farnworth or Ringley.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{24} Grindon (1878), 194.
\textsuperscript{25} Letters to Percival (4/2/1852), Henry and Charles – Heywood (1888), 253, 258-9, 302; my italics.
\textsuperscript{26} Leatherbarrow, 188.
\textsuperscript{27} BOLTON-Farnworth-&-Kearsley, 3.
\textsuperscript{28} Blair; 'One Man's Dream'; 'Blair, Stephen', websites.
\textsuperscript{29} Though debatable, 'Conservative' and 'Tory' in this study are used synonymously and interchangeably.
\textsuperscript{30} 'Blair, Stephen', websites.
\textsuperscript{31} BOLTON-Farnworth-&-Kearsley, 1, 236.
\textsuperscript{32} BOLTON-Farnworth-&-Kearsley, 3, 12.
\textsuperscript{33} 'Blair, "One ...", websites.
Contextualising the project are both brothers' wider philanthropy and, unsurprisingly in view of St. Stephen's posthumous completion, involvement in other churches. Stephen's bequest of £20,000 to build and equip a 'free hospital for sick persons without limit of domicile' cost six times the church; additionally he left £10,000 for its endowment. The innumerable good and noble things [done by Fanny Blair] in Bolton, Kearsley, Little Hulton … and other places. We can only thank God for lives spent, like Mrs. Blair's, in doing good. suggest Harrison may have espoused similar causes. And Stephen was first churchwarden (with a Sumner family-member), of Bolton's St. John's, Folds Road (funded by Bishop Sumner); Harrison and his wife founded, though without singularly financing, St. John the Baptist, Hulton (also posthumously consecrated, 1876).

Wilbraham like his namesake Francis was aristocratic, landed and wealthy. From 1858 he was (Conservative) MP for North Cheshire – Mid-Cheshire after 1868 reorganisation – until, on his father's death in 1883, moving to the Lords as Baron Egerton. In 1897 he was created first Earl Egerton of Tatton, and Viscount Salford; and was Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for the county and city of Chester (1900-1906). He married successively two noblewomen: a daughter resulted from the first.

Upon his death in 1909, distant kinsman Piers Egerton Warburton wrote of him as conscientious and hard-working – 'No man did more as a good Conservative and strong Churchman in the County' – but for all that, 'never popular' owing to a 'stiff manner' that, in the writer's judgment, cost him the chairmanship of his newly-instituted county council, a post to which he had 'quite expected to be elected … but got few votes'. The note ends, however – possibly perfunctorily – 'he will be greatley [*sic*] missed.' The lavish style in which Egerton and his first wife were wont to entertain was notorious; it included hospitality to the Prince and Princess of Wales on the occasion of Manchester's Royal Silver Jubilee Exhibition (1887).

If multiple church-funding be deemed a measure of religious commitment, Wilbraham Egerton scores highly, having, among other churches, financed four of this study's. These were first– aged twenty-six, the study's youngest church-funder –

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34 The resulting Blair Hospital at Bromley Cross, Bolton (1887), has provoked the recent caustic comment that, its creation resting on the gains of what was 'a noxious business, … the money to build the hospital came from the same source as the sick to fill it' – P04, 81.
35 SALFORD-Little-Hulton, 23.
36 BOLTON-Folds-Road, 4.
37 BOLTON-Folds-Road, 1, 13.
38 Burke and Ashworth (88th edn., 1930).
39 Egerton-Warburton 'journal' extract – quoted by Charles Foster, private correspondence.
40 ‘Egerton, Wilbraham’, websites.
Manchester's St. Mary, Hulme (1858; closed 1981; demolished), to answer the need for increased worship-accommodation, for which also, unusually, he provided a maintenance-fund. Also in Hulme was at least one of several he part-financed, St. Gabriel's (jointly with Hugh Birley, 1869; closed 1969; demolished), and he gave the land for St. George's (1828; closed 1983; demolished).

His remaining three study-churches, all created in middle and later life, were in Ordsall, Salford, to which Egerton's interest had seemingly turned, his family having, since about 1758, owned Ordsall estate and hall, let to successive tenants. The churches there were St. Clement (1878); St. Cyprian (1899 as part of his conversion of Ordsall Hall into a clergy training school – perhaps confirming unusually strong religious interest – demolished 1967); and St. Ignatius (1903; closed 2002; extant).

The eight sons of Joseph Birley of Fordbank, Didsbury (1782-1847), were Richard (1812-74); Thomas Hornby (1815-1885); Hugh Hornby (1817-1883); twins Herbert (1821-1890) and Henry (1821-1894); Robert (1825-1897); Alfred (1832-1908); and Arthur (1834-1912). Representing one of Manchester's greatest mid-nineteenth-century industrial families, all eight were born there after their father's move from Kirkham, where his family had been putters-out; 1814 saw the creation of his first mill in Chorlton-upon-Medlock.

Hugh, the third, enjoyed most worldly success. On leaving Winchester College, he went to India as head of Birley, Corrie & Company before returning to partnership in the family-firm and in Charles Macintosh & Company, rubber and rainwear manufacturers, the latter especially greatly increasing his wealth. A Conservative, he was MP for Manchester (1868-1880). His philanthropy benefited a number of local causes including the Manchester Royal Infirmary, besides church- and school-provision for the operative and middle classes, a stance amply reflected in his reputation. Inevitably, as a prominent Tory, he was criticised by Liberals for supporting policies – '... ever crushing the poor, ever standing in the way of making things better ...', as one contemporary journalist put it – that, internationally as well as nationally, they regarded as oppressive.

41 Axon (1886), 275; Rushton 43 (1846), 87.
42 For example, from the complete study-database: St. Margaret, Burnage (1875), site and £300; Holy Innocents, Fallowfield (1872), site and 'large donation'; St. Luke, Heaton Norris, site – see MCL MS796.51Ga1 52, 115, f942.7389 Sc4, 182 (1873); BR (11/6/1870), 472. Outside the diocese, St. Mary and All Saints, Ringway, near Altrincham (1895); its originally-planned All Saints dedication was changed to include St. Mary, apparently in memory of his wife, died 1892 – Anon (1895).
43 Murphy, 14, 19; Dobb, 166.
44 'Ordsall Hall', websites.
45 Ten sons in all, two dying in infancy – Burke (1937), 'Birley, Joseph', websites.
46 Hugh Birley's Obituary, The Times, 10 September 1883, 4, cit. 'Birley, Hugh, Obituary', websites.
47 See, for example, MANCHESTER-Hulme, 6.
48 MANCHESTER-Hulme, 8, about his speech on the French Republic.
Criticism, however, was more than balanced by adulation. Particularly outstanding were links with and munificence towards the Church of England; their bishop described the family as 'of the noblest' by virtue of multiple services to the Established Church. These amounted, according to a contemporary source, to 'not less than £100,000' and included financing, unaided or with others, no fewer than thirteen churches in and around Manchester. Five of these were in Hulme – the township bordered to the east by Cambridge Street, site of the Birley cotton-mills – of which the first, St. Philip (1860; demolished 1974), was recorded at the time as not only an important addition to ecclesiastical architecture in Manchester, but, from its position and size, it will supply a long and strongly felt need of church accommodation in the district. Its erection is due to the Messrs. Birley, who are large employers of the population of the neighbourhood ... incumbent to be Rev. Robert Birley. That and two others – St. Michael (1864, closed 1963; demolished); and St. Stephen (1869; closed 1978; demolished), for neither of which any reason for building is documented – were singularly Birley-funded and fall within this study's scope. Birleys, as well as Houldsworths, Heywoods, Loyds, Whiteheads, a 'J. Taylor', and the Earl of Ellesmere, punctuate the lists of the 1851-established Manchester Diocesan Church Building Society's founders and contributors.

Further supporting the notion of serious Church-commitment, six of the family took Holy Orders: brothers Robert and Alfred, respectively Hulme St. Philip's first rector (1860-1900) and vicar of Bolton-le-Sands, Lancaster; brother-in-law, Richard Tonge, rector of St. Ann, Manchester (1886-1895); brother Thomas's two sons, Hugh and Cuthbert, respectively rector of Croxdale, Durham (1909-1919), and vicar of Swinton (1895-1899); and second-cousin John Shepherd Birley, vicar of All Saints, Bolton (1832-1843). In addition, Hugh's publicly-aired thinking, for example on the parish being 'for the benefit of the inhabitants, in which they are themselves active and conspicuous agents', and church-building being not only for the poor but also to wean by example the 'thinking classes' from fascination with German liberal ideas, must have convinced many among his peers of his genuineness and commitment; they seem even to have persuaded some present-day

49 Bishop Fraser, 24 December 1877, cit. Diggle (1890), 447.
50 Axon, 396-7. Besides the three study-churches, they contributed substantially to St. John Baptist, and St. Mark, Hulme; St. Matthew, Ardwick; St. Clement, Longsight; St. Paul, Chorlton-on-Medlock; Holy Innocents, Fallowfield; St. Martin, Ancoats; St. John, Longsight; St. James the Less, Ancoats; and St. Luke, Miles Platting. See also Murphy, 3.
51 MANCHESTER-Hulme, 1.
52 MDCBS archive (volume pertaining to the founding period of the society; first twenty-three pages containing insets (Chetham's Library, ref. A.6. 38).
53 'Birley, Joseph', websites.
54 'Birley Family Tree', websites.
55 Thanks to Hilary Bach, great-granddaughter of Hugh Hornby Birley (Peterloo), great-niece of donor Hugh Birley and granddaughter of Cuthbert Birley (vicar of Swinton 1895-1899), who provided this information about her family through private communication (17/6/2010 – 23/4/2012).
56 MANCHESTER-Hulme, 9.
historians that his huge munificence and tireless efforts for the Church were inspired by religious commitment rather than political advantage.\textsuperscript{57} At least by 1911, when Anglo-Catholic Father Thomas was procured from St. Gabriel, Hulme, for St. Mary, Balderstone [p232], the family's churchmanship was almost certainly High.

Contextualising this generosity, and suggesting that establishing a beneficent image of themselves in and through the churches they founded may have been for them an especially important consideration, the prominence of their family name since 1819 through the part played at Peterloo by an earlier Hugh Hornby Birley, the donors' uncle, should be remembered. Despite the older Hugh's acquittal at the trial brought on a private assault charge against him and three others,\textsuperscript{58} opprobrium may, nevertheless, have persisted sufficiently to suggest his nephew Hugh Birley would stand to profit exceptionally in restoring the family's reputation through lavish acts of generosity and civic virtue. To support this notion it is perhaps significant that a writer referring to Peterloo in 1886, three years after the younger Hugh's death, criticises the 'hotheaded' yeomanry without so much as a mention of the name Birley, concluding, on a positive note, that: 'the effect of Peterloo was very important, for it united the Reformers of all classes, and was the beginning of the movement which carried into law the Reform Bill of 1832'.\textsuperscript{59}

William Henry Houldsworth (1834-1917)\textsuperscript{60} [plate 5], a great-great-grandson of Joseph Houldsworth (c. 1700-1777, born Duffield, Derbyshire, settled Nottinghamshire), had allegiance to both Scotland (where he was born, in Symington, Ayrshire) and Manchester (where he was christened, in Ardwick). His grandfather Henry had moved from Nottingham to work in the Manchester cotton-mills and thence to Scotland, where William Henry's father, also Henry, was raised.\textsuperscript{61} William started his business career with the central Manchester family concern. However, though accepting the role for which his birthright had prepared him, his preferences led him to reject the Dissenting faith and Liberal persuasion of his father and embrace High-Anglicanism and the Conservative interest. With the decidedness, energy and imaginative flair that appear to have characterised virtually everything he did, he then set about conducting a community building experiment – two mills (1865, 1872), houses, school, working men's club, and parsonage – in Reddish, of which the church, St. Elisabeth (1883) after his wife, was final and crowning glory.

\textsuperscript{57} See Garnett & Howe, 85 and passim.
\textsuperscript{58} '... after five days' deliberation, the jury found, in Birley's favour, that the assault ... had "been properly committed in the dispersal of an unlawful assembly".' – 'Birley, Hugh (1778-1885)', websites.
\textsuperscript{59} Axon, 397.
\textsuperscript{60} A6; 'Houldsworth', ODNB.
\textsuperscript{61} 'Houldsworth', websites.
Similar drive and creativity resulted in achievements in politics and a baronetcy in 1887. MP for Manchester from 1883 until 1906, as local party chairman he so reformed the party in Lancashire as to play a significant part in its increasing regional success, crucially, it is suggested, through following other Anglican cotton masters in cultivating working-class support for Toryism in Manchester.

**Group A discussion**

Against the findings of Shapely and of Joyce [p17], the possibility of church-building having electorally advantaged the six parliamentarian funders is ruled out for both Heywood and Blair, elected before their churches were built. However, Francis Egerton's Lancashire lord-lieutenancy (1855-7) succeeded his two church-building projects and the consecration of St. Mary, Hulme, occurred the year Wilbraham Egerton won his seat; highly visible local church-funding could well have helped them. Shapely shows correlation between philanthropic activity and electoral success to have been strongest between 1857 and 1892, when Houldsworth's involvement in local charities – and when his Reddish church was built – was one of the highest amongst fellow leading citizens. Causal benefit to his time in parliament (1883-1900) is thus plausible. As for Birley, though his three study-churches were founded earlier, the largesse and commitment associated with his name rendered his reputation unassailable and made his re-election, an adulatory contemporary claims, 'a moral certainty':

> [Hugh Birley's] time and fortune has [sic] been devoted to every good work ... whether it be the erection and endowment of Christian places of worship, schools for the education of the poor or the middle class; in donations to the various charitable institutions, or aid during great and trying calamities, he has ever been found in the front rank, and his benevolence has been largely supplemented by his brothers and relatives. As prosperous manufacturers they have alleviated distress to such an extent as to make the name of Birley a household word in Lancashire ...

Of relevance here are Joyce's findings showing how consistently members of the workforces of paternalistic masters who created churches, schools and other amenities for their employees would adopt their masters' religious and political affiliations. Though centring on Blackburn, he presents evidence of this pattern extending to other Lancashire townships, specifically citing Birleys (also Ormrods and Openshaws).

Considered as an alternative a pressing 'ticket-to-heaven' motive as death approaches seems unlikely for this group. (Appendix 1.3) Wilbraham Egerton was

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62 Appendix 1.2; Shapely (2000), 113, n. 7, 119, 126, 127 and passim.

63 Shapely (2000), 113; Houldsworth is cited as one of five (out of six) successful parliamentary candidates between 1857 and 1892 to have been thus widely involved in local charities; Hugh Birley another.

64 MANCHESTER-Hulme, 10.

65 Joyce (1975), 528.
only twenty-six (forty-six, sixty-seven, seventy-one for subsequent churches); Hugh Birley, forty-three (forty-seven and fifty-two for subsequent ones); Ellesmere, forty-eight (fifty-two at his second); Houldsworth, forty-nine; the Blairs, fifty-eight and sixty; and Heywood, sixty-two.

Four of the group were industrialists as well as parliamentarians. Of these, three are documented as creating a church for a workforce: Francis Egerton, the Blairs and the Birleys; while Houldsworth's, part of his model village, surely was too. Heywood's aim was self-avowedly landowning paternalism; Wilbraham Egerton's inferentially likewise.

GROUP B: INDUSTRIALISTS (31)

These donors – mostly, it will be seen second- or third-generation industrial masters – employed around their production-sites workforces for which they considered a church as necessary as housing and schools. In at least fifteen cases, of those perceived necessities, the church was last to be provided, the schoolroom often being worship's original setting. First to be examined are twenty textile-mill-owners.

The four Whitehead brothers, Ralph Radcliffe (1809-1871), James Heywood (1810-1869), Francis Frederick (1812-1886), and John Dicken (1814-1886), were the earliest to fund a study-church – Rochdale's Christ Church, Friezland (1850). Of textile-manufacturing stock from nearby Saddleworth, they exploited a rural site adjacent to the Huddersfield Narrow Canal at the foot of steep Pennine uplands, to build new industrial plant – soon honoured, through royal patronage, with the title Royal George Mills [plate 6]. To this, along with grander houses for themselves, they added terraces for their workers. Soon after, they provided a school and, finally, the church. This train of events – one followed, as shown below, by several of this study's mill-owning donors – suggests the descriptor, 'textile squires':

There was no Tory Squirearchy in south east Lancashire. The successful industrialists became the leaders of their community and what better way could there be in underlining their position than by donating and building an Anglican church for the community within which they lived, a church in which they could have their own pew and their own family memorials …

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66 Heywood (1888), 208-9.
67 'Walkden Moor', 'Moorside', 'Newhey St. Thomas', 'Howe Bridge', 'Mossley', 'Westhoughton St. James', 'Westleigh St. Peter', 'Reddish', websites; Kearsley: BOLTON-FARNWORTH-&-KEARSLEY, 2; Clifton: SWINTON-CLIFTON; Ashton Holy Trinity: ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE-HOLY-TRINITY, 2; Walshaw: BURY-WALSHAW, 2; and Bolton, All Souls, and The Saviour: Dobb, 181.
68 OLDHAM-FRIEZLAND, 2.
69 Derek Heap, descendant of donors of a later Rochdale church (St. Thomas, Newhey) – personal communication (25/6/2010).
Their Friezland church, depicted with parsonnage and schools in a drawing by architect George Shaw [plate 7], was built for their workforce. Their generosity included endowing its living and maintenance and building a parsonage, besides land for bowling-green and cricket club, contributing to their reputation as excellent employers. Much less is known about St. John the Baptist, Roughtown, Mossley (1878), chiefly, it seems, James Heywood Whitehead's posthumous creation, though Frederick Francis was also involved.

Robert Gardner (1781-1866), a Tory, is described as 'a thoroughly go-ahead Manchester man', owning warehouses in Manchester and London and also a spinner, manufacturer and vigorous entrepreneur, during his career making forays into Australian wool and Lancashire glass – the latter less successfully than his other enterprises. From 1831, with Thomas Bazley, he built Bolton's Barrow Bridge model village, containing 'allotment gardens, a reading room and institute, and a Co-op, but no pub or church'.

Religious concerns seem to have been his real passion. An Evangelical, he was patron of Christ Church, Salford, collaborating with and promoting to the living Canon Hugh Stowell who, notorious for vociferous opposition both to Roman Catholicism and to anything verging on Anglo-Catholic practices, was also a serious exponent of Christian responsibility towards wealth, expressed in, among other works, \textit{A Model for Men of Business; Lectures on the Character of Nehemiah} (1854), for whom Robert Gardner was believed to have been the 'model'. This ponderous work depicts Nehemiah as fired, among much else, with dedication, holy detachment and religious fervour:

\begin{quote}
Nehemiah's Master Principle. But so did not I, because of the fear of God. – Neh. v. 15.

Nehemiah's Unworldliness of Mind. Yea, also I continued in the work of this wall, neither bought we any land, and all my servants were gathered thither unto the work. – Neh. v. 16.

Nehemiah's Zeal for the Sanctuary. We will not forsake the house of our God. – Neh. x. 39.
\end{quote}

Whether or not Gardner was indeed the model for this paragon, Thomas Bazley quotes him as manifesting concerns similar to Stowell's:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Bolton, 2}, P04, 51.
\item 'Stowell', \textit{ODNB}.
\item Garnett & Howe, 73.
\item Garnett & Howe, 77.
\end{itemize}

\footnotesize
70 His memorial plaque there describes him as 'mainly instrumental in erecting this church' and as having 'constant interest in [its parishioners'] welfare'.
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71 Barker (1960), 123-4; Gardner Trust (1804-1945); \textit{Transfer of Shares} (1855), all \textit{cit}. Howe, 39.
\footnotesize
72 Whose son, Thomas Sebastian Bazley, married Gardner's daughter Elizabeth.
\footnotesize
73 \textit{Bolton, 2}.
\footnotesize
74 P04, 51.
\footnotesize
75 'Stowell', \textit{ODNB}.
\footnotesize
76 Garnett & Howe, 73.
\footnotesize
77 Stowell (1854), Lectures I, 2; X, 71; XII, 86.
\footnotesize
78 Garnett & Howe, 77.
It was principally by the working classes that we had our wealth, and it ought to be the object, not only of our government, but of every individual member of the community to promote in every possible way, the well-being of the great mass of the working classes.\(^79\)

– a laudable aim somewhat offset by Dobb's perhaps mischievous account of the gallery of his second study-church having been devised by donor and architect to segregate 'the poor, with their often obnoxious physical condition and the servants … from the ladies and gentlemen whose paid seats were in the main body of the church'.\(^80\) It is notable that – *pace* Stowell? – in the utopian Dean Mills Colony he co-owned with Bazley, workers of all denominations including Roman Catholics were employed.\(^81\)

The unusual history of Gardner's first Manchester study-church, Christ Church, Moss Side (1850), is related below \[p128\]. His second, rebuilding St. Luke, Chorlton-upon-Medlock (1863-1865; re-consecrated 1865; demolished 1962), was created in memory of his wife.\(^82\)

Oldham Whittaker (1810-1871) was a second-generation Ashton-under-Lyne mill-owner, born in Hurst four years after his father had moved there from Oldham and founded the spinning and weaving mill that made the family's fortune,\(^83\) expanding – the father in time joined by his elder son, his son-in-law, and Oldham himself – into an enterprise providing employment for most of Hurst.\(^84\) After twice dropping out of boarding-school, Oldham showed some ability at accounting and, later, machinery design.\(^85\) A Liberal with a reputation for paternalism, he was an active and hardworking employer ('at the mill 5.45 sharp each morning') and owned between one and two hundred houses in Ashton.\(^86\) His benevolent paternalism during the harsh years of cotton famine (1861-5), administering 'Provisions, Clogs, Garments, and other Articles', relieved the fear felt 'as the time approached for the closing of Your Mill', eliciting fulsome gratitude:

> Your generosity … Your benevolence, relieve our necessities, comfort our minds, and render Your name musical in our ears. "God bless You" is the utterance of our inmost Souls.\(^87\)

Seemingly abandoning for Anglicanism – like several other donors – the Methodism of his father and brother, Oldham funded building at two Ashton

\(^{79}\) Bazley (1856), 16; *Manchester Guardian* (10/8/1844), *cit*. Howe, 302-3.

\(^{80}\) Dobb, 158.


\(^{82}\) *MANCHESTER-Chorlton-upon-Medlock*, 1, 2, conflicting with sources, including Wyke, dating re-consecration of Gardner's re-build 1858.

\(^{83}\) *Hurst*, websites.

\(^{84}\) *ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE-Hurst*, 3.

\(^{85}\) *ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE-Hurst*, 2.

\(^{86}\) Joyce (1975), 546, 550.

\(^{87}\) *ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE-Hurst*, 1.
churches. These were a considerable extension (1862), comprising transepts, tower and family-chapel, for the pre-existing, largely Commissioners' grant-funded St. John the Evangelist, Hurst (1849) and, within a half-mile, three years later, St. James the Apostle, Hurst Brook (1865), provided to answer 'local demand'.

Correspondence copied in Archdeacon Rushton's diocesan returns throws light on the stages that could, perhaps typically, be gone through in negotiating a deal between a would-be donor, his family, his parish, and diocesan representatives. A handwritten note – Rushton's? – headed 'Oct. 1861 Hurst Brook' tells of Whittaker's move:

Mr. Oldham Whittaker of Hurst, has, thro' Mr. Tho[mas] Clegg, sent to the Bank, for the Manchester Diocesan Church building Society the sum of £3,000 which he wish [sic] to be laid out in building two churches & schools near his works at Hurst.

The Rev. Dr. Rushton & Mr. Clegg were deputed by the Society to confer with Mr. Whittaker on the best mode of carrying out his views. The latter has met with parties who consent to become members of a Committee for carrying out Mr. Whittaker's liberal [sic] views.

On 28 October 1861, Whittaker writes to Clegg suggesting revising his original plans to accommodate diocesan and family preferences:

The proposed visit of Dr. Rushton would be very acceptable and I have no doubt it would result in putting matters in a train. The Committee you name and I do not know that it could be increased with advantage, except some local names were added. Since seeing you last I have had several conversations about the project with Rev. Mr. Greenwood & other parties. The former has a very strong objection to the Church at the end of Queen St. which I find is shared in by my family as well. I can not report in the context of this note all the arguments they use, but will tell you when I see you. They have however induced me to change the plan from the one I first proposed, and instead of building two churches, I think it would be better to build one only in Hurst Brooks, and enlarge the present Hurst Church by the addition of a transept. [underlining probably added later]

I would appropriate the money as follows: say the amount required to enlarge Hurst Church, one thousand pounds [sic] for the endowment of Hurst Brooks Church: five hundred pounds to a school and the remainder towards the building of the Church.

If it was thought more desirable I would enlist greater support I would have no objection to change the site of the Church to the field near Chapman's Hill between Hurstbrooks & Ashton.

I remain yours most sincerely, O. Whittaker.

The following day, Clegg writes from Mount Street, Manchester, to Rushton, a letter headed 'New Church & Schools for Hurst Brook':

Dear Sir

Herewith I send you Mr. Oldham Whittaker's letter in reply to yours & mine. I think you had better reply that as they are now in a way for carrying out the thing amicably amongst themselves, it will be much better to leave it amongst themselves, etc.

Yours truly Thos. Clegg

Dr. Rushton, Vicar of Blackburn.

It seems to have been for his workforce that Whittaker planned 'two churches & schools near his works at Hurst', accommodatingly adapted to be an extension

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88 Ashton-Under-Lyne-Hurst, 3.
89 Evidently a 'churchwarden of Manchester' – 'Salford Hundred', websites.
90 Rushton 2, 290; original punctuation and spelling throughout, including abbreviations.
91 Ibid, 290.
and a new church. The former's strikingly personal accents are discussed below [p124-5].

Herbert Birley (1821-1890), fourth of Joseph Birley's eight surviving sons, is listed as an india-rubber manufacturer in Pendleton, Salford, and as having been chairman of the Manchester and Salford School Boards. He married his double-first-cousin Cicely Margaret Birley, with whom he had five children. To whatever extent contributing personally to the brothers' three Hulme study-churches, he was sole funder of Pendleton's St. Anne, Brindle Heath (1863; closed 1969), presumably, though undocumented, created for his workforce.

Thomas Openshaw (1817?-1870) was a member of the Openshaw clan at the heart of Bury's textile-industry; his great-grandfather, John Openshaw (born 1704), had founded in Pimhole the firm of John Openshaw, Son & Co. Originally woollen-manufacturing, it spawned over the generations several, mainly cotton, offshoots in the area. Thomas, described as 'travelling partner in the firm', was therefore a fourth-generation inheritor, presumably jointly, of the family-business.

Living with spinster sisters, Richmal and Rachel, in a house called Primrose Hill, the entrance to which – an iron double-gateway with the name on either gatepost – can be seen today, with what remains of the house, Openshaw built his church, St. Thomas, Pimhole (1866), a quarter of a mile away. Though the intention behind its creation is unknown, a clue is offered by a contemporary record relating how he personally taught 'the working classes in the town' so successfully that it was found necessary to erect St. Thomas's Schools, which were built mainly at Mr. Openshaw's expense. Twice each Sunday he gave an address to the scholars; he established a Dorcas Society and a night school, and did his utmost, during a period of about fifty years, to improve the status of the working class residents in Pimhole, indicating it may have been relatively disinterested benevolence towards his less privileged fellows that decided him to built the church.

James Schofield (1816-1863), his mother Jane (1793-1874) and nephew James (1846-1883) funded St. James the Apostle, Milnrow (rebuilt, re-consecrated 1869), replacing the former parish church. Dedication in the name of both uncle

92 Manchester-Hulme, 11.
93 A Thomas Openshaw, buried 8 May 1870 (donor's known year of death) in Wigan, Lancashire, was born 1817 – 'Openshaw', websites.
94 Bury-Pimhole, 1.
95 Site-visit 16 July 2012.
96 Bury-Pimhole, 1; a 'local group of people, usually based in a church, with a mission of providing clothing to the poor' – 'Dorcas', websites.
and nephew was probably fortuitous given a pre-existing, short-lived chapel of St. James (1799).  

James Schofield senior, described as 'literally a self-made man', was not quite that. His father John had built at least one mill and given his name to the Milnrow family business; his grandfather, also John, was a 'flannel manufacturer'. But second- or possibly third-generation mill-owner James was the largest employer … in the township of Butterworth in the flannel business, his workpeople numbering 1,300. [He] realised a colossal fortune.

That James, 'a pious and orthodox Anglican', may, in his own conscience at least, have assumed responsibility for the township is suggested by his dying words … "God bless poor Milnrow! I have done what I could for it. I hope others will now do the same", related at his funeral by its vicar, his friend the distinguished antiquarian Canon Francis Robert Raines.

Procrastination and obstruction bedevilled the Milnrow project. First, continued obstacles to the purchase of a site led to the canon's outburst, in his journal entry for 27 July 1862, 'There are six or seven tenants who have a joint interest in it – unreasonable, rapacious, ignorant men and women.' Next, James Schofield's vacillations, despite repeated assurances to the canon, rendered elusive the right moment or course of action. Canon Raines' journal entry for 30 November 1863 describes the frustrations and their last-minute resolution:

He had sometimes promised to entirely build the Church at his own cost, & had never deviated from his first promise; but he had some years ago made his Will & left nothing. I saw him daily for months in his sick Chamber. He clung to life & still spoke of building the Church. I therefore made no provision for its being rebuilt. About three months before he died I induced him to name a sum for the purpose he had so often consulted me about. He wished me to manage his affairs, and to settle his property, and I generally advised him but urged that … the attorney should be sent for. Mr. S[chofield]. objected but ultimately I prevailed and took the heads of the Will to Mr. J[ackson]. There was great difficulty about the £3000 promised for the Church, as the Statute of Mortmain & the Legacy duty of ten per cent had to be avoided. After consultation the money was left in the hands of old Mr. Schofield (his Mother) to be paid to me immediately at Mr. S[chofield]’s death, which, after all, he could not believe was at hand. This was on the Friday evening, and he died on the following Monday.

So three days before his death (aged only forty-seven), James Schofield finally brought himself to decision:

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98 ROCHDALE-Milnrow, 6, 30.  
99 ROCHDALE-Milnrow, 2.  
100 ROCHDALE-Milnrow, 5, 3, 18.  
101 ROCHDALE-Milnrow, 2.  
102 Leatherbarrow, 35.  
103 ROCHDALE-Milnrow, 3.  
104 'Raines', ODNB.  
105 ROCHDALE-Milnrow, 1, 295 (27/7/1862).  
106 Ibid (30/11/1863).
I wish this gift to be regarded as a thank-offering to Almighty God for my worldly prosperity, and for the many mercies which have been vouchsafed unto me.\textsuperscript{107}

The balance of the total cost was shared by his mother and his nephew and namesake, 'Captain' (as he evidently preferred to be addressed) James Schofield.\textsuperscript{108}

But the battle was still not won. Precisely two years later the canon was writing:

Another year of continued anxiety, doubt, and disappointment about the site. Old Mrs. Schofield has told me that if her Grandson will give £3000 towards the Church when he attains his 21\textsuperscript{st} year She will do the same & the family will then undertake to rebuild the Church. I have long urged him to do this. I have my doubts as to J[ames] S[chofield]. He will promise nothing.\textsuperscript{109}

In a twist to the story, the captain's initial response to invitations to contribute – described by Canon Raines as involving 'many wearisome interviews and representations … often heard in silence, and with apparently cold indifference',\textsuperscript{110} after eventual capitulation was then inexplicably and suddenly transformed into an offensively-worded insistence that the family alone should finance the building; a slap in the face for the Sunday School teachers and scholars who appear to have already given a pulpit 'of Caen Stone for £150' and for the 'Female Members of the Church [who] wish to present a Lectern or Brasen [sic] Eagle & have originated a Subscription for the purchase of one [illegible word] to raise £80':

... the Subscriptions are distasteful to the family who wish them to cease, as they have determined to complete the Church, with Pulpit, Lectern, a Peal of Bells etc. at their own cost.\textsuperscript{111}

Only the font, a gift from the canon's daughters did he deign to accept. A hint as to what could have lain behind this change of heart lies in the report that James the younger insisted on the provision in the church of a family chapel with its own private entrance,\textsuperscript{112} to the considerable disapproval of the canon, who wrote of the captain's quibbling about the chapel's pews, 'I think 48 sittings too many for one Family'.\textsuperscript{113}

In an ironic postscript to the saga, a letter from Canon Raines to the editor of the \textit{Manchester Guardian} under the headline, 'THE NEW CHURCH AT MILNROW', objects to the 'inaccurate statements' in their report of the church's consecration which might have led to the inference that 'the church had been built by public subscription, and that the mother & nephew of Mr. Schofield had been amongst the contributors'. The letter continues:

It might easily have been ascertained … that the whole of the expense of the building of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{107} \textit{ROCHDALE-Milnrow}, 4.
\item \textsuperscript{108} James Schofield (1846-1883), Capn., 24th LRV – \textit{ROCHDALE-Milnrow}, 6, 17.
\item \textsuperscript{109} \textit{Ibid} (16/7/1866).
\item \textsuperscript{110} \textit{Ibid} (16/7/1866).
\item \textsuperscript{111} \textit{ROCHDALE-Milnrow}, 1, 299 (15/3/1869).
\item \textsuperscript{112} \textit{ROCHDALE-Milnrow}, 5, 8.
\item \textsuperscript{113} \textit{ROCHDALE-Milnrow}, 1, 300 (9/8/1869).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Whether this protest was made under pressure, or the canon's indignation genuine is impossible to tell, but the entire story nicely reveals some of the machinations that could attend church-creation. Despite the Schofields' role as large local employers, the young inheritor impresses as attending to his own interests rather than those of a workforce.

Peter Ormrod (1795-1875) was a second-generation member of a highly successful cotton-spinning business, in 1811 occupying Bolton's largest mill. He went on not only to acquire several more Bolton mills but also to diversify, very profitably, into banking. Upon marriage to the daughter of his father's business partner Thomas Hardcastle, Ormrod was presented by the latter with Halliwell Hall, which he extensively restored, later buying, near Garstang, Wyresdale Park and the hamlet of Scorton, there creating a model village.

Ormrod, a Tory, is reported to have accorded his workers unusual care, even paying during an 1860s epidemic to bring them nurses from Liverpool. A strong sense of religious duty may have inspired such paternalism; he described rebuilding Bolton's St. Peter, Churchgate (re-consecrated 1871), as 'a rare opportunity afforded me of testifying my gratitude to Almighty God, for his unnumbered mercies, by offering to rebuild the Church, thereby devoting to His service a portion of the bounty it hath pleased Him to bestow upon me'.

Thomas Mellodew (1801-1879) [plate 8] came from a late-eighteenth-century yeoman and handloom-weaving background in Castleton, Rochdale. Leaving home aged twenty-four, he moved, following work – to Oldham via Ramsbottom and Manchester – in the process developing the mechanical expertise to design and

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114 ROCHDALE-Milnrow, 4.
115 Honeyman (1982), 103.
116 Howe, 10.
117 BOLTON-Churchgate, 1, 43; Howe, 48.
118 BOLTON-Churchgate, 1; MANCHESTER-Ancoats, 21, 22, n. 65.
119 OLDHAM-Moorside, 1.
patent machinery.\textsuperscript{120} Profits deriving thereby soon enabled him, with two of his three brothers, to establish their own works for producing fustian and the highly profitable cotton-velvet of their invention. Driven by the plug-drawing riots of 1842 out of Royton, their first location, they moved the business to Moorside, then a green-field site with nearby coal and abundant water.\textsuperscript{121} There, Thomas, organising spirit of the family enterprise, bought up houses and land on which to build other dwellings – a total of between two- and three-hundred, including large, comfortable homes for himself and other family members – becoming, in effect, owner of 'the whole of Moorside village, with the exception of a few houses'.\textsuperscript{122}

Moorside's Mellodews became linked with the earlier-established Schofields of Milnrow, five miles away – representing dynasties of cotton-velvet and woollen-flannel respectively – when, on 8 October 1874, Sarah Jane, niece of the elder James Schofield (deceased over ten years previously) and sister of the younger, married James Mellodew, Thomas's nephew, in the Schofield-funded church discussed above. Though Thomas had become undisputed squire of a largely self-created village, a Mellodew descendant has it that the Schofields were 'rather grander', having 'their own coat of arms, for instance.'\textsuperscript{123}

Mellodew's church, St. Thomas, Moorside (1872), was said half a century later to have been
very largely the outcome of [the Mellodew family's] interest in the welfare of the villagers, not only on the material side, but also on the spiritual\textsuperscript{124} altruism that, with no non-Mellodew memorial there, perhaps needs questioning.

A shaft of light on the past was cast by Alice Ramage, \textit{née} Mellodew, Thomas's centenarian great-great-niece.\textsuperscript{125} Still vivid were childhood memories of her home, West Lea (or Leigh), in the village, near Moorside House, which the founder built himself; by then, her grandmother's home, regularly visited by her and her siblings. Denying any particular holiness in the family, she stressed that the church was built 'for the workpeople', supporting the newspaper article's view. The workers, Alice observed, would sit 'in the stalls', while her family, like others of social standing, had its own pew – 'so it was obvious if people were absent!' – and the church bells were given the names of her aunts or perhaps (momentarily vague) great-aunts. Cottages also were built for the workers. She remembered the sound of the clogs they wore to work – 'clop – clop – clop – clop – clop on the pavement, at

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{120} \textit{Oldham-Moorside}, 4, 2.
\item \textsuperscript{121} \textit{Oldham-Moorside}, 4, 7, 6.
\item \textsuperscript{122} \textit{Oldham-Moorside}, 3, 8.
\item \textsuperscript{123} \textit{OLDHAM-Moorside}, 4, 37; see Appendix 2.4.7.
\item \textsuperscript{124} \textit{OLDHAM-Moorside}, 2.
\item \textsuperscript{125} \textit{OLDHAM-Moorside}, 5: interview with Alice Ramage, \textit{née} Mellodew (6/5/2010), Thanks to Reader David Briggs, St. Peter's, Prestbury.
\end{itemize}
six in the morning’. She remembered, too, the occasional strike in the mills and – aged perhaps six or seven – the workforce being warned that if they struck, the mills might have to close.

Joshua Radcliffe (1811-1891) and brothers Samuel (1814-1876), Josiah (1815-1884), James (1821-1885) and John (1825-1876), were sons of Samuel, instigator of enormous local change as

Over the hills from Saddleworth and Oldham rolled the great Wool and Cotton empire of the Radcliffe family. Joshua Radcliffe was at Balderstone Hall in 1851, and three of their fourteen mills were established in the district.\textsuperscript{126}

As a youth working in the Rochdale mills of his uncle of the same name, Joshua started buying up Balderstone, either in his own name or in that of Samuel Radcliffe & Sons Ltd. – 1851, Balderstone Hall estate, 3 cottages in Kitchen Lane, Balderstone Fold; 1852, Green Mill, into which the firm had moved, & the Green & Platten estates; 1855, Howards Farm & 4 cottages in Balderstone Fold; 1858 Great Gates estate; 1864, farms at Dicken Green, Moorside & Cripplegate & the Slack estate; 1866, the ‘major purchases of Balderstone Mills, Holly Lea and another Balderstone farm, with the Dog & Partridge & 6 cottages at Kiln Ditch; 1868, Balderstone Fold with another 13 cottages, together with 396-402 Oldham Road.\textsuperscript{127}

He convincingly played the part of squire, rebuilding the hall with gardens, lodge and tree-lined approach.\textsuperscript{128} At its gates they erected their church, St. Mary, Balderstone (1872).

The church's foundation was by no means straightforward, as related in a newspaper article\textsuperscript{129} whose apparent main objective was to criticise the diocesan bishop for the grudge he held against J.E.N. Molesworth, vicar of Rochdale. Molesworth's undoubted talent for stewardship and vigorous promotion of church-building was, it seems, as far as Bishop Lee was concerned, more than a little tainted not only by his High Church proclivities but by his earlier open opposition to Lee's own appointment.\textsuperscript{130} The article, accordingly, inveighs 'unhappily' against the:

diocesan over us, who, it would seem, although a very learned man endowed with rich intellectual gifts, distracts the smooth, well-ordered progress of the Church's work, by his personal resentments. We had hoped that we had heard the last of Dr Lee's\textsuperscript{131} unseemling\textsuperscript{132} and undignified hatred of Dr. Molesworth. That hope, it appears, was not well founded. Our columns contain a fresh instance this very day of the obstructiveness that is born of the Bishop's personal resentments.

The 'brief but very expressive' story then related is that the Radcliffes,

perceiving and lamenting the want of Church accommodation in a district containing 7,000 inhabitants, offered, greatly to their honour, a sum equal to £3,000 towards the fund requisite for a new church.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{126}ROCHDALE-Balderstone, 2, 17.
\textsuperscript{127}ROCHDALE-Balderstone, 3, 81-2.
\textsuperscript{128}'Kirkholt', websites.
\textsuperscript{129}ROCHDALE-Balderstone, 4, 5, the latter reporting a meeting in Buersil church schoolroom, led by A.B. Pyne, curate, concerning the Radcliffes' offer and the dispute between Lee and Molesworth.
\textsuperscript{130}'Molesworth', ODNB.
\textsuperscript{131}'Lee', ODNB.
\textsuperscript{132}Sic; presumably 'unseemly'.
\textsuperscript{133}
Approached by the family about endowment, the vicar of Rochdale 'met them very handsomely': £50 annual endowment from vicarage funds if they would contribute a further £50; and they or their representatives to have patronage of the living for 'the first two nominations, thereafter 'to be vested in a "corporation sole", the Vicar of Rochdale for the time being'. 'Of course', it continues,

Mr. Joshua Radcliffe did not object to a proposal in every respect so reasonable, and, as far as the Vicar was concerned – seeing that he could hardly hope to live long enough to exercise the patronage – disinterested.

but – enter Bishop Lee – the 'laudable scheme'

was completely frustrated when the Messrs. Radcliffe came to deal with the Bishop of Manchester. The Right Reverend Prelate shivered it at a blow. In order to set aside the Vicar's proposed endowment, he rejected the plan, and proposed, instead a solution, by which only £50 instead of £100 should be secured [for] endowment, and the patronage be for ever in the hands of laymen.

A later church-historian curiously fails to mention the drama related above, simply stating that in 1861 the Radcliffe family proposed a deal with the 7,000 inhabitants of Buersil to contribute to the building fund but

the 7,000 did not respond, only £250 was subscribed. This money was subsequently used to buy the peal of bells and the Radcliffe brothers decided to "go it alone". They would negotiate the formation of the parish, build the Vicarage, new Schools and Church, also become Patrons of the benefice.\footnote{ROCHDALE-Balderstone, 2, 17.}

The need for a church to serve the increased population generated by Radcliffe activity was possibly initially their principal motivation. But its location just outside the gates of their grandiose residence and other features suggest additional factors. As with some other textile-squires, the Radcliffe brothers' gift was accompanied by a gesture of gratitude to the Almighty, in their case in a bottle in the church's foundations, in which they, perhaps naïvely, disavowed its significance in proportion to their wealth [p122-3].

The family from which Richard Buckley (1809/10-1883)\footnote{OLDHAM-Greenfield, 2.} came had settled early in Saddleworth, owning Buckley Hall, Rochdale, and seen 'as members of a local aristocracy.'\footnote{OLDHAM-Greenfield, 2.} Richard's father James had been a banker of substantial means before establishing Buckley Woollen Mills in collaboration with a cousin and in 1799 building Greenfield woollen-mill, of which Richard – adding cotton- to wool-manufacture – became part-owner in the 1870s, also owning Waterside (perhaps partially) and Tunstead Clough, or Cog-hole (woollen) Mills. Building a terrace of back-to-back housing for his workforce, he himself lived grandly, expanding from his original home, Tunstead House, to acquire The Nook, and then Hollyville, a large house, set in its own park\footnote{Mike Buckley email (19/9/2011).} [plate 9], containing Cog-hole Mill, operated by his
tenants. He was also a founder-member of Dobcross Bank and probably a solicitor.\textsuperscript{138}

The family had traditionally been Nonconformist, fifth son Richard alone joining the Established Church and founding St. Mary, Greenfield (1875), like the Radcliffes at his mansion-gates, apparently to promote spiritual revival among a growing population.\textsuperscript{139} It is suggested that sibling-rivalry entered into his unmarried sisters' funding of Delph Independent Chapel.\textsuperscript{140}

William Grant (1770-1842) and brothers John (1770-1855) and Daniel (?1780-1855), creators of Bury's St. Andrew, Ramsbottom (1875) – a project finally completed, albeit otherwise than the original founders intended, by John's son William (1829-73) – were sons of William Grant (1733-1817) from Elchies, Morayshire\textsuperscript{141} who emigrated to Bury with his family in 1784. Working in mills before establishing a small business, they flourished, in 1806 purchasing Sir Robert Peel's Ramsbottom printworks and, as Messrs. William Grant & Brothers, greatly prospering from operations at home and abroad. Founder William became a JP in 1824. He consistently opposed the corn-laws. The brothers became such famous philanthropists that Charles Dickens, an acquaintance, allegedly modelled on them Nicholas Nickleby's Cheeryble Brothers.\textsuperscript{142}

Highly partial accounts\textsuperscript{143} of St. Andrew's history by, first, Hume Elliot, minister of Ramsbottom's Presbyterian Dundee Chapel in the years immediately following St. Andrew's consecration; and, second, considerably later, Roy Carmillie, vicar of St. Andrew's (1967-85), reflect its tempestuous nature. Both agree on the brothers' Presbyterianism, the former categorically, stating

once for all, as a matter lying entirely outside the realm of question or doubt, that these men and their parents were all their days ardently and loyally attached to the principles and worship of the Church of their fathers – the Presbyterian Church – as distinguished from Episcopacy on the one hand and Independency on the other.\textsuperscript{144}

the latter tacitly.\textsuperscript{145} They agree, too, on the church's foundation in 1834 by the three brothers,\textsuperscript{146} each quoting William Grant's 1839 foundation-letter:

... We attribute much of our prosperity, under divine providence, to the good example and good counsel of our worthy parents. They expressed a wish that I would build a Sunday school, and erect a church to worship God in, according to the ritual of the

\textsuperscript{138} Jack Dockerty, conversation.
\textsuperscript{139} Oldham-Greenfield, 1.
\textsuperscript{140} Telephone conversation Mike Buckley (19/9/2011).
\textsuperscript{141} Memorial tablet, site-visit (13/11/2010).
\textsuperscript{142} Bury-Ramsbottom, 1, 71-77, 274.
\textsuperscript{143} Bury-Ramsbottom, 1, 2.
\textsuperscript{144} Bury-Ramsbottom, 1, 282.
\textsuperscript{145} Bury-Ramsbottom, 2.
\textsuperscript{146} Bury-Ramsbottom, 1, 277-81; RCC, 3-5.
Church of Scotland, as a tribute of gratitude to Him for His great kindness to the family.
I cheerfully complied with their request ...

But later in his account, Elliot elevates the purpose to one 'of a very sacred character'; the parents' 'deep and sacred wish'; William's 'sacred commission'.

Later events are related more divergently. The frequent sick-absence from services in 1863 of pastor Andrew MacLean (1799-1869), recruited by the Grants in 1829, is ascribed by Carmyllie partly to 'overindulgence in malt whiskey'. Nephew William and his brother – to whom responsibility for the church had passed, along with the family fortunes, after the original founders' deaths – had meanwhile, Carmyllie continues, become adherents at Cambridge University of 'the high Church Anglican worship and doctrine'. Although they wished to maintain St. Andrew's as a Scottish Presbyterian Church they were horrified and objected most strongly to the congregationalism and even Unitarianism that was being introduced by visiting ministers who had been invited by Dr. McLean. What were they to do to rid the church of this 'heresy'? In Elliot's account, by contrast, MacLean's sickness and absenteeism are referred to only in the reproduction of William Grant's 1869 letter to St. Andrew's congregation advising them of his intentions regarding the church's status; neither there nor anywhere in the text are whiskey, visiting ministers' doctrinal persuasions, or heresy mentioned. He attributes the younger William's denominational switch to education at Eton whose 'episcopal surroundings [inculcated] a liking for the liturgical service' and to the influence of his wife, 'also an Episcopalian, with a decided leaning to what we may call the more ornate order of the Anglican service'. William had, moreover, 'latterly attended St. Paul's Episcopal, not, as previously, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church.'

In 1869, William Grant Junior (himself by now overtaken by financial disaster; the family business sold) made one last offer to MacLean of retirement on full pension. Of the condition upon which MacLean's acceptance rested, involving choice of successor, there are two conflicting versions: Elliot's, that the congregation should have it; Carmyllie's, 'that he [MacLean] should'. The latter adds:

Quite obviously this would have defeated the whole point of William's endeavours, his offer was withdrawn ...

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147 BURY-Ramsbottom, 1, 96; 2, 5.
148 BURY-Ramsbottom, 1, 278; my italics.
149 Sic – BURY-Ramsbottom, 1, or 'McLean' – BURY-Ramsbottom, 2.
150 BURY-Ramsbottom, 2, 9.
151 BURY-Ramsbottom, 1, 291-2.
152 BURY-Ramsbottom, 1, 288.
153 BURY-Ramsbottom, 1, 290; 2, 10.
154 BURY-Ramsbottom, 2, 10.
thus – as incumbent of a church clearly intended to be Presbyterian but become Anglican through the younger William's actions – attempting to justify the latter's legal notice of MacLean's pastorship and stipend, served 29 June 1869.155

The final steps, amidst scandal and public condemnation, involved forcible closure of what William saw as his

absolute private property ... I do not desire anything except what belongs to me, but what is my own I mean to dispose of as I think proper.156

A month later MacLean died. William's offer of the church to Establishment was turned down by Bishop Lee but accepted, as a mission church in St. Paul's parish, by Bishop Fraser (1871), and consecrated four years later.157

William (1826-1879) and James Heap (1828-1892)158 were third-generation mill-owners, the two eldest of five sons to survive Thomas Heap (1793-1872), a Rochdale woollen-manufacturer of Cliff159 House, Newhey. In 1825 Thomas's father William (died 1833, donor William's grandfather), a woollen-cloth-fuller, founded Samuel Heap & Son at Caldershaw on Rochdale's western edge. Moving to Newhey, four or five miles away, east of Rochdale, hard work and business acumen over three generations gave the Heaps sway over something of a textile empire described as 'the type of situation typical of the way the textile industry was to develop in south east Lancashire and adjoining parts of the West Riding'.160 Crucial to success were William's will preventing his offspring, equal-heirs, from selling on to any but a sibling, and advantageous marriages: several of the donors' five sisters into the trade; and James to the daughter of Newhey's other flannel manufacturer, rendering Heap rule there complete. Only William's mills were outside Newhey, in nearby Littleborough.

In memory of their father Thomas, William and James created St. Thomas, Newhey (1876). The wider family was not Anglican but

... ardent Wesleyan Methodists and many of them still are today. Wesleyan Methodism ruled their lives and dictated how they brought up their children and ran their businesses. The Family Tree is littered with Methodist Ministers who seem to have made a point of marrying all the eligible daughters.161

At least one of the two brothers broke with the family politically as well as denominationally. James, raised a Liberal, in which interest his uncles had served as

155 *Bury-Ramsbottom, 1*, 290.
156 *Bury-Ramsbottom, 1*, 291-2.
157 *Bury-Ramsbottom, 1*, 302; *2*, 11, 9-11.
158 B12. Note the son's name William, not Benjamin as in some sources. For this and other family-information, thanks to Derek Heap, great-great-great-nephew of Thomas Heap in whose memory the church was built and great-great-nephew of Thomas Heap's two sons who founded it.
159 Or Cliffe.
160 Derek Heap private communication (25/6/2010).
161 Heap (25/6/2010).
mayors, aldermen and councillors in Rochdale – distinctions for which, Newhey being in Lancashire, James was ineligible – became a Conservative Party supporter and President of the Newhey Conservative Association; ’… very much in keeping with his enhanced status within the community [this] fits in with his change from Wesleyan Methodism to Anglican’.\(^{162}\) James, almost 'Mr. Newhey',\(^{163}\) is honoured by a plaque on the walls of his church 'erected by the workpeople in loving memory of their employer'.

Thomas Evans Lees (1829-1879), of Werneth Park, represented the third generation of mill-owners established by his grandfather John Lees of Mount Pleasant, founder of Oldham's Greenbank Mill. Sources differ as to whether Thomas himself, or his father James (Oldham's mayor, 1852-4), expanded the business into probably Oldham's largest cotton concern,\(^{164}\) but it was almost certainly the father's foresight prior to the American Civil War that turned the resulting cotton famine of 1861-5 to professional and personal 'good account', contributing significantly to the large fortune inherited almost entirely by the son.\(^{165}\) Shortly after his father's death, Thomas took his cousin Edward Wright Wrigley into partnership,\(^{166}\) the firm becoming T.E. Lees and Wrigley. Largely delegating to Wrigley, Lees chaired the Oldham Conservative election committee in 1865 and 1868; standing himself for parliament, without success, in 1877 – 'the great point in his political life'.\(^{167}\) He served as county-magistrate (1866); borough-magistrate (from shortly afterwards);\(^{168}\) Oldham Volunteer Corps' lieutenant-colonel (1872-8);\(^{169}\) and county deputy-lieutenant (1873).\(^{170}\)

Concern for the underprivileged reputedly motivated Lees in both politics and religion. The Conservative government won his 'independent' support because it worked to

> promote the welfare and interests of all classes of society, but more particularly to improve the condition of the working classes.\(^{171}\)

and thanking, 'as an honest and staunch supporter of the National Church', his 'Nonconformist brethren for their generous assistance in disseminating the blessings of religion throughout the country', he readily admitted the 'many abuses in the

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\(^{162}\) Heap (25/6/2010).
\(^{163}\) Heap (6/9/2010).
\(^{164}\) OLDHAM-Glodwick, 1, 3, 4.
\(^{165}\) OLDHAM-Glodwick, 1, 4.
\(^{166}\) Date unknown; OLDHAM-Glodwick, 4 dates the firm 'Lees and Wrigley' (not 'T.E. Lees and Wrigley') from James Lees's 'retirement in 1860'.
\(^{167}\) OLDHAM-Glodwick, 1.
\(^{168}\) Ibid.
\(^{169}\) 'Oldham Volunteer', websites.
\(^{170}\) 'London Gazette' (14/2/1873), websites.
\(^{171}\) OLDHAM-Glodwick, 1.
Church, such as patronage, discipline,’ urging it, as 'national Church' to be 'the Church of the poor'. He practised what he preached to the extent of voluntarily surrendering his pew at Oldham Parish Church to further free seating.\(^\text{172}\)

His creation of St. Mark, Glodwick (1876), resulted from his and fellow cotton-master James Collinge's agreement to fulfil the spiritual and educational needs of a growing community by providing better and more permanent accommodation for worship than a 'first floor room over the top of a joiners shop', and a school. Lees, the richer man, offered the church; Collinge the school.\(^\text{173}\)

Salis Schwabe\(^\text{174}\) (1800-1853), born Salomon ben Elias Schwabe, of north-German-Jewish extraction, went to Glasgow aged seventeen to represent a family merchant business. Moving to Manchester, in 1832 he started the calico-printing enterprise in Rhodes that within a decade had become Britain's largest. He married his cousin, Julia, née Schwabe. Prospering, they moved in 1842 to the fashionable southwest Manchester suburb of Chorlton-upon-Medlock and in 1848 to Crumpsall House, a Georgian mansion with large ornamental gardens in Manchester's northern suburbs. They also kept houses in Paris and Glyn Garth in Anglesey.

A Liberal, and a devoted Unitarian since his Glasgow years, Salis became a member of Manchester's Upper Brook Street Chapel. They were

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\text{part of the close-knit, cultured, and influential Unitarian social circle which centred on the Cross Street Chapel and the house of its minister, William Gaskell, and his wife, Elizabeth, and which was one important constituent of the hegemonic Liberalism of Manchester in the 1840s.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{175}}
\]

and enjoyed wide international cultural acquaintance, such as Frédéric Chopin who in 1848 spent four days with them at Crumpsall House, overlapping with the 'Swedish Nightingale', Jenny Lind. Salis was a generous patron of the arts, educational and medical provision, and social and penal reform.

Though creation of Middleton's St. Thomas, Bowlee (founded 1877 as a mission-church adaptation of a mission-school; never consecrated) is obscure, the Schwabe family, most likely Salis's third son Frederick\(^\text{176}\) (born 1845) is locally believed to have built it for their Rhodes Mills calico-workers.\(^\text{177}\) Salis having died during his sons' minorities, a period ensued of his brother-in-law Adolf Schwabe's leadership, after which Frederick became a partner in the Rhodes works – possibly the senior partner since he and his wife are known to have lived twenty-one years at

\[\text{\textsuperscript{172} Ibid.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{173} OLDHAM-Glodwick, 3.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{174} Rochdale-Middleton-Bowlee, main source on the Schwabe family; special thanks to Colette.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{175} 'Schwabe', ODNB.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{176} See Rochdale-Middleton-Bowlee.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{177} Thanks to John Pye, St. Thomas's churchwarden, for initially suggesting the Schwabes as funders, unreferenced integrally or otherwise referentially through loss of parish archive.}\]
Rhodes House. In 1878, three signatories to a guarantee of responsibility for a 'deficit' regarding a 'Proposed School at Bowlee, Rhodes', included 'Frederick I. Schwabe, Rhodes', described in a covering letter as 'W.F.I. Schwabe' … a partner in the Works here'.

George Heginbottom (1810-1877) [plate 10] was born in Ashton-under-Lyne and died unmarried in Birkdale, near Southport. He devoted his professional life to the textile industry, where he became a partner in the cotton-spinning business his father had established at Junction Mills in Ashton, on his elder brother's death becoming head of the firm, Samuel Heginbottom and Sons; later in life delegating the role to his nephew, Thomas Heginbottom, then Ashton's deputy-mayor. George himself filled several public positions during the course of his life. In 1847 he was elected town-councillor for Portland Place ward in Ashton, where he was later mayor (1863-5), and also JP. But he had strong connections, too, with Southport and its surroundings, particularly Birkdale where, in 1862 he built Assheton, in Lulworth Road, his home until his death; during that time he became a Southport JP and chaired the Birkdale Local Board. Heginbottom was a 'Public benefactor', contributing significantly to charitable enterprises in Ashton, Southport and Birkdale, particularly 'all objects connected with education and the Church'.

No reason is documented for his funding of Holy Trinity, Ashton-under-Lyne (1878), completed posthumously by his nephew Thomas, co-patron of the living and one of its first churchwardens, remembered over two generations for customarily standing in the front row with his back to the altar to check who was present. Nothing documented explains Holy Trinity's distinctly Masonic features, though a churchwarden notes that at the centenary a member of the congregation arranged for the Masonic mallet and trowel used in laying the foundation stone to be lent the church by an unidentified local lodge.

John Taylor (1826-1898), the only silk-manufacturer, was the son of James Taylor, owner of various properties in Newton and Failsworth and a partner in Taylor, Pearson, Harrop & Co, silk-throwing factory-owners near Oldham Road. John Taylor's third wife, Anne Leng, was his deceased second wife's sister; the

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178 Correspondence with Claire Norman, Archives Assistant (part-time), Lambeth Church of England Record Centre. Names – 'Frederick Schwabe' (1851 census), 'Frederick I. Schwabe' or 'W.F.I. Schwabe' (Church of England Record Centre archives) – probably describe the same person.
179 Dated by Mike Buckley.
180 Dated by Mike Buckley.
181 ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE-Holy-Trinity, 2, 3. Thanks to churchwarden Leslie Smith for supplying booklets and information.
182 ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE-Holy-Trinity, 1.
183 'Newton Heath', websites.
marriage, at that time illegal in England, took place overseas.\textsuperscript{184} He was a JP (dates unknown).\textsuperscript{185}

Lacking any documented reasons for Taylor's funding of the 1878 extension to Manchester's All Saints, Newton Heath – new chancel, choir and clergy vestries, baptistery and porches – they could speculatively relate to his third wife's illness – 'long and painful … borne with exemplary Christian patience and fortitude'\textsuperscript{186} – and death in November 1879, particularly in view of his incorporation of a memorial reredos to her in the new chancel. He was closely involved in church and wider parish over the five years following Anne's death. He – with his wife in her lifetime – opened Brookdale Hall for church-related functions: his laying of the new chancel's corner-stone (November 1878) and Whitsunday processions (July 1878, July 1879, June 1882).

Very little is known of Richard Fitton (1821-1879) beyond census returns; even these tentative, Fitton being a common name locally.\textsuperscript{187} His father may have been the cotton-waste-dealer John Fitton (born 25 March 1821; married to Susan), of New Road, Crompton. Richard married, first, Mary, \textit{née} Pomfret, daughter of James ('warper', then 'publican') and Abigail Pomfret, who died before the 1851 census; second, Hannah, \textit{née} Newton, baptised at St. Mary, Oldham, 6 January 1828, daughter of James ('cotton-spinner') & Sarah Newton of Radcliffe Street; her father a publican at the time. Richard Fitton, 'cotton-spinner' in the 1841 census, was by 1851 a 'cotton-dealer'. He built Springfield Mill, Moss Lane (1869), becoming Moss Lane Spinning Company (1873) and around that time took over Shawside Mills from the Cocker family and, in 1875, Watersheddings mill from Beckton & Makin.\textsuperscript{188}

No reason other than population increase is documented for Fitton's funding, on land given by the Rev. W. Cumming-Macdona, of St. Mark, Heyside (1878), near his cotton mills and house, Springfield. Memorials in the church indicate that one of his daughters married the church's first incumbent, the Rev. E. Jobson.

Thomas Greenhalgh (1825-1887), encountered earlier [p18-20], is inextricably entangled with his brother Nathaniel (1816-1877), whose obituary\textsuperscript{189} describes a career with small beginnings, typical of many industrialists at the time. Initially a cotton-spinner, renting a mill at Astley Bridge in partnership with a 'Mr.
Jonathan Settle' who had vanished from the account by the time when, with 'the late Mr. Shaw', he erected a mill on the Peake Estate, in Halliwell, and the firm under the title of Messrs. Greenhalgh and Shaw were nearly the first to take up their position in that neighbourhood, which is now crowded with similar establishments.

Clearly he was a pioneer and clearly he had arrived, demonstrated by election as one of the first members of the Astley Bridge Local Board and … Chairman for the first two years of its existence.

only his death preventing a greater honour, the political activity it rewarded stated unabashedly:

His services in the Conservative cause were much appreciated, and recently his name has been submitted to the Lord Lieutenant for appointment as justice of the peace for the county.

By contrast newspaper reports of Thomas Greenhalgh's death and funeral, though mentioning his novel, virtually ignore his career.\textsuperscript{190}

From Nathaniel's legacy and his own means, Thomas founded two Bolton churches, All Souls, Astley Street, Crompton (1881; closed 1987; still standing) and The Saviour, Deane Road (1885; closed 1973; demolished 1975), the documented reason being concern 'for the moral and spiritual wellbeing of their workers.'\textsuperscript{191} The Evangelicalism with which some sources\textsuperscript{192} credit the brothers is, however, interestingly not mentioned in either's obituaries, Nathaniel described simply as 'a staunch adherent of the Established Church'; a 'constant worshipper' at St. Paul's church, Astley Bridge; and a 'trustee of the church which he attended and a liberal giver to all Church movements'.\textsuperscript{193} In this respect it is notable that study-donor Thomas Loxham, rector of neighbouring St. Michael, Great Lever and probably himself of Low or Evangelical Churchmanship, attended Thomas Greenhalgh's funeral, his wreath bearing the message, 'In memory of a life-long unbroken friendship'.\textsuperscript{194} The Greenhalgh bequest to provide clothes and coal for the poor and 'Hats and Sashes for the little singers at the Annual School Sermons';\textsuperscript{195} Thomas' will's provision for the poor;\textsuperscript{196} and a report of his response to a toast following St. Saviour's consecration, reflecting on what had been:

on his mind during the carrying out of the operations. One was that as the two parishes were to be formed out of the populous districts and be populous themselves, and in some respects be worked by new Christian populations, that everything should be made as cheerful as possible. He did not think that the Christian religion ought to be regarded as a gloomy sentiment.\textsuperscript{197}

\textsuperscript{190} BOLTON-Crompton, 2, 3.
\textsuperscript{191} 'All Souls Crompton', websites.
\textsuperscript{192} Dobb, 181-2; Howe, 274.
\textsuperscript{193} BOLTON-Crompton, 1.
\textsuperscript{194} BOLTON-Crompton, 3.
\textsuperscript{195} Dobb, 181-2.
\textsuperscript{196} Howe, 274 n.
\textsuperscript{197} BOLTON-Crompton, 2.
demonstrate an endearingly practical and humane approach to religious practice.

Joseph Sidebotham (1824-1885) [plate 11] was born into an extended family which from the eighteenth century had acquired land and created over the Haughton and Hyde area a scattering of mills with a series of fine family residences nearby, their wealth and property, including two collieries, augmented by advantageous marital alliances. Serving the community, something the family took seriously, included becoming medical practitioners or ministers of the church; one became an MP; two, JPs. They adopted a paternalistic attitude towards their workers, building them schools and housing.198

Joseph, an industrial chemist by training, pursued a career in the family business involving positions of responsibility and leadership in several concerns. But it was his passion for the arts and, especially, the sciences that distinguished him from the conventional mill-owner. His gifts and skills embraced botany, entomology,199 photography, astronomy, microscopy, philosophy and music. He became a fellow of the Linnaean, Antiquarian and Royal Astronomical Societies and went to considerable lengths to extend the horizons of his workers, particularly younger ones. He provided for them an open library; encouraged acquisition of skill in instrumental music; established lecture courses; and instituted the 'Strines Journal', a sciences and arts periodical to which they were encouraged to contribute, as he did himself. His friend and fellow-botanist, Leo Grindon recorded that

In 1848 he collected at Gibraltar [Mill] some fifteen or sixteen work-boys - all, in fact, that were willing to behave properly and attend – and delivered to them a lecture at his house every week. Astronomy, Geography, Mechanics, Electricity, Magnetism, Botany, Drawing, were all treated of in turn. All the diagrams, maps, apparatus, etc., he made himself for the benefit of these lads ...200

Sidebotham's creation of Manchester's St. Anne, Haughton (1882), after inheriting the Hyde and Haughton collieries, realised, it is said,201 a lifelong ambition and was in memory of his mother, Anne and, as sadly turned out, also of his wife, another Anne, who died shortly before the church's consecration. It illustrated, in the best manner, alike in solidity, in the fittings and the general ornamentation, all of which was executed under the personal direction of Mr. Sidebotham, the good taste and good judgment in ecclesiastical matters with which his piety went arm-in-arm.202

Just inside its entrance-door, a plaque reading

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198 Manchester-Haughton, 3, 2.
199 He left his collection to the Manchester Museum.
200 Manchester-Haughton, 2, 24.
201 Manchester-Haughton, 2, 24.
202 Manchester-Haughton, 3, 12.
203 Manchester-Haughton, 2, 46.
adds pastoral motivation. He is likely never to have worshipped regularly there, but at Bowden Parish Church, where his wife, and later himself, were buried near Erlesdene, already their home sixteen years before St. Anne's consecration.

Nancy (1817-1897) and John Gorell (1822-1907) Haworth [plate 12],

...aunt and nephew, the latter, vicar of Holy Trinity, Tunstead, but included here as from an industrialist family, rather than in Group C with fellow-clerics, founded Bury's Christ Church, Walshaw (1892). The church was a memorial to the former fustian-mill owner Jesse Haworth (1804-87, unmarried),

...their brother and uncle respectively, and – as expressed in no uncertain terms on a plaque in the church – to promote evangelical ideals. The family was imaginatively paternalist: mill-workers could thank Jesse for having contrived through flexible work and pay to keep the mills operating during the cotton famine; John for establishing a Sunday school and expanding it during times of depression to provide training and education for the workforce; and Nancy for perpetuating through generous legacies her contributions on behalf of the working people and poor of Walshaw.

William Jackson Rideout (?1825-1876),

...one of two non-textile factory-owners, funded Bolton's Holy Trinity, Prestolee (1863), in memory of his uncle, Thomas Bonsor Crompton (1792-1858), whose widow, Jane, endowed the living. Crompton, born at Farnworth, was a third-generation industrialist, inheriting mills there and at Great Lever and Worthington, near Wigan, making him owner of a large industrial empire, part of which he devoted to cotton-manufacture on a considerable scale. Crompton's reputation, though, rested chiefly on the way he revolutionised paper-manufacture by the invention of new processes and machinery and by the use of hitherto-unconsidered materials such as cotton-waste and various fibres. His energy, flair and management skills were exceptional. As is the tendency with successful entrepreneurship, one thing led to another:

From his many transactions with the metropolitan and provincial press, Mr. Crompton became an extensive newspaper proprietor. There are very few, indeed, of the established London papers that have not at some time or other [missing: 'been'] wholly or in part his property. … He was also connected to many other markets for capital, and was known throughout the commercial world for the untiring perseverance and the

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203 Dobb, 210; 'Bury', websites.
204 BURY-Walshaw, 2.
205 BOLTON-Prestolee, 1, 2. Estimated birth, see 'Rideout', websites.
enviable skill by which he won the position which he occupied at the time of his decease, with so much credit to himself and usefulness to his fellow-creatures. 206

Little more is known about Crompton's nephew Rideout, the church's actual donor, than that he was a paper- and cotton-manufacturer, presumably heir to his uncle.

John Seddon (1795-1884), 207 of The Mortons, Church Street, Westhoughton, son of a small 'tenement-farmer' and cotton-industry middleman, was a first-generation industrialist, reputedly making his fortune through talent and exceptional dynamism. Initially employed at the Mill Hill bleach-works of George Blair, father of Stephen and Harrison [p36-7], Seddon had saved enough by the age of about thirty to open bleach-works of his own. Its success enabled him, retiring from it in 1860, to provide local employment through developing brickyards, two textile-mills, the Green Vale print-works for cloth-bleaching and -dyeing, and even a colliery. A rags-to-riches story, his considerable property locally included a large estate at Ingleton with manorial lordship, mainly for the use of his son Thomas, who was 'fond of grouse shooting'. A politically-dormant Liberal, Seddon married three times. Eulogised some fifty years after his death as 'Westhoughton's greatest benefactor'; 'a fine old English gentleman'; 'Philanthropist, Pioneer of Commerce, Religious Benefactor', and as having 'acted as churchwarden for Wingates, Westhoughton, Harwood, and Breightmet for 20 years', he also contributed to local Methodist churches, his first wife's denomination. But a harder side is revealed by his consenting to fund the rebuilding of St. Bartholomew, Westhoughton (re-consecrated 1870), to provide for Westhoughton's expanding population, only on the appointment of a curate acceptable to himself, in effect forcing the incumbent of twenty-six years' service into retiring 'graciously'. Questioning, it seems, the philanthropy imputed to him, a critic writes:

… his attitude in the struggles of 1870-2 for the establishment of the Westhoughton Local Board, at which time he was the leading opponent of the proposals, called forth a rebuke from no less a person than Peter Ditchfield, who said that John Seddon was undoubtedly the enemy of the working man.

concluding nonetheless, 'His benevolence, however, was a real part of his life work.' 208

Charles Frederick (or Karl Friedrich) Beyer (1813-1876) [plate 13], 209 one of three engineers, was of lowly Saxon handloom-weaver stock. Talent for architectural drawing led him to Dresden for training in engineering draughtsmanship and thence,
in 1843, to employment in Manchester with Sharp, Roberts & Co. (later, Sharp Bros.), where he became a leading locomotive engineer. In 1853 he and fellow-engineer Richard Peacock established their own Gorton Foundry, which became Beyer, Peacock & Co., iconic in Manchester's industrial history.

Beyer funded two Gorton churches: St. James (previously St. Thomas, rebuilt with rectory and schools and re-consecrated 1871) and All Saints (1879, posthumously), the former to serve Anglicans in the Beyer-Peacock workforce while Peacock built a Unitarian church for employees of that persuasion. 210 An obituary describes Beyer as

an earnest inquirer after truth, both in science and in religion. He was not unfamiliar with some of the most important aspects of modern religious controversy; but he lived and died a sincere and enlightened Christian, reposing with child-like confidence upon the merits of his Saviour. 211

Current St. James's rector John Faraday, in reply to a question about Beyer's churchmanship replied that it was an 'Evangelical ministry'. 212

He never married. Besides his house in Cecil Street, Manchester, Beyer acquired property elsewhere in 1867 [p101]. His large fortune was bequeathed to a number of worthy Mancunian causes; Owens College was residual legatee. 213

Charles Patrick Stewart, (1823-1882), born in Dublin, joined Sharp Bros., at Atlas Works in Manchester, shortly before Beyer left. 214 In 1852, John Sharp retired, Charles Patrick Stewart took his place and the firm became Sharp Stewart & Co. 215

Described 216 as among those supporting the kind of 'Liberal-' or 'business Conservatism' practised by leaders like Houldsworth, Stewart is recorded as declaring, in opposition to a Liberal parliamentary candidate's support of improved tenant rights, that he would be 'ashamed for Manchester if it ever returned a man who had attacked the rights of property and set class against class'. Why he founded Manchester's St. James, Collyhurst (1874), is unknown.

James Walton (1802/3-1883), born near Sowerby, Yorkshire, into a merchant's family, gained early distinction designing machinery that revolutionised card-setting. In 1839, he joined Curtis & Parr in Manchester where his machine, then unsuited to wool, could be put to immediate use for cotton. He appears to have become owner of the firm by about 1846, building new plant in Chapel Street,

210 I thank churchwarden Hedley Richardson for this and much other information.
211 'Beyer', websites.
212 Site visit (29/6/2010).
213 Obituary (1877) – 'Beyer', websites.
214 MANCHESTER-Gorton, 4, 17.
215 'Sharp', websites.
216 MANCHESTER-Collyhurst, 1.
Ancoats. In 1853, attracted by its plentiful water, coal and available labour, he moved to still larger works in Haughton Green where he worked in partnership with his sons, William and Frederick, the latter inventing linoleum (1860).

Walton gradually acquired several country estates – in Derbyshire, Merioneth and Montgomeryshire, the last, Dolforgan Hall, Kerry (or Ceri), 'of 4,250 acres which he had bought for £5,000 in 1870.' He may never, indeed, have lived in Haughton Green where, nonetheless, he built a school for his child employees; promoted evening and day classes for workers; and built and endowed St. Mary the Virgin (1876). During his last illness his workforce produced for him a testimonial that, the church magazine relates, was

'… warmly taken up by the congregation [who] felt a marked appreciation of the gifts Mr. Walton had made them in the shape of school, church, and site for a rectory, with a very large subscription towards its erection. …

Beneath is printed William Walton's acknowledgment:

To say that [my father] was gratified would not at all sufficiently express his feelings. He begged me, in touching words and manner, to thank you all for sending him such a beautiful token of your appreciation of what he has been enabled, by God's bounty, to do for Haughton Dale and its people. Pray convey to our good and kind friends there this expression of his gratitude, joined with an earnest hope for their best welfare.'

Walton was appointed sheriff of Montgomeryshire in 1877, presumably as a result of his considerable landed investment in the county, where he made generous gifts to a church near his Dolforgan estate. Nothing is known directly about his commitment to religious practice or particular churchmanship, though St. Mary's is now Evangelical.

Among the industrial enterprises of this study's donors, coal-mining is represented chiefly by the Earl of Ellesmere and the Fletcher family's two donors. Each also provided canal-transport for their coal. But whereas the Fletchers were pure coal-cum-canal, Ellesmere was much else besides and, as MP, considered above [p33-4].

Charlotte Anne née Fletcher (1846-1913; Cotton by first marriage; Corrie by second) was the great-great-granddaughter of Jacob Fletcher, a yeoman of Breightmet, about three miles east of Bolton. Over nearly a century and a half

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217 Thanks to Eric Bynon for much information – meeting (4/10/2011).
218 'Walton', ODNB.
219 ODNB; or 5,562 acres for – wildly differing – £76,500 – 'Dolforgan', websites.
220 Clare Eades thought not – meeting arranged by Eric Bynon (4/10/2011).
221 MANCHESTER-HAUGHTON-GREEN, 1 13, No. 1 (January 1883).
222 Joseph Sidebotham (see Sidebotham, websites) also had coal-mining interests.
223 Charlotte Anne Fletcher's biography, 'Denton', websites.
224 Meeting (9/9/2010) with Robert Cornish, 'Old Ralph' Fletcher's great-grandson; thanks for much family information.
between his death in 1776 and hers in 1913, the family established an extensive coalmining empire. It was empowered by arguably the family's most creative venture, the Manchester, Bolton & Bury Canal, linking their scattered colliery sites and transporting coal to surrounding industry.\textsuperscript{225}

Charlotte Anne's inheritance of the Clifton Estate and the bulk of the family fortunes through her father Jacob Fletcher Fletcher [double-Fletcher \textit{sic}] came about under unusual circumstances. For reasons unknown, her grandfather Ellis Fletcher's will passed over his elder son (also Ellis) in the younger's favour.\textsuperscript{226} Under Charlotte Anne's name in a handwritten document, prefaced, clearly later, by:

Obscure. Added to 1901 version in Clement Fletcher's writing – Inked in ?Ad[ditio]n
21/1/84 from Ringley

is quoted an 1894 addition to what appears to have been an earlier version of the document:

'[illegible word] All money went to Jacob. Supposed to have lived with and later married housekeeper after legitimate son died – illegitimate inheritance – unfairly!'\textsuperscript{227}

Aged twelve when her father died, Charlotte Anne's inheritance, thus-gotten, was managed by trustees until she gained her majority. In 1866 she appears to have moved away from Clifton upon first marriage to The Hon. Alan Robert Stapleton-Cotton, later 3rd Viscount Combermere of Bhurtpore. Subsequently moving to Shropshire, in 1870 she used part of her inheritance to buy Park Hall,\textsuperscript{228} an enormous Tudor house near Oswestry where she lived the rest of her life, meanwhile divorcing Cotton in 1879 and marrying Major Wynne Corrie in 1886.

She funded Swinton's St. Anne, Clifton\textsuperscript{229} (1874) – at thirty-two, the study's second-youngest donor – to replace the school-cum-chapel used until then,\textsuperscript{230} presumably mainly by the colliery-workers. In 1883 she founded at Park Hall a second place of worship, St. Anne's chapel.

'Old Ralph' Fletcher (1815-1886) [plate 14], Charlotte's second-cousin-once-removed, was a non-practising barrister aside from his canal and colliery interests.\textsuperscript{231} His funding of Atherton's St. Michael and All Angels, Howe Bridge (1877), and its endowment (the latter by Ralph junior, son of 'Old Ralph') as part of that branch of the Fletcher-clan's model village for their workforce was conditional upon the

\textsuperscript{225} BOLTON, 4, \textit{passim}.
\textsuperscript{226} 'Denton', websites.
\textsuperscript{227} BOLTON, 3, seen and photographed at meeting (9/9/2010). Clement Fletcher (b. 14/10/1876), evidently author of this annotation, was grandson of 'Old Ralph'.
\textsuperscript{228} 'Park Hall', websites.
\textsuperscript{229} Thanks to John Baxendale, St. Anne's vicar.
\textsuperscript{230} SWINTON-Clifton, 4.
\textsuperscript{231} ATHERTON, 1.
workers' defraying furnishing costs; this requirement, especially onerous at a time of recession and grave financial constraint, delayed the building's completion.\textsuperscript{232}

Casting interesting light on church-funding attitudes – typical or not – his obituarist paraphrases a speech by 'Old Ralph' at a Village Club luncheon. He was, he said, 'like Pickwick, the victim of circumstances.' Having, at the urging of his own son, doubled his subscription towards rebuilding Atherton parish church, when the young man later pressed him again – this time to fund Howe Bridge church – he agreed with reservations and, when the cost eventually doubled, 'fixed a limit beyond which he would not go', the paraphrase continuing, intriguingly:

\begin{quote}
In his case there was no sacrifice, for he hadn't deprived himself of any of his comforts, and he didn't want to be a member of Parliament, a large landed proprietor, neither was he ambitious to have a stud of horses or a gallery of paintings worth a thousand guineas each.\textsuperscript{233}
\end{quote}

He may have been comparing his own unostentatious style of living with that of Lord Lilford, another colliery-owner who, the obituarist notes, gave the church's site while requiring 'payment for the seams of coal left unworked and that would be likely to be worked thereabouts in the next hundred years'. Or does the stress on his funeral's simplicity:

\begin{quote}
no formal invitations were sent out [and] the coffin, a plain oak one … was conveyed from the house to the church … on the shoulders of his sons and his nephews [everything] quite plain, all walking to and from the church
\end{quote}

suggest admiration for a man known for quietness of living? The latter supposition is perhaps borne out by his modest-sounding address, '14, Scarisbrick-street, Southport'.\textsuperscript{234}

It is unfortunate, though perhaps unsurprising, that three of the study's four sets of women-industrialists – a widow and two pairs of sisters – remain among the most obscure donors. Unknown, for example, is whether any of them were active industrialists or merely mill-owners operating through agents.

Sarah Walker Bubb (dates unknown), daughter of William Hall of Seven Springs near Cheltenham, financed St. Peter, Westleigh (1881),\textsuperscript{235} for reasons unknown. Her locus seems not to have been Lancashire but Gloucestershire, whence she and both husbands came though the first, John Hampson, was a Great Lever cotton-master whose company Tunnicliffe and Hampson built Firs Mills. The

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{232} \textsc{Atherton, 2.}
\item \textsuperscript{233} \textsc{Atherton, 1.}
\item \textsuperscript{234} \textit{Ibid}. An unsolved mystery is Fletcher's comparison of himself with Mr. Pickwick, who described himself as a 'victim of circumstances' on account of his kindness towards a member of the opposite sex being misinterpreted as a proposal of marriage; a misunderstanding provoking legal redress – see Charles Dickens, \textit{The Pickwick Papers} (1836-7), Chapter 18.
\item \textsuperscript{235} 'Westleigh St. Peter', \textit{websites}.\end{itemize}
second, Henry Bubb, of Witcombe Court, Gloucester, was founder and president of the Cheltenham Spiritualist Church.\textsuperscript{236}

Alice Makant, \textit{née} Haddock and her unwed sister Margaret (christened 1818 and 1822,\textsuperscript{237} both deceased by 1897)\textsuperscript{238} were nieces (not daughters)\textsuperscript{239} of corn-miller James Haddock, and heirs to his milling enterprise after the death of their brother, Richard Haddock. Each is listed as 'Miller', living in 'Vale House, Mill Lane', the house built them by their brother,\textsuperscript{240} churchwarden of St. Bartholomew's, Westhoughton, the study-church funded by John Seddon and rebuilt and re-consecrated eleven years previously. They 'gave their large fortune … as a pure gift' to build Bolton's St. James, Daisy Hill, Westhoughton (1881).\textsuperscript{241} Specially commended by the consecrating bishop,\textsuperscript{242} the sisters appear to have been singularly devoted to their community, providing it with church and schools; generosity continuing until their deaths.

Dobb, almost alone, mentions cotton-mill-owner sisters Hannah (c. 1798-1876) and Mary Howell (c. 1801-1876),\textsuperscript{243} but his unreferenced claim that friendship with the Loxham brothers inspired their funding of Bolton's St. Bartholomew, Great Lever (1879; demolished 1962), led to Thomas Loxham's diary, recording ninety-one visits to the sisters during the three years before both died.\textsuperscript{244} The laconic jottings – in what is more engagement-diary than journal – leave a tantalising amount unanswered. The first mention of Miss Howells' (\textit{sic}; presumably Hannah) appears early in 1874:

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\begin{verbatim}
Jan. 12 Miss Howells, Mrs. Holdens [?] etc.

The next four days record three more calls; a total of thirty-four in 1874; thirty-one the following year, far more than to anyone else. He mostly writes just the name or 'visit Miss Howell' (the 's' sometimes absent), occasionally more:

Feb. 28 'Visit Miss Howell in afternoon, administer H[oly] Communion to herself and sister. (Miss H gives me a cheque for £1,000 for church at Burnden)

\end{verbatim}

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\textsuperscript{236}'Bubb', \textit{websites}.
\textsuperscript{237}'Haddock, Alice' and 'Haddock, Margaret', \textit{websites}.
\textsuperscript{238}Date on east window installed in their memory.
\textsuperscript{239}**BOLTON-Westhoughton, 5** ('daughters') conflicts with Family Search records: 'Haddock', \textit{websites} indicating Richard and Betty Haddock – not corn-miller James Haddock – were parents of Richard (b. 1818), Alice (b. 1816, married John Makant 1857) and Margaret Haddock (christened 1822), who inherited James Haddock's family business after their brother Richard's death, conflict with others that James Haddock was father of all three – 'Westhoughton Town', \textit{websites}.
\textsuperscript{240}'Westhoughton, Tillotsons', 'Westhoughton Town', \textit{websites}.
\textsuperscript{241}**BOLTON-Westhoughton, 5.**
\textsuperscript{242}\textit{Bolton Evening News} (22/4/1881), \textit{cit.} 'Westhoughton St. James', \textit{websites}.
\textsuperscript{243}Dobb, 175-6.
\textsuperscript{244}Loxham diaries SLB/27, 1-6.
Several more entries over the next two or three years recording administration of the sacrament to parishioners at home show that Loxham's calls were, partially at least, pastoral. But the sense – reinforced by the substantial donation acquired for Burnden – of additional motivation is substantial. What never becomes clear is whether he had already secured Hannah's commitment to fund an entire church – could the visits have combined pastoral care with discussion of a developing project? – or whether simple optimism, remarkable persistence and a sense of timing prompted such attention to a wealthy pair of sisters clearly nearing the end of their lives. St. Bartholomew's consecration over three years after Hannah's death suggests its funding was by bequest rather than donation.

Quite early in 1875:

Feb. 17 Call at Miss Howells, Mrs. Taylor – meet Mr. Barry. Architect ... presumably T.D. Barry, St. Bartholomew's architect – the one entry suggesting the Howell sisters' involvement at least at the planning stage.

In the following year, 1876, both sisters' deaths occur, almost exactly eight months apart:

Mar. 15 Hear of Miss Howells death which took place at 4 p.m. – call before service

Mar. 20 Attend at Miss Howells funeral at 10.30 (Ric[har]d read in church and at the grave)

Nov. 6 visit Miss Howell (very weak)

Nov. 17 visit Miss Howell. She died soon after I saw her.

Nov. 22 attend the funeral of Miss Howell at 11 a.m. and officiate.

Including attendance at the two funerals, Thomas Loxham makes twenty-six visits that year.

In the churchyard of St. Michael, Great Lever, Hannah and Mary Howell's shared grave lies not far from that of the brothers who inspired – or just possibly manipulated them into – funding the church of St. Bartholomew in the same township. Thomas Loxham died, aged eighty, in 1899, five years after Richard, his brother and lifelong companion.

Finally in this group, it was probably Hannah Holden (born c. 1829)245 and her sister Elizabeth (born c. 1836), of Launderbrook House, Royton, who in 1883 financed for St. Paul, Royton, a new chancel including an east window in memory of their [likely] parents, John and Jane Holden.246 If the 1881 Census' Holden sisters were indeed the funders, they were at the time living at 8, Wheatfield Street, Royton.

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245 'Holden, 1881 Census', websites.
246 OLDHAM-ROYTON, 1, 2, 3.
Group B Discussion

For mill-owning – twenty textile, two other – funders, evidence of public preferment resulting from church-funding is almost non-existent (Appendix 1.2). Ten have no record of official roles sought: Whitehead, Gardner, Openshaw, Schofield (senior), Mellodew, Schwabe, Fitton, Haworth, Rideout/Crompton and Seddon, the last reputed to have taken little part in public life and to have assumed the chair at a Liberal meeting only occasionally and under protest. Predating their churches were all Lees's appointments (county magistrate, 1866; borough magistrate, soon after; lieutenant-colonel, Oldham Volunteer Corps, 1872; Lancashire deputy-lieutenant, 1873) and William Grant's (JP, 1824). Heginbottom's, his church being posthumous, are irrelevant.

Posts of unknown date leave influence uncertain in a further fourteen: William Grant, junior (Salford visiting-magistrate); James Schofield, junior (captain, volunteers); Whittaker (Lancashire deputy-lieutenant; his board of guardians chairmanship preceded church-building); Ormrod, Mellodew, Buckley, Heginbottom, Richard Birley, Josiah Radcliffe, Thomas Hornby Birley, Herbert Birley, and Taylor (JPs); Greenhalgh (Manchester councillor); and James Heap (chair Newhey Conservative Association; his 1870 chairmanship of Milnrow Local Board predated church-building). Sidebotham's posts as JP and county-magistrate are unknown-dated, but when councillor he lived in Bowden, pre-dating his church.

For the overwhelming majority of mill-owners, though church-funding might have, in Shapely's terms, 'underpinned their social [and] economic … position in the community', and particularly with their workforces, it hardly had more public influence. The sole exceptions are the Radcliffe brothers, where slightly more of a case can be made: Joshua, though quiet and retired; and for one who had such a large stake in the prosperity of the town he took a singularly small part in public affairs, nevertheless undertook a sheaf of public roles. He was county-magistrate by 1866, preceding church-creation (1872) with dates unknown for service as Buersil Local Board chairman and police-commissioner. Appointment as commissioner of taxes and 'ex-officio guardian of the Poor Law Union' (1879), however, could possibly have been influenced by his church-funding. The four sets of female funders are excluded by gender from any possibility of attaining public roles as a result of their donations.

247 Rushton 5, 82.
248 Shapely (2000), 64.
249 ROCHDALE-Balderstone, 6, 13.
250 ROCHDALE-Balderstone, 3, 87.
Evidence of engineer-funders seeking or achieving public office is non-existent for Stewart. However, Beyer's magistracy appointment 'shortly before his death'251 was conceivably influenced by his donation as also Walton's high shrievalty of Montgomeryshire by his – as recently as the previous year – of the church in the working environment he had left behind on migrating to Wales, and by his generous contributions to the Montgomeryshire parish. Concerning colliery funders, consideration of public preferment is, again, irrelevant for Charlotte, as a woman, while appointment of 'Old Ralph' as JP for Leigh in 1859252 – a role, after moving, he continued in Southport until his death – suggests no connection with the Howe Bridge church, consecrated some eighteen years later.

Aged over sixty-four [p25, n71] at church-creation were (Appendix 1.3): Buckley and Alice Makant (each sixty-five); Beyer (sixty-six); Mellodew (seventy-one); Walton (seventy-four); Seddon (seventy-five); Ormrod (seventy-six); Fitton (seventy-seven); both Haworths: Nancy (seventy-five); John Gorell (sixty-five); Gardner (sixty-nine, and eighty); and the Howell sisters (about eighty-one and seventy-eight). Heginbottom had already died, aged sixty-seven. Well over a third of this group of donors thus funded churches at an age when life could be assumed to be approaching its end.

What other factors drove this group's church-creation, perhaps revealing donor-self-image at work. Documented or not, practical provision of new or improved worship facilities for donors' workforces and burgeoning populations associated with industrialisation must have motivated the majority. Seemingly lacking such responsibilities were: Whittaker (at Hurst), Gardner (at Moss Side), Taylor and Holden; and, less certainly: Gardner (at Chorlton), Heginbottom, Sidebotham, Ormrod and Howell. But such an imperative is likely for twenty-six, for twelve of whom it is documented, with spiritual need specifically mentioned as concerning five: Whitehead at Friezland; Mellodew (with a shadow of doubt discussed elsewhere [p51]); Schwabe (based only on local hearsay); Greenhalgh, at All Souls; and Lees. More nuanced religious intent is documentarily imputed to a further four: Ormrod, aspiring to grateful Christian use of wealth; Grant, similarly gratefully, honouring parental intention; Haworth, zealously Evangelical; and Buckley, contributing to 'spiritual revival'. Donor-centric considerations are inferred in six memorials: Heap, Taylor, Sidebotham (balanced by concern for local souls [p61]), Holden, Haworth (combined with less personal objectives) and Gardner (Chorlton-upon-Medlock), whose acquisition of Moss Side was apparently to secure

251 'Beyer', websites.
252 ATHERTON, I.
plant for the diocese, and concerning whose Chorlton building financial speculation is suggested. For ten, no reason is documented: Openshaw, Walton, 'Old Ralph' Fletcher, Heginbottom, Rideout, Bubb, Whittaker (Hurst), Greenhalgh (St. Saviour) Herbert Birley, and Beyer (All Saints). For all, provision might be expected to enhance worker-loyalty.

GROUP C: NON-INDUSTRIALISTS (13)

Thirteen donors – all men – funded churches for a variety of purposes apparently unconnected with provision for their own workforces. First are five bankers (Appendix 1.1 for this and following sub-groups).

Describing the transformation by Samuel Brooks (1792-1864) of marshy Jackson's Moss into a landscape of 'fertile farms … decked with beautiful residences' where he would create St. Margaret, Whalley Range (1849), his friend Leo Grindon enthuses:

by his passion for territorial improvement … the admirable spirit of the man is best exemplified. Constitutionally creative, possessing a magnificent natural aptitude for causing the wilderness to blossom as a rose …

Grindon ascribes Samuel's prosperity to the start given him by his father William who, a handloom manufacturer in Whalley, Blackburn – Samuel's birthplace, hence his development's name – engaging in an early form of banking, first apprenticed him in his own warehouse where, away from home, he lived in lodgings, acquiring therein the habits of frugality which stood him so well in after life. Before he was in the centre of his adolescence, it was his good fortune to learn what many men live and die without any true idea of - the inestimable value of money. His aptitude for finance needed no attestation.

He then placed him – now married and with a child – as a calico-printer in a Manchester concern likely to advance his prospects. There, clearly rising socially, they lived in Granby Row:

very pleasant, having a garden behind, overlooked by bay-windows, and a grass-plot in front. It had stables also, and everything else that appertains to a gentleman's house. Close by lived Mr. Joseph Thompson, a well-known and wealthy manufacturer.

A cynic might suppose the church to have been intended, with the deer park, to enhance his creation. Yet, preceding its establishment, 'undeviating

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254 Benjamin Heywood, banker and MP, is in group A.
255 Grindon (1878), 202-3.
256 Ibid, 100.
258 MANCHESTER-Whalley-Range, 3.
regularity' in churchgoing led him to establish a chapel at Whalley House where neighbours would be invited to join him in worship.\textsuperscript{259}

Lewis Loyd (1811-1891)\textsuperscript{260} was the eldest son of Edward Loyd and Sarah \textit{née} Taylor. As a young man, Edward had come from Cwm-wr-da, near Llandovery, Carmarthenshire, to join the family bank's Manchester branch, initially as a clerk, rising to be senior partner in 1821 and retiring in 1848 to Croydon.\textsuperscript{261} One of 'the best known and most highly respected men in the town', he served on the Exchange Committee and held other responsibilities. Lewis spent early childhood at their 'very substantial house adjoining the bank on the north side of King-Street' in Manchester; the family later acquired a 'country residence', Greenhill in Smedley Lane, Cheetham Hill.

Aged fifteen, Lewis joined his cousin Samuel Jones-Loyd, later Lord Overstone, at Eton, where William Gladstone was a contemporary. Again following Samuel, he attended Trinity College, Cambridge, before returning to Manchester to work at the bank, to whose London house in Lothbury he was soon transferred. He worked there alongside Samuel under the leadership of Lewis Loyd, senior, Samuel's father and his own uncle, and lived 'over the shop'; soon after this, on his uncle's retirement for health reasons, Samuel assumed leadership with Lewis as his deputy. Especially after attaining his peerage in 1850, though still nominally head of the firm Samuel became increasingly involved in public life and the 'real practical management' devolved to Lewis.

Politically Conservative, Loyd never sought election. In 1845, he married Frances Harriet, daughter of Admiral the Hon. Frederick Paul Irby of Hoyland Hall, Norfolk. He retained lifelong affection for, and estates in, the city of his birth and its surroundings, contributing generously to local good causes. But, with considerable property – Monk's Orchard estate in Surrey; his London house in Hyde Park Gardens;\textsuperscript{262} and another 'extensive' estate at Mynshull-Vernon near Nantwich – and positions as JP and High Sheriff for Surrey (1863), Lewis was never again to resume Manchester life. He died without issue and was buried, followed by his wife at her death in 1902, in his father's grave at Addington, Surrey.\textsuperscript{263}

The family had begun as Unitarians, attending Cross Street Chapel, of which Edward was a trustee with, among others, fellow-banker Benjamin Heywood [p34-5], until at some point embracing Anglicanism, Edward being chiefly responsible for

\textsuperscript{259} Grindon, 212.
\textsuperscript{260} Manchester-Cheetham, 1.
\textsuperscript{261} 'Loyd', websites.
\textsuperscript{262} Where Benjamin Heywood at one time had a house. [p35, n92].
\textsuperscript{263} 'Loyd', websites.
found Saint Luke's, Cheetham Hill (1839). It was there, in memory of his parents that Lewis founded St. John the Evangelist (1871).

Albert Hudson Royds (1811-1890), who founded Rochdale's St. Edmund, Falinge (1873), as a memorial to his parents and reputedly to correct inadequate provision for worship in a combination of day school, church & Sunday school, was pre-eminently a Freemason. How that influenced the church is discussed below.

Around 1827, sixteen-year-old Albert joined his father Clement when the family changed to banking from the woollen and worsted manufacturing where they are cited as having been among those for whom 'the domestic manufacture had made many fortunes in Lancashire.' By the 1840s, Albert and his younger brother were running the business while their father concentrated on public and political activities.

Father and son were not short of honours. Clement was Chief Magistrate for many years, Lancashire Deputy Lieutenant (1832) and High Sheriff (1850). Albert was Lancashire Deputy Lieutenant (1852) and Worcester High Sheriff (1865) besides achieving what may have meant even more to him: the Masonic honours of Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Worcestershire Province (1857-1865) and Provincial Grand Master (1866-1878).

Edward Stanley Heywood (1829-1914), Benjamin's third son, founded St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pendlebury (1874). Information published about him, though considerably less detailed than that available for his more distinguished father, indicates sponsorship of worthy causes, with a special interest in Pendlebury where he built schools, and was chief benefactor of a worker share-owning library institute. He was Chairman of the Board of Management of the Manchester Royal Infirmary (1877-1902); helped found the Manchester Royal College of Music; and was an original guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society.

Through his diaries a much fuller picture may be drawn. A sophisticated, albeit provincial, man-about-town life included frequent visits to London and to Brighton (the latter, bizarrely, for the hunting and shooting); collecting Old Masters; and attendance at plays and concerts in both Manchester and London, where he heard...
Wagner conduct at the Albert Hall – 'music wonderful'.

He and his wife Louisa, née Peel, an evidently close couple with many shared interests, devoted much attention to improving their home where they entertained frequently, though not always, it seems, pleasurably:

We gave a dinner in honour of Adelaide & Mr. Dewes … a very dull affair.

The occasional flash of humour in Heywood's diaries:

the first attempt this season at church warming. There were the customary explosions and throwing out of water from the pipes.

is more than balanced by evidence of his serious side, particularly on the subject of religious observance and related matters. He and Louisa, at home, in London, Brighton or elsewhere, usually attended church twice each Sunday. Though inferences of devotion to local working people and their spiritual welfare can be drawn from the diaries, it is hard to escape the sense of the church's being, to a significant extent, of personal satisfaction as enhancing the neighbourhood in which he lived.

Peter Richard Hoare (1803-1877) founded Manchester's St. Cross, Clayton (1874), after some twenty years of attempts by St. Mary, Droylsden, the mother-parish, to 'establish a place of worship at the Clayton end of the parish'. In June, 1855, Peter Richard Hoare's agent, a Mr. Trapp, had laid the foundation stone for new day and Sunday schools, part of the buildings being intended for public worship – the start of what was to become St. Cross' church.

Eldest son in the famous London banking family, Hoare inherited considerable property in the area through his mother, Penelope Green, co-heiress of Mordecai Green's estate. Her husband, the donor's father, also Peter Richard Hoare (1772-1849), of Kelsey Park, near Beckenham, Kent, was 'a well-known author and influential London banker'; his second son was Rector of Stourton, Wiltshire. Though Peter Richard, junior, owned much of Droylsden and most of Clayton, including Clayton Hall near the church, his principal residence was in Devon, suggesting him to have been only tenuously involved with the parish. However, his son, Charles Arthur Richard (1847-1908), of Clayton Manor, Kelsey Park and Hall Place, Huntingdonshire, 'continued to take an active interest …'.

269 HD (5/1877).
270 In 1866-7 and again in 1870, both carried out under Bodley's supervision.
271 HD (27/8/1864); Alfred Dewes, later St. Augustine's first incumbent, became Heywood's brother-in-law on marrying Adelaide Peel, Heywood's wife's sister.
272 HD (12/11/1865).
274 MANCHESTER-Clayton, I, 1.
275 On the Stourton family's Stourhead estate.
One of two traditional commodity producers, William Roberts (1806-1888), brewer of Darley Dale, Derbyshire,\textsuperscript{276} founded Christ Church, West Didsbury (1882).

A new parish was planned and an option was taken on a piece of land at Burton Road/Barlow Moor Road. However, William Roberts, a wealthy brewer who owned the Crown Brewery in Hulme from 1851, offered to provide land and build a church at his expense, provided that it was built opposite his own house (Oaks Farm, where St Ambrose now stands). … There were protests but the Bishop gave consent.\textsuperscript{277}

The church stands, indeed, at this site.

More recently, a researcher\textsuperscript{278} has, with the help of census-returns, provided further information, but a difficulty arises. Her William Roberts of Darley Dale, though matching in some respects, is described as farmer and builder – no mention of brewing – and as the son, with five siblings, of George Roberts and Martha H. Gregory. He married Martha Brockstopp (said to have been from a 'good family' of a village near Darley Dale). They had five daughters: Emma (born 1832), Eliza (1834), Sarah (1839), Lucy (1839), Fanny (1846), and possibly one son, all christened in Manchester, at least two at the Cathedral. Mid-marriage, the couple may have lived apart, but appear to have eventually reunited. Another census-finding – of a William Roberts living above a pub (albeit not as a brewer), together with some children of the names listed – provides a degree of consistency, with absence of a maternal figure conceivably corresponding with temporary separation. It indicates him to have supplied stone from Darley Dale (where he owned a quarry) for important buildings in Manchester, and to have been associated with Thomas Worthington of Worthington & Elgood, a firm of Manchester architects.\textsuperscript{279} It remains unclear whether either return – or both – applied to this donor.

Such speculation apart, interest in Darley Dale subsequently led Roberts to contribute financially to St. Helen's (where he had been baptised in 1806) and, possibly to his own design, to build himself (or convert) The Grove – though he died without ever living there.\textsuperscript{280} Believed to have died in Manchester, his remains were transported for burial in St. Helen's graveyard. However, though graves for Gregory family-members are to be seen in the graveyard, none has been found for any of his children, or for Martha, whom he predeceased; she died in Nottinghamshire.

\textsuperscript{276} As the inscription beneath the church's memorial-window to him affirms.
\textsuperscript{277} Manchester-Didsbury, 2.
\textsuperscript{278} Accessed 'partly through Ancestry.com.' – Marianne Jackson (néé Stewart), to whom thanks, telephone conversation (23/6/2012).
\textsuperscript{279} 'Worthington', websites.
\textsuperscript{280} 'St. Elphin's', websites.
Far more certainty attends what is known of John Marsland Bennett (1817-1889). Grandson of the Dale Street wheelwright Anthony Bennett, who made cog-wheels for cotton mills, John Marsland, a timber-merchant like his father, also John, was born in an 'old-fashioned house' in Summer Place. In 1857 the father retired to a farming life at Wollaston Hall in Cheshire, an address perhaps indicative of the family's rise in fortune and status; ten years earlier, John Marsland had married Mary Bowers Armitage, daughter of Elkanah Armitage. A glimpse into the social and political circles into which Bennett was thus matrimonially drawn is provided by the view that Armitage personified the self-made, independent, nonconformist entrepreneur, knighted for his services in putting down Chartists, a model of work & success through individual endeavour [and was of] low-paying masters … the most intransigent. [He adopted lock-out tactics], exercised coercion through dismissal from company housing, and brought court cases against workers for their "intimidation of blacklegs", tactics for which he acquired the image of archetypal capitalist tyrant in the operative press.

Bennett himself did not lack status or recognition, becoming Councillor for Ardwick ward (1851-59); Alderman (1859-89); and Mayor of Manchester (1863-65). He stood as Conservative parliamentary candidate in 1867, narrowly losing to John Bright. He also held chairmanships and directorships in several fields. Success was reflected in the move in 1875 to Buile Hill Park, a large estate in Eccles Old Road, Pendleton, with the Heywoods, at Claremont, their neighbours.

St. Benedict, Ardwick (1889) resulted from an approach to Bennett in 1876 by Canon Tonge, secretary of the Manchester Diocesan Church Building Society about a plot of land for a new church to serve the district's growing population occupying housing built by Bennett. After a week's deliberation, Bennett responded by offering to build the church himself. Completed in May the following year, it was subject to delay owing to a wrangle over patronage between Bennett and Bishop Fraser, ultimately won by the donor. Bennett's adamancy as to the precise nature of his creation is discussed below [p167].

One of two landed-gentry donors were the Deardens, originally of Whitfield farming stock. Pursuit of gentrification during the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is seen in three near-identically-named men. Ascent began with

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281 MANCHESTER-Ardwick, 2, 4.
282 Howe, 172-3, who cites 'as the best account', T.G. Lee, ed., *Trades Unions' Magazine ... and History of the Pendleton Strike*, 1850-1, 'the only copy of which survives in Salford Public Library'.
283 Robertson (1884).
285 Part - starting with second section - of press cutting, *County (North Manchester) Express*, January 11, 1960 [7 - last digit partially obscured], in Cheetham Society (1904); dealing with foundation of church.
286 MANCHESTER-Ardwick, 3.
287 Francis and Wilbraham Egerton, landed aristocracy and MPs, are in group A.
288 One source of information on the Deardens of Calderbrook is *TLCAS* (1913).
the first James Dearden (1774-1828) when in 1823 for £34,000 he bought the estate of the poet Lord Byron, thereby becoming Lord of the Manor of Rochdale, his house thenceforth the Manor House.\footnote{289} The founders of Littleborough's St. James, Calderbrook (1870) were that gentleman's son and grandson – James Dearden (1798-1862) and James Griffith Dearden (1840-1912) – the former, who died eight years before its completion and consecration, initiating it with a foundation-stone-laying ceremony on 25 August 1860 to celebrate the majority of the latter, who realised it. Educated at Eton and Oxford, James Griffith Dearden's magistracy of Lancaster, Lincoln and Northampton and Nottinghamshire high shrievality (1901) point to the family's worldly success. It seems very possible that funding the building of a church in the midst of their community furthered their ambitions.

Claims to social distinction were cherished also by the Norreys family.\footnote{290} Robert Henry Norreys (born ?1813) and his two sisters Mary (?1815-1881) and Isabella Bowers (?1821-1892)\footnote{291} funded Manchester's St. Mary the Virgin, Davyhulme (1890). In 1788, rich Manchester businessman Henry Norris (\textit{sic}; 1745-1819) had come to live at Davyhulme Hall, the name and arms on his memorial in St. Michael's church, Flixton, indicating descent from the Norreys family of Speke.\footnote{292} Davyhulme Hall and its estates then passed successively to his daughter Mary (1780-1868) and son-in-law Robert (1780-1844), who had taken the Norreys name and arms. Their three children, all living at the Hall, determined to provide for the spiritual and educational needs of the industrialising area, wishing to impart a sense of identity and community in Davyhulme directed by the family at the Hall.

In this they achieved their spiritual goal, the church-project being effected, by their bequest and in their memory, by their nephew, John Bertie Entwisle Norreys, a gentleman with houses in Rochdale and Rugby whose social status, including the Leicestershire high shrievality in 1885, merited entry in Walford's County Families.\footnote{293} Despite honouring their wishes as far as the church was concerned – as commemorated by external inscription [p109] – and providing its site, after their deaths Entwisle Norreys had the Hall demolished and the estates sold.

Of three clerical donors, Archbishop John Bird Sumner (1780-1862)\footnote{294} [plate 15] was from a churchy family; both his father and (preceding himself) younger
brother became priests, the latter subsequently also bishop. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, he was an outstanding scholar, winning a sheaf of prizes and preferments. His Evangelical zeal, sparked by Charles Simeon's influence, was more or less liberally understood and applied. The same influence helped form his passionate concern for the poor, acted out from his schooldays and a (if not the) keystone of his Chester episcopate and Canterbury archiepiscopate. Tolerant and liberal politically, gentle and sensitive in his personal dealings, he appears to have commanded liking and respect across the churchmanship spectrum.

Early in his archiepiscopate, he financed Bolton's St. John, Folds Road (1849). The speech he made on the occasion of the foundation of a church he funded in Croydon is revealing. It was, he said,

... impossible that he should live so near ... and see streets rising in every direction ... and the population growing so rapidly ... and not feel desirous that the want should be supplied ... Many of his predecessors had signalized their episcopate by works of charity and liberality. He saw their tombs [and] memorials ... natural that he should feel some degree of emulation ... some other memorial of himself should remain than a mere inscription upon a tomb ... he should turn part of that ample provision which the piety of former ages had made for the erection of the church ... He had a nucleus to begin with [a] to him unknown benefactor had put in his hands £5,000 [of which] after expending £4,200 in the erection of a church at Bolton there remained £800 and he had thought he could not make better use of what he did not require for personal comfort than by adding to that amount such a sum as would provide a new church in Croydon. Nothing now remained but to think of the church and forget the founder ...296

Though the 'unknown benefactor' could be construed to invalidate the inclusion of Sumner and St. John's in the study, Sumner's role appears to allow its consideration.

Charles Wright (1799-1865), and elder brother Thomas (dates unknown), who funded Bolton's St. Peter (originally St. Thomas), Belmont (1850), were primarily long-standing landowners, deriving their wealth from substantial estates in various parts of the country, including what became Belmont, a township developed through industrialisation. Charles' ordained status seems hardly relevant to their donorship since he was incumbent neither of St. Peter's nor of any other parish; indeed, as discussed below [p115-16], he played little apparent part in the life of the church he helped fund. Ostensibly, the church was created to serve the interests of the poorer classes living under Wright dominion; a charitable impression marred by Charles's falling foul of the inspectorate in 1853 for inadequate maintenance of his tenant-housing.298

296 BOLTON-Folds-Road, 3, 142.
297 BOLTON-Belmont, 3.
298 Ibid, 8-18. 'The charge should perhaps be more frequently raised against the new rich that very few of them knocked down the back to backs and built better' – Charles Foster, Arley Hall archivist and local historian whose works include Capital and Innovation – how Britain became the first industrial
Thomas Loxham (1819-1899),\(^{299}\) was the younger of two ordained brothers known for their devotion towards and zeal for the Church of England, the elder also for his illustrated volumes detailing church-building achievements in the wider Lancashire area.\(^{300}\) Thomas's ministry had begun with a curacy at Bolton Parish Church and continued as first rector of St. Michael's, Great Lever, also in Bolton, where his brother was curate. Murmurs\(^{301}\) of new church provision in Bolton being unnecessary seem not to have checked Thomas's determination: his dream was realised in the creation of Bolton's St. Simon and St. Jude, Great Lever (1901), though he did not live to see it. He was also involved in industrialists Hannah and Mary Howell's funding of nearby St. Bartholomew's [p68-9].

The last of the fifty church-funders was public servant Henry Gartside (1815-1880) with his wife, Elizabeth Sarah (c. 1804-1892, née Gartside; Henry's distant cousin).\(^ {302}\) Henry and Elizabeth had grown up in the same village; he at Denshaw House, a 'fairly conventional merchant's residence, inspired to a degree by classicism but more vernacular in character', built by his father, John Gartside, in 1815; she, at the rather grander Woodbrow – 'with its bay windows … undoubtedly influenced by Regency fashion' [plate 16], built by her father, Captain Thomas Gartside.\(^ {303}\) In 1864, after several years in Ashton, they moved to Greenfield where Henry had bought the 'handsome residence and estate' Wharnton Towers.\(^ {304}\)

Henry Gartside began his training as a solicitor in Preston and (briefly) London, completing his articles in Oldham, qualifying in 1838.\(^ {305}\) Shortly before he and Elizabeth married the following year, he came to Ashton-under-Lyne. Described as a man of talent and principle, strengthened by independence of spirit,\(^ {306}\) he very soon assumed a leading role in the campaign for the borough's incorporation, acting as solicitor for the committee (which included members of the Heginbottom family, including George, donor of study-church Holy Trinity). The fruits of these labours came in 1847 when, having played

an active part in obtaining the charter of incorporation for the borough, it was natural he should be elected perhaps in some degree as a reward for his services, as the first town clerk.

\(^{299}\) Bolton-Great-Lever, 1.
\(^{300}\) Loxham (1846-55).
\(^{301}\) Bolton-Great-Lever, 1.
\(^{302}\) Thanks to Mike Buckley, for useful information here and elsewhere.
\(^{303}\) Mike Buckley, email (10/2/2012).
\(^{304}\) Oldham-Denshaw, 2; 'Tower' (singular), elsewhere.
\(^{305}\) Oldham-Denshaw, 1.
\(^{306}\) Oldham-Denshaw, 2.
However, after sixteen years, circumstances occurred, which might possibly not be within the canons of good taste to dwell upon here, which led to a rupture with the Liberal party. The consequence was that Mr. Gartside, with that independence of character which has always distinguished him, resigned his position of town clerk ... He was popular and, at the time of resignation, had a lot of vociferous public support directly connected to his relief efforts.

These 'circumstances' had to do with the distribution of relief to cotton spinners suffering from the effects of the Cotton Famine. Two competing committees were established, one by the Mayor and the other by the Manor, Gartside chaired the Manor committee and ended up at loggerheads with the Liberal administration. He switched ... from the Liberals to the conservatives as a result of what became a bitter dispute. This was also a factor in his switch from Independent to Established Church.  

He played a part in reinvigorating the Conservative Party, 'then at a fearfully low ebb', notably through founding the Working Men's Church Conservative Association. Perhaps the best thing he did for Ashton was, at the time of the cotton famine, securing, in collaboration with a local cleric, a substantial grant from the Lord Mayor of London's relief fund 'in aid of the distressed operatives'. He was reappointed town clerk in February 1875, a post held until his death.  

Breaking, like Oldham Whittaker and the Heap brothers, with his family's nonconformist roots, he founded Oldham's Christ Church, Denshaw (1863). As discussed below [p118], besides location, determined by an outside offer, two factors are documented as operative in the decision to build: a legendary curse haunting Elizabeth's branch of the family, and Henry Gartside's claim that their gift was 'actuated only by a desire to provide for the spiritual wants of the district.' The gesture was particularly disruptive in the Gartside case since his siblings, loyal to Delph's Independent Congregational Chapel (about 1745), erected there a memorial to their father, in apparently deliberate opposition to Henry's own paternal memorial at Christ Church. Henry's birth-family, it is suggested, saw his change of political allegiance as double-treachery.

**Group C Discussion**

Influence on public preferment through church-funding appears unlikely with any of these banking or commodity-supplying funders (Appendix 1.2). Dates are unknown for Brooks' membership of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway board; or JP-terms for Edward Heywood (Lancashire); Hoare (Devonshire); Dearden (Lancaster and West Riding); or Gartside. Hoare's Devonshire high shrievality (1860) preceded his church, as did Royds' several Masonic positions, Worcestershire.

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307 Ibid, cit Mike Buckley, email (July 2013).
308 Ibid.
309 OLDHAM-DENSHAW, 3, 16, 18.
310 Mike Buckley.
deputy lieutenanty (1863) and high shrievality (1865); Loyd's Surrey high
shrievality (1863) – neither's dates as JP known – and Bennett's progression through
Councillor and Alderman and subsequent Manchester mayorality. Roberts seemingly
occupied no public posts.

The question of such influence is less clearly negative for the other funders:
financing the church consecrated in 1863 could perhaps have influenced Gartside's
re-appointment as town clerk (1875); while James Dearden's attaining the shrievality
in 1901 could conceivably have been aided by his church-financing but, though his
status-hunger may encourage the notion, the thirty-one-year time-lag after
Calderbrook's consecration hardly strengthens it. No connection exists in the case of
Entwisle Norreys, whose own high shrievality was gained five years before
consecration of the church funded in their memory by his uncle's and aunts' bequest.

For the three clerical funders, resulting progress within the hierarchy should be
considered. In Loxham's case, though the story learned from his diaries about his
relationship with the Howell sisters may cast slight suspicion on his methods of
pursuing church-building desires, he was not appointed even a canon of the church,
let alone a bishop; for Wright, useful information is absent. And any question of such
reward for Sumner is trumped by his being at the very pinnacle of his profession
(though, perhaps, a very peculiar satisfaction could have been enjoyed in
contemplating his own conspicuously humble and ordinary good deed, as well as
furthering his archiepiscopal agenda by setting the good example of providing a
church for the poor).

Regarding age at consecration (Appendix 1.3), Hoare was seventy-one (dying
three years later); Heywood comparatively young (forty-five); the remaining bankers
in their late fifties to early sixties. The ages of traditional commodity suppliers
Roberts (seventy-six) and Bennett (seventy-two) suggest diminishing life expectancy
might have been influential though, in 1878 when he promised his church, Bennett
was only fifty-nine. James Dearden senior, deceased well before his church's
consecration, was already sixty-four when it was conceived; and all the Norreys
siblings were already deceased or into borrowed time at their church's consecration:
Robert Henry (if living), seventy-seven; Mary (nine-years-deceased), seventy-five;
Isabella, sixty-nine. Clerical donors' ages were fifty-one (Wright) and sixty-nine
(Sumner); Loxham (his completed posthumously) would have been eighty-three. Finally,
the Gartsides at consecration were a youngish forty-eight (Henry) and fifty-nine (Elizabeth) respectively; each had some years' life-expectancy remaining.

Concerning donors' other possible objectives, two bankers – Loyd and Royds
– were creating memorials to their parents; Edward Heywood, ostensibly creating a
place of worship for less fortunate neighbours, though possibly with a degree of self-interest attached; any clear driving force in Brooks' and Hoare's largesse is indiscernible. Authority in their own neighbourhoods can be inferred as an issue for Roberts, against parish judgment insisting on location convenient to himself; Bennett, responding to a request for land with the offer of the whole building, over which he proceeded to exert rigid control [p167]; and Norreys, as landowners, whose concern was allegedly to extend spiritual provision to another part of the parish. 311 Dearden's church was unambiguously dynastic in intent [p235], while a cynic might judge the church-creation of the three clerics as reflecting pride: Loxham's in building as many churches as possible; Sumner's in showing ordinary virtue; Wright's – like Roberts, Bennett and Norreys – in exerting authority over the community. Lastly, determining driving-force in the Gartsides' church-creation manoeuvring is anything but straightforward.

**Summary and Conclusion**

_In their own image?_ Several perspectives have been observed from which a donor may see and wish to see him- or herself – not motivation, in the sense ordinarily understood, but self-image, and its potential deployment in singular church-funding. A summary of these perspectives is now described and analysed.

In order to explore whether Shapely's thesis might be extrapolated to include church-funding, addressed first is its potential to enhance self-image through boosting chances of selection for public office. Between them the donors enjoyed a multiplicity of documented 312 public roles. However, the many conferred preceding a donor's church-funding can in that respect be ruled out. The nine cases offering possibility (if only faint) of church-funding influencing awards – four parliamentarians (both Egertons, the Birleys, and Houldsworth); three industrialists (Joshua Radcliffe, Beyer and Walton); and two non-industrialists (Gartside and Dearden) – being under one-fifth of the total do not support such a general hypothesis. But it cannot be gainsaid that an ambitious, self-seeking donor could have been influenced by possibility of such advantage, even if it failed to materialise, or that influence, respect and perhaps affection in the community are, nevertheless, likely to have accrued.

Though rarely gained as a result of church-founding, the public roles (Appendix 1.2) enjoyed by the cohort's male members – do throw light on donors' status and public esteem. Twenty-one had multiple roles: two – Hoare, Loyd,
Richard Birley, Josiah Radcliffe, Hugh Birley, Norreys, Harrison Blair, Nathaniel Greenhalgh, and Seddon; three – Benjamin Heywood and Sidebotham; four – Stephen Blair, James Griffith Dearden, Joshua Radcliffe, and Lees; five – Heginbottom; each of Royds, Bennett, both Egertons, and Houldsworth had six or considerably more. There were six MPs, nineteen JPs, twelve magistrates, four mayors, five high sheriffs, two lord-lieutenants and another five deputy-lord-lieutenants (William Grant making a possible sixth). Eight served on local boards or boards of guardians – four as chair – and three were police-commissioners; besides a host of more minor roles. No public office is documented for eight donors while average per head (for this purpose, counting each individual: Blairs: two; Whiteheads: four; and so on), was highest for the non-industrialist group (1.5); closely followed by parliamentarians (1.4); industrialists some way behind (0.9). (Appendix 1.2) Perhaps contrary causation sometimes played a part: public preferment's enhancement of self-esteem promoting complementary giving.

A second perspective concerns how a donor's age (Appendix 1.3) might influence self-image as an individual facing divine (and posterity's) judgment. It seems likely that such reflections could have influenced, in particular, some of the eighteen donors – almost one third of the total – who had reached their twilight years by the time of their (first) church's consecration. Those eighteen include no MPs, one-third of the industrialists, and close to half (43%) of the non-industrialists.

A third perspective concerns evangelistic donor-image. How a donor's self-perception includes drive to evangelise, here specifically channelled through, and to promote, Establishment, is an aspect of self-image especially apposite to the business of church-funding; note the half-dozen switching with elevated status to become Anglicans. For clerical donors Sumner and Loxham – though not perhaps Wright – serious faith-commitment may be a given. Of the non-clerics, it is particularly apparent in six sets of donors: Benjamin Heywood and Bennett (both of High Churchmanship); the Whiteheads, Gardner, Greenhalgh, and the Haworths (all Evangelical). Expressions of gratitude to the Almighty for their prosperity are documented for Whiteheads, Ormrod, James Schofield senior, Grants and Radcliffes. But it cannot be doubted that contributing to the drive, national and local, to create places of worship for the people – especially those for whom they had responsibility – was of important concern overall.

A fourth perspective may be termed paternalistic: donor-image resting upon concern for a workforce or other population for which the donor felt responsible; or pseudo-paternalistic towards those whose increased commitment promised gain to the donor. Since the concern is, of course, for the population's worshipping needs, it
overlaps evangelistic self-image. It is hardly surprising that an industrialist donor's self-image should significantly depend upon the care accorded a workforce s/he had either inherited or assembled. This is documented for three MPs, inferred for a fourth; six mill-owners (including two whose churches were, perhaps primarily, memorials); two engineers, inferred for seven other industrialists; and, naturally enough, at least two of the three clerics – twenty-one in all. If not a workforce, a population was often the concern: this, documented of four MPs, ten industrialists and two non-industrialists, can be inferred for virtually all donors; those providing for workforces or building memorial-churches might, for example, be expected to have in mind also the wider community among which they placed their buildings.

Part of a fifth, dynastic, perspective – one that overlaps considerably with the donor-church-identity discussed in Chapter Two – is church as memorial, applying to eight (Gardner-Chorlton-upon-Medlock; Heap-Newhey; Sidebotham-Haughton, Haworth-Walshaw; Rideout-Prestolee; Holden-Royton; Loyd-Cheetham; and Royds-Falinge). The dynastic perspective includes, too, a son's coming-of-age (Dearden-Calderbrook).

Finally, donation size to some extent impinges upon each of the five perspectives. Cost-range-data – from £1,500 to £45,000, with mean expenditure just over £11,000 – are distorted by information completely lacking for four, and, for many, imprecision regarding which reported values are correct (Appendix 1.4 – mean values are used for discussion) and which of site, schools, parsonage, endowment and repair-fund is included. Spending averaged £9,446 (parliamentarians); £11,106 (industrialists); and £12,259 (non-industrialists). Three of the six MPs' ten costed churches are in the lowest category (under £5,000) and five in the next-lowest (£5,000-£10,000). However, three of the latter were Birley creations, representing only part of the brothers' total contribution to Manchester of thirteen partially- or entirely-funded [p39]. Another prolific church-funder was Wilbraham Egerton; of his four study-churches, Hulme St. Mary cost £16,000. As a single-church-funding MP, Houldsworth's cost about £31,000. High-spending industrialists were Ormrod (£45,000); Greenhalgh (£30,000 for The Saviour including schools and parsonage, £20,000 for All Souls – £27,000 for the 'whole complex' with cost of schools and parsonage probably additional); Haworth (£28,000 besides most of the school cost; parsonage also family-funded); Stewart (documented mean, £28,000). Generous non-industrialists were Edward Heywood (£33,356); Royds (£25,000, mean); Bennett (£22,000, mean); and Loyd (£20,000

313 BOLTON-Deane, 14.  
314 Former, BOLTON-Crompton, 4; latter, Dobb, 181.  
315 BURY-Walshaw, 1.
including church, rectory, endowment, schools site and reredos). However, even supposing greater knowledge, assessing a church's cost in relation to a donor's means poses difficulty and has not been investigated systematically. Wilbraham Egerton's £16,000 may have been nothing to him in comparison, say, with the Blairs' less than £4,000 for St. Stephen's, Kearsley Moor, though, as already noted, Stephen Blair spent six times that sum on a hospital. Francis Egerton's £4,500 on St. Paul's, Walkden Moor, seems decidedly paltry in relation both to what must be assumed to be his exceptionally large wealth and to the sum he had spent on his family-church of St. Mark's.

Summarised above are various perspectives through which each donor may perceive or construct self-image: society-leader; mortal; evangelist; paternalist or exemplary employer; dynast. For many donors, several apply; none is mutually exclusive. Considered analytically in Chapter Two is the perspective closest to the heart of the singular church-funding phenomenon: donor-church-identity.
5. William Henry Houldsworth.

7. ‘Christ Church Parsonage & Schools Friezland. G Shaw, Arch †’. 
8. Thomas Mellodew.
10. George Heginbottom.
13. Charles Frederick Beyer.
14. 'Old Ralph' Fletcher.
Chapter Two
Sixty-One Churches

Introduction

Friezland, an Oldham village in the Pennine foothills, retains its green setting over 150 years after the four textile-manufacturing Whitehead brothers founded their church there, adjacent to the mills and housing, a canal nearby whereby to transport coal for the plant, with which they opened the area to industry. About ten miles by road to the northwest, also founded by brothers, the five Radcliffes, is St. Mary, Balderstone, consecrated 1872, nearly twenty-five years after Friezland's Christ Church (1850). For this study, perhaps the most interesting point of similarity between the two is the multiplicity in each of plaques, windows and other artefacts drawing attention to the donors; their beneficence and excellence, the affection and respect they commanded in life and the sorrow felt at their death. During the fifty years following consecration, thirteen memorials to the founding family were erected in Friezland's church and twelve in Balderstone's; more than any other church save one of the forty-nine visited.

This vignette illustrates one of seven factors selected to define aspects of a church likely in aggregate to mark the strength of a donor's involvement in the church and the attachment of the parish to the benefactor; in short, donor-church-identity. First, dedication (Appendix 2.1): for twenty-two a donor-family-member's name is used; for twenty, no corresponding family name has been found; eleven have a faith-tenet dedication – Christ Church or St. Cross, for example. However, most donor-related names are, like apparently donor-unrelated dedications, of Christian saints; such evidence for identity might be coincidental. Second, proximity: the church lying within two miles of donor-residence or, for an industrialist (or a non-industrialist with working premises such as Roberts or Bennett), -residence or -workplace, or both. Third, donor-dedicated space in order of significance: pew; chapel; chapel with exterior-entrance. Fourth, memorials: number (of those dated up to fifty years post-consecration) donor-related, compared with non-donor-related. Fifth, donor-family-iconography. Sixth, donor-family-armorials. Seventh (arguably supreme among indicators of donor-church-identity), donor-family-burial (in the funded church's graveyard if such exists; ordered for significance: simple burial; exterior-vault; interior-vault).

Following the last chapter's focus upon the donors, the primary aim of this one is to assess each church for evidence of such identity. (Appendices 2.2, 2.3)

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1 Eight – four extensions, four re-consecrations – were dedicated prior to the donor's gift.
Evidence concerning the seven factors is defined as integral. A few churches also manifest one or both of two other types of integral evidence: distinct churchmanship and Freemasonry. Strong evidence of either suggests donor-influence.

Besides such integral signs reflecting donor-influence, there is often evidence deriving from interviews and written sources besides continued donor-influence upon the present-day church through patronage and family connections. Such referential evidence, which may agree with, dilute or contradict integral evidence, or compensate for lack of it, occasionally proves beyond reasonable doubt that, for example, a specific major decision was taken by the donor.

Finally, donor-identity attaching to one of the study's churches may be usurped – wholly or partially; pre- or post-creation – by donor-involvement with an alternative church, which itself may or may not be a study-church (Appendix 2.3). The alternative church may contain a family chapel – strong evidence of identity there – or, should it have a graveyard, be the site for donor-family burial in preference to the study-church examined. Interesting variety pertains to the eight sets of donors who funded more than one study-church.

This chapter's principal focus is on forty-two of the forty-eight visited, including three by then redundant: Bolton All Souls (closed 1987); Ardwick (closed 2004); and Falinge (closed 2008). Data, more scant, is used where available on a further already-redundant church, Ordsall St. Ignatius (closed 2004); on thirteen demolished earlier; and on two since rebuilt: Moss Side and Westhoughton St. Bartholomew. Difficulty of identifying the funded project's impact on a pre-existing church has also excluded three extensions: Worsley; Newton Heath; and Royton), though included for its wealth of data and significant bearing on donor-church-identity is a fourth: Hurst St. John the Evangelist.

The strength of integral donor-church-identity ranges from negligible to very strong. At one end are those where search for a donor's traces is met with a string of negatives: proximity to neither residence nor workplace; few, even no, donor-family memorials; no donor-dedication or -armorial display; no family-pew or other donor-dedicated space; no family-graves. For some of those demonstrating the lowest donor-church-identity, strong alternative-church-allegiance in their donors explains and reinforces the sense of detachment. In contrast are those with positives frequently in superabundance: close proximity to both residence and workplace; donor-family traces including: memorials in abundance; dedication; arms; chapels with private access from outside; and, most significantly, not simply tombs in the surrounding graveyard but enormous vaults; in a few cases situated inside the church.
Forty-eight evaluated for evidence of donor-church-identity
(Appendices 2.2, 2.3)

Ordered for discussion low to high in inferred donor-church-identity are seven groups. Any summation of such diverse factors being debatable, allocation should be judged imperfect at best.

TEN WITH MINIMAL INTEGRAL EVIDENCE

I FIVE WITH GEOGRAPHICALLY-DISTANCED DONORS

At time of consecration none of group I's five churches had its donor living nearby. Charles Frederick Beyer and James Walton, founders respectively of St. James, Gorton (1871), and St. Mary the Virgin, Haughton Green (1876), had retreated westward, the former buying Llantysilio Hall in 1867, four years before his first church's consecration;\(^2\) the latter, the Dolforgan estate in Kerry [p65], six years before his.\(^3\) Both men spent retirement in their new surroundings creating alternative places of worship (and eventual burial). For the donors of St. Cross, Clayton (1874), and St. Peter, Westleigh (1881) – Peter Richard Hoare and Sarah Bubb, buried respectively at Dawlish, Devon,\(^4\) and Weston-super-Mare, Somerset\(^5\) – the southwest was longer-established home-territory, each having founded a study-church on property inherited from geographically distant kin but neither apparently living there, though Hoare did own a house, Clayton Hall.\(^6\) Houldsworth's origins, too, were outside the area, where he had already retired before creating St. Elisabeth, Reddish, discussed further below [p103].

Eschewal of burial at study-churches donors had founded in absentia was, unsurprisingly, complete (Bubb's lacked a graveyard). Such distancing is not confined to this group: the graveyard of group IV's St. Anne, Clifton, was similarly passed over by Charlotte Anne. But other aspects of Beyer, Walton, Hoare and Bubb's relationships with their churches endorse absent donor-church-identity. First, memorials are virtually non-existent; the only possible sign of any is a monogram, hard to distinguish but probably including a 'W', carved into the stone exterior of the font at Haughton Green St. Mary, and Gorton St. James' oil portrait of Charles Frederick Beyer, damaged some thirty years ago and since unhung, 'too expensive' to

\(^2\)'Llantysilio', websites.
\(^3\)'Walton', ODNB.
\(^4\)MANCHESTER-Clayton, 2.
\(^5\)'Bubb', websites.
\(^6\)MANCHESTER-Clayton, 1.
repair. None of these churches had a donor-chapel, -entrance or -pew. A possible exception – lifelong Haughton Green parishioner Alwyn Horsefield remembers her great-aunt saying that the Waltons expected local children, on entry, to bow to them sitting in 'their own special pew' – seems more likely to reflect habitual usage than formal appropriation in a church commended at consecration as Manchester's first with completely free seating, and, moreover, with no vestige of owners' name-slots.

In memorials, dedicated space and choice of burial site, then, this group lacks evidence of donor-involvement. In dedications and location, the picture is less clear. Local tradition has it that Walton founded his church in memory of his daughter, Mary, who died aged fourteen – hence dedication to the virgin Mary. Clare Eades, a centenarian parishioner born in 1909, remembers being told as a girl of the grief that shook, not only the Walton family, but the whole village at her death – presumably not least those women remembered as pushing the ailing Mary out twice daily in her wheelchair. This glimpse 170 or so years later into the Waltons' sorrow brings poignancy to Marian symbols in the church that might otherwise have gone unnoticed: the letter M is repeated in the chancel floor-tiles and, in Heaton, Butler and Bayne's stained-glass windows are rose of Sharon, lily, *fleur-de-lys* and the Virgin's jewelled crown, all perhaps positive integral evidence. Considering, finally, propinquity to a donor's home or workplace, none of the Gorton, Clayton and Westleigh churches was near either and that at Haughton Green was close to workplace but not home.

Thus, integral evidence suggests these five churches to be generally deficient in donor-church-identity; less so for Haughton Green. Some referential material fails to endorse this conclusion, however. First, a Gorton feature – a bell-tower – witnesses to a story about Beyer and Peacock. Accounts of complete harmony between them in building their respective churches are offset to some extent by local tradition that the two were racing against each other for a prize of a peal of bells for whichever was finished first – a race Peacock won by some three weeks. It is interesting to speculate whether that contest had anything to do with a rather curious penalty clause, albeit unsigned, in the Shaw brothers' contract with their patron

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7 Hedley Richardson, churchwarden, email (8/3/2012).
8 Margaret Smethurst; Allan Arrowsmith, chair, Denton Local History Society, emails (16-17/10/2011; 10/9/2011).
9 Eric Bynon, email (27/9-17/10/2010); meeting (4/10/2011).
10 **MANCHESTER-HAUGHTON-GREEN, 1-6.** Thanks to rector Martin Dowland, Allan Arrowsmith, Clare Eades – personal meeting (4/10/2011) – and Eric Bynon (the last particularly for providing access to parish magazines) for enabling an unusually full picture of church and parish.
11 Clare Eades suggests the Waltons lived locally at least until the child died.
12 Hedley Richardson, emails (13/10/2011, 8/3/2012): 'That tale of the peal of bells is one that has been "handed down", although I have no doubt as to its authenticity. I haven't found any documents regarding it, but my source was Higson's "Gorton Historical Recorder", written in the 1800's.'
Beyer whereby they would forfeit £10,000 to the bishop of Manchester should the
church be unfinished by a certain date [plate 17].

Today, maintains a member, Gorton Brookfield is the only Unitarian church in the world with a peal of bells still regularly rung; they are inscribed with the names of Richard Peacock, his wife and children. And St. James's? It has a bell-tower, but not a single bell.

Referential evidence from present-day Haughton Green has yielded detailed information about church and donor currently unavailable for Gorton, Clayton and Westleigh. There is knowledge of Walton family-members' attendance at parish events; of sums of money they donated from time to time; of the illuminated address [p65] sent by parishioners to Walton at his home in Wales to express their gratitude; of a parish party's cancellation owing to his illness; and of the apparently sincere sorrow manifested in the obituary they composed for the parish magazine upon his death. The impressive spirit of community and cooperation conveyed by the present parish may itself – who knows? – reflect James Walton's continuing influence upon the church by which, dedicating it to St. Mary the Virgin, he commemorated his only daughter's short life. Evidence from parish documents and word of mouth tell of the current incumbent's removal as 'inappropriate' of a brass plaque stating that Freemasons gave all the brassware and the chancel flooring – referential compensating for integral evidence now obscured.

In the anomalous case of St. Elisabeth, Reddish (1883), founded by William Henry Houldsworth, the surprise is to find that, in terms of integrally-evidenced donor-church-identity, it belongs here, right at the bottom of the range. Apart from dedication [p41], evidence of donor-involvement lies in just two family-memorials; an entire chapel erected two years after the donor's death; and, within it, a memorial to Elisabeth his wife installed seven years later. These compare with three (far less lavish) donor-unrelated, in the nave. Like Beyer and Walton, by the time of St. Elisabeth's completion Houldsworth had already retired and created for himself a place of worship and eventual burial, in his case in the 'fine chapel' at his Coodham estate in Ayrshire, also Waterhouse-designed.

For a graduate of St. Andrew's with Scottish roots and substantial business interests, this was returning home.

The puzzle is the disjunction between minimal donor-trace and the sheer magnificence, boldness and conviction of the church – one of Waterhouse's 'best
buildings … a majestic pile in red brick Romanesque'.

Unlike in many other churches, nothing claiming credit for his gift was erected in its donor's lifetime; no memorial celebrates his deceased relatives. There is only – perhaps a key – a memorial in the chancel, not to someone of his own family, but (in the original church, the only personal note from its donor's lifetime) to Adison Crofton, curate in Reddish during the ten years when plans for the church were taking shape and, for a further ten years, its first vicar:

WE PRAY YOU REMEMBER ADISON CROFTON PRIEST MASTER OF ARTS TRINITY COLLEGE OXFORD VICE CHANCELLOR OF THIS DISTRICT 1873 TO 1883 AND FIRST VICAR OF THE PARISH OF ST. ELISABETH REDDISH 1883 TO 1893 … WHO DIED AT RAPALLO ITALY JANUARY 12TH 1904 … TO WHOSE MEMORY OF SERVICE AND EXAMPLE WILLIAM HENRY HOULDSWORTH, FOUNDER AND PATRON OF THIS CHURCH, WITH MANY PARISHIONERS AND FRIENDS HAVE DEDICATED THE THREE CENTRAL WINDOWS OF THE APSE, GIVING GLORY TO GOD, 1906.

Geographical distance alone seems insufficient reason for such slender donor-church-identity; Falinge [p114], for example, suffered no such result despite Royds' departure long preceding the church (albeit much later returning to Falinge). Concerning the apparent dichotomy between what might be called St. Elisabeth's persona, and its lack of tangible signs of donor-identity, possible explanations suggest themselves. The Adison Crofton memorial hints that, despite his public role, Houldsworth may have been a man of personal modesty with little taste for self-promotion. Another – modesty often complementing self-confidence – is a sense that this man of exceptional vitality, originality and enterprise needed no conventional memorial to make his mark. Reportedly, to transport the nave's granite columns to the Reddish site, he found it necessary – or perhaps, rather, an amusing and interesting solution to a problem – to bring them by narrow-boat to the nearest canal-wharf and thence on carts drawn by elephants borrowed from Gorton's Belle Vue zoo – enterprise indeed! Perhaps most persuasive is the notion that donor-church-identity here is supremely expressed in the work itself, in collaboration with the architect for whom 'all his student excitement in the Byzantine splendour of St. Mark's [Venice], was recalled and redirected in this Mancunian suburb'.

In summary, then, integral evidence shows group I's donors to be detached from their churches. Referential evidence for Clayton and, most especially, Westleigh endorses this through absence, though mitigating it for Gorton, Reddish and particularly Haughton Green.

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20 Cunningham & Waterhouse, 121.

21 REDDISH, 1.

22 Cunningham & Waterhouse, 123.
Only two of these have donor-related dedications – St. Margaret, Whalley Range (1849), after Samuel Brooks' wife, and St. James the Apostle, Hurst Brook (1865), presumably after Oldham Whittaker's son, died 1842. The five have a paucity of donor-family memorials: none in St. Clement, Ordsall (1878), or Whalley Range; one in St. Paul, Walkden Moor (re-consecrated 1848); two and three respectively in Ashton-under-Lyne Holy Trinity (1878) – which also has a shield on the parsonage façade, albeit suggesting him to be non-armigerous\(^\text{23}\) – and St. James, Hurst Brook. This paucity is consistent, in at least three, with the pull of an alternative study-church funded by the same donor.

The prime example of this is St. Clement's donor, Wilbraham Egerton's funding of three such alternative study-churches (none included in this chapter's main discussion) – St. Mary, Hulme (1858) and the two later Ordsall churches of St. Cyprian and St. Ignatius (1899 and 1903 [p38]) – besides at least one outside the deanery\(^\text{24}\) It may be doubted, indeed, whether his interest in any of his four study-churches was personal, beyond enhancing the attractions of his landed estates.\(^\text{25}\)

The second case with a clear alternative draw is Walkden, one of the two churches, less than quarter of a mile apart, Lord Francis Egerton, first Earl of Ellesmere founded in Worsley.\(^\text{26}\) Rebuilt, it is considered here as primary; the other, St. Mark, Worsley – holding his first allegiance – is discussed below [p126-7]. Of interest here is Walkden's single memorial to the first earl, curiously hidden from sight, carved into a coping-stone high on the tower's parapet-wall,\(^\text{27}\) provoking the suspicion that the earl may have felt some discomfort about this church costing under a quarter what he had spent on St. Mark's some two years earlier – built 'with St. Mark's rubbish',\(^\text{28}\) its nickname 't' drop church',\(^\text{29}\) in reference to the alleged penny-a-day drop in wages, exacted as a contribution from the workers for whom it was built.\(^\text{30}\) Another curious feature of a church never once visited by its donor\(^\text{31}\) is – still to be seen – the door directly into the chancel from outside, presumably for his use should he ever condescend to worship there.

\(^{23}\) Hugh Murray – therefore not pursued.
\(^{24}\) Ringway (24/4/1895).
\(^{25}\) A note on his 'immensely valuable landed estate in Hulme' is found in Rushton 43, 85-7, though with no hint at ulterior motives influencing largesse. For his Ordsall property, see 'Salford, Townships', websites.
\(^{26}\) Though St. Mark's extension, not foundation, is the study-project.
\(^{27}\) Thanks for this to Amos Millington, St. Paul's churchwarden.
\(^{28}\) Dobb, 204-6.
\(^{29}\) WORSLEY-WALKDEN.
\(^{30}\) A story that, if true, could even invalidate St. Paul's claim to be part of this study.
\(^{31}\) Amos Millington, site-visit (27/5/2010).
Similarly socially distanced is Ashton-under-Lyne's St. James, Hurst Brook (1865). Its donor Oldham Whittaker's primary allegiance was to the other Ashton study-church, extended by him, St. John the Evangelist, Hurst [p125-6]. For convenience, St. James's is reserved for consideration together with St. John's, itself in group VII.

Less clear-cut is Samuel Brooks' case for, while he financed and endowed another church, St. John the Divine, Brooklands, Sale, then in Chester diocese, little distancing effect is suggested by its posthumous consecration, twenty-one years after St. Margaret, Whalley Range (1849) set, as illustrated by Richard Loxham [plate 18], in the desirable garden-suburb he had created and named after his birthplace and where he lived in the mansion he had built [p72-3]. Absence of donor-family memorials – to parents or perhaps children – is particularly surprising in a church dedicated in his wife's name, and where he is known to have worshipped.32 Referential and integral evidence conflict.

As for George Heginbottom, though there is no record of any alternative church, two factors suggest possible reasons for only casual interest in Holy Trinity. An obvious one, its being posthumous, is that his primary place of worship was elsewhere, probably St. Peter's, Ashton-under-Lyne, his burial place; the other, his earlier move to Birkdale [p56]. However, suggesting closer interest in his project is – presumably produced to please their client – the unusual quality, less functional than artistic, of the Taylor partnership's plans of church and parsonnage surrounded by views of the complex [plate 19].

Summarising findings for four of group II's churches, lack of donor-involvement suggested by integral is confirmed by referential evidence in the Walkden and Ordsall churches; partially so for Holy Trinity, Ashton. St. Margaret, Whalley Range, remains an enigma.

III SEVEN WITH LITTLE INTEGRAL EVIDENCE

Donor-family memorials are generally meagre: Bowlee, none; West Didsbury, Great Lever, and Davyhulme, one apiece; Roughtown and Cheetham, two each; and Churchgate, Bolton, four (against considerable numbers family- unconnected: West Didsbury, eleven; Cheetham, nineteen).

At St. John the Baptist, Roughtown (1878), plaques memorialise two Whiteheads: James Heywood (THE POOR HAVE THE GOSPEL PREACHED UNTO THEM)33 and Frederick Francis (GOD IS LOVE);34 brother John Dicken may have been

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32 Grindon (1878), 212-213.
33 Matthew 11: 5.
34 1 John 4: 8; 16b.
honoured – if not coincidental – in its dedication. They are three of the four Whitehead brothers who, almost thirty years before St. John's foundation, created their Friezland church [p42-3]. But James Heywood had died nine years before St. John's consecration and is buried in the vault under the Friezland chancel – taken as evidence of optimal donor-church-identity. This second Whitehead church – its funding a little obscure – conveys none of the first's religious fervour, lavish expense and attention to detail, and the slightly spare impression the two memorials impart seems at odds with the brothers' seriousness and evangelical mission. Advancing age may have been a factor, as may the church's situation – though close to Whitehead mills and family houses, significantly further than Friezland.

Peter Ormrod's Bolton St. Peter, Churchgate (rebuilt 1871), has four donor-family memorials – this group's highest number, though still few – and re-dedication to St. Peter signals donor-church-identity, albeit doubtfully in a church so named through four centuries of pre-Ormrod existence. Some of Ormrod's mills were near the church.  

But, compellingly, St. Peter's, like some group I churches, suffered its donor's increasing drift away from Bolton. E.G. Paley had built him Wyresdale Park [p49] twelve years before rebuilding (by now with Hubert Austin) St. Peter's. Then, three years after his death, in 1878–9 – representing perhaps the Ormrods' definitive parting with Bolton – Paley and Austin built 'the Ormrods of Bolton and Wyresdale' a church (besides school and vicarage) costing £14,000 in nearby Scorton.  

Ormrod, it is clear, like Beyer and Walton, had moved away from the study-church and another – also dedicated to St. Peter – was, surely expressing his own desire, created posthumously in 1875; it was there that he was finally buried.

Lewis Loyd's St. John the Evangelist, Cheetham (1871), likewise contains little integral evidence of donor-church-identity. No known donor-family name corresponds to dedication; no donor-space is provided; his home and work are far away, in Surrey and London; even his Nantwich estate [p74] hardly nearby. Though itself a memorial to Loyd's parents, as the carved inscription on the tympanum of the west door proclaims:

   *This Church
dedicated to St. John, Evang.,
and built by Lewis Loyd in
grateful remembrance of his
Father and Mother. Was
consecrated August 10, 1871.*

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36 P09, 606.
St. John's has only one wall-mounted donor-related memorial; a plaque in the apse:

*AMDG* THE FOUR CENTRAL MOSAICS WERE PLACED IN THIS CHANCEL BY THE PARISHIONERS IN GRATEFUL MEMORY OF THE LATE LEWIS LOYD WHO GENEROUSLY BUILT THE CHURCH AND RECTORY AND PROVIDED ENDOWMENT FOR THE SAME.

However, Loyd's lavish outlay on the church, in 1877, of the marble and stone Last Supper reredos and the *Christus Salvator Mundi* mosaic over the west door, indicates his continuing interest in the church, possibly influenced by the nostalgia described by his obituarist:

... to the house in King-street, in which he was born and to the bank, in which he received his earliest training for his great banking career in London, Lewis Loyd was strongly attached. ... Though practically separated from Manchester for more than half a century, [he] was by no means unmindful of the claims which his native city had upon him, either as ex-banker or as landed proprietor.38

Spending a near-lifetime away from childhood haunts may have represented for Loyd, unlike for group I's Hoare and Bubb, a kind of exile; he is buried [p74] in Addington, Surrey, without issue,39 a situation doubtless contributing to memorial-paucity.

The donor of Christ Church, West Didsbury (1882), William Roberts, apparently intended to return to Darley Dale, Derbyshire, whence he came [p76]. His reportedly high-handed choice of location40 seems not to have much damaged his reputation: erected by parishioners within ten years of his death is – sole donor-family memorial – a Lavers and Westlake stained-glass window, himself, one of the magi waiting, turbaned and haloed, to offer the Christ Child a representation of the Christ Church he had funded – the church's only integral evidence [plates 20, 21].

Thomas Loxham's St. Simon and St. Jude, Great Lever (1901), was completed some two and a half years posthumously. Loxham's affections seem to have favoured another Great Lever church, St. Michael's (where he was first incumbent), though this might have changed had he lived. There is a single memorial to him and, clearly posthumous to donor-church-identity, a 'Loxham chapel' unused either by its founder, or by his deceased elder brother Richard – also a bachelor, also in Holy Orders, the two rarely apart until separated by death; finally, buried side by side under the east window of St. Michael's. Thomas Loxham, like Lewis Loyd, was 'absent' from his church, but chronologically, not geographically.

Regarding St. Thomas, Bowlee (founded 1877), uncertainty concerning who among Manchester's extensive Schwabe family funded it contributes to virtually non-existent integral evidence. However, the building's inherent simplicity – easily the smallest visited, with hall-shaped plan and no figurative stained glass or other

37 *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam.*
38 MANCHESTER-Cheetham, I.
39 'Loyd', websites.
40 MANCHESTER-Didsbury, 3.
ornament – is explained by evidence of the building's school origin [p58].

Referential evidence in the form of local hearsay is that the Bowlee church may have been created for Schwabe's workers whose rough clothes (could it, rather – as in Gardner's Chorlton-upon-Medlock church – have been offensive odour?) perhaps made them unwelcome to the more fastidious among the congregation at the nearby parish church of All Saints, Rhodes.

The Norreys family's St. Mary the Virgin, Davyhulme (1890) [p78], was presumably dedicated to honour co-donor Mary Norreys. It lies within half a mile of Davyhulme Hall; the family owning local land, not mills, no workplace as such existed. As against five memorials (within) unconnected with the Norreys family, only one (outside) refers to its three founders – a stone cross, inscribed:

THIS CHURCH WAS BUILT TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND TO THE MEMORY OF R.H. NORREYS, ESQUIRE, OF DAVYHULME HALL, AND HIS SISTERS, MARY NORREYS AND ISABELLA BOWERS, WIFE OF THE VERY REV. G.H. BOWERS SOMETIME DEAN OF THE DIOCESE. THE COST WAS DEFRAVED CHIEFLY FROM BEQUESTS MADE BY THEM TO THEIR NEPHEW JOHN B. NORREYS ENTWISTLE, ESQ., OF FOXHOLES, WHO FOUND THE CHURCH AND GAVE THE LAND.

Completed posthumously in relation to its three sibling donors, the nephew may have had less conviction as to its continuing relevance to the family or concern for the neighbourhood it had been designed to serve.

Summarising group III's churches, referential evidence tends to endorse in every case the conclusion of slight donor-church-identity raised by their integral evidence. This is less certain for Lewis Loyd and his parents' memorial-church in Cheetham.

IV SIX WITH MODEST INTEGRAL EVIDENCE

Discussed separately at the end of this group is St. Augustine's, Pendlebury, a church in many ways unique. Of the remaining five, four are donor-family dedicated: St. Anne, Clifton (1874), after donor Charlotte Anne, née Fletcher; Alice Makant and Margaret Haddock's St. James, Daisy Hill (1881), after their uncle [p68]; St. Thomas, Pimhole (1866), after founder Thomas Openshaw; and St. Stephen, Kearsley Moor (1871), after Stephen Blair, the elder of its fraternal founders. Only Holy Trinity, Prestolee (1866), created by William Jackson Rideout, is otherwise dedicated. This proportion (two-thirds, Pendlebury-included) is unmatched by any other group.

Positive, too, is proximity, both home and workplace being within two miles – often significantly nearer – of all but one of the industrialists' churches, including that at Kearsley Moor categorised as a parliamentarian's though both Blairs were

42 John Pye.
also industrialists. That church was a stone's throw from Kearsley's chemical mills, and not far from Stephen's home, though Harrison on marriage moved away from Kearsley, settling, and eventually dying, at his Little Hulton home [p36]. Industrialist Charlotte Anne Fletcher having moved away soon after its consecration [p66-7], her Clifton church is the exception.43

Unsupportive of donor-church-identity are burial-arrangements, none of the three graveyards holding its donor's remains. Explaining this may be: Kearsley's posthumous completion; Clifton's abandonment by Charlotte Fletcher for Shropshire; and Daisy Hill's being passed over owing to the Haddock sisters' prior involvement with St. Bartholomew's, Westhoughton's earlier church, site of their brother's wardenship and likely family burial [p68].

Four of the five churches have only two family-memorials apiece. Clifton's vestry contains the founder's photograph of her sitting, fur-draped, in perhaps early middle-age; it is labelled, 'Charlotte Anne Corrie Patron 1846-1913 Acts 9. 36' (referring to Tabitha, 'full of good works and alms-deeds') [plate 22]. Another photograph depicts her arms. (Appendix 2.4.1) Additionally, three of the five stained-glass lights over the altar are bordered with marguerites,44 the flower of her name-saint, Anne. Both Prestolee's memorials honour its Crompton pre-founders: Thomas Bonsor Crompton by his workpeople; his wife by their 'grateful nephew', William Jackson Rideout. Daisy Hill's Morris & Co. (Burne Jones) east window,45 installed by friends and family, memorialises the Haddock family; a plaque acknowledges the sisters' gift of an organ. At Pimhole, the founder receives no mention; in the east window his nephew, Thomas Ormerod Openshaw, is memorialised by his 'loving brother, Oliver Ormerod Openshaw'. Elsewhere, a plaque acknowledges the organ as Oliver's gift. Kearsley has most memorials. Harrison Blair is honoured by chemical-workmen with a triptych window, 'FIDES' and 'SPES' flanking an (unnamed) Caritas; Stephen, by Harrison's four daughters, in a stone inscription; opposite springings in the nave bear each a brother's name and 'IN MEMORIAM'; the east window memorialises Frances Blair.

In the anomalous case of St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pendlebury (1874), founded by Edward Stanley Heywood, negligible integral evidence of donor-church-identity is as surprising as that at Reddish [p103-4]. Notably, both these donor-church-identity oddities are Grade I Listed and perhaps the two finest of the study-

43 'Denton', websites.
44 Matricaria chamomile  Dog Daisy. 'Medieval Christians consecrated Chamomile to St. Anne, mother of the Virgin. Its botanical name, Matricaria was derived from "mater" and "cara" (beloved mother). With its delicate but hardy nature, it came to stand for 'patience in adversity' – ‘Growing Hermione's Garden', websites.
45 1898 – P04, 677; 'Burne Jones', websites.
churches. Both also show distinct integral and referential evidence of an extra dimension: High Churchmanship [p100].

Pendlebury scores well regarding proximity, Edward Stanley Heywood's Swinton home, Light Oaks, being within easy walking distance of St. Augustine's while, as a banker, no workplace existed in the sense relevant to this study. It is the near-total dearth of memorials that surprises – merely, in the graveyard, a large stone memorial-cross in memory of Heywood and his brother-in-law, first incumbent, Albert Dewes. Inside the church, only the Heywood couple's arms, in the east window, are visible. (Appendix 2.4.4) Interesting is the simplicity of Louisa and Edward Stanley Heywood's grave, standing among others very similar [plate 23].

To this absence, referential evidence runs completely contrary. Aged forty-five when the church was consecrated and living to within five months of its fortieth anniversary, Heywood is described as having the closest attachment to it:

It is estimated that he spent £50,000 on the erection of the church which he loved so well and in which he worshipped until his death in 1914. From the time of its Consecration … he was Vicar's Warden with but very few intervals. A man of deep and simple piety, he taught regularly in the School, and by his generosity and sympathy won the affection of all. 47

His diaries [p16] refer at least sixteen times to the church as it was taking shape between May 1872 and its consecration in May 1874. Returning from holiday later that year, he exclaims:

Aug 23 Sun … After this absence the beauties of St Augustines [sic] break upon me with fresh pleasure.

With his wife, he played a leading role in its music; a strong interest with him, as one of several extracts from his journal demonstrates:

1875. Wednesday May 26. St. Augustine's Day
First Dedication festival – Full congregation – Excellent Sermon from brother Henry … and fine music by our Choir
Four brass instruments gave weight and dignity to the Gregorian tunes.

Bodley's letters (Appendix 2.5) suggest such close involvement in the project at its planning stage by Heywood as to amount to near-certainty of strong donor-church-identity and, indeed -influence, in consultation with the architect, on both liturgical and aesthetic aspects.

Swinton and Pendlebury's archives also contain Bodley's notes on Burlison and Grylls' stained-glass scheme, one of this church's marvels. 49 And here, spotted by chance among Bodley's handwritten papers, was a note referring to a memorial. 50

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46 Grindon (1878), 196.
47 Pendlebury, 3.
48 Held in Swinton & Pendlebury parish archives.
49 See Boyd, theses, appendix 2, 46-53, for full scheme.
50 Seen (c. 1999) and documented in Boyd, theses, Appendix I, 43-45. Returning (18/6/2012), the document was missing.
The reference and its camouflage, above and below it on the page, of two innocuously scriptural and church-historical sections of the scheme, merit transcription in full:

**Chancel side windows**

12 Confessors & Virgins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saint</th>
<th>Saint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. Luke</td>
<td>S. Barnabas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Joseph</td>
<td>S. Titus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Martha</td>
<td>S. Agatha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Philip the deacon</td>
<td>S. Mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Timothy</td>
<td>S. Mary Mag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Thecla</td>
<td>S. Barbara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Memorial window **Nave – being done**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. Hilda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Anne with infant Virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Ursula</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Saints **(3 in each window to be selected from)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saint</th>
<th>Saint</th>
<th>Saint</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Winifred</td>
<td>Paneras</td>
<td>Albert Lucius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boniface</td>
<td>Columbus – [Columbanus?]</td>
<td>Joseph of Arimathea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benet (Biscop)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sure enough, easternmost on the nave's south wall, too high for the inscriptions to be decipherable to the naked eye, is the window that at the time the note was written, was 'being done'. On whose behalf does it seek blessing through Saints Ursula, Anne with infant Virgin, and Hilda? Is this a family 'memorial' and, if so, why thus obscured? This question is further discussed below [p132].

In St. Augustine's, therefore, referential evidence conflicts strongly with integral. Dichotomy between integral and referential donor-church-identity is found less strikingly and variably in the group's other churches. Westhoughton St. Bartholomew's assumed pull on the Haddock sisters, for instance, may be understood as related to its greater proximity to their home, Vale House, and – especially – its importance, before the church at Daisy Hill existed, as the family's burial place. Less easily answered are questions the Pimhole church raises: why, if Thomas Openshaw was so exceptionally solicitous for the educational well-being of the operative classes in the locality; why, if he also lived close by the church; why, then, did his interest appear to stop at its bare funding? More needs to be discovered about the man. Holy Trinity, Prestolee, is also still something of an unknown owing to scant knowledge of William Jackson Rideout.

V EIGHT WITH CONSIDERABLE INTEGRAL EVIDENCE

Dedications are clearly donor-related in three churches; two in Rochdale – St. Edmund, Falinge (1873), after Edmund Albert Nuttall Royds, second son of founder Albert Hudson Royds, his heir after a quarrel with the eldest; William and James Heap's St. Thomas, Newhey (1876), after their father [p56]; and Oldham's St. Mary, Greenfield (1875), after Richard Buckley's wife. Donor-unrelated dedication appears
likely in both Fletcher-funded St. Michael and All Angels, Howe Bridge (1877), near Atherton; and Richard Fitton's St. Mark, Heyside (1878), in Oldham. The earliest of the four gospels is suggested\(^{51}\) as informing Thomas Evans Lees' choice for St. Mark, Glodwick (1876). The dedication of Bolton's St. Peter, Belmont (1850), funded – albeit possibly, as discussed below, not solely – by the Wright brothers, owing to anomalies in this and other respects, is discussed last.

In the centenary booklet of Bolton's All Souls (1881), two passages – regrettably not source-referenced – read as if reflecting donor Thomas Greenhalgh's own views:

> The title … was new in the locality, & there were but few churches so called in the country; but as the style of architecture & internal arrangements were of a new character he thought that its title ought also to be new.

The new architectural style alluded to is to provide:

> … a church which should be specially useful to the people among whom it was planted.

> … one in which everybody could see and hear, and he wished it to be a church in which there would be no uncomfortable draughts to send people away with colds.\(^ {52}\)

This reveals much: typically or not, about how dedicatory choice could be decided; and about the man: evangelical concern for visibility and audibility; strong practicality; innovative enthusiasm; and more than a touch of concern for fellow-worshippers. Comparing integral with referential evidence, the church, without pillars or aisles, is

> one of the widest unsupported parish churches in England measuring 16 metres; [the chancel] short, with a shallow three-sided apse, in this sense reflecting the evangelical sympathies of the donor. … However, the arrangement of choir stalls and desks and raised high altar reflect Tractarian principles of church planning.\(^ {53}\)

the latter qualification exemplifying the point [p239, n144] that, whatever the churchmanship, from around the mid-1840s ecclesiastical architecture swung to follow 'the new Cambridge Camden precept'.\(^ {54}\)

This group's seven industrialist-built churches all lay within two miles of their donors' homes and workplaces. St. Thomas's and the two St. Mark's were, respectively, close to Heap, Lees and Fitton homes and mills. St. Michael's was surrounded by Fletcher-owned coal-mines near 'Old' Ralph's Atherton home, Laburnum House, though he had moved to Southport before the church was built. Royds, though living in Worcestershire by the time of St. Edmund's consecration, returned ultimately to Rochdale. All Souls and adjacent school were sited close to the

\(^{51}\) OLDHAM-Glodwick, 3.
\(^{52}\) BOLTON-Crompton, 4, 9, 8.
\(^{53}\) 'All Souls, Bolton', websites.
\(^{54}\) Hyde & Petford (2007), 44.
Greenhalgh brothers' home – Thorndykes, Sharples\textsuperscript{55} – and to the mills built on Halliwell's green fields.

Only Heaps and Wrights were buried in their 'own' churchyards, the other six churches possessing none; the remains of Greenfield's Buckley, his wife and infant only son rest in a comparatively modest tomb at nearby Friezland. Regarding memorials, St. Michael's has most – eight Fletcher-related to six unrelated; the two St. Marks, Heyside and Glodwick, have seven donor-related each (six and four unrelated respectively), the latter church additionally with its donor's name and beneficence proclaimed in the sanctuary tiling [plate 24]; Bolton All Souls has four Greenhalgh-related to four unrelated including a window to Bishop Fraser; and Newhey has three Heap-related to one unrelated. Memorials at both Greenfield and Falinge are exclusively family-related: six and three respectively. This group displays \textit{quasi}-squirearchical donor-dedicated space: family-pews at Newhey and Belmont; family-chapel with external entrance at Falinge; arms at the latter two (Appendix 2.4.6; 2.4.10). All Souls' chapel (without private entrance) was possibly for Greenhalgh use.

Albert Hudson Royds' St. Edmund's, Falinge, decommissioned shortly before research for this study began, is one of the diocese's most striking places of worship. Pevsner describes it as 'Rochdale's temple to Freemasonry, a total concept as exotic as Roslin Chapel\textsuperscript{56} in Scotland'. It is a 'masterpiece' of J. Medland Taylor, he asserts, adding – tellingly for donor-church-identity – 'the design input of … Royds … and of the first incumbent, E.W. Gilbert, artist & freemason, should not be discounted.'\textsuperscript{57}

Besides St. Edmund's, Royds sole-funded St Clement, Spotland (1835; Lewis Vulliamy), and contributed to the largely public-subscription-funded Christ Church, Healey (1850; George Shaw) where, as at Falinge, there is a 'Royds Chapel';\textsuperscript{58} all are in Rochdale. A brass plaque on the chancel's north wall, ornately decorated with Masonic symbols, proclaims his Falinge church a memorial to his parents, Clement and Jane Royds [p74]. It is more: a memorial in its entirety; a self-memorial. The acme is the Royds chapel, approached from the south through an external Gothic entrance [plate 25a] surmounted by the Royds shield [Appendix 2.4.6]; up a double-flight staircase and through a door into the chapel itself, a space further segregated by a metal screen from congregational \textit{hoi polloi}. It contains, not just the Royds coat-of-arms (Appendix 2.4.6), monogram [plate 25b] and other family emblems but,

\textsuperscript{55} ‘All Souls Crompton’, \textit{websites}.
\textsuperscript{56} More usually 'Rosslyn Chapel'; uncertain links to Freemasonry; more accepted to Templars – see ‘Rosslyn’, \textit{websites}.
\textsuperscript{57} P04, 590-591.
\textsuperscript{58} P04, 600-601.
centrally placed in the Lavers, Barraud & Westlake59 stained-glass east window, the likeness of Royds himself as master-builder of Solomon's temple [plate 25c].

The Masonic character of St. Edmund, Falinge, goes beyond the copious and lavish integral detail: Masonic architectural twists such as Solomon's temple proportions; Masonic symbolism, in lectern [plate 25d] and elsewhere; Masonic themes in the stained-glass windows and elsewhere. Besides all this, a twentieth-century Freemason60 provides evidence of the extreme degree of donor-church-identity, inextricably connected with Freemasonry and its ethos. Explaining the two pillars between chancel and Royds chapel, it considers why, if designed to 'remind us of Boaz and Jachin',

they are placed in an unusual position. … Bear in mind that the temple was not a place of worship as we now understand the term. The congregation did not assemble in its interior. The High Priest had certain duties to perform which necessitated his entrance, and in looking outwards toward the congregation his vision had always to pass between the pillars. Just exactly in the same way the donor of this church, who could quite rightly be regarded as the High Priest of Freemasonry in this district, had to look out from his sanctuary between these pillars to contemplate the people in the observance of their religious rites.'

St. Edmund's unambiguously proclaims its connection to donor Albert Hudson Royds, who from 1866 to 1878, contemporaneously with its building and consecration, held the post of Provincial Grand Master of Worcestershire, the county to which for a while he migrated.

Comparison of the Falinge and Kearsley churches, which were consecrated within two years of each other and designed by the same architect, is interesting. The key point is that each was funded by Freemasons of some distinction. Their flavours could scarcely be more different. St. Stephen, Kearsley Moor, has no detectable Masonic signs, perhaps implying that Stephen and Harrison Blair's influence was limited. Could the architects have been ignorant of their Freemasonry? Or did Fanny Blair, whose task after the brothers' demise must have included decisions over furnishings and decoration, have reservations concerning the cult?

Finally in this group, St. Peter, Belmont (1850), on Bolton's north-west border, is ostensibly comparable in integral evidence with the others. Yet John and Margaret Hick compete so successfully for attention with the church's nominal donors, brothers Thomas and Charles Wright, as to render its allocation to any group uncertain. Thus, the church's site close to Hill Top, the Wright family home in the village, fulfills the criterion of proximity (the Wrights, as non-industrialist landowners, being without a workplace in the terms considered in the study) – until doubt is cast by the Hick family's recorded tenure of the same house.61 Next, four

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59 As is all the church's stained glass.
60 ROCHDALE-Falinge, 3, 4-5.
61 BOLTON-Belmont, 3, 12.
Wright memorials, suggesting a reasonable degree of donor involvement, are outnumbered by five Hick plaques. Referential evidence, too, serves to undermine the Wrights' status in favour of the Hicks', including something as fundamental as the church's financing, for the Hicks too gave lavishly and, in the view of one source, were even the prime contributors to the original project, though another suggests it was 'more likely that their main contribution was after the initial construction'.

Again, Charles Wright served three years as churchwarden to John Hick's five. And apart from Hick rivalry there are other problems: for unknown reasons, the original Wright-oriented dedication to St. Thomas failed to endure; Charles's clerical status had, as seen [p80] little or nothing to do with Belmont parish; and he left to live in Northamptonshire seven years after the church's consecration. So despite strong integral evidence in addition to the proximity and numbers of memorials already mentioned – in the family pew, the Wright tomb, the coat-of-arms (Appendix 2.4.10) – the conclusion about the church and the part played in it by the Wright brothers must remain open to doubt. The puzzle afforded by these conflicting facts is perhaps compounded by the Wrights' choice – if it was indeed their own – of John Edgar Gregan, with his 'ecclesiological correctness' and readiness to collaborate with Pugin, as architect for a church described by present-day local-historian George Skinner as ' "Lancashire-Low-Church" – Low but not Evangelical; a village church'.

Summarising this group, for All Souls, Bolton, and St. Edmund, Falinge, Rochdale, evidence – referential and integral – combines to make strong donor-church-identity a virtual certainty. In general, each of the churches enjoyed closeness to its donor's life and interest. And it is notable that memorials within fifty years of consecration in the Falinge and Greenfield churches relate exclusively to Royds and Buckleys respectively, giving each the character of a private domain.

VI FIVE WITH STRONG INTEGRAL EVIDENCE

This group has increased integral evidence, but variably. Two, each 'faith-tenet'-dedicated Christ Church – the Gartsides' in Denshaw (1863), and the Haworths' in Walshaw (1892) – were both Low/Evangelical, the latter explicitly [p62]. The remaining dedications are all donor-related – the Schofields' St. James the Apostle, Milnrow (1869); the Deardens' St. James the Great, Calderbrook (1870); and Sidebotham's St. Anne, Haughton (1882) – albeit the first, a re-consecration, had

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62 BOLTON-Belmont, 2, 11, 3, 11.
63 P04, 65, St. John's, Broughton.
64 Site-visit (9/11/2010); thanks to George Skinner, church-historian. See BOLTON-Belmont, 3.
been preceded by a chapel of that name.\textsuperscript{65} Regarding proximity, the Gartsides' claim to disinterested benevolence and concern only for the area's spiritual nurture rested on not being of the locality. Henry trusted that constant attention to religious duties by the inhabitants would amply repay them for the trouble and expense they had been at. Those who knew him would know that neither himself nor his wife had any personal interest in the matter, for they resided some twelve miles away from that district. There had been a complete oblivion of self-interest.\textsuperscript{66}

Joseph Sidebotham had long lived in Bowden, some miles from Haughton [p62]\textsuperscript{67} and until their church's consecration-year [p62] John Gorell Hawarth served a parish about ten miles distant from Walshaw, which his aunt Nancy seemingly never left.\textsuperscript{68} The Schofields lived closest, James senior and Jane in Milnrow; Captain James in Rochdale, within two miles.\textsuperscript{69} Memorials exist in every church: four donor-related at both Denshaw and Milnrow (respectively one and two unrelated); five at Calderbrack (two unrelated); and ten each for Walshaw and Haughton (respectively one and none unrelated).

The strength of donor-church-identity is seen in dedicated donor-space. Of the four housing donor-remains (only Walshaw has no graveyard), Denshaw and Calderbrook have internal family-vaults (the apex of squirearchical privilege), the Gartsides' – disinterested claims notwithstanding – beneath an altar-tomb [plate 26a], inscribed:

\textit{Sacred to the Memory of Henry Gartside Esq., of Wharnton Towers, who with his wife Eliza\textsuperscript{70} Sarah Gartside, founded and endowed this church built the parsonage and added to the schools of the church. He departed this life in the 65\textsuperscript{th} Year of his Age May 8\textsuperscript{th} in the Year of Our Lord 1880. This tomb and vault are erected in sorrowing remembrance of her husband by Eliza\textsuperscript{71} Sarah Gartside. Also Elizabeth Sarah, widow of the above Henry Gartside, who died on the 31\textsuperscript{st} of January 1892, in her 88\textsuperscript{th} year.}

Save Walshaw, all display arms. Walshaw had a family-pew, as had Denshaw, complete with the Gartside heraldic greyhound [plate 26b] and crest (Appendix 2.4.2). Denshaw, Calderbrook and Milnrow had family-chapels; the two latter with exterior entrances. That at Milnrow was Captain James' condition for honouring his commitment to the church's funding; the discreet entry it allowed had perhaps advantages for one whose behaviour had so offended parishioners [p48]. Only Haughton had neither pew nor chapel.

Referential and integral evidence combine interestingly in Denshaw. The Gartsides, debating whether to accept for the church the site offered by Butterworths local printworks or realise their dream of building it at Wood Brow, Elizabeth's

\textsuperscript{65} \textit{Rochdale-Milnrow}, 6, 30.
\textsuperscript{66} Speech following consecration – \textit{Oldham-Denshaw}, 3, 16, 18; my italics.
\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Manchester-Haughton}, 2, 33.
\textsuperscript{68} Dobb, 69.
\textsuperscript{69} \textit{Rochdale-Milnrow}, 2; unreferenced article \textit{cit. Rochdale-Milnrow}, 6, 20.
childhood home, decided on the former. Their reason, it seems, was to avert possible consequences of defying a 'monkish curse' on Wood Brow supposedly stemming from Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries; a notion that

_of course makes little sense as all the land in Denshaw fell into this category as did large swaths of the country. My feelings are that if there was some guilt in the family it was related to their slave trading activities (assuming this story is true)._

– slave-trading activities, that is, by William Reed, Elizabeth's maternal grandfather, a Tynemouth shipowner. The east-window Crucifixion, designed by Elizabeth Gartside herself, has an unusual focus: Mary Magdalen kneeling, bare-headed, in penitential purple, embracing the foot of the Cross, on which hangs the Christ, flanked by John the Divine and the Centurion which, indeed, provokes questions of connection between the slave-trading slur, or the curse, or both; just a hint of unease; the sense of a special need for redemption. The Gartsides' lately-turned Anglicanism, especially if as Low-Church as suggested, may have brought them under the influence of the anti-slavery ideals of William Wilberforce and Clapham, engendering – particularly in Elizabeth, more nearly involved than her husband if the story is based on fact – desire for atonement.

Referential evidence is significant, too, at Milnrow and Calderbrook. At the former, Canon Raines' choice of architect George Shaw was overruled by Captain Schofield's insistence on Street, witnessing, at least, to donor-influence upon the finished building, discussed below. At Calderbrook, the ten years, owing to 'certain complications with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners', separating its 1860 foundation-stone laying from 1870 consecration denied original founder James Dearden, dying in 1862, experience of his church in use and, naturally, burial in its internal vault. Despite this, strong donor-church-identity can hardly be in doubt: apart from chapel and vault, it has a full 1860s Clayton and Bell scheme of Dearden memorial-windows. James Dearden senior's relationship with George Shaw is discussed below; churchmanship in Chapter Four.

Christ Church, Walshaw's donor-church-identity is immediately obvious in the approach, dominated by the west wall's bold inscription, THE JESSE HAWORTH MEMORIAL CHURCH. Inside, a large marble tablet on the wall above the erstwhile

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70 Thanks to Mike Buckley for Denshaw and Gartside information, email (22/9/2011).
71 Thanks to Mary Rodgers of Christ Church, Denshaw, email (8/6/2010) attaching Mike Buckley's Gartside family trees. No evidence found for William Reed's slave-trading.
73 Thanks to Mike Buckley for his emailed response to questions (19/9/2011): '… the church like all its contemporaries in the area was extremely low church – the district shunned the Oxford Movement'; the Gartsides' churchmanship was 'Very low church, probably not easily distinguishable from the Independents. Henry's father had been a pillar of the Delph Independent Church and Henry was brought up in this tradition.'
74 'Clapham Sect', websites.
75 ROCHDALE-CALDERBROOK, 3, 5.
family-pew (now south chapel) proclaims the church's purpose alongside an angelic figure with a scroll insisting, **The Memory of the Just is Blessed**,76 'the Just' by inference being Jesse Haworth. The message is endorsed in stained glass [p132].

Haughton St. Anne is described (with others including Haughton Green and Falinge) as a supreme example of the innovative work of Medland Taylor, 'the arch rogue of SE Lancashire' – 'Everything is odd about the church … perhaps the most beautiful and contemplative inside.'77 'Roguishness' notwithstanding, Taylor could clearly accept a patron's *idée fixe*; Clement Royds and Falinge spring to mind. But evidence from his friend Leo Grindon suggests a rather different, less dogmatic, relationship between Taylor and Sidebotham, of whom one of the:

> best and most conspicuous features in his character was … his mildness of behaviour. … Never did there fall from his lips a phrase or … word that could be called even ungentlemanly. Having "music in his soul," thus being unfitted for "treasons, stratagems, and spoils," he had a marvellous *per contra* power of calming and pacifying. …78

Grindon continues, nevertheless, with compelling evidence of Sidebotham's influence on St. Anne's:

> This very handsome and substantial edifice, built at a cost, including the Rectory and the endowment of some £20,000, stands upon the slope of the hill at Haughton, an elevated spot, so that it forms a conspicuous object for many miles around. It illustrates, in the best manner, alike in solidity, in the fittings and the general ornamentation, all of which was executed under the personal direction of Mr. Sidebotham, the good taste and good judgment in ecclesiastical matters with which his piety went arm-in-arm.79

It must, then, be assumed that, at least as far as detail and ornamentation are concerned, donor-church-identity and donor-influence are here beyond doubt.

Apart from dedication, coat-of-arms (Appendix 2.4.8) and the ten, strictly donor-family, memorials, his input is seen in the marguerite, flower of Anne, namesaint both of his mother and of his wife whose death shortly pre-consecration led to burial not as planned in Haughton graveyard but in Bowdon, their home. The symbol is everywhere: in the stained-glass borders; scattered on his wife's memorial; wrought into the iron screen at the entrance to the chancel. Donor-influence is found, too, within Heaton, Butler and Bayne's stained-glass, where a wealth of floral and vegetal detail reflects – surely with intent – the lifelong botanical interest and expertise of Joseph Sidebotham which led him, as Leo Grindon relates in an earlier passage,80 to contribute twenty-five plants, mainly from the Tame and Goyt banks, to the catalogue called *Flora Mancuniensis*. The reflection of this interest is perhaps

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76 Proverbs 10: 7.
77 P04, 66-7, 198ff; term Nikolaus Pevsner borrowed from Goodhart-Rendell (1949), reference Clare Hartwell (email 16/5/2013) kindly supplied, commenting, 'I wonder if people think the term too vague nowadays …'.
78 Grindon (1886), 22-3.
most notable in the windows of the nave, which feature, in exquisite detail, biblical flower and fruit, each with its common-name engraved in the surrounding clear glass: wheat, spikenard, olive, vine, ash, frankincense, lily, pomegranate, fig, rose [plate 27], myrtle, rose of Sharon, saffron, lentil, thorn, flax, gourd, thistle, almond, juniper, cassia and mint.

Summarising, the most outstanding feature in this group is the degree of involvement in the churches by their donors; sometimes passionate. There are the Haworths with their fervent Evangelical commitment; the Gartsides with their possibly somewhat suspect determination to be seen as genuinely philanthropic; the Deardens and their manorial aspirations; Joseph Sidebotham and the devotion to the memory of his mother, Anne (his wife too), so abundantly evident within his church, not to mention his own naturalistic imprint in the botanical detail of the stained glass. Also unusually strong seems to have been the desire of both Captain James and the Gartsides to elevate themselves socially, or at least provide themselves with distinction, through grandiose chapels.

VII SIX WITH VERY STRONG INTEGRAL EVIDENCE

Included in this group are the two previewed in the chapter's introduction [p99]. The evidence lies, first, in proximity, each lying within two miles of both donor-residence and -workplace. More exceptional are family-memorials ranging from nine to fourteen, averaging twelve; and funerary provision. Of the four with graveyards, all have donor-vaults; two interior – for the Whiteheads at Christ Church, Friezland (1850), and the Grants at St. Andrew, Ramsbottom (1875); two exterior – for the Mellodews at St. Thomas, Moorside (1872), and the Whittakers at St. John the Evangelist, Hurst (extended 1862).

However, dedication was non-donor-related in three: Friezland – Christ Church probably reflecting the Whitehead brothers' Evangelical faith; Hurst – consecrated before Whittaker's project; and Ramsbottom, reflecting its unusual history [p53-5]. Burials apart, structural donor-provision was slightly less than group V's; two family-pews, at Moorside and Ramsbottom, and two -chapels, for Radcliffes and Whittakers respectively, at St. Mary, Balderstone (1872), and the Hurst extension. Enabling optimal privacy, accessibility to the former was from the park surrounding the Hall through a gap in the churchyard wall, its vestiges visible today, leading to a door embellished with polished granite columns giving onto the north transept [plate 28].

The Whittaker Chapel was similarly, though somewhat less grandiosely, reached through a private external entrance into the south transept.

81 ROCHDALE-BALDERSTONE, 3, 103.
Moorside, site of Thomas Mellodew's church of his own name, lies between Oldham and Denshaw. Unlike the Deardens [p78, 174], Mellodew seems not to have been especially vainglorious, despite his memorial-inscription, 'If you seek his monument, look around. Laus Deo' [plate 29], Wren's Latin epitaph in St. Paul's Cathedral. No privately-accessed chapel isolated the family from their workpeople; their pew [p50-51] similar to those appropriated by fellow-parishioners of near- (though not perhaps quite-) equal social status. No Mellodew coat-of-arms was displayed – they had none [p50] – and their remains were, like everyone else's, in the graveyard, even if in a large family tomb, inscriptions on it more numerous and more flamboyant. Nine family-related memorials (against none unrelated) erected within fifty years of consecration enshrine its founder's imprint, continuing in family-memorials erected up to the late 1950s. Family-patronage of the living; a great-great-great-nephew's history; and a great-great-niece's memories of her childhood home perpetuate donor-church-identity.

At St. Benedict, Ardwick (1880), fourteen family-memorial plaques or stained-glass windows, recording service as sexton, organist and choirmaster, witness to the intense involvement of John Marsland Bennett, his wife, children and descendants with a church, one might claim, almost defined by donor-church-identity. But the throng of parishioners suggested by ranks of brass tablets commemorating parishioners with non-family surnames – twenty-three in the first decade; fifty-two in the next forty years; 115 between 1939 and the church's closure in 2004 – materialised only later, as first-assistant-curate Thomas Alexander Lacey's memoir reveals. In its first years, St. Benedict's had a small group of very faithful worshippers, and Mr. John Armitage Bennett had formed an excellent choir, but everything else was in the air ... small population ... unoccupied houses ... derelict land nearby ... not more, I think, than eight or ten communicants were living in the parish ... no school ... no room of any kind for meetings ... happy little band, but we badly needed recruits.84 – suggesting both 'prematurity' in parish terms, and its nature – virtually a Bennett shrine.

St. Mary, Balderstone, is another church with an interesting history.85 Had it not been for the convolutions over its foundation described above [p51-2], almost certainly the project would have been public-subscription-funded; the Radcliffe brothers merely

82 Thanks for confirmation of this to current incumbent Brenda Mitchell, telephone conversation (23/12/2014).
83 Hartley; OLDHAM-MOORSIDE, 5.
85 Thanks to local historian Hannah Haynes for unsparing help, not least arranging meeting with Elizabeth Coomer.
major contributors. As it was, they decided to fund the entire project – a reversal of plan that must surely have included exasperation with the wrangling between Lee and Molesworth, and the blight it was casting on the project – and quite possibly on the reward they might have expected for offering so generously.

The story – particularly in its hint of donor-affront – is slightly reminiscent of James Schofield's brusque change of heart at Milnrow [p48-9] and, of course, it is true that the Radcliffes, like Schofield, gained a chapel with outside-entrance surely additional to the original plan. Yet there is a sense the Radcliffes may have been more genuinely benevolent and concerned for their workers' spiritual welfare than Captain Schofield; a sense borne out by referential evidence of close involvement with the church; eldest brother Joshua serving a year as churchwarden, and as a manager of the day school from its inception; his sons following suit. Involvement between the Radcliffe family and the church continues vigorously to this day, the senior patron of the living being John Radcliffe, great-great grandson, through his mother, of Joshua and through his father, via cross-generational cousinly marriage, great-grandson of Josiah, third brother. Even more tellingly, Josiah's great-great-granddaughter Elizabeth Coomer attends Sunday morning service about once a month, travelling fifteen miles by bus to Balderstone and back from her Bolton home.

Donor-church-identity's most significant clue lies in iconography honouring Mary, second wife of Samuel Radcliffe. A dedicatory memorandum left by Joshua Radcliffe reads:

The Church of S. Mary, Balderstone, so called in affectionate remembrance of a good and pious mother, was founded and dedicated to the honour and glory of God, and, along with the Parsonage House and Day and Sunday schools adjoining, is designed for the spiritual and temporal welfare of a large and increasing population. These buildings were erected at the sole cost of and the endowment of the church chiefly provided as a grateful freewill offering to Almighty God, by the sons of Samuel Radcliffe, of Lower House, Oldham.

She was mother to the five founding sons and one daughter, for whom she appears to have been an object of veneration akin – almost – to the Virgin Mary, or St. Mary Magdalen, with both or either of whom, in the iconographical and textual integral references within the church, she is clearly abundantly compared. The altar has two Marys – Mary Annunciante on the left, with 'Hail Mary, full of grace'; Mary Magdalen on the right, with 'Rabboni'; in the north transept – another Annunciation text – 'Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God'; centrally on the west wall, behind the font, St. Anne teaching the girl Mary, with 'Near in season Hear

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86 ROCHDALE-Balderstone, 2, 17, 22.
87 Hannah Haynes.
88 ROCHDALE-Balderstone, 1, 22.
90 John 20: 16.
instruction and be wise'; Joshua Radcliffe's memorial window has 'She [the 'woman having an alabaster box of ointment very precious' that she poured on Jesus' head, often interpreted as Mary Magdalen] hath done it for my burial and, carved on the pulpit, is a crowned 'M' in an oval, set with flowers.

Elizabeth Coomer's referential testimony has illumined an apparent dichotomy in the founders' attitude – the curious claim with which the memorandum ends:

In this gift they especially desire to recognise and acknowledge the many mercies and blessings which it has pleased God, of His great goodness, to bestow upon them during a lengthened and prosperous commercial partnership, which has enabled them to make this public offering without any prejudice or disadvantage to their respective families.

She remembers the family were always 'short of cash – nothing for us' – having spent their all on the church and ancillary buildings. This suggests possible defensiveness, in tone and in intent, the brothers – or at least one of them – perhaps fearing criticism over the extent of their impulsive generosity.

Next is the anomalous St. Andrew, Ramsbotham [p53-5], built by the Grant brothers as a Presbyterian church in 1832, facilitating the forty-year Presbyterian stewardship there of Dr. Andrew MacLean who was virtually given the church, necessitating a pension eventually to buy him out. In 1869, the three brothers deceased, William Grant (1825-1873), their nephew, heir, and co-founder, having switched to Anglicanism while at Cambridge University, closed the church against bitter congregational opposition and offered it the following year to the bishop of Manchester who licensed it as a mission-church. William died in 1873, having bequeathed money for a stipend for the church's incumbent; two years later St. Andrew's was consecrated as the church of a newly-formed parish.

In architectural style – originally, Presbyterian preaching-house shape; 'very different from its present Anglican shape' – it retains, nonetheless, a non-Anglican Scots flavour, perhaps lent by its eleven Grant-memorials (two unrelated, both to their employees), and by the two long pews in the west gallery, one for the family, the other for the servants of Nuttall Hall, the main Grant residence. It comes as no surprise to learn that in the shallow chancel a huge central pulpit, once stood –

92 Proverbs 8: 33.
93 Mark 14: 8.
94 Thanks to Elizabeth Coomer, great-great-granddaughter of Josiah Radcliffe, for meeting at the church (16/10/2011), providing new and valuable information about her family and the church's foundation.
95 ROCDALE- Balderstone, 1, 22.
96 Hannah Haynes, knowing probably more than anyone living about the church's history, dismisses this explanation; 'I don't think any of the Radcliffes were left short of money. They hung onto their money the same way they accumulated it – by watching every penny, so the gift of the church was amazing but . . . well I just don't know!' (email, 27/11/2011).
97 'Tottington', websites, n. 7.
98 BURY-Ramsbottom, 2.
99 Ibid, 6.
obliterated now – behind the site of which is access to a vault containing the Grant family's remains; nor that the servants are buried outside, in the churchyard.

One sculpted monument surmounted by the Grant shield (Appendix 2.4.3):

to the memory of Daniel Grant Esquire, of Manchester. Who died 12th March 1855,
Aged 75 years

may well encapsulate more admirable attributes, and point to the influence the founders exerted on their church, as on their Ramsbottom community:

Reader,

IF YOU ARE IN POVERTY, GRIEVE FOR THE LOSS OF SO GOOD A FRIEND;
IF BORN TO WEALTH AND INFLUENCE,
THINK OF THE IMPORTANCE OF SUCH A TRUST, AND EARN IN LIKE MANNER,
BY A LIFE OF CHARITABLE EXERTION,
THE RESPECT AND LOVE OF ALL WHO KNOW YOU,
THE PRAYERS AND BLESSINGS OF THE POOR.

Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?

Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily:
and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be their reward [sic].

Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am. Isaiah LVIII Chap. 7, 8 and 9 verse.

In Ashton-under-Lyne, Oldham Whittaker twice commissioned architect George Shaw; for an extension (1862) at St. John the Evangelist, Hurst; and for St. James the Apostle, Hurst Brook (1865).\textsuperscript{100} St. John's chapel and the south transept, near-exclusive Whittaker territory, seem designed to provide the recently-Anglican branch of the Ashton Whittakers with something between a mausoleum for its deceased and a temple for its living members. George Shaw's design – his chapel-furnishing even more lavish than at Friezland – suggests glorification of personal achievement. In stone, oak, metal and glass, but equally in formal, textual and historical allusion to a grandeur that would surely have been unknown in the Oldham from which the family had sprung only a generation before, it appears to celebrate just what it meant for them to have achieved spectacular worldly success.

The south transept, besides providing Whittakers with a route from outside, through its west-wall doorway, to their chapel, diagonally opposite, is also a two-sided gallery displaying Whittaker memorials in marble and stone. Inside the chapel, the luscious opulence and romantic gloom of its interior – here at least, Shaw acquiesced to the demand for 'dim mysteries'\textsuperscript{101} – with a door directly into the sanctuary (itself fitted out with stalls and panelling as part of the same project), is subtly relieved, above the tall, canopied, carved backs of the stalls, by a frieze of

\textsuperscript{100} Belonging with Group Ib's churches; discussed here in juxtaposition with Whittaker and Shaw's earlier project.

\textsuperscript{101} Hyde & Petford; see 56, n. 138.
small Whittaker shields (Appendix 2.4.9) and by two narrow windows of glowing stained glass embodying family memorials. The ceiling is lavishly carved, as are the stalls, panelling and the screen dividing chapel from chancel, all of satiny dark oak; two heraldic flags, antiquely fraying, hang on batons – though not original, Oldham Whittaker would surely have approved, so in keeping do they seem with the historic air of landed gentry or baronetcy the chapel is designed to project, and achieves so successfully – clearly a bonanza for antiquarian George Shaw.

No evidence of integral donor-church-identity is missing (apart from dedication, of course) from St. John's: eleven memorials; shields in plenty; proximity to house and mills; private chapel; private entrance. And the land surrounding the church – hardly a true graveyard – is empty save for two enormous stone Whittaker monuments – one of them to a branch other than Oldham's – erected over vaults containing family-remains [plate 30]. Here are buried, an inscription relates: a first son, dead at thirty-four months; a third son, dead aged two-and-a-half; a fourth son, dead aged eleven days. Only the second son survives childhood, and even he dies aged twenty-five, while two of the three daughters live into adulthood. Although this was a common pattern at the time, it is hard not to grieve for the sorrowing parents who, finally, have the records of their own deaths inscribed on the same monument as their children's; Oldham himself in 1871, aged sixty-one; Helen, twenty-one years later.

St. John's extension, Whittaker's first church-building venture, was executed in 1862. About a year later, building began on his second – this time, entire – church, St. James's, sited at Hurst Brook down the hill, less than a mile from St. John's; it was consecrated during the week after Christmas, 1865. St. John's cost Whittaker £3,250; St. James', £3,500, with an additional £1,000 towards endowing its living. But although he spent more on the latter than on the St. John's extension – significantly more if the endowment sum is taken into account – it is evident that St. John's was the one closest to his heart. It may even have been the case that the Hurst Brook building was intended, in Whittaker's mind even if the intention was never voiced, for the lower-class mill-operatives. Certainly the building, more than any other of his study-churches, seems to exemplify the tendency imputed to Shaw that 'while he hugely enjoyed gothic ruins and all the romantic associations of a medieval past, his own gothic buildings, often built for Evangelical patrons, were strictly, almost brutally, practical'.

Comparing the two, St. John's eleven Whittaker memorials contrast with just three at St. James. These are its east window for John Crompton Whittaker, the son

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102 Ibid, 39.
who died aged twenty-five; the donor's initials OW carved on the stone gatepost; and
the lower half of a small window in what was presumably, before restructuring, the
nave's north wall featuring, amidst brilliantly coloured flowers and rich foliage with,
top and bottom, pairs of heads of obscure import, scrolls inscribed: Oldham
Whittaker Esquire of Hurst: founder of this church 1865, [plate 31]. Hurst Brook lay
only three-quarters of a mile from Hurst Hall, Whittaker's home, but St. John's was
three times nearer and the children were buried there. Small wonder their affections
should be with that church rather than down the hill; the painful actuality must have
played a strong part in Oldham's decision to finance an extension there. Nevertheless, St. James's church shared in family recognition to the extent, besides
the window for their son John, another son, deceased in infancy [p105] bore the
name of the saint chosen for dedication.

   Perhaps the most notable aspect here is the vivid quality this group's six
churches have about them, which is far less evident in churches with weaker such
integral evidence. Churches such as St. Augustine's, Pendlebury, St. Edmund's,
Falinge, St. Anne's, Haughton, All Souls, Bolton – for which evidence is thin
integ rall but strong referentially – exhibit the same vivid quality.

VIII SIX EXCLUDED FROM MAIN DISCUSSION

   These churches are difficult to categorise. Using the material available, they
are discussed here in date-order of building-work funded.

   The 1851-2 north-aisle extension to St. Mark, Worsley (1846), was funded
near his Hall by Francis Egerton, First Earl of Ellesmere. His 'practically certain'
posthumous enlargement in 1857 of the Ellesmere chapel in St. Mark's103 is also
considered. The aisle-extension was probably undertaken for the 150 extra sittings it
provided; its style matching the original church, George Gilbert Scott's hand is
assumed.104 The wider church has no Egerton memorials; stained-glass windows,
family-unrelated, came later.105 Donor-church-identity is entirely focussed in the
Ellesmere chapel with its large marble monument to the first earl – though, despite
this provision, he is buried in another 'closely adjoining' vault,106 the monument
erected by his son that, further emphasising exclusivity, with fitting grandeur
dominates the chapel – and to the right of the altar, substantial tomb for his heir, the
second earl, bearing his arms and, juxtaposed with a wall-tabernacle, resembling an

103 WORSLEY, 4, 16: suggested as between 1857 (the first earl's death) and 1862, 'in order to bring it
into alignment with the east end of the chancel and to accommodate his memorial tomb'.
104 Incumbent Geoff Turner, email (14/9/2011), warning of no documentary supporting evidence,
requesting correction if found inaccurate.
105 P04, 682-3.
106 WORSLEY, 3.
Easter sepulchre. The south wall is covered with plaques in marble and brass to Egerton family-members; eight within fifty years of the earliest date by which the chapel could have been extended. The chapel's exclusivity is unambiguously stated in the simple wall-plaque:

**This Chapel and Vault were erected by the First Earl of Ellesmere for the use of himself and his descendants**

In effect, the chapel could be said to exist to proclaim the right – God-given, as the frequency on the memorial plaques of Cross with IHS monogram insists – of the Egertons to the wealth, authority and noble status they have achieved. This despite – and perhaps the point lies in a perceived need to confound any possible objection – the relatively lowly beginnings [p33-4] of Lord Francis Egerton, First Earl of Ellesmere, as The Honourable Francis Leveson-Gower. As a historian, very distantly related by marriage both to this donor and to the other of the same surname, remarks of them both, 'They were neither of them real Egertons but their property was.' Whatever the machinations this particular family had from time to time wielded with the aim of elevating their worldly position, incontrovertible are both integral and, by inference, referential indications of donor-church-identity in St. Mark's Ellesmere Chapel.

Little but referential evidence is available for John Seddon's St. Bartholomew, Westhoughton (rebuilt and re-consecrated 1870; almost entirely destroyed by fire 1990). His highhandedness over choice of incumbent [p63] did not prevent parishioners expressing their thanks by raising £300 after his death to erect a new east window with a *Te Deum* theme. There is no record of other Seddon memorials but three are recorded, albeit without dates, in memory of other local families. Siting the church near both his home, The Mortons in Church Street, Westhoughton, and the Green Vale print-works he built for his business, suggests at least some donor-church-identity though, despite St. Bartholomew's having its own graveyard, he was buried in Harwood, to the north-east of Bolton. In sum, though evidence is scant, donor-church-identity in this case appears to be at the lower end of the scale.

There is little to be gleaned from two extensions. First, John Taylor's at All Saints, Newton Heath (1878-80) [p59], where

In the north wall an elaborate credence has been inserted, and in the south wall the following inscription in gold letters on a marble slab is cut: “The Reredos in this

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107 Charles Foster correspondence.
108 'Bartholomew's Church', websites.
109 'Seddon', websites.
chancel was erected to the glory of God, and in memory of Anne Leng, wife of John Taylor, of Brookdale, who died 27th October, 1879.\textsuperscript{110}
suggests a fair measure of donor-church-identity. His burial elsewhere, at Newton Parish Church, detracts from that impression. Second, even the identity is uncertain of the members of the Holden family who gave St. Paul, Royton's chancel and memorial east window (1882/3). The inscription beneath the latter reads:

TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN LOVING MEMORY OF JOHN HOLDEN OF ROYTON AND JANE HIS WIFE; ALSO OF THEIR TWO BELOVED SONS GEORGE AND JOHN HOLDEN THIS WINDOW AND CHANCEL WERE ERECTED AD 1883 BY THEIR SURVIVING FAMILY.

while that beneath another window – not in the chancel, with which this study is concerned, but in the south transept – reads:

This window was erected by Hannah Holden of Beech Mount Highlands Royton in loving memory of her mother Jane Holden who died January 6th 1892 aged 80 years also of her sister Elizabeth Holden who died January 9th 1893 aged 50 both of the same place'.

appearing to identify the 'surviving family' as John and Jane Holden's daughters, Hannah and Elizabeth.

The chequered history of Robert Gardner's Christ Church, Moss Side (1850) [plate 32], is related in three contemporary accounts. The first tells that, originally constructed in 1843 by a speculative builder for £3,600, it was briefly let to a Unitarian congregation until purchased by Gardner who, after a period during which it was put to various unspecified use, conveyed it to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.\textsuperscript{111} The second relates that, a Mr. Heath having built it at a cost of between £5,000 and £6,000 in about 1844, Gardner purchased it for £3,000, adding £1,000 for endowment and £200 for repairs, and was himself recommended for the patronage, but that a quarrel between Heath and the Bishop of Chester blocked consecration for several years during which a series of independent sects used the building.\textsuperscript{112} The third, by Richard Loxham, giving the building's capacity as '1400-1500' of which one third was free 'to the poor' and noting the increase in depth of a gallery over the entrance and the removal of the pulpit 'from the center [sic] to a position before the Communion space, which occupies the unorthodox opposite quarter at the West [?]End', enthuses:

Mr. Robert Gardner … purchased the property in the name of trustees, at about one half its original cost, endowed with £1000, and likewise invested 200 L. for a repair fund to the fabric. … The ministrations of a popular clergyman of the evangelical school having been secured, the attendance of numerous churchgoers reward the judicious and well-timed outlay: and Christ's Church Heathfield is at length, after its various vicissitudes, a valuable handmaid to the establishment in this vast parish.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{110} Manchester-Newton-Heath, 2 (February 1881).
\textsuperscript{111} Manchester-Moss-Side, 3.
\textsuperscript{112} Rushton 47, 106.
\textsuperscript{113} Loxham (1846-55), 194.
As often the case with speculative building, Mr. Heath's was unsound and the church was eventually demolished and rebuilt, public-subscription-funded, in 1904.

St. Ignatius, Ordsall (1903), in Salford, is now redundant and in precarious condition. It is hard to make any meaningful assessment of a church seen in dim light, with memorials present only where they would be impossible to remove without structural interference. It was built as part of the New Barracks Estate, including the Salford Lads Club, Salford's first public housing scheme, in an area once occupied by an infantry barracks. Oddly exotic, apsidal, and of red brick, the church is a copy of one Wilbraham Egerton saw in Borgadeira, Italy, the place of his death.\textsuperscript{114} St. Ignatius Walk, the quiet, green, residential road onto which the church fronts, is crossed at its northern end now by television-iconic Coronation Street.

Donor-church-identity is still harder to trace in the thirteen demolished churches. Thus, the Bolton three, St. John (Sumner); St. Bartholomew, Great Lever (Howell); and The Saviour (Greenhalgh), are all but impenetrable. Similarly impenetrable are the Manchester eight: four of Hulme – St. Mary (Wilbraham Egerton); and Sts. Philip, Michael and Stephen (all Birley); and four elsewhere – Miles Platting's St. John the Evangelist (Benjamin Heywood); Chorlton-upon-Medlock's St. Luke (Gardner); Collyhurst's St. James (Stewart); and Gorton's All Saints (Beyer). Two from just outside Manchester – Pendleton's St. Anne, Brindle Heath (Herbert Birley); and Salford's St. Cyprian, Ordsall (Wilbraham Egerton) – complete the obscurities. Yet in one way or another, however dimly, many cast shadows across this study: Bolton St. John, architecturally and sectarianally; The Saviour, as All Souls' \textit{alter ego}; the Birleys' Hulme churches, and St. Anne, Brindle Heath, enshrined in that family's intricate story; and Miles Platting, for its dramatic Tractarian history The buildings may be gone but some of the spirit may still be perceived vestigially: St. Anne, Brindle Heath's, in another old photograph [plate 33]; St. Philip, Hulme's, in a first-world-war memorial-cross now outside its primary school [plate 34]; St. John, Bolton's in a photograph of children gathered outside [plate 35]; and St. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting's in a photographic image of the Tractarian interior that caused so much uproar [plate 36].

\textbf{Summary and Conclusion}

\textit{In their own image?} This study's central question is how far a donor is reflected in the resultant church. The simplest answer is that this varies immensely,
from church to church, and from donor to donor. Representing the lowest reflection, St. Peter, Westleigh is a prime example.

The church of St. Peter was originally a mission school opened in 1862, and placed under a curate in charge appointed by the vicar of Leigh. A church was erected in 1881, the entire cost being defrayed by Mrs. Sarah W. Bubb, daughter of the late William Hall of Seven Springs, near Cheltenham, late widow of John Hampson of Ullenwood, near Cheltenham, and now wife of Henry Bubb of Witcombe Court, Gloucester.\footnote{\textit{Westleigh St. Peter}, websites.}

Within the building's fabric or literature is found no reference to its donor, explicit or implicit. It may not be coincidental that the church's lack of any sign of Sarah Walker Bubb is complemented by virtually nothing found, despite energetic search, on herself, her father, or either husband. At the opposite end of the scale is St. Edmund, Falinge. That building displays references and memorials to Royds family-members, but none to anyone unrelated. Within it are found both a private Royds chapel with its own exterior entrance and a wealth of Masonic iconography on every pane of glass – Royds himself as Solomon's overseer [p115] – and of Masonic form and structure in the building's very dimensions. Added to that, copious information is freely available concerning the Royds family and their Freemasonry. Far less extreme, but still towards the high end for donor-church-identity, are, for example, St. Anne, Haughton (strictly Sidebotham-memorials and –references only; iconography; but no family-chapel or -pew) and St. Andrew, Ramsbottom (eleven Grant memorials, with an additional two to employees, and private interior vault). In some churches there is a sense that the donor and family almost regarded it as their own domain where the congregation – like visitors to private homes – are invited in and, indeed, welcomed, but on the hosts' terms. At the other end of the scale, the sense is of a donor performing a more or less perfunctory act of generosity, with little or no personal interest in the project.

The key evidential factors considered in evaluating donor-church-identity require review. First, dedication (Appendix 2.1). Fifty-three are relevant; eight being excluded as extensions (Newton Heath, Worsley, Royton, Hurst) or re-consecrations repeating previous dedication (Bolton Churchgate; Westhoughton St. Bartholomew; Milnrow; Chorlton-upon-Medlock). Of the rest, for which choice of dedication was potentially the donor's, twenty-one (40%) can be assumed with reasonable certainty to be intentionally donor-family-dedicated; twenty-one are dedicated in a name potentially donor-related but, no connection being found, are assumed to have been dedicated to evangelists, apostles, martyrs, archangels, or other saints \textit{per se}; eleven are clearly faith-dedicated.

Second, proximity. Of the twenty-six industrialist-funded churches evaluated, eighteen (almost three-quarters) are situated within two miles – in most cases far
nearer – of both donor-residence and workplace. These are: Hurst Brook and Hurst (Whittaker); Friezland and Roughtown (Whitehead); Bowlee (Schwabe); Prestolee (Rideout/Crompton); Daisy Hill (Haddock); Pimhole (Openshaw); Bolton All Souls (Greenhalgh); Greenfield (Buckley); Gladwick (Lees); Heyside (Fittion); Howe Bridge (Ralph Fletcher); Newhey (Heap); Walshaw (Haworth); Moorside (Mellodew); Balderstone (Radcliffe); and Ramsbottom (Grant). In addition to those – founded by donors classified simply as industrialists – five further churches, financed by donors who, though classified as members of parliament, were also important industrialists, were, again, near both residence and workplace; Walkden and Worsley (Francis Egerton) and Hulme Sts. Philip, Michael, and Stephen (Birley). Non-industrialists living close could also have strong identity. An example of a church being exceptionally favoured by personal donor-involvement is Pendlebury, whose donor, banker Edward Stanley Heywood, worked in Manchester while at St. Augustine's, within easy walking distance of his home, he played a central role.

By contrast, fourteen churches either from the start had their donors living a considerable distance away or sooner or later became, as it were, abandoned by them; four of these, all industrialist-founded – Gorton St. James (Beyer); Haughton Green (Walton); Clifton (Charlotte Anne Corrie, née Fletcher); and Reddish (Houldsworth) – were apparently to a greater or lesser degree supplanted as of concern to their donors, and as recipients of further donations, by another church at the donor's migratory retreat. West Didsbury (Roberts, classified as non-industrialist, though his workplace, and his residence at the time of building, were close to the church) suffered a similar desertion. Insufficient is known to assess Brindle Heath (demolished; Herbert Birley), or Moss Side (since rebuilt; Gardner). Geographical distance, whether from the outset or subsequently, appears to be one of the strongest contraindications to donor-church-identity.

Third, donor-dedicated space. Eleven churches made such provision. Five had family-pews – Newhey, Belmont, Walshaw, Moorside and Ramsbottom; seven, chapels, two without private entrance (Denshaw and – posthumously – Great Lever) and five with (Falinge, Milnrow, Calderbrook, Balderstone and Hurst). It is clear that, in the case of a chapel especially, the impact on the building as a whole was both physically and socially significant. No particular relationship to churchmanship or profession is discernible.

Fourth, text and iconography. Iconographical often reinforces memorial-text information on donors' interests. One such is churchmanship, as at Friezland, where the evangelically-inspired textual signs are complemented by its east window's mission-driving themes. Although two of the three – 'Suffer the little children to
come unto me …’ \(^{116}\) and 'I am the good shepherd …’ \(^{117}\) – are popular enough choices in the study's churches as a whole, this church is the sole employing them as central iconographic subject. This difference, together with the unambiguous note sounded by the window's third main light, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature', \(^{118}\) strongly suggests a selection deliberately designed to make the point. Not all the study's supposedly evangelically-inspired churches, however, show this coherence; the textual signals at Walshaw, are complemented by no obviously iconographical ones unless it be the completeness of the stained-glass 'didactic scheme' [p170]; Bolton All Souls is the reverse – the mission-intent iconography of its east window has no corresponding textual counterpart elsewhere, though – as also at Friezland – the texts accompanying the visual themes play an important role in clearly identifying the subject. At the other end of the churchmanship scale, the iconography at Pendlebury, with its emphasis in the stained glass on the angelic host and more particularly on saints – British saints especially – and in the reredos on the implements of the Passion, represents Tractarian-motivated signals; mission, perhaps, with a different flavour, similar to the 'Nearer my God to thee' approach to the altar at Reddish, and the sacrificial imagery at St. Anne, Haughton. At Falinge [p114-15], iconography is exploited fully to proclaim the ideal of the Masonic Brotherhood, although the cult's inherent secrecy suggests evangelism to be not their prime intention. More generally, iconography is notable at Haughton Green (Marian), West Didsbury (donor as one of the magi, offering his church), Clifton (Anne's marguerite), Calderbrook (Solomon, temple-builder), Haughton (botanical), Ardwick (Benedictine), and Balderstone (Mary, Virgin and Magdalen).

Fifth, armorial presence. Twelve of the forty-six churches visited displayed donor-arms – Calderbrook, Clifton (photograph), Denshaw, Ramsbottom, Pendlebury, Reddish (1919, in later chapel), Falinge, Milnrow, Haughton, Hurst, Belmont, and Worsley ('Fletcher', 'Gartside', 'Grant', 'Heywood', 'Houldsworth', 'Royds', 'Schofield', 'Sidebotham', 'Whittaker', 'Wright', Appendix 2.4). Two such donors were MPs; five, industrialists; two, bankers; and one, each, landed gentry; cleric; and public servant. Additionally, non-familial coats of arms are displayed at Newton Heath. West Didsbury; and Holy Trinity, Ashton-under-Lyne.

Sixth, funerary provision. Burial arrangements carry possibly the strongest evidence of all as to donor-church-identity (though it should be recognised that strong early involvement succeeded by a cooling in later life may well have been a factor in some). Four churches – Belmont, Newhey, Moorside; and St. John the

\(^{116}\) Matthew 19: 14.
\(^{117}\) John 10: 11, 14.
\(^{118}\) Mark 16: 15.
Evangelist, Hurst – have exterior and four – Denshaw. Calderbrook, Friezland and Ramsbottom – interior vaults for donors and their families. Donors' graves are significant by their absence in eight churches furnished with graveyards.

Seventh and last, memorial display. Nine churches have exclusively donor-related memorials: one in group II, one in III, three in IV, two in V, and one each in VI and VII. Six – three in I, two in II, and one in III – have exclusively donor-unrelated memorials.

All these aspects of donor-impact are important for a church. Dedication and proximity have the potential to define and mould a building and a parish; even a geographical area. Memorials, integral textual inscription and iconographical content strongly influence the impact the interior of the building will have on those for whom it is the place of worship, as well as on more fleeting visitors. And dedicated donor space, for the living or the dead, has a physical impact on the building and doubtless a very significant social and psychological impact on those who worshipped there.

It is important to acknowledge, however, the degree and frequency to which referential may be at variance with integral evidence. It is striking in two of the most notable of churches – St. Elisabeth, Reddish, and St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pendlebury – whereas, by contrast, at St. Edmund, Falinge, integral and referential evidence are in virtually total agreement. For any church, therefore, conclusions should be understood as conditional and provisional, with the possibility of referential evidence emerging that might qualify them. The next two chapters will shed some further light on this ambiguity.
17. St. James, Gorton. Bond holding Shaw to fixed timescale.
22. Charlotte Anne Corrie, née Fletcher.
26. Christ Church, Denshaw.
   a. Tomb in Gartside Chapel.
   b. Greyhound crest.
   c. Mary Magdalen at the Cross.
27. St. Anne, Haughton:

nave window reflecting Joseph Sidebotham's botanical interest.
32. Richard Loxham's manuscript-book. 'Christ's Church, Moss Side'.
33. St. Anne, Brindle Heath, founded 1863; demolished.
This cross stood outside St Philip’s Church, Hulme to honour the men of this parish who gave their lives in the Great War 1914-18
When St Philip’s Church was demolished in 1976 the cross was placed here at St Philip’s School.

34. St. Philip, Hulme. All that remains.
35. St. John, Bolton, demolished.
Chapter Three
Architects: Thirty-Six Practices

Introduction

The architects responsible for this study's sixty-one churches were, of course, crucial to their production. The focus here is how far their role in the nexus reflected donor-image, either indirectly – through, most commonly, choice of architect, often fortuitous – or directly, with positive donor-intent. What was the relationship between donor and architectural practice?\(^1\) What factors informed choice between nationally renowned and more obscure architect, and what evidence is there that the choice was the donor's own, reflecting his (or her) convenience, interests and preferences? Did commissioned architects' churchmanship (largely reserved for discussion in Chapter Four but touched on here to gauge whether a decided churchmanship, or churches with definite leanings, constituted a major part of the practice) influence a donor's choice? To investigate such questions, locality is used as the context within which to examine the architects.

A further context, considered first, is the major architectural and liturgical change during the period in the Established Church\(^2\) (and, architecturally at least, in other denominations). The architects who in the Deanery of Manchester between 1847 and 1903 built the study-churches played a role in what Pevsner calls 'the Pugin-Scott revolution'.\(^3\)

The Ecclesiastical Context

In 1836, Pugin's *Contrasts* was published. It reviled British church-architecture since the Reformation as the 'fall of Architectural taste', and passionately demanded return to medieval forms; what he termed 'Pointed or Christian Architecture' in which alone, he claimed, 'we find the faith of Christianity embodied, and its practices illustrated.'\(^4\) Pugin developed this theme in two further publications, *True Principles*, and *Apology*, published in 1841 and 1843 respectively.\(^5\) Meanwhile, in 1839 the Cambridge Camden Society was founded by Benjamin Webb, John Mason Neale and Edward Boyce, all in Holy Orders.\(^6\) Its *raison d'être* was to realise architecturally and liturgically the slightly earlier Oxford Movement's revisionist

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\(^{1}\) The terms 'architect' and 'architectural practice' are used interchangeably.


\(^{3}\) P09, 402.

\(^{4}\) Pugin (1969 edn.), 1, 2-3 (original italics).

\(^{5}\) Pugin (1973 edn.; 1969 edn.).

thinking concerning post-Reformation ecclesiastical doctrine. Thus in the fourth and fifth decades of the century Pugin and the Camdenians – independently, albeit subject alike to prevailing cultural influences – were demanding almost identical change. Their efforts nicely coincided in time; both Pugin's *Apology* and the first issue of *The Ecclesiologist* – the journal the Camdenians brought out, designed, together with other textual material, to support their objectives – were published in 1843, four years before the establishment of the Manchester diocese.

Either Pugin or the Camdenians alone might have impacted significantly; the two together proved overwhelming. It was partly, it seems, a question of personality. Pugin – Roman Catholic convert; highly talented; eccentric and passionate; his almost comically pompous certainties lightened by an oddly engaging eagerness and humility of spirit, nicely exemplified in a letter to glassmaker John Hardman concerning a commission from Webb:

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I made today a template of a small narrow window for Rev. Webb for his own church. I want to astonish him will you knock it off & send it to him ... - I thought of giving him this little window he is a capital man & the editor of the Ecclesiologist. I know he is not rich & I think he would be pleased now my dear Hardman use the true blue & streak the ruby with white & make a true little thing. I rely on you.
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Webb and Neale were fervent High Churchmen; arrogantly dogmatic and authoritarian; tirelessly inventive in the methods they employed to achieve their objectives. In all three of these men, absolute conviction and sheer force of personality were critical to the movement that, over the following few decades, had so dramatic an impact upon architectural and liturgical practice.

What they were proposing was less new than sometimes thought. The Tractarians sharpened a sense of High Church party identity in the Church, but they did not and could not create it. In their church principles, sacramental teaching, spirituality and even

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8 'He was our leader and our most able pioneer', George Gilbert Scott to General Grey (20/12/1869), *cit. Hill* (1997).
10 Judging by the scant attention accorded Boyce by White and the several contributors to *Webster & Elliott*, his role appears to have been more that of chronicler than participant in the forceful polemics and propaganda of his two co-founders.
11 Evidenced, for instance by (as well as much of The Ecclesiologist's tone) the comment from a critic of the Society, '... young men, of great zeal for their own individual views ...' (letter by 'Academicus', *Cambridge Chronicle*, 31 May 1845, *cit. White*, 1962, 38) and by that of Boyce himself, of *The Ecclesiologist* to which Neale and Webb were, as seen, the greatest contributors, '... the oftentimes unguarded severity of some of its criticisms ...' – *Memorial*, 12, *cit. White*, 46; see also *Webster* (2000), 1-2.
12 See White, *passim*, and 'Webb', *ODNB*.
political theology, they owed more than they usually acknowledged, not only to the Caroline phase of the High Church tradition but to the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century witnesses to that tradition.\textsuperscript{15}

The first stirrings of ideas later defined as ecclesiological\textsuperscript{15} – the foremost being the 'pre-eminence to be given the altar, the relationship of the altar to the pulpit, and the breaking up of the traditional composition of pulpit, reading-desk, and clerk's desk\textsuperscript{16} – occurred two or three decades before the Oxford and then Camdenian movements came into being. Both were underpinned largely by romanticism, which had its origins at least as early as eighteenth-century antiquarianism:

\begin{quote}
… it is possible to see the Gothic Revival … as a continuous undercurrent in English architecture from the sixteenth century … a document of antiquarian ideals and aspirations. Indeed, one could question the very concept of the Gothic Revival and argue that one should instead be talking of the continuing Gothic tradition.
\end{quote}

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The twin movements should be seen in this wider context, which gave leverage to their leaders and undoubtedly contributed to the astonishingly rapid acceptance of the Camdenian agenda. The nature and intricacies of the diverse factors contributing to its background – incorporating, and elaborating on, its characterisation by an earlier Gothic-Revival historian – are described as

a 'reform movement', for they sought more to refine than to confound existing attitudes and tastes. Their immediate successes are explicable only when it is understood how far general taste had already travelled.\textsuperscript{18}

Seen overall, however, Tractarian impact 'on the life and thought of the Church of England was enormous'.\textsuperscript{19}

Successful they certainly were. By the end of 1840, relates Boyce, the thirty-eight members at the Cambridge Camden Society's foundation had risen to one hundred; by May 1841, to three hundred. By 1843 the society could boast among its members: '2 Archbishops, 16 Bishops, 31 Peers and MPs, 7 Deans and Chancellors of Dioceses, 21 Archdeacons and Rural Deans, 16 Architects, and over 700 ordinary members.'\textsuperscript{20} Camdenian ecclesiology – henceforth termed, simply, 'ecclesiology' – had well and truly taken off; four years later, \textit{The Ecclesiologist}, the bi-monthly vector for transmission of the demands of Webb, Neale and associates, was born, to run for the next twenty-one years.

Among the society's members were eight of this study's architects: Edmund Sharpe (elected 1841), Shaw and Butterfield (both 1844), Street and T.D. Barry (both

\textsuperscript{14} Nockles, 307.
\textsuperscript{15} In the Camdenians' narrow sense; or, churchmanship-neutral: 'The science relating to the church or to churches; now usually, The science of church building and decoration.' – \textit{OED}, websites.
\textsuperscript{16} Yates (1991), 115.
\textsuperscript{17} Worsley (1993), 106. See also White, 25-26, Yates (1991), 129-30.
\textsuperscript{19} Nockles, 316.
\textsuperscript{20} Boyce (1888), 10, \textit{cit.} White, 41.
1845), Truefitt (1848), Bodley (1849) and E.M. Barry (1858). Donor James Dearden the first, born about 1799, was elected member in 1844 as, the same year, was Richard Loxham, donor Thomas Loxham's brother. Two more elected members, possibly distant relatives of donors with the same name, were M.A. Egerton and John Fletcher. Intriguingly, in 1839, eight years before becoming Manchester's first bishop, thirteen before his famously anti-catholic explosion in Higher Broughton, James Prince Lee was elected.

The bishop was not alone in combining apparently antithetical attitudes with early society-membership. Many eminent patrons from church, university and society were, it seems, at first blithely unaware that, behind the outwardly innocuous 'antiquarian and artistic society with a commendable practical interest in building churches', the agenda was theologically driven. By the time awareness of the degree of Tractarian influence had dawned, the venture was soundly established, thanks in large measure to the appeal and respectability conferred on it by the support of those very luminaries. Thereafter, fearing public realisation of their theological position, the Camdenians avoided discussion, stating firmly:

We steer clear of any thing that has the remotest appearance of doctrinal controversy.

and:

We have always refused to enter into religious controversy. We set out with the principle of believing what the Church believes; and that creed we are not called upon to defend. But its symbolical and material expression is our peculiar province.

Or, equally cautiously:

In the present tract, touching as it does on so many controverted [sic] points, it can hardly be hoped that no mistake has been made, and no offence given. If anything contained in it can be shown to be contrary to the Rubrick or the Canons of the Holy Anglican Church, the writer will be thankful to be told of it and the first to expunge it. These are matters "wherein" (to quote Hooker) "he may haply err, as others have done before him, but as heretick by the grace of Almighty GÔD he will never be."

Through such manoeuvres the Camdenians introduced Catholic practices without too many people realizing that the Society was not interested simply in reviving quaint medieval curiosities. Even some members did not realize that their organization was in actuality a very effective machine for theological propaganda.

On this they would build for the ensuing decades.

Rigorous ecclesiological demands on church architects and patrons began with style. In the society's early years, choice between Early English, Decorated or

22 Thanks to Geoff Brandwood for sending his 'Camdenian Roll-Call' appendix, Webster & Elliott, 359-454.
24 *E S* (1846), 2, 3, *cit.* White, 35.
25 CCS (3rd edn., 1844), 30.
26 White, 36.
Perpendicular Gothic might depend on local vernacular or building-size. But, by 1844, the third edition of their pamphlet aimed at builders of new churches was insisting on, not any Gothic, but 'Middle Pointed' ('Decorated') from 'the years 1260 and 1360', explaining,

The reason of this is plain. During the so-called Norman era, the Catholick Church was forming her architectural language; in the Tudor period, she was unlearning it.

The ground-plan reflects a church's essential nature:

THERE ARE TWO PARTS, AND ONLY TWO PARTS, WHICH ARE ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO A CHURCH – CHANCEL AND NAVE. If it have not the latter, it is at best only a chapel; if it have not the former, it is little better than a meeting-house. ... On the least symbolical grounds, it has always been felt right to separate off from the rest of the church a portion which should be expressly appropriated to the more solemn rites of our religion; and this portion is the Chancel. In this division our ancient architects recognised an emblem of the Holy Catholick Church; as this consists of two parts, the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant, so does the earthly structure also consist of two parts, the Chancel and Nave; the Church Militant being typified by the latter, and the Church Triumphant by the former. ...  

Every church

of whatever kind, size, or shape, should have a distinct Chancel at least one-third of the length of the Nave, and separated from the latter, internally at least, if not externally, by a well-defined mark, a chancel-arch if possible, or at least by a screen and raised floor.

A 'Chancel level with the Nave is objectionable'; it

should be raised at least two steps at the Chancel arch ..., the Altar ... on one, two, or three flights of three steps each.

And, ideally,

the south wall is furnished with a single Piscina to carry off the water in which the Priest has washed his hands before Celebration, and westward of this with three Sedilia, or seats for the Celebrant, Epistler, and Gospeller, constructed, if possible, in the masonry of the wall, if not, consisting of oaken tabernacle-work [and] that the north wall is provided with a Credence, resembling either a table, or a niche or bracket.

A degree of pragmatism, however, prevails. The author favoured restoring sedilia

because at least they are ornaments; but if their restoration would give offence I would not insist on them, because they are only ornaments. However great the offence may be which the Catholick arrangement of a Chancel causes, we must bear it rather than give up an arrangement which is of the essence of a church; the case is not the same with sedilia,

 remarking with some irony that it might

tend to remove objections to their use to observe that one of the alterations which Romanism has introduced into modern churches as seen on the continent is the disuse both of them and of the piscina: the latter being too often (like our Fonts) appropriated to the reception of lumber

while the credence, its actuality seemingly taken for granted, is discussed only regarding position;

27 CCS (3 edn., 1844), 4.
28 CCS (3 edn., 1844), 5-6, cit. White, 87.
29 CCS (3 edn., 1844), 5; case original.
30 E 1 (2 edn., 1843), 41.
31 CCS (3 edn., 1844), 11,12.
opinions have been entertained as to the situation in our ancient churches, of the Table of Prothesis; that is, the place whereon the Elements are placed previously to their Oblation. …

the same applying, albeit with less certainty about its necessity, to the 'aumbrye or locker', where:

The Holy Vessels were anciently kept … They should always be kept in the church; and, of course, if an aumbrye be used, due attention must be paid to its security. …

Only the piscina avoids specific mention, though taken for granted as eucharistic furnishing.

Turning to the body of the church, the screen merits more concern than the arch:

We have seen that the Chancel and Nave are to be kept entirely separate. This is done by the Roodscreen, that most beautiful and Catholick appendage to a church. We have also seen that the Prelates of the seventeenth century required it as a necessary ornament … Why is it that not one modern church has it?

The pulpit is 'one of the great abuses' in its:

monstrous size and untoward position. ... It, with the reading pue and clerk's desk, are in most modern churches placed immediately before the Holy Altar, for the purpose, it would seem, of hiding it as much as possible from the congregation. How symbolical is this of an age, which puts preaching in the place of praying! If prayer were the same as preaching, such a position would be more natural: but as the prayers are not offered to the people, but to God, our Church instructs us far otherwise.

But–one of the 'two points' to be remembered if 'every thing else is forgotten'–the first being

THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF A DISTINCT AND SPACIOUS CHANCEL

– is

THE ABSOLUTE INADMISSIBILITY OF PUES AND GALLERIES in any shape whatever ...

The Cambridge Camden Society's abhorrence of what seems nowadays a standard, inoffensive form of seating seems excessive. But a pew

in the nineteenth-century sense, is almost a forgotten item, so wholesale was the destruction of them engendered by the Society. At that time a pew was a space in the church or chancel appropriated for the exclusive use and possession of a private family and enclosed with wood panelling or curtains often to a height of five feet or more.

The society's History of Pues begins with 'Twenty-four Reasons for getting rid of Church Pues'. The reasons range from their introduction by 'those who murdered their anointed sovereign, King Charles the Martyr'; their exclusivity and social divisiveness; their allowing a 'dog in the manger' attitude, cramming aisles while

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33 CCS (3rd edn., 1844), 12.
34 CCS (3rd edn., 1844), 19, 13; original italics.
35 CCS (3rd edn., 1844), 22 (45: Position).
36 CCS (3rd edn., 1844), 30.
37 White, 7; this meaning is corroborated by Webster (2011), 197 – 'it was a term of abuse reserved for what we would think of as a Georgian box pew, replete with door and often with cushioned seating.' Third edition (1843); ‘pue’ represents ‘original orthography … more consistent with the … Dutch and French puye and puyd … supported by the analogy of crew and mew, formerly … spelt crue and mue; and that pufellow is never … spelt otherwise.’ – E 1, 80.
pews stood empty through non-attendance; to concern about what might be going on in secluded pews – even to the scandal of sleeping instead of worshipping. If inclusion of the 'absolute inadmissibility' of pews and galleries with requirements for a chancel seems incongruous, one may surmise that to accord it so little reverence as to sit in a pew, separated from other worshippers, or to look from a height onto the enactment of the sacrificial rite, was, in their eyes, sacrilege comparable to a mean and inadequately furnished chancel. Such an inference is based on the following 'Reasons':

XXI Because they tend to make us forget that in the House of Prayer we are all one Body; and thereby offend against our belief in the Communion of Saints.
XXIII Because they prevent the congregation from seeing, or being seen from, the Altar; towards which every worshipper should be turned.

In short,

after seeing very many churches and trying to find out the reason of such falling off in the old ways of church-worship and thereby of church-feeling I verily believe that most of the mischief comes of Pues.

The Camdenians fail to mention, however, earlier objection to pews; aesthetic from early-eighteenth; pastoral and theological from early-nineteenth centuries. In fact, 'jibes at pews [being] common from all sides' by the 1820s, they 'seem to have brought little more than their own vehemence and energy in pamphleteering to the pew question.'

Finally, the font

MUST BE IN THE NAVE, AND NEAR A DOOR ; this cannot be too much insisted on: it thus typifies the admission of a child into the Church by Holy Baptism.

Such were the Cambridge Camden Society's demands on church-funders, -architects and -builders throughout the country.

Applying an ecclesiological perspective to the study-churches, Appendix 3.1 details the presence or absence of ecclesiologically-correct features; followed by a summary of each feature's incidence (Appendix 3.2). Since full information is unavailable for some churches, these are expressed as a proportion of available data.

Of the forty-nine churches with known style, twenty-two (45%) are correctly of the Middle Pointed alias Decorated Gothic ecclesiologists were demanding by 1844; seventeen (35%) incorrect; ten (20%) stylistically mixed. The number of steps elevating altar from nave ranges from two to nine, median five,

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39 CCS (3rd edn., 1843), 8.
40 CCS (3rd edn., title-page.
41 Bradley, 38-9, suggests White's (1962) assumption of Camdenian originality reflects ignorance of earlier history.
43 Seven demolished churches are style-unknown; in five, style is irrelevant (two extensions, two copies and a school). Thanks for help to David O'Connor.
thirty-seven out of forty-seven having at least that number. Other ecclesiological requirements are fulfilled in nearly all: arch defining chancel (93%); correctly sited font and pulpit (95%, 93%); only three placed it centrally, a practice previously widespread.\textsuperscript{44} Most chancels (81%) were at least one-third nave-length, eight (20%), over half, which even ecclesiologists might have judged excessive:

The comparative size of Chancel and Nave is a point which, within certain limitations, must be left to taste. Yet, as a general rule, the Chancel should not be less than the third, or more than the half, of the whole length of the church.\textsuperscript{45}

Indeed, that provided by the Taylor brothers for George Heginbottom at Ashton-under-Lyne, was eighty percent nave-length, noting that the church's proportions were unusual, a very long narthex truncating the nave.

Only eighteen (38%) churches had chancel screens; eight of them rood-screens. A credence-shelf or -table was common (61%); sedilia less so (43%); aumbries existed – none unequivocally \textit{in situ} at consecration – in only six (15%): Newton Heath [plate 37], Howe Bridge, Haughton, Davyhulme; and both St. Clement and St. Ignatius, Ordsall. Just three – Cheetham [plate 38], Newhey and Milnrow – had \textit{piscinae}, of which the last has been described as 'imitation',\textsuperscript{46} presumably because it had no drain or at least no ecclesiologically-correct \textit{sacrarium} which, to ensure no contamination of the sacred elements, should flow directly into the soil.\textsuperscript{47} Regarding congregational seating, the box-pew was virtually extinct, existing only for Ramsbottom's and Newhey's donor-families; five others having modern-type donor-family pews; another seven, chapels [Appendix 2.3]. Ecclesiological demand for an end to appropriated pews in general became much more readily accepted over the period, though it took time. The system of pew-rents continued in some places to the beginning of the twentieth century or later. … But by the end of the nineteenth century very few churches had not been reseated to produce … dignified ranks of uniform, east-facing fixed benches, each making use of the one in front to provide a hymnbook rest and kneeling board.\textsuperscript{48}

Of thirty-three study-churches with known arrangements, twenty-three were entirely rent-free and only two allowed under half free. No time-trend is apparent in presence of any of the features considered.

It would be mistaken to think that the Cambridge Camden Society's version of ecclesiological correctness indicated High Churchmanship \textit{per se}, either

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\textsuperscript{44} See Webster & Elliott, 4, 6, 64, 353.
\textsuperscript{45} CCS (3\textsuperscript{rd} edn., 1844), 6.
\textsuperscript{46} ROCHDALE-MILNROW, 6, 39. Robin Usher, the current incumbent, is unable to tell 'if the piscina is functional or not (i.e. whether it has a drain in it or not) because the aumbry is now located in the niche!' – email 12 September 2011.
\textsuperscript{47} Nowhere in ecclesiological literature has reference been found to the piscina's use in washing the sacred vessels after consecration and distribution, as stated in Curl, 503.
\textsuperscript{48} Webster (2011), 208.
architecturally or liturgically. It is true that it was promoted by High Churchmen;\textsuperscript{49} that it was concerned with reverting to much of what had prevailed, architecturally and liturgically, before the Reformation;\textsuperscript{50} and that it was concerned above all with what many of its proponents may well have seen as the 'Sacrifice of the Mass'.\textsuperscript{51} These extremes were exemplified in Manchester by the Miles Platting [p207-8] and the Higher Broughton [p166] rumpuses and by Hugh Stowell's vehement anti-ritualism. But the Camdenians clearly accepted that any change must accord with the Canon of the Church of England [p157].

It is important to bear in mind that those of all shades of churchmanship were sufficiently convinced by the Society's arguments, or by fashion, to follow them – possibly without much independence of thought. Very little correlation exists between a church's inferred churchmanship (Chapter Four) and its chancel-nave ratio. Two conspicuously Evangelical churches – Friezland and Walshaw – do comparatively well ecclesiologically. Friezland has no piscina, aumbry, screen or open seating, and a mere three-step nave-to-altar elevation, but is otherwise almost impeccably correct, being joint-seventeenth (with three others, including the Tractarian St. Augustine's, Pendlebury) in chancel-nave proportional length. Walshaw has none of the four chancel furnishings or screen, but this is balanced by an even greater proportional chancel-length (joint fourteenth) and a huge eight-step elevation. This supports the point [p229, n144] that, from the mid-1840s, Camdenian ecclesiology became the norm, and remained so for at least the rest of the nineteenth century.

How the success claimed and, most would agree, achieved by the Ecclesiologists – 'we have the satisfaction of retiring from the field as victors',\textsuperscript{52} as the last number of The Ecclesiologist put it – left the Camdenians and their messianic mission is not explored here. Yet, considering the ecclesiological arrangement of Evangelically-inspired buildings of this study – notably at Walshaw – it might seem that what was manifested in such a building were the trappings but little of the substance of that attitude to the Christian faith, in whose service Neale, Webb and the other ecclesiologists had promoted their cause with such passion and conviction. But, considering a very different church – St. Elisabeth, Reddish – it is difficult to imagine that church taking the form it does had ecclesiology never existed. The victory, arguably, was not entirely hollow.

\textsuperscript{49} See, for instance, White, 34-5, 36.
\textsuperscript{50} See Report of the Cambridge Camden Society for MDCCCXLII (Cambridge, 1842), 16, \textit{cit.} White, 29, about identifying a period 'at which the architectural and ritual provision for Christian worship should have reached its point of perfection …'.
\textsuperscript{51} See especially Symondson (1995) on the Cambridge Camden, later Ecclesiological, Society's role in liturgical and ritual change.
\textsuperscript{52} E 29 (1868), 325-6, \textit{cit.} Webster (2000), 2.
The Architects

The fifty-nine churches with known architects\(^{53}\) were designed by thirty-six architectural practices (Appendix 3.3). For discussion, these are split into three locality-based groups, each ordered by date of consecration or foundation. The first (Appendix 3.4.1) features the twelve based in Manchester (excluding Waterhouse who, his practice having shifted from Manchester to London, is more easily discussed with the other Londoners); the second (3.4.2), eight based in Manchester's surrounding towns;\(^{54}\) and the third (3.4.3), the fifteen outside Manchester. The last is sub-divided to reflect diversity of standing, categorised – for convenience, albeit inevitably subjectively – as national, high, and modest (3.4.3.a-c). To help evaluate donor-involvement in choice of architect and resultant building, information has been sought (Appendix 3.4): on each architect's origins and training; on the shifting partnerships involved; also considered is the genre, location and style of work contributing to reputation; on previous and subsequent patrons, including interrelationships; and on any personal inclinations that may have influenced a donor's choice of practice. Pevsner's *Buildings of England* (restricted, in the interests of practicality and convenience, to eight volumes covering northwest England [p27, n75]) has been used as gazetteer in assessing each architect's oeuvre, additionally drawing on some judgment of quality and style, proportionately more heavily for architects who remain obscure.\(^{55}\)

Two published autobiographies and five sets of unpublished documents are used to contribute to understanding the context of church-creation during the period and in the location from which each is drawn. They provide insight into how donor and architect may interact and a donor potentially influence an architect's work; an interaction conceptualised for each church as its 'nexus' of donor, church and architect. Thus, prefacing discussion for each group are: Darbyshire's autobiography for Manchester practices;\(^{56}\) Shaw's diaries, and Raines' diaries and journal for

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\(^{53}\) Architects for Moss Side and Royton unknown.

\(^{54}\) Study-churches are found in the following towns surrounding Manchester: Ashton-under-Lyne, Atherton, Bolton, Bury, Leigh, Middleton, Mossley, Oldham, Pendlebury, Pendleton, Ramsbottom, Reddish, Rochdale, Saddleworth, Salford, Swinton and Worsley. Besides Manchester itself, some of these satellite towns – Ashton, Bolton, Middleton, Oldham and Saddleworth – were loci for architectural practices involved in this study.

\(^{55}\) Pevsner footnotes are abbreviated. When referring in the text to original volumes authored by Nikolaus Pevsner himself, with or without others, he is mentioned by name; later volumes by the generic attribution 'Pevsner'. Pevsner's dates for works, including study-churches, often differ from consecration-dates used, in this chapter and elsewhere.

\(^{56}\) Darbyshire (1897).
practices near Manchester; Heywood's diaries, Bodley's letters, and Scott's autobiography for distant practices.

TWELVE MANCHESTER PRACTICES (Appendix 3.4.1)

Alfred Darbyshire's autobiography

This work provides a useful preliminary anchor for Manchester's later-nineteenth-century architectural scene though he provides little detail on his professional life, it not being his intention to inflict on my readers a history ... I shall therefore only allude to that portion of it which has been associated with interesting events and personages of importance with whom I have come in contact.

He accordingly skips lightly over his Quaker upbringing, education and Manchester pupillage with P.B. Alley of the same faith, lingering briefly on the humour pervading that environment. Indeed, from the study's point of view, the chief merit of the memoir, which dwells largely on the theatrical sphere he adored, lies in its picture of later-nineteenth-century Manchester's cultural vitality. Mention of Francis Egerton – pre-dating the two commissions received from him [p34] – is en passant. During Manchester's Royal Jubilee Exhibition (1887), Darbyshire conducted the Prince and Princess of Wales, with their hosts Lord Francis and his wife, over 'Old Manchester and Salford', one of the acclaimed historical 'Shows' he had set up in London and Birmingham as well as Manchester; this one his 'magnum opus' in this line of art.

Two passages illuminate the context within which practices such as his operated. The first concerns architectural style. In the competition for Pendleton town hall he had submitted his Gothic design before taking a last-minute precautionary decision to add a Classical alternative. To his confusion, it was the afterthought – easily the lesser in his eyes – that won. He writes of the 'wholesome lesson' received namely, that mediaeval architecture required a special treatment to adapt it to nineteenth century requirements – the sort of treatment, in fact, that it has received at the hands of Waterhouse, whose high reputation is owing to his skilful adaptation of its spirit and beauty, to the conditions of the time in which we live.

The second, especially pertinent, is a passage commenting on the life of an architect who is 'artistically', rather than simply 'commercially' minded. The architect who desires that good shall come out of the exercise of his noble profession ... leads, compared with that of his commercial brother, a disappointed life. He has to fight with

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57 Shaw (1829-1848); Barrow (2011); Raines (1832-1878).
58 HD (1860-78); Bodley (1874-9).
59 Darbyshire, 45.
60 Darbyshire, 195, and all Chapter 16. See illustration, Salford-Ordsall, 1.
61 Darbyshire, 44-5.
the client who knows what architecture is (or thinks he knows) better than himself; he has to humour the whims of the man who has to 'pay the piper.' and worse than all, he has to work for the client who has only a utilitarian soul …

– a comment Shellard, at least regarding 'whims', might have breathed a half-century earlier over Sumner's interior design for St. John, Bolton – see immediately below.

Of the thirteen individual architects associated in twelve Manchester practices responsible for twenty-two study-churches, only Lowe was born actually in Manchester, and Darbyshire in nearby Salford; the rest were immigrants (Appendix 3.4.1). Ecclesiastical practice formed the staple workload of most of this group, that of the Taylor brothers overwhelmingly so, with thirty-nine churches in the north-west between them. Medland Taylor, who came to Manchester in 1860, became diocesan architect; a biographer attributes to him, besides non-ecclesiastical work, some fifty new churches and ninety additions and alterations. Shellard followed with thirty-three. (Curiously, in view of the success Shellard's churches have had in being Listed – twenty, Grade II; four, II-Star – Pevsner describes him as 'this minor architect'. Only the work of Booth, Lord, and Darbyshire was predominantly secular, the first two being credited in Pevsner with only two churches apiece; Darbyshire with four: one Congregational (1896, now the Coptic church of The Virgin St. Mary & St. Mina, Heaton Moor); and three Anglican, including the Ordsall two for Lord Egerton, St. Cyprian (1899) and St. Ignatius (1903).

In at least one church from most of these practices, donor-influence may be inferred a significant factor. E.H. Shellard was, it seems, virtually pushed aside when it came to the interior design of St. John, Folds Road, Bolton (1849), where the arrangement of the furnishings and nearly all the dimensions were given by Bishop Sumner to … Shellard. The three-tiered reading desk, incorporating the lectern and pulpit, was placed at the west end of the centre circle aisle of the nave, in front of the baptistery, and the pews were made to face each other, north and south as the Parish Church in Cambridge so much loved by the Bishop.

This is unusually informative for a long-demolished church; nothing of the kind exists for Shellard's other study-church, St. Philip, Hulme (1860), also demolished. Of relevance to Shellard's ecclesiology, he is described as '… an architect who wavered between the old and the new'. Right to the end of his professional career, 'he still stood at the watershed between Commissioners' Gothic and Puginian Gothic

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62 Leatherbarrow, 137.
63 Tracy (1899), 222.
64 P09, 42.
65 P04, 231.
66 Dobb, 224; no indication of to which Cambridge church he referred.
67 P69, 30.
and could not make up his mind." Verdict on his non-study-churches seems to confirm minimal sense of progression. For St. John, Werneth (1844-5), some of the detail is 'archaeologically informed'; St. Mary, Droylsden (1846-7), has a 'long chancel'; St. Thomas, Helmshore (1850-1), is 'Typical of the period, with all the accoutrements of an Ecclesiological essay … fully expressed north aisle and chancel'. On the other side, Christ Church, Pennington (1850), has 'still a west gallery' and for Shellard and Brown's later church, St. Mary, Reddish (1862-4), the 'window details are remarkably incorrect'. The lack of certainty thus indicated, together with the very different churchmanship of his two study-church patrons, suggest that Shellard perhaps fell more into Darbyshire's commercial than artistic category.

In the case of J.E. Gregan, one of his two churches studied, St. Peter, Belmont (1850), may be compared with the chancel he designed in 1851 in collaboration with Pugin for St. John, Higher Broughton (1846). The chancel of the former was so ecclesiologically incorrect as to be only twenty-eight percent nave-length, with a paltry four-step elevation, while the latter's features – extending, even, to an Easter Sepulchre – were such as to provoke a perfect storm of anti-Tractarian fury in Bishop James Prince Lee, for whom not only that feature but the crown on the Virgin's head in one of the Pugin-designed stained-glass windows were 'Romish' abominations. Each – the 'various reasons' that made the former chancel so much shorter than originally planned; and the churchmanship responsible for that commissioned for the latter – almost certainly reflected donor-influence. His St. John, Longsight, Manchester (1845-6), draws Pevsner's particular approval: 'A design of archaeological ambition, only a few years after Pugin's St. Wilfrid, Hulme'; his collaboration with W.R. Corson for St. James, Breightmet also merits 'Ecclesiologically correct'; its date (1855-6) suggesting that, as with his second study-church, St. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting (1855), his part in the enterprise was interrupted by death. However, two other of his church-building ventures appear to point in a contrary direction; his extension, a 'short chancel', for the church of

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68 P69, 270.
69 P04, 545-6.
70 P04, 201.
71 P09, 327.
72 P06, 229.
73 P04, 581.
74 P04, 65; see also Boyd, theses (2005).
75 Chancel- proportional to nave-length is henceforth parenthesised as percentages, without further explanation.
76 BOLTON-Belmont, 3, 18.
77 P04, 156.
Emmanuel, Daubhill, Bolton (1848); and his design the same year for St. Peter, Inskip (1848), which reaps the comment:

surprisingly for this architect at this time it seems to have been of the pre-archaeological type, i.e. without expressed chancel (contrast with St. John, Longsight, Manchester, a year earlier).

In fact, varied ecclesiological performance suggests Gregan may also have been more amenable than some to donor-influence, a hypothesis possibly lent weight by his three commissions from Benjamin Heywood for projects close to that donor's heart.

J.S. Crowther's winning the commission for St. Benedict, Ardwick (1880), is reported to have been so that a church strictly according to John Bennett's preferences could be created. But another hand seems to have been at least partly responsible for the church's design:

Having assumed responsibility for the new church, Mr. Bennett turned to his fourth son, a draughtsman, for plans for the church and clergy-house.

The plans of this son, Tom (Thomas Armitage) Bennett were

eventually submitted to Mr. J.S. Crowther, the Architect commissioned by the Founder, and the final design was almost identical to Tom's original plans.

Architectural ambiguity apart, Alderman Bennett's clear vision of a building

plain but massive [with] a shell which would be standing years after many cheap, "dressy" churches had crumbled to ruins

his equally clear churchmanship-related requirements, discussed below [p215-16], leave donor-self-image at Ardwick in little doubt. Ecclesiologically St. Benedict's is mixed: stylistic incorrectness described (allegedly by Crowther himself) as 'Early Geometric Decorated of the year 1245', as against correctness in highly generous chancel (58%) and chancel-screen [plate 39a]. It is notable that, detracting at least somewhat from presumption of donor-influence in St. Benedict's, Crowther's much earlier study-church, St. Mary, Hulme (1858; demolished) almost exactly matches Ardwick in 'Early Geometric Pointed' architecture, as well as elevation and chancel screen; even chancel-proportion (58%) very near Ardwick's. The churchmanship implications involved, in donor, church and architect, are discussed elsewhere [p215-16].

Crowther's reputation in Manchester rests chiefly on his cathedral restoration, which he died before completing, and also before completing its posthumously-

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78 P04, 160.
79 P09, 353.
80 MANCHESTER-Ardwick, 5.
81 MANCHESTER-Ardwick, 2.
82 P04, 358; quotation unreferenced.
83 P01, 295.
published history, illustrated with plans and elevations by his own hand.\(^{84}\) Besides that, he had a serious enough interest in Gothic architecture to have published, with Henry Bowman, *Churches of the Middle Ages* (1845, 1853). He began, in partnership with Bowman, designing Unitarian churches, including Leeds' Mill Hill Chapel.\(^{85}\) After setting up independently, however, his speciality, as 'one of Manchester's most serious students of Gothic [was building] high and noble churches in the suburbs',\(^{86}\) including St. Philip's church in Alderley Edge (1852), the village in which he settled, building himself Redclyffe Grange (1854).\(^{87}\)

Finally, Simon Killwick, rector of Christ Church, Moss Side (re-consecrated 1903),\(^{88}\) on being asked about its change of churchmanship since foundation, suggested it might have had something to do with the replacement church's architect, Cecil W. Hardisty, a member of 'the congregation of the Anglo-Catholic church of St. Benedict'. Supporting this is Hardisty's being one of two parishioners of St. Benedict's who designed a lectern for it.\(^{89}\) Bennett's St. Benedict, despite its standing shell, is long gone; longer still, Gardner's Christ Church and its churchmanship. But their tangled history leaves intriguing traces in an inner-city climbing centre and, two miles away, a very different Christ Church.

Diversity in the Taylors' nine churches suggests donor-influence. Comparing Medland's extant study-churches St. Stephen, Kearsley Moor (1871) and St. Edmund, Falinge (1873), the former betrays nothing of the Blair brothers' known Freemasonry; the latter is designed according to strict Masonic principles in which, though a 'masterwork of J. Medland Taylor', Royds and his first incumbent played a significant part [p114] [plate 39b]. Two other of their churches, also – Walton's at Haughton Green (1876) and Sidebotham's at neighbouring Haughton (1882) – not only contrast in churchmanship but, particularly the latter, show clear donor-influence [p102, 61-2].

Suggestive, too, of donor-preference, the Taylor study-churches show ecclesiological diversity. Thus, architectural style (unknown or irrelevant in three) is 'incorrect' in five, Decorated at Kearsley and Falinge. Chancel-proportions are Kearsley (39%), Falinge (44%), Haughton (49%), Haughton Green (56% – a little startling in a church thought of generally as Low) and finally Ashton-under-Lyne Holy Trinity (1878), with its extended narthex (80%). Chancel-elevation is four-stepped at Kearsley and Haughton Green; five- at Falinge; six- at Balderstone and

\(^{84}\) Crowther (1893).
\(^{85}\) 'Mill', websites.
\(^{86}\) P04, 260, 65.
\(^{87}\) 'Alderley', websites.
\(^{88}\) Site-visit (24/7/2012).
\(^{89}\) P01, 296.
Haughton and seven- at Ashton; in chancel-furnishings, Kearsley and Balderstone have both sedilia and credence, while St. Anne, Haughton has sedilia, credence and aumbry. Many, but not all, these churches have screens, mostly low.

Of John Lowe, nothing specific has emerged to illumine the question of donor-involvement with his two study-churches, St. Luke, Chorlton-upon-Medlock (1865) and St. James, Collyhurst (1874), both demolished. However, he may have been open to donor-influence, being 'always ready to study the views of his clients, and, if possible, meet their wishes'. Ecclesiologically, however, he seems to have followed his own preferences, each cutting a dismal figure in terms of chancel; Chorlton's (33%) would just have passed muster, but the Camdenians (had they reviewed the church) would have been unimpressed by Collyhurst's (30%); a five-step chancel-elevation in each, on the other hand, would have been acceptable.

Lowe, the architect with connections nearest to exclusively Mancunian, inherited the practice of Richard Lane, under whom he trained along with Alfred Waterhouse. With a mainly ecclesiastical and educational practice, he never soared into the troubled regions of aesthetic architecture. He was eminently matter-of-fact and practical. It was said that his estimates were invariably reliable; that his work was thoroughly sound. … His early motto, 'Mens conscia recti,' was the motto of his professional life.

Cecil Stewart in the mid-twentieth century wrote so damning an indictment as to merit quoting in full:

Certainly the bulk of church architecture in Manchester which was built between 1860 and 1875 could not be classed as Gothic "re-vivified". It followed in the footsteps of Scott by applying with tiresome fidelity the mouldings, the tracery and the pinnacles of English Earliest Decorated. Such is the work of John Lowe and Medland Taylor. Both had large church practices and built in regrettably imperishable materials. Both were responsible for most of the dreariest Victorian churches in Manchester – churches which are impeccably correct in detail, built to last until the Day of Judgment, and very, very dull.

Where Taylor is concerned, this view is curious to say the least, 'rougishness' being surely the inverse of 'dull'? But, regarding Lowe, Pevsner seems to agree, describing as 'terribly mechanical-looking' his 1883 rebuilding of All Hallows, Blackpool (among thirteen other Anglican commissions: nine churches; four extensions or alterations). Darbyshire would surely have taken the point.

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90 'H.B.', in The Manchester City News (7/2/1920).
92 'H.B.', in The Manchester City News (7 February 1920).
93 Stewart (1956), 94.
94 P09, 555.
Lawrence Booth, serving pupillage 'at Oldham under Mr. Stott',\footnote{Obit. *JRIBA* 1 (1894), 618.} is cited for St. Thomas, Pimhole (1866), and Christ Church, Walshaw (1892), respectively as 'Lawrence Booth of Blackwell, Son and Booth' and 'Lawrence Booth of Booth and Chadwick',\footnote{P04, 184, 671.} suggesting he acted independently of partners Isaac Blackwell and Thomas Chadwick. Though donor-involvement in either church lacks referential evidence, Walshaw, described as Booth's *chef d'oeuvre*,\footnote{P04, 68; for detail of the church, see also 175, 671.} provides interesting contrast between ecclesiological correctness in some respects and the nave

as wide as the preaching-houses of the Nonconformists [and in the] stained glass, the complete didactic scheme, each window with its biblical reference, [all] in place at the consecration.\footnote{P04, 671.}

and a tablet unambiguously witnessing to the donors' Evangelical agenda [p62]. The many signs proclaiming donor-influence are contained in Booth's patchily ecclesiological building. His two study-churches, consecrated twenty-six years apart, have identically-proportioned chancels of a generous 44% but, whereas Pimhole has a five-step elevation, Walshaw's is eight-stepped – imparting, again, slightly mixed signals regarding donor-influence.

Beyond what Pevsner\footnote{P04, 58, 83, 181, 175, 319; P09, 626; P71, 128; P69, 340.} records of Blackwell and Chadwick's almost entirely secular oeuvre (as Booth's successive partners), nothing is known of either. In the latter firm, however, Booth was responsible for far more. Apart from the two churches already mentioned and some secular works,\footnote{P04, 61, 212, 360, 513.} he designed a signed Masonic mausoleum outside Holy Trinity, Little Lever for Laurence Newall, Grand Master (died 1871);\footnote{P04, 249.} and an extension for St. Mary, Rawtenstall (1881).\footnote{P09, 554.} Nothing is known of his churchmanship.

The 'H. Lord'\footnote{BR 17/1/1880, 84.} responsible for All Saints, Newton Heath's chancel-extension (1880) is presumably Henry Lord\footnote{Tracy (1899), 214.} who, born in Chester, would have followed his father Henry Hardman Lord into engineering had not illness deflected him into architecture. Setting up in Manchester in 1871, his oeuvre included several board-schools besides St. George, Oldham Road, Manchester (1877);\footnote{Ibid.} Holy Rood, Swinton (1911); and a United Reform Church in Palatine Road, Manchester (1901-}
His inclusion at Newton Heath of arms and credence [p128] suggests Taylor to have wielded at least some influence. Lord's churchmanship is also unknown.

Last of this group of Manchester architects is Alfred Darbyshire himself. The stage his main interest, he had considered acting as a profession, instead contenting himself with amateur dramatics and theatre-design. Conceivably associated with his Quakerism, sole exceptions to secular practice in northwest England were his study-churches – both in Ordsall, for Wilbraham Egerton – St. Cyprian (1899; demolished), and, with Frederick Bennett Smith, St. Ignatius (1903). Of the former, no information survives about the design – presumably Darbyshire's own – while the latter, as copy of a church Egerton had seen in San Borgadeira, Italy, is clear evidence of donor-influence.

EIGHT PRACTICES IN TOWNS SURROUNDING MANCHESTER (Appendix 3.4.2)

*The Saddleworth/Milnrow manuscripts*

Providing vivid background to considering donor-influence on the work of the eight practices located in the towns surrounding Manchester (Appendix 3.4.2), are Shaw's and Raines' diaries. George Shaw was the son of a prosperous Saddleworth clothier, for whose business he was travelling salesman until interest in antiquities, romantic literature and architecture drew him in his late thirties, entirely self-taught, to architectural practice. With this he combined the allied trades of builder, contractor and church-furnisher, the last at his Uppermill workshop. Of John Radcliffe Shaw, responsible with George for St. James, Gorton, and sole architect for All Saints, Gorton, only bald facts of birth, christening and parentage are known, identifying him as George's younger brother.

The diaries draw an unusually full picture of the young George – his activities, interests and inclinations – and allow valuable insights into personal relationships and a glimpse of life on Manchester's Pennine fringe during the few years preceding this study. The friendship that, above all others, scores a seam through the text, particularly earlier entries, is that with curate and fellow-antiquarian Francis Raines, later vicar of Milnrow and, later still, honorary canon of Manchester Cathedral.

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106 P04, 661, 443.
107 'Darbyshire', *ODNB* and (1897), main sources.
108 Salford–Ordsall, 2.
110 Hyde & Petford, 36ff, important source for Shaw. Thanks to Alan Petford, Saddleworth Historical Society archivist, for telephone and email advice, especially in directing me to Shaw's diaries.
111 John Radcliffe Shaw (born 15/1/1830); christened Saddleworth (12/4/1830) – 'Shaw', websites.
112 *ODNB.*
Architectural practice and cultural life in this Pennine-foothill area are vividly illuminated through Shaw's connection with the Whitehead donor-family, first apparent when his diaries briefly resume, in summer 1848, after a thirteen-year gap. Reading as if the relationship is long-established, the entry describes a visit to Oxford via Manchester with 'Heywood' (James Heywood Whitehead, his exact contemporary and, with his brothers, a fellow-native of the stretch of country embracing Saddleworth and Rochdale):

Saturday July 22nd … left home this evening at four o'clock with Heywood Whitehead in his dray for Manchester & thence by the [?Evening] Train on to Birm[ing]ham – thence by Express on to Tewkesbury Gloucestershire and here we are at the [?]Severn Hotel very comfortable & cosy over a cup of Tea at 11 o'clock.

The Sunday, in Oxford, was packed with activity; religious observance, sightseeing – and also business. The two friends looked round 'this old historical town' before meeting Heywood's brother Ralph 'at the Railway Station by appointment'. Fitted in around the two church services and further sightseeing by George and Heywood, serious discussion clearly took place, and may even have been the main reason for the visit. Even less legibly than usual, Shaw scrawls:

Ralph Whitehead who poor fellow is dreadfully cut up with asthma is travelling about to find a Clergyman suitable to take Charge of the new district he & his brother are endowing in Saddleworth & my errand with [illegible] is to see what I can of some Churches he much admires before drawing out the plans for their intended new one.

It is notable that, unlike with Raines (always 'Mr.' Raines, just as, in Raines's diaries, his younger friend is 'Mr. Shaw'), James Heywood Whitehead is never anything but 'Heywood', suggesting long-standing, even boyhood, friendship. Over July and August 1848, George Shaw and Heywood Whitehead were frequently together: July 28, a second trip to Oxford; August 5, enjoying a walk; August 11, to church with him ' & others'. Other members of the Whitehead family featured in Shaw's everyday life:

7th August Accompanied Miss Marianne Whitehead [Heywood's aunt Mary Anne, d. 1857], Mr. Dicken [Heywood's youngest brother, John Dicken Whitehead, b. 1814] – Mrs. John Dicken - & Heywood to the consecration of Wallsden Church … The whole affair passed off well and the [?]dinner & luncheon after also. – 300 sat down in the school … The Bishop very complementary [sic] about the church.

His church, meanwhile, was clearly still at the early planning stage:

Friday Aug 11 Called at [illegible] to see Ralph Whitehead come from Theseecombe Lodge to the [illegible]. Church to proceed at leisure.

The diaries' last entry sees Shaw dining with Ralph and others in Friezland:

14th August [illegible] down to Royal George & dined at [illegible] with Ralph – Mr. Crompton, Mr. & Mrs. Loe Lawton & More. – Mr. Mansfield clergyman at Mayden also there …

113 The complexity of naming distinctions is shown by Shaw's referring to the eldest Whitehead, a year his senior, as 'Ralph' while the youngest, John Dicken, is 'Mr. Dicken' – possibly because Dicken is already married with, by then on the scene, a 'Mrs. John Dicken' – note, not 'Mrs. Dicken'.

114 The Whitehead family's mill in Friezland.
In the diaries, then, lies ample evidence of Shaw's close – even intimate – friendship with at least one family of patrons, the Whitehead brothers – its tone suggesting an easy, sociable relationship. He has, however, been described as 'slightly marginalised all his life';\(^{115}\) primarily, it seems, in the professional marginalisation he may have experienced as a self-schooled architect come late to the profession. But, long before this change, his personal hopes became blighted by a bitter family dispute.

Tues July 12 [1832] My father & I were going to Manchester to see a lawyer … as my uncle Buckley's unjust demand of compound interest on a legacy debt …

and, a few weeks later:

I shall feel very much grieved if I cannot marry my cousin Louisa but if my uncle persists in his exorbitant demand I cannot think for a moment of it.\(^{116}\)

George never married.\(^{117}\) This disappointment, together with disaffection with travelling for the business, may have contributed as powerfully as – or perhaps even more than – antiquarianism to his decision to change profession. Despite this, and a streak of gloom and pessimism evident in many entries, Shaw achieved fair distinction as an architect.\(^{118}\)

Raines's diaries demonstrate, besides friendship with Shaw, intimacy between people whose names occur and recur in this study. Shortly after leaving Saddleworth for Rochdale:

As I had a small parcel for Miss Dearden … I went to The Orchard with it … Miss D. and a younger brother came in. Very civil and I think, kind but reserved. … Miss D. played some fine airs on the piano.\(^{119}\)

A month later, wearing a different hat, he

Went for the first time to Mr. Clement Royd's of Green Hill, to give instructions [sic] to two of his sons, who are going to Rugby School.

educational efforts interrupted, however:

for the last three weeks the elder pupil has been labouring under a rheumatic fever, consequently I have not attended to his MIND.\(^{120}\)

These sources combine to demonstrate how, in the territory to the east of Manchester, an architect, incumbent (not, as it happened, of a church for which Shaw

\(^{115}\) Hyde & Petford, 36.
\(^{116}\) GSD 3, 217.
\(^{117}\) 'Shaw (1876).
\(^{118}\) Hyde & Petford, 41-52.
\(^{119}\) Barrow (2008), extract 62 (19/7/1829); Jane Elizabeth Dearden's father was James Dearden (1798-1862), donor later of Shaw-designed St. James, Calderbrook; another visit is recorded (26/8/1829), 66.\(^{120}\) Extracts 64 (19/8/1829); 68 (10/12/1829); upper case original. This, presumably, was Albert Hudson Royds (then aged eight), donor later of St. Edmund, Falinge. Royds quartering on the Dearden shield (displayed at St. James, Calderbrook, south nave, no photograph available) indicates a marriage connection between these two Rochdale donor-families.
himself acted), and a handful of donors were far from isolated entities. This forms the context for considering the eight study-practices surrounding Manchester.

George Shaw's largely local practice, almost exclusively ecclesiastical, comprised eighteen churches, dated between 1846 (Birtle, Rochdale)\textsuperscript{121} to 1871 (study-church St. James, Gorton).\textsuperscript{122} Bringing the tally to twenty are the Friezland and Greenfield study-churches, absent from any of the eight Pevsners consulted.

Shaw's relationship with James Dearden, senior (1798-1862), has a very different flavour from that with the Whiteheads [p172-3]. In 1847-9, long before Dearden's posthumously-realised St. James the Great, Calderbrook (opened 1865; consecrated 1870), he and Shaw had engaged in a flight of fancy and deception [p235-6] at the very time Shaw must also have been engaged in the earnest Whiteheads' Friezland project. Nothing in the diaries so much as hints at the escapade. Of Shaw's dealings with other study-patrons there is little or no evidence save a sense, albeit speculative, of a good professional relationship laced with antiquarian interest in the enjoyment [p124-5] he derived from constructing the pseudo-baronial chapel (1862) for Oldham Whittaker at St. John the Evangelist, Hurst.

Shaw's study-churches falter ecclesiologically, particularly in chancel-elevation, with only three-steps at Friezland (1850), Calderbrook (1870), Gorton St. James (1871) and Greenfield (1875); five at Hurst Brook (1865) and Prestolee (1863). Chancel-nave ratio is little better: respectable at Friezland and Greenfield (40% and 38% respectively); barely so at Prestolee (34%); inadequate at both Hurst Brook and Gorton (32% and 30%); and derisory at Calderbrook (25%). No chancel furnishings are found except at Friezland and Gorton, each with sedilia and credence. Style alone scores highly: all Decorated save Prestolee, condemned as 'First Pointed'.\textsuperscript{123}

It is apparent that – at least in some cases, judging by Christ Church, Friezland and the Hurst extension – Shaw was capable of entering into the spirit of what a donor sought; suggestive, in other words, of considerable donor-influence. Other conclusions may be drawn: that Shaw, the 'rogue',\textsuperscript{124} was possibly disdainful of what had become ecclesiologically fashionable, preferring to go his own way; that his was far from Darbyshire's 'commercial' position; and that what truly interested and motivated him was the antiquarian dimension. A further conclusion, concerning his churchmanship, is discussed below [p220-223].

\textsuperscript{121} P04, 131.
\textsuperscript{122} P04, 370-371.
\textsuperscript{123} E 5, 154.
\textsuperscript{124} P04, 67.
John Eaton\textsuperscript{125} – not to be confused with his architect-son, also John (died 1905) – was professionally based at Ashton-under-Lyne, only six or seven miles from Saddleworth. His circle must have overlapped Shaw's, his exact contemporary with identical lifespan; their Denshaw and Prestolee churches consecrated the same year (1863). Initially educated for Church of Scotland ministry, he represented the fourth generation in the family building business, moving to Ashton where, in 1839, he established his own business and by 1851 was employing a forty-four-strong workforce, having added architectural design to building. Besides secular, he had a 'flourishing ecclesiastical practice', major works being a Baptist chapel and Roman Catholic church in Ashton, and several Anglican parsonages. Christ Church, Denshaw, both designed and built by him – allowing considerable saving in cost – is considered 'his most successful, and certainly his best preserved church';\textsuperscript{126} it is absent from Pevsner. Donor-influence is seen in the Gartside-chapel, complete with interior burial-vault. It is ecclesiologically well above average: Decorated style and, though lacking eucharistic furnishings, chancel raised by six steps, its proportional length (62\%), the study's second-highest.

In Freeman/Cunliffe and Freeman's two Bolton study-churches, St. Bartholomew, Westhoughton (re-consecrated 1870 – internal dimensions among its few known details after burning down), and Sts. Simon and Jude, Great Lever (1901), chancel-nave proportion is much smaller (both 36\%). Such equality in churches by the same practice for different donors suggests little donor-influence, at least in that aspect. Great Lever is ecclesiologically mixed: five-stepped chancel elevation, a credence and even a low screen, but with east-nave font.

The Cunliffe and Freeman partnership features only four times in Pevsner,\textsuperscript{127} including another Bolton church besides St. Bartholomew. Ignorance prevails regarding both study-church and partnership. Outside Bolton, the partnership undertook only the 'admirable tower' for Radcliffe St. Thomas and St. John (1871-2)\textsuperscript{128} and, Cunliffe alone, the congregational church at Egerton (1873-4).\textsuperscript{129} Only name and death-date are known of George Cunliffe.\textsuperscript{130}

Freeman's obituary\textsuperscript{131} states his career to have begun in Derby, though a current researcher's website and consequent correspondence\textsuperscript{132} describe him as born

\textsuperscript{125} OLDHAM-Denshaw, 5, 87 – main source.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{127} P04, 675, 147; P69, 420, 84.
\textsuperscript{128} P04, 573.
\textsuperscript{129} P04, 215.
\textsuperscript{130} 'BAL'; websites.
\textsuperscript{131} 'Freeman' (1904).
in Stepney and, articled to George Rake of Portsea, setting up practice in Bolton around 1865, living initially in Manchester Road and then at Haulgh Hall, where his office seems also to have been temporarily located. Both sources agree on his 1882 RIBA election (the latter giving his nominators, including Booth and Darbyshire); his Manchester diocesan surveyorship for ecclesiastical dilapidations; and his presidency or vice-presidency of the Manchester Society of Architects (1890-1891). Valuable is the modern source's information of political conservatism and High Churchmanship [p236]. Twenty-six north-western commissions\textsuperscript{133} include eighteen ecclesiastical, among them a school-chapel, three extensions and a tower; two more are absent from Pevsner: St. Mark, Worsley (1884 restoration) and St. Jude, Preston (1893). He also designed St. John the Baptist, San Remo (1900).\textsuperscript{134} Pevsner's judgment on his churches outside the present study ranges from disappointment – 'rather charmless',\textsuperscript{135} of St. Margaret, Hollinwood (1880) – to praise for Holy Trinity, Blackpool (1894-5), his 'chef-d'oeuvre'.\textsuperscript{136} Though 'Dec' in several signifies ecclesiological correctness, the Great Lever study-church is described tersely as 'Perp', and a 'short, unbuttressed chancel' is added in 1903 to Holy Trinity, Horwich.\textsuperscript{137}

Though presumably the architect of that name listed professionally,\textsuperscript{138} confusion surrounds 'H. Cockbain', architect for St. Thomas, Moorside (1872).\textsuperscript{139} Pevsner attributes Moorside to 'Cockburn' (an error repeated, though elsewhere 'Cockbain' correctly noted)\textsuperscript{140} – and also what is described as St. Paul, Royton's 'present building ... 1884-9';\textsuperscript{141} a project unmentioned elsewhere.\textsuperscript{142} The extent of his northwestern oeuvre is Moorside, three other ecclesiastical works (and, possibly, Royton). He restored St. John the Baptist, Lees, near Oldham (1865), a church subsequently burnt down which a comment – 'unfortunately made respectable in 1865 by H. Cockburn [sic]'\textsuperscript{143} – hardly suggests to have been a great loss. He built, seemingly de novo, the church of King Charles the Martyr, Peak Castle (1876-7),

\textsuperscript{132} David French, 'Freeman', websites.
\textsuperscript{133} See P04, P09, P69), entries indexed under 'Freeman, Richard Knill'.
\textsuperscript{134} BR87 (9/7/1904), 46-7.
\textsuperscript{135} P04, 546; P09, 96.
\textsuperscript{136} P09, 134-6.
\textsuperscript{137} See P69, 87; P04, 159, 241.
\textsuperscript{138} BAL: DDA, 'Henry Cockbain (fl. 1868-1880). Tideswell (Derbyshire): Church of Saint John the Baptist, measured drawings (10), 1876' [BAL, VOS/215].
\textsuperscript{139} Wyke, 341; \textbf{OLDHAM-MOORSIDE}, 3, 14.
\textsuperscript{140} P04, 544, P69, 360; Lees – P04, 245; P69, 135; P79a, 86.
\textsuperscript{141} P04, 612; P69, 382.
\textsuperscript{142} Wyke, 341: 'consecrated 1757; restored 1854'; chancel-extension. Wyke also omits the chancel-extension with Holden memorial east window (1883; architect-unknown) qualifying Royton for study inclusion – \textbf{OLDHAM-ROYTON}, 1.
\textsuperscript{143} P69, 134-5; P04, 245.
and, finally, 'over-restored' St. Anne, Beeley (1882-4).\textsuperscript{144} Ecclesiologically, Moorside's inadequate chancel (30\%) is balanced by five-stepped elevation, credence-table and Middle Pointed style. It seems likely Cockbain would have known Shaw, Middleton being only about ten miles from Saddleworth; their churches chronologically coinciding.

Despite description as 'a well known Oldham architect',\textsuperscript{145} John Wild, like Cockbain, is little known, either singly or partnering Joe Collins. The year the equally obscure Collins joined him in partnership (1876), Wild was individually responsible for study-church St. Mark, Glodwick (1876).\textsuperscript{146} Besides study-churches St. John the Baptist, Roughtown, and St. Mark, Heyside, they designed St. Mary, Crompton and Shaw, now part of Oldham, commended as 'Dec'\textsuperscript{147} (all 1878); Oldham's St. Paul, Hathershaw (1879-80),\textsuperscript{148} and St. Paul, Ashton Road (1880).\textsuperscript{149} The practice's local emphasis is clear from this record but of churchmanship or relations with patrons no evidence has emerged. Ecclesiologically, the Glodwick church would have reaped approval for its chancel (59\%), five-step elevation, sedilia and credence, but its Early English architectural style might have disappointed, though dating (opened 1876) from after the ecclesiologists had somewhat relaxed on that score. In that respect, Roughtown, their first study-church, rates fairly highly, with Middle Pointed style, five-step elevation and credence; Heyside (a Weston-super-Mare copy [p195]), badly.

SIXTEEN NON-MANCHESTER PRACTICES (Appendix 3.4.3)

The Heywood/Bodley papers

Relevant to practices besides the one directly involved are further extracts from the journal (1860-1878) of Edward Stanley Heywood and letters (1874-1879) Bodley wrote him regarding St. Augustine, Pendlebury, affording glimpses into their interactions in the planning process and useful general background for this group. Scott's memoirs [p181-2] are also relevant.

Bodley's work in northwest England began in 1861 owing to an earlier friendship, as Cambridge undergraduates, between his brother and brother-in-law

\begin{footnotes}
\item [144] P53, 86.
\item [145] 'New Mills', websites.
\item [146] 'BAL', websites.
\item [147] P04, 194.
\item [148] P04, 547.
\item [149] P69, 360.
\end{footnotes}
and Alfred Dewes, subsequently incumbent of Christ Church, Pendlebury, where the Heywood family worshipped. Accordingly, when the Heywoods proposed funding a new steeple and saddleback-roof for Christ Church, it was Dewes who suggested his university friend's architect-brother. As Hall comments,

The way that Dewes brings Bodley in to change the design ... suggests that he [Dewes] was a fairly forceful person, given that he was new in the parish and there was a rich family paying for a design that they must have approved.

Bodley's relationship with the Heywoods in Pendlebury, concerning Christ Church in the early 1860s and St. Augustine's – for Edward Stanley, Benjamin Heywood's fourth son – in the mid-1870s, demonstrates how a flourishing London architect, ecclesiological to the core, conducted provincial business in the mid-nineteenth century. The week-by-week, even day-to-day detail of how this was enacted is illuminated by the diaries.

Though St. Augustine's was a partnership-job, Garner hardly features. It appears to have been with Bodley alone that a close, if not intimate, relationship developed [plate 40]. The first mention of him occurs in late 1860:

Nov. 30 Mr. & Miss Dewes & Mr. Bodley dined with us.

Later, commissioned to improve the interior of Edward Heywood's home, Light Oaks, the relationship had progressed to house-guest terms:

April 13 Went to tea with Mr. and Miss Dewes. Mr. Bodley was there he came to Light Oaks to sleep.

In 1869 when Bodley, again, was often there, Heywood remarks solicitously,

Dec. 8 Mr. Bodley & Mr. Shaw came to us. Bodley is very lame & has to use crutches.

And in 1870 Heywood writes of Louisa's approach to Bodley concerning further domestic work:

Feb. 15 Made plans for the future and talked over the proposed change of our rooms
– Louisa wrote to Mr. Bodley asking his advice.

Frequent entries from 1868 to 1870 mentioning the comings and goings of 'Mr. Bodley and Mr. Kempe' to Liverpool make clear that the pair would often base themselves at Great Oaks while working on Bodley's Tue Brook church there. In June, 1870, a great difficulty overtakes that project:

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150 Later becoming first-incumbent at St. Augustine, and eventually Edward Heywood's brother-in-law.
151 Deemed insufficient to qualify for admittance to this study.
152 P04, 561.
153 Email (19/2/2013).
154 HD.
155 HD (1860). 'Miss Dewes', Alfred Dewes' sister.
156 Heywood's home – HD (1863).
157 'Kempe', ODNB – stained-glass and other church-decorative specialist, he collaborated closely with Bodley in many projects, Tue Brook among the most important.
June 26  Heard last night with great sorrow that the Bishop of Chester has refused to consecrate Mr. Bodley's new church at West Derby. This has been a work faithfully carried out by Mr. B[odley] & Mr. Kempe & the refusal to consecrate is a great blow.

followed next day by

June 27  Mr. Kempe went up to London yesterday afternoon. He tells me that though the decorations at Liverpool are very handsome there is really nothing illegal or unorthodox in them.

The diaries contain rather fewer references to Bodley thereafter, curiously even during the period when St. Augustine was being constructed. There is little about the plans, though Heywood comments regularly on progress.

The friendly relationship between Bodley and Heywood, and the extent to which the architect was attentive to his patron's wishes, is evidenced, too, by extracts from Bodley's letters:

14 South Square
Grays Inn. W.C.  June 11[?] 1874

Dear Mr. Heywood,

I ought to have sooner answered your query about a book of directions for colours etc. There is Dr. Lee's "Directorium" a large book & very advanced. It w[ould] contain what you want, but more also. I posted a little almanack wh[ich] contains some directions. …

[Athenaeum Club writing-paper] 24 Church Row  June 3 1876
Hampstead
London NW

… We sh[ould] like to begin the reredos panels as soon as possible now - please let us hear if what is proposed is consonant with your wishes. GFB

Was the relationship with Heywood typical of Bodley's provincial practice? Extracts from his letters of the 1860s discussing All Saints, Selsey, with its Evangelically-inclined donor Sir William Marling ring familiarly, as does Marling's invitation 'to stay at Stanley Park whenever he was in the area.' Any such genial collaboration was, however, lacking at Tue Brook, where Bodley's client was incumbent J.C. Reade, who met the £25,000 cost out of the family-fortune derived through his wife, Eliza Ann, née Thornton, herself, as a married woman, legally barred from inheritance. It was she – perhaps motivated by the fortune's Evangelically-coloured origins (deriving from 'her grandfather, Samuel Thornton [1754-1838], a leading merchant in the Baltic trade, governor of the Bank of England and a member of the Clapham Sect') – who publicly supported the bishop of Chester's apparently more political than sectarian objections to allegedly Anglo-

158 Purchas (2nd edn., 1865).
159 Burbery, theses (2007), 118, 120.
160 Pace P06, 477, who – possibly not unreasonably – gives his wife as donor.
161 Ironically, the Act ending the ancient legislation occurred in the year the church was completed – 'Married', websites.
Catholic elements in the church's decorative scheme, delaying consecration, as suggested in the Heywood diaries, until the offensive items were removed.\(^{162}\)

In sum, therefore, Bodley's and Heywood's personal relationship, originating from university connections not open to a George Shaw, appears to have been in easy harmony, Bodley's sensitive accommodation of Heywood's wishes for the church indicating positive donor-church-identity. Hall thinks '... the relationship with E[dward] S[tanley] H[eywood] was unusually close ...' and suggests only Bodley's relation with his Hoar Cross patroness was roughly equivalent.\(^{163}\) Sources reveal resistance, sometimes extreme, to patronal input into other church building. On his death a former pupil, besides extolling his 'rare taste',\(^{164}\) describes the occasion when Bodley instructed him, *vis-à-vis* corrective annotations to plans by a patron of considerable prestige:

Simpson, will you please rub out these rude pencil notes, and then I will send the specification back.\(^{165}\)

As for Bodley's own writings,\(^{166}\) it is hard to see any concession to a donor's preferences in his description of architectural practice.

> Your building is to be for all time … shut your eyes, and, with the mind's eye, call up the vision of the edifice as entire and as complete as it will stand. … the building … has stamped itself upon your imagination. Here and there you may suppress an idea or control a thought, finding it is not wanted, or, if used, it may jar with the conception of your mind.\(^{167}\)

It is true that one of the thirteen 'principles and characteristics of architectural design' he lays before the students he addresses is 'Suitability', elaborated as

> to suit your design to the place it is meant for, and to the surroundings among which you are to build.\(^{168}\)

but it is 'among which', not 'for whom', to which he concedes.

Though perhaps hard to equate the Bodley of these stern, almost cold, pronouncements with the man who regularly graced Edward Heywood's table, fresh examination reveals that it is Kempe and Shaw\(^{169}\) – never Bodley himself – who merit comments such as:

> Mon 30  Mr Shaw came to us he is Mr Kempe's junior or sub – these two gentlemen are much interested in the work they have undertaken – church decoration – they are very pleasant guests & excellent company

\(^{162}\) Michael Hall, to whom my thanks for, in addition to much else, sending me this section in preparation; see now-published Hall, 143-4.

\(^{163}\) Michael Hall, email (18/2/2013).

\(^{164}\) Simpson (1908), 146.

\(^{165}\) Ibid., 154.

\(^{166}\) Bodley, (November 1899-October 1900), 128-140.

\(^{167}\) Ibid, 129.

\(^{168}\) Ibid, 132, 136.

\(^{169}\) William Maynard Shaw, 'described by E.S. Heywood ... as "Mr. Kempe's junior or sub".' – HD (30/4/1866), *cit.* Hall, 143.
May 13 (Sun)     Mr Kempe left us. We shall miss his pleasant company very much.\textsuperscript{170}

Perhaps what sums Bodley up is 'dignity'; a term that catches the eye in the report of a valedictory speech by another one-time pupil:

He was little known either outside the [Royal] Institute [of British Architechts] or in it; his intimates were few; but it was happily his (Mr. Warren's) fortune to be among that number, and one could not know him without appreciating his dignity of character, his dignity of presence, and his extraordinary and unique talent.\textsuperscript{171}

\textit{George Gilbert Scott's recollections}\textsuperscript{172}

Scott [plate 41] describes his first church, succeeding professional training in London (1827-1831) and some secular experience,\textsuperscript{173} as dating from the same year with the foundation of the Cambridge Camden Society [1839] … I only wish I had known its founders at the time. As it was, no idea of ecclesiastical arrangement, or ritual propriety, had then even crossed my mind.\textsuperscript{174}

Designs for his next six churches (1839-40) were, he writes, self-disgustedly,

by no means similar, but they all agreed in … the absence of any regular and proper chancel, my grave idea being that this feature was obsolete. They all agreed too in the meagreness of their construction, in the contemptible character of their fittings, in most of them being begalleried to the very eyes, and in the use of plaster for internal mouldings, even for the pillars.\textsuperscript{175}

And then came his 'awakening', deriving from two causes operating almost simultaneously: my first acquaintance with the Cambridge Camden Society, and my reading Pugin's articles in the "London Review."

Scott describes how, 'introduced, I believe, by Edward Boyce', he wrote to Webb after happening to read one of his articles and a meeting took place, his account of it nicely conveying, especially in the double '&c., &c.', Webb's character:

Mr. Webb took advantage of the occasion to lecture me on church architecture in general, on the necessity of chancels, &c., &c. I at once saw that he was right, and became a reader of the "Ecclesiologist." Pugin's articles excited me almost to fury, and I suddenly found myself like a person awakened from a long feverish dream, which had rendered him unconscious of what was going on about him.\textsuperscript{176}

Soon after this, he found an excuse to write to Pugin himself

and to my almost tremulous delight, I was invited to call. He was tremendously jolly, and showed almost too much \textit{bonhomie} to accord with my romantic expectations. I very rarely saw him again, though I became a devoted reader of his written, and visitor of his erected works, and a greedy recipient of every tale … and report of what he said or did.

The 'new phase' overtaking him he justified by its being thoroughly \textit{en rapport} with my early taste, but in utter discord with the 'fitful fever' of my poor-law activity. I was in fact a new man, though that man was … the true son of my boyhood.

\textsuperscript{170} HD (1866).
\textsuperscript{171} JRIBA 15, 1908, 13-14.
\textsuperscript{172} Scott (1879).
\textsuperscript{173} 'Scott', ODNB.
\textsuperscript{174} Scott, 86.
\textsuperscript{175} \textit{Ibid}, 86-7.
\textsuperscript{176} \textit{Ibid}, 88.
Later summarising 'the progress and position of the revival' between 1845 and 1864, he is critical of the Camdenians' tyranny and eventual caprice:

The revived style was one, and its unity was "Middle Pointed." I held this as a theory myself. They held it as a religious duty, though they now seem to have forgotten this phase in the history of their faith, and are very irate when it is referred to.  

**FIVE PRACTICES OF NATIONAL STANDING (Appendix 3.4.3.a)**

Of the six architects forming the five practices, Butterfield was a thorough Londoner: birth, training, practice, death. Waterhouse, after Manchester pupillage, assistantship and twelve years' practice, moved to London, where his office remained for the rest of his career. Two were born in the Home Counties: Scott in Buckinghamshire; Street in Essex. The final two came from further afield: Bodley from Hull; Garner (Bodley's partner, 1869-1897) from Warwickshire. Their practices, at least in the north-west, were overwhelmingly ecclesiastical – except for Waterhouse, commissioned for only three Anglican churches, one a restoration job, and for six Congregational chapels, his work otherwise entirely secular. Neither he nor Butterfield was cradle-Anglican: the former, Quaker until baptised, 1877; the latter, Nonconformist until, probably, sometime before 1843.

George Gilbert Scott's oeuvre in northwest England was considerable: thirty-eight church commissions; twenty-three, *de novo*; only three secular jobs. Specifically, his design for St. Mark, Worsley (1846), is lauded as an important early work, [it] puts him plainly in the Pugin camp, but as Pevsner observed in 1969, it is 'on a scale and with a plenitude of means nearly always unavailable to Pugin.' [It has an] Ecclesiological plan – i.e. clearly expressed parts, especially a deep and separate chancel, and the use of Middle Pointed …

This project, of course, preceded the study's 1851-2 extension to it where, as discussed later [p237], Scott's judgment prevailed at least to some extent over Egerton's attempts at influence.

George Edmund Street and the three-years-younger Bodley were fellow-pupils of Scott's. They found their careers linked when Henry Robinson Heywood appointed Street to replace St. Peter, Swinton (1869; subscription-funded), and his brother Edward Stanley Heywood commissioned Bodley for nearby St. Augustine, Pendlebury (1874).

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177 *Ibid*, 201.
178 Detailed in Pevsner.
179 Cunningham & Waterhouse, 9.
180 'Butterfield', *ODNB*.
181 *P04*, 64.
Street's St. James the Apostle, Milnrow, was rebuilt and re-consecrated in 1869, synchronously with the Swinton church. Perhaps significantly, Captain James Schofield, Milnrow's donor, had, according to Milnrow incumbent Francis Raines, two years earlier married a lady from Henry Heywood's parish:

28/3/1867 Capt. S. and Miss Longshaw of Swinton, married by me at Eccles.  

the choice of Eccles presumably because Swinton, at that time a chapel-of-ease, was unlicensed for weddings. Captain Schofield's insistence on Street had quenched Francis Raines's hope – expectation, indeed – of securing the commission for his friend, George Shaw.  

Churchmanship implications of this are discussed below [p234-5]. Suffice it here to note the intermeshing of orbits: Shaw, Raines and Saddleworth's with Street, Bodley, Swinton and Pendlebury's.

Despite Street's reputation as one of the most illustrious architects of the Victorian Gothic Revival … his buildings … are honest in their plan and in their materials; in short they are true to the Puginian ideals. Yet some of his designs also look forward to another more confident era, one dominated by the search for a style which was expressive of progress and industry. Much of his work, including Milnrow, elicits little enthusiasm from Pevsner. 'Frankly dull'; '… a very sober exercise, solid and serious but hardly lively enough to excite enquiry into the name of the architect', are surprising judgments considering the architect's stature, in the writer's day, as in Street's own. Other local churches are almost as unkindly treated. Even St. Peter, Swinton (1869), though having 'more body than Scott's Worsley … lacks the elating quality of Bodley's Pendlebury', Nikolaus Pevsner's original comment repeated in the later edition without quotation-marks, suggesting unqualified agreement. The sole Pevsner acclaims is St. Margaret, Toxteth, Liverpool (1868-9), which, funded by Robert Horsfall, a multi-church-building stockbroker of Anglo-Catholic persuasion, became central to High Churchmanship and ritualism in that area. However, the updated edition alone is positive, Nikolaus himself, though commending raised chancel, sedilia, piscina and low marble wall, concluding 'not especially impressive … interior lacks distinguishing features'. The explanation perhaps lies in the words he used elsewhere, to explain his selection criteria for monuments from the preceding century:

Completeness was out of the question, and so another principle had to be adopted. It is frankly my own taste.

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182 ROCHDALE–Milnrow, I, 296.  
183 Hyde & Peford, 38, n. 7.  
185 P04, 66, 521.  
186 P69, 406; P04, 660.  
187 P04, 251.  
188 P69, 244.  
Judgment then, is subjective, inevitably. What surprises, particularly regarding so respected an architect, is that his should have been echoed unchanged by a successor.

Refuting assertions of dullness is Milnrow St. James' decorative scheme: stained glass by Hardman, Clayton and Bell; magnificent pulpit by Street himself; and, either side of the reredos, striking tiling. Ecclesiologically it embodies fairly conventional Middle Pointed, chancel (38%) and five-step elevation. There are sedilia, and a piscina curiously believed bogus, as missing its essential drain.\textsuperscript{190} Evidence supports donor-influence on architecture here. It embraces the insistence on Street as architect and the threat to withhold funding if Captain Schofield is not allowed a family chapel \cite{[p47-9]}.\textsuperscript{190}

St. Cross, Clayton (1874), William Butterfield's sole Manchester commission, is listed among those of his churches built to 're-convert the urban working classes'.\textsuperscript{191} It was one of his later works, built and consecrated when his practice was beginning to slow;\textsuperscript{192} it was also around then that Bodley, Garner and others began to regard him, whatever his sectarian 'unassailable orthodoxy', as supporting reaction rather than advance in the Modern Gothic movement.\textsuperscript{193} Nothing is known concerning this patron-architect relationship but that Hoare, from a family of London bankers, should have chosen an architect of national distinction – particularly for his close association in the 1840s with the Camdenians, and the 'first complete expression' of 'High Victorian' architectural style in his All Saints, Margaret Street\textsuperscript{194} – is hardly surprising. Butterfield was something of a social isolate, his relationships tending to the distant and formal, so that, whereas his natural sympathies were with the poor, for patronage he depended on the affluent and established, to which description Hoare would certainly have answered.\textsuperscript{195}

St. Cross is described as having an interior that is 'recognizably [Butterfield's] and quite impressive outside by virtue of its height, but it is not one of his major works'.\textsuperscript{196} In style – 'Middle Pointed, i.e. c 1300\textsuperscript{197} – correctly-positioned font and pulpit, a reasonable chancel (41%), five-stepped elevation, sedilia and credence, it would have ecclesiologically passed muster.

\textsuperscript{190} Robin Usher, email (13/9/2011).
\textsuperscript{191} Thompson (1971), 37.
\textsuperscript{192} Ibid: 'Chronology', 506ff., lists only six jobs in the 1870s, against fifteen in the 1860s.
\textsuperscript{193} See Symondson, \textit{passim}, especially 199.
\textsuperscript{194} Hall, 21.
\textsuperscript{195} Thompson, 15-16, ch. 4, 'Patronage'.
\textsuperscript{196} P69, 41.
\textsuperscript{197} P04, 362.
Returning now to George Frederick Bodley's practice, individually and in partnership with Thomas Garner, a contemporary extols him as 'one of the most refined, accomplished, & painstaking' of English Gothic revival architects.

In church work, however, he was more than a mere revivalist [imparting to] his churches in the Gothic style a feeling and treatment of his own, which gives them an interest beyond that which attaches to mere imitation of a bygone style.\(^{198}\)

His ex-pupils evidently held him in particular esteem and affection, sometimes spiced with amusement at his oddities.

Family connection led Bodley,\(^{199}\) son of physician William Hulme Bodley and Mary Ann (née Hamilton), daughter of a Brighton clergyman, into becoming George Gilbert Scott's pupil (1845-50). Initially establishing his own practice in his parents' Brighton retirement-home, upon his father's death (1855), Bodley moved his practice to London, living first in Wimpole Street and from 1861 in nearby Harley Street.

Living to a great age, with a highly successful practice lasting some fifty-seven years, twenty-eight of them in partnership with Thomas Garner, the \textit{oeuvre}, overwhelmingly ecclesiastical, in north-west England of Bodley alone, and of the partnership from 1869 to 1897, includes, besides a wealth of more minor commissions – extensions; restorations; a triptych here; a reredos there – five churches \textit{de novo}. The partnership's St. Laurence, Frodsham, Cheshire (1883)\(^{200}\) was also restored and largely rebuilt. Besides the partnership's study-church, St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pendlebury (1874), Bodley alone was responsible for Tue Brook\(^{201}\) and the partnership for three more: St. John the Baptist, Tibshelf, Cheshire (1887-8);\(^{202}\) St. Luke, Warrington (1892-3);\(^{203}\) and Eccleston Parish Church, Cheshire (1899).\(^{204}\) Only one secular commission is credited to Bodley (Hayes Lodge, Morley, Derbyshire, 1900).\(^{205}\)

The 'remarkable creative renewal' in Gothic architecture, led by Scott's former pupils Street, William White and the slightly younger Bodley himelf, is described by Hall\(^{206}\) as a departure from:

Scott's reliance on English late thirteenth-century models towards a new synthesis intended to develop Gothic into a modern style. Inspiration was drawn from early Gothic models, which were as often continental as English, partly thanks to the writings of Ruskin, a lifelong influence on Bodley.

This in turn led to the 'abrupt departure in his architecture' represented by

\(^{198}\) BR93 (26/10/1907), 433.
\(^{199}\) 'Bodley', \textit{ODNB}.
\(^{200}\) P71, 220; Hall, 338, 447.
\(^{201}\) P69, 248, 249; P06, 477, 499; Hall, 143-6.
\(^{202}\) P71, 341; Hall, 449.
\(^{203}\) P69, 42n, 417; P06, 93-4, 631; Hall, 245-6, 451.
\(^{204}\) P71, 34, 207, 213-14; Hall, 240.
\(^{205}\) P53, 285, 285n; Hall, 356, 454.
\(^{206}\) 'Bodley', \textit{ODNB}: three next quoted passages.
an alternative style based not on development, but on the creative use of a paradigm—English Decorated Gothic of the first half of the fourteenth century. The first churches that resulted [including] St John's, Tue Brook, Liverpool (1867–70), were for the most part designed for a clergy who used ritual to convey a controversial emphasis on the sacraments and the real presence. Bodley's striving for beauty and grace in architecture was directed to the same end. Yet it reflected a new aesthetic ideal seen also in his domestic designs of the 1860s. These pioneering exercises in a neo-Georgian style based on the vernacular of his native Sussex had profound influence on the Queen Anne revival in the 1870s.

Following Tue Brook came St. Augustine's, described as

sublimely tall, nobly proportioned ... nave and chancel in a single vessel. Its sheer walls and enormous, uninterrupted interior space, achieved by internal buttresses, make an overwhelming impact.

For the latter detail – notably the design of the internal elevations with 'full-height vaulted arches pierced for passage aisles' [plate 42] Bodley has commonly been supposed to have drawn on Albi, as witnessed by his pupil F.M. Simpson's definition of the feature as 'based on the great brick churches at Albi and Toulouse'. But, unravelling the tangled web of varyingly probable influences on Pendlebury, Michael Hall excludes Albi, while including, indeed, Toulouse (fourteenth-century Dominican Eglise des Jacobins, and possibly also Franciscan Les Cordeliers), and Barcelona; G.E. Street; and – accorded most certainty – the Dominican church at Ghent. Rather than itself an influence, Albi was, with Pendlebury, a common beneficiary of the Dominican plan. To explain Simpson's inclusion of it, nevertheless, as source, Hall notes the contemporaneous promotion of the Ghent plan by the slightly older architect S.S. Teulon – 'by 1870 beyond the pale not only in terms of style but also churchmanship' – and publication by James Cubitt – as a Congregational architect 'even more suspect' – of a work containing a 'plan and internal view of the Ghent church that makes the link with St Augustine, Pendlebury, completely obvious'. To avoid suspicion of following either one of these compromised fellow-professionals, Bodley and Garner were

quite happy to let their pupils believe that [Pendlebury's] plan derived from the most famous exemplar of a large internally buttressed church, at Albi.

– an intriguing glimpse into the machinations of Gothic Revival politics. Besides foreign influences, English notes, according to Simpson, are evident in Pendlebury's remarkable window-tracery, a mixture of

Flowing and Perpendicular lines ... similar to that which is to be found in a few churches built about the time that the Black Death of 1349 wrought such havoc amongst the craftsmen of the time. There is a more marked break then in English architecture than at any other period. Bodley's aim was to continue the development which was just commencing when it was nipped by the Great Plague.
Alfred Waterhouse's role in the northwest is succinctly expressed, 
The Liverpool-born architect came good in Manchester and when still a young man he produced some of his and some of the city's most important buildings.\(^{212}\) and his biographers conclude: 
above all his creative eclecticism and the traditional roots of his style make him triumphantly and typically Victorian.\(^{213}\)

His father a cotton-broker,\(^{214}\) Waterhouse's Liverpool origins were firmly planted in the city's commercial scene. The family's adherence to the Society of Friends – no barrier to commercial enterprise\(^{215}\) – meant for him a strictly Quaker upbringing, and education at Grove House School in Tottenham, London, which introduced him to boys from other leading Quaker families, some of whom would later become clients.

Quakerism, too, informed his first steps into architecture, when in 1848 he became articled to the 'staunchly Quaker' P.B. Alley, then in partnership with Richard Lane, another Quaker.\(^{216}\) After touring the Continent in 1853, he set up individually in Manchester, quickly developing a substantial practice and first achieving prominence with a successful design for the 1859 Manchester assize courts competition. Six years later he opened an office in London.

His vast oeuvre in northwest England was strikingly eclectic; of his nine ecclesiastical commissions, the two Anglican churches – St. John the Divine, Brooklands, Sale (1864-8),\(^{217}\) and, almost two decades later, the study-church of St. Elisabeth, Reddish\(^{218}\) – as well as, later still, the restoration of St. Ann's, Manchester (1887-91),\(^{219}\) are outnumbered by Non-Conformist works; four churches and chapels;\(^{220}\) alterations to Manchester's Friends' Meeting House;\(^{221}\) and a cemetery at Ince-in-Makersfield. Secular work includes infirmaries;\(^{222}\) educational institutions; prisons;\(^{223}\) banks; insurance offices; Liverpool Lime Street station;\(^{224}\) grand halls and residences\(^{225}\) including remodelling Eaton Hall;\(^{226}\) and, of course, extensive civic building including – the star in his crown – Manchester Town Hall, summed up as an

\(^{212}\) Hartwell & Wyke (2007), 230.
\(^{213}\) Cunningham & Waterhouse, 103.
\(^{214}\) 'Waterhouse', \textit{ODNB}.
\(^{215}\) 'Quakers', \textit{websites}.
\(^{216}\) 'Darbyshire' \textit{ODNB}; 'Lane', \textit{websites}.
\(^{217}\) P69, 40, 341.
\(^{218}\) P04, 580, 581-2; P69, 371, 372.
\(^{219}\) P01, 199-200; P04, 76; P69, 279.
\(^{220}\) P01, 303-4; P04, 391; P69, 340
\(^{221}\) P01, 176.
\(^{222}\) P06, 78, 475; P69, 247; P06, 77, 365; P69, 182; P06, 79, 425.
\(^{223}\) P01, 303-4; P04, 391; P69, 340
\(^{224}\) P06, 83, 304; P69, 162.
\(^{225}\) P01, 63, 478; P71, 240; P69, 35n, 210.
exceptional work, expressive not only of enlightened civic power but of an architect of powerful and original mind and large imagination who allied his great gifts with the diverse talents of other outstanding artists and designers to reward Manchester's patronage with a memorable and enduring civic symbol – a classic of its age.\textsuperscript{227}

Generally agreed is that Waterhouse was entirely his own man – almost an anti-stylist, 'an intelligent eclectic', influenced but not controlled by Puginian and Ruskinian ideas;\textsuperscript{228} a building by Waterhouse at first appears impersonally Gothic. In fact it will be found to need close analysis for a full understanding of its creative eclecticism. Waterhouse composed picturesquely but, wherever scale allowed, broadly and boldly. There are never niggly details. …\textsuperscript{229}

Yet, almost contradictorily, he is recognised as being accommodating to patrons, perhaps excessively so:

his own ideas combined with his patron's preferences produced the outward form … some may have thought he gave in too readily to a client's wishes, being their 'obedient servant'.\textsuperscript{230}

In the course of his outstandingly successful life, Waterhouse experienced considerable change. Having been provincial Quaker, he was baptised in 1877 together with his wife and eldest son, following by a few years his younger children's baptism. He became 'squire of Yattendon'\textsuperscript{231} in Berkshire, having bought the Manor in 1858 and built himself a country house there. His eventual churchmanship, and any impact it may have had on his Reddish church are discussed in the next chapter [p218-19].

\textit{FOUR PRACTICES OF HIGH STANDING (Appendix 3.4.3.b)}

Both Edward Graham Paley and Hubert James Austin\textsuperscript{232} were born in Yorkshire and practised and died in Lancaster, where Paley was educated. Two phases of the Lancaster practices are represented here: first (from founder Edmund Sharpe's retirement in 1851), Paley alone; second (from 1868, when Austin joined him), the Paley and Austin partnership, which lasted until 1886 (nothing from the ensuing Austin and Paley practice is included). Their practice was predominantly ecclesiastical; Pevsner credits the pair between them locally with fifty-five Anglican, three Roman Catholic and two non-conformist churches, against twenty-six secular works.

Both were sons of the manse. Of the two, Austin seems the more committed churchman, serving several years as vicar's warden at St. Mary's, Lancaster, where

\textsuperscript{227} Archer (1985), 161.
\textsuperscript{228} Cunningham & Waterhouse, 1-2.
\textsuperscript{229} P69, 39.
\textsuperscript{230} Cunningham & Waterhouse, 2.
\textsuperscript{231} \textit{Ibid}, 3.
\textsuperscript{232} Brandwood (2012), prime source; for a useful outline of the practice-phases, see also P09, 43.
he and his wife erected the south porch (c 1903) in her parents' memory.233 Though family-members, all 'devout Anglicans', had been Low Church from the practice's inception – Sharpe briefly a Protestant Association committee-member – and though neither Paley nor Austin is believed to have had anything but moderate churchmanship, they were ready to design for any persuasion. Lancastrian-Anglican Low preference predominated, consonant with Bishop Fraser's remark on consecrating Paley and Austin's St. Thomas, Bolton (1875), that probably no more than three or four churches in the diocese had 'extreme and extravagant ideas', allowing even these, if such were to arise, to be handled calmly and 'charitably'.234

Austin is described as '… the one local man of genius …'.235 Upon his joining it,

… the firm of Austin & Paley [sic] achieved greatness, distinguished for their thoughtfully creative designs with masterful handling of space, line and plane.

Among those particularly lauded are four study-churches: St. John the Evangelist, Cheetham (1871) – 'serious, forceful and uplifting'; 'fervently Evangelical' Thomas Greenhalgh's All Souls (1881) – 'in its brick simplicity a powerful presence'; The (or St.) Saviour (1885; demolished); and the 'wonderful reredos' at St. James the Great, Daisy Hill, Westhoughton (1881).236 He is noted as fortunate in attracting wealthy clients.237 Between them the practices designed at least a further eight churches, ineligible for this study, also funded entirely by donors or donor-families,238 including St. John the Baptist, Atherton (1879), one of whose two main benefactors was Ralph Fletcher, singular-funder of St. Michael's (1877) at nearby Howe Bridge [p67]. Affluent patronage extended to halls and castles – Wyresdale Hall (1856-8) for study-donor Ormrod; an addition to Leighton Hall (1870); Winmarleigh Hall (1871) for Lord Winmarleigh; and, for Mr. North North [sic], Newton Hall and Lodge (1880) and Thurland Castle (1879-1883).

In two cases family connections probably influenced patronage – Ralph Fletcher was connected by marriage to the Austin family;239 and Lewis Loyd, senior,
was a close friend of Thomas Broadhurst, Sharpe's uncle by marriage. Otherwise it is speculation. Puzzling, for instance, is why Wilbraham Egerton, having chosen Paley and Austin for St. Clement, Ordsall (1878), did not commission Austin and Paley for his two other Ordsall churches, St. Cyprian and St. Ignatius. Instead, he engaged Darbyshire and Darbyshire and Smith, while, for his earliest church, St. Mary, Hulme, he had chosen the apparently Tractarian Crowther. Could all four – or perhaps just the Ordsall three – have been random choices by a donor more interested in careful investment? Why did neither Greenhalgh nor Ormrod choose a local architect, such as Freeman, for their Bolton churches?

Of their eight donors, only Greenhalgh and Wilbraham Egerton had, or may have had, extreme churchmanship, Low and (possibly) High respectively. Finally there is the question of how accommodating to a donor's prejudices and preferences these architects may have been. Here again, little evidence exists, but they certainly commanded continuing loyalty in their patrons, as evidenced by their two Greenhalgh commissions and their several for family-connections like the Ormrods. Donor-influence is suggested by considerable ecclesiological diversity: two of their eight study-churches – Bolton Churchgate, Ordsall St. Clement – are Middle Pointed; four – Daisy Hill, Westleigh, All Souls, and Howe Bridge – mixed, and one – Loyd's Cheetham church – Early English. Chancels range from Westleigh (33%) to Cheetham (50%); interestingly, between August and December 1878 Daisy Hill's was altered from a smaller (44%) to the realised ratio (48%) [plate 43]. Commonest number of steps is six, at Cheetham, Howe Bridge, Daisy Hill, Westleigh and Bolton Churchgate; besides seven at St. Clement, Ordsall; and five each at All Souls, Bolton, and All Saints, Gorton; each except All Saints, Gorton, contains at least one eucharistic furnishing.

Edward Middleton Barry, one of Charles Barry's sons, was born in London and spent his childhood in Blackheath. He trained under Thomas Henry Wyatt and subsequently in his father's office. Continuing to work there as chief assistant, he began from about 1855 to accept commissions on his own account, enjoying a growing reputation through work in Birmingham, Leeds and London. He took charge of and completed his father's unfinished projects after he died (1860), notably the new Palace of Westminster. In 1861 he was elected Royal Academy associate and, in

240 Ormrod had 'extensive' social, business and family connections with members of the practice – Brandwood, 66.
241 After Edward Graham Paley's death in 1895, the sole Paley partner was his son Harry, one of the three partners in Paley, Austin & Paley since 1886 – Brandwood, 80.
243 St. Saviour's style is unknown.
244 'Barry', ODNB.
1869, Royal Academician, and he was Royal Academy professor of architecture from 1873 to his death, being appointed treasurer in 1874. A series of disappointments, squabbles and misunderstandings clouded his later life.

Barry's northwestern oeuvre amounts to only five commissions, of which just one was ecclesiastical – the study-church of St. Anne, Clifton (1874), for Charlotte Anne Fletcher/Cotton/Corrie.\textsuperscript{245} Unknown are what prompted her choice, the nature of her relationship with Barry, or her degree of influence upon the church. Ecclesiologically, it is middle-of-the-road, with mixed architectural style; chancel (46%); five-step elevation; low screen with gates; and credence.

George Truefitt,\textsuperscript{246} though born in Manchester, based his professional life in London, where he trained and began independent practice in about 1846. A scholarly and independent-minded architect, he published shortly thereafter, \textit{Architectural Sketches on the Continent} (1847), dedicated to the Ecclesiological Society chairman (Alexander Beresford Hope). It urged the Gothic revival to find its own voice beyond the medieval. He joined the society in 1848.

Uniquely in this study, Truefitt, an evangelical, was 'unsympathetic to the high-church arrangements demanded by ecclesiology's leaders',\textsuperscript{247} prompting his mainly secular oeuvre. In north-west England, apart from this study's St. Mary the Virgin, Davyhulme (1890), he designed only two churches, both in Cheshire – St. Mary, Partington (1884), and St. Martin, Ashton-upon-Mersey (1887), the latter funded by banker and MP, Sir William Cunliffe Brooks.\textsuperscript{248} It was, presumably, directly or indirectly thanks to this patron that he was commissioned for much of his secular output, chiefly banks.\textsuperscript{249}

\textit{SEVEN PRACTICES OF MODEST STANDING} (Appendix 3.4.3.c)

Of these seven practices' individual architects, seven of the eight (Littler's birthplace unknown) were born across the British Isles. Education and training were similarly scattered. Young trained in Manchester under Thomas Wright and practised in Lancashire; Harrison, born London, trained in Oxford and Lincoln's Inn; Welch in Birmingham; Thomas Denville Barry, in Liverpool (under James Murray) and Leamington (under H. Prosser) and practised in Liverpool, Norwich and places further afield, including the Isle of Man; Littler, training unknown, became Lancashire County Architect. Three died in London – Welch, Hansom and Ladds;

\textsuperscript{245} P69, 103, 192.
\textsuperscript{246} "Truefitt" \textit{ODNB}, principal source.
\textsuperscript{247} \textit{Ibid}.
\textsuperscript{248} P71, 64.
\textsuperscript{249} P01, 148-9; P71, 39, 61; P09, 52; P71, 65.
Young in Bradford; Barry in Liverpool; and Littler in St. Anne's, Lancashire. Two had exclusively or mainly ecclesiastical practices – Harrison, and Hansom and Welch. Barry's practice was mixed, with five north-western Anglican and one Unitarian church, besides, elsewhere, eleven Anglican, one Presbyterian and one Congregational.\textsuperscript{250} Young's practice included three churches; Lloyd and Ladds feature in Pevsner only for the study-church of each, though Ladds and Powell were responsible for a Chorley church.

His obituarist's claim that William Young designed 'three churches in Lancashire for the late Earl of Ellesmere'\textsuperscript{251} is elsewhere uncorroborated. Pevsner does indeed credit him with three Lancashire churches – St. Anne, Rainhill;\textsuperscript{252} St. Paul, Westleigh;\textsuperscript{253} and study-church St. Paul, Walkden\textsuperscript{254} – but notes the earl as funding only the last. The obituary records partnership in Pownall and Young and then 'chief assistant[ship] to Mr. Street' (presumably George Edmund Street). It concludes on a sad note: despite what seems to have been a relatively successful career for a provincial architect he 'died in penury at Bradford … and has left a widow and five young children entirely destitute'.

Young's churches reap praise from Nikolaus Pevsner who, though unenthusiastic about the first – dated 1837, still ecclesiologically naïve – accords him rare praise for faithfulness to ecclesiological principles in the 'two excellent churches at Leigh (1846-7) and Walkden (1848), both St. Paul',\textsuperscript{255} with the Westleigh church commended as

surprisingly post-Commissioners in style … Dec style, i.e. in cognizance of the Pugin-Scott revolution.\textsuperscript{256}

and St. Paul, Walkden, as

entirely on the Scott/Pugin side, with no leftovers of the early C19 Gothic in detail or plan.\textsuperscript{257}

Chief assistantship to Street – a toehold into the heart of the Gothic revival and ecclesiological movement – might have been expected to have led to more than the three churches that, it seems, constitute the sum, however ecclesiologically sound two of them, of Young's ecclesiastical œuvre, and to a better ultimate fate for himself and his family.

\textsuperscript{250} BR88 (1/4/1905), 356.
\textsuperscript{251} BR35 (1877), 72.
\textsuperscript{252} P69, 370.
\textsuperscript{253} P69, 136.
\textsuperscript{254} P04, 65, 668; P69, 409.
\textsuperscript{255} P69, 33.
\textsuperscript{256} P69, 136.
\textsuperscript{257} P69, 409.
There are speculative grounds for supposing donor-church influence as manifested in choice of architect to have been reasonably strong in this case. Scott and Young nicely reflect the contrasting status he is proven, through usage, disparity of cost and proximity to his residence, to have accorded them. That, despite this, Young, the lesser architect, seems to have had skills commensurate with the standards the earl is likely to have taken for granted points to the earl's influence, whether direct or indirect, in the choice and, to that important extent, on the resulting church.

The true identity of the architect for St. Margaret, Whalley Range (1849), has come late to light as James Park Harrison, rather than Pevsner's mistaken attribution to 'James Harrison of Chester.' Born in London, this Harrison pursued a purely ecclesiastical practice but, by 1851, now living in Dorking, he had withdrawn from the field to devote the rest of his life to 'archaeological and ethnographic studies of the most varied kinds'. His interest here lies chiefly in what can be inferred of his churchmanship through association with 'the Oxford Movement and with John Keble' – the latter presumably in connection with his work for Keble's brother Thomas. It comes as little surprise to hear further of his reaping praise from the Ecclesiological Society. About half his work seems to have been based in the Home Counties; the other part widely flung: Leicestershire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Pembrokeshire, two churches in Shropshire being, it seems, closest to his sole Manchester church, Whalley Range. Nothing in Brooks' biography suggests why he should have chosen Harrison, or passed over architects with Manchester-based practices.

Considerable uncertainty exists about the architect for St. Andrew, Ramsbottom (Presbyterian: opened 1834; Anglican: consecrated 1875). The earliest source, a commemorative lithograph of its opening, might be thought reliable had it not misspelt – 'Hanson' – the senior and himself considerably distinguished member of Hansom and Welch's partnership. Pevsner wonders: ‘Welsh (surely Welsh?) of Birmingham’, adding, 'but no doubt owing a good deal to the patrons,

258 'Harrison, James Park', websites.
259 P11, 201, 214, 227-8, etc. Others have confused this architect: a 'T.P. Harrison' (for whom no information has been found) is cited as architect of both Whalley Range churches, St. Edmund – BR 30/2/1882, 866 – and St. Margaret ILN 2/6/1849 (v 14) p 373.
260 St. Michael and All Angels, Bussage, Gloucestershire (1846).
261 Purbrook, Hampshire (1844).
262 BURY-Ramsbottom, 2, 5.
263 As David O'Connor points out.
264 'Hansom', ODNB, known, besides architecture, for the Hansom cab.
265 P04, 577.
Charles [sic: nowhere else is youngest brother Charles cited as a donor] and William Grant’.\textsuperscript{266} Wyke lists, simply, 'Mr. Grant'.\textsuperscript{267}

Investigating Edward Welch\textsuperscript{268} on the assumption he had at least something to do with St. Andrew's, he and Joseph Aloysius Hansom entered partnership in 1828. Financial problems over Birmingham Town Hall\textsuperscript{269} ended the increasingly successful partnership in 1834, despite bail-out by a consortium including Edward's father, John. One joint north-western project was St. John, Toxteth, Liverpool (absent from Pevsner, probably long-demolished). St. Andrew's seems unlikely to have been another. First, its opening date coincided with the partnership's cessation; second, a Presbyterian church, perhaps of special appeal to Welch, a native Scot (nothing is known of his denominational standing), seems an unlikely project for Hansom, a staunch Roman Catholic.

By 1837, Welch alone was engaged anew in a Liverpool-based north-western practice, overwhelmingly ecclesiastical, achieving six churches in nine years. Though held in high personal esteem at the time as

\begin{quote}
    a man of liberal and expansive ideas, and generously open to the merits and abilities of others, while modestly undervaluing his own.\textsuperscript{270}
\end{quote}

his churches fail to impress Pevsner: 'engagingly gauche'; 'shallow chancel'; and – last recorded, St. James, West Derby (1845-6): 'still pre-archaeological … short chancel'.\textsuperscript{271} For whatever reason, he turned from architecture to domestic ventilation and heating. As to the degree, and even fact, of his involvement in St. Andrew, Ramsbottom, that remains in considerable doubt. If Grant designed it, donor-church-identity was complete; if not, it is impossible to gauge. With a Roman Catholic partner and Presbyterian patrons, decided churchmanship may be thought unlikely in Welch.

Information regarding Henry Lloyd and John Ladds is extremely meagre. Census records suggest Lloyd was born in Kennington, lived in Surrey, and, having married a Bristol girl, may have moved back and forth between that city and Exeter, meantime acquiring seven children. His only mention in Pevsner is the study-church, St. Thomas, Newhey. Nothing useful can be hazarded about either his churchmanship or his relationship with the donating Heap family, albeit donor-influence upon the church, a copy of one in Weston-super-Mare, home of younger Heap brother, Benjamin, can hardly be gainsaid. Study-church St. Thomas, Bowlee,

\textsuperscript{266} P04, 56.
\textsuperscript{267} Wyke, 352.
\textsuperscript{268} BR26 (21/11/1868), 863, principal source.
\textsuperscript{269} 'Birmingham', websites.
\textsuperscript{270} BR26, 863.
\textsuperscript{271} P04, 160; P09, 82; P69, 259.
is Ladds' only northwestern Pevsner-entry, though with Powell he is listed concerning a Chorley, Lancashire, church. Of his life, only location of birth and death are known. A copy and erstwhile-school – its chancel the study's shortest (14%) – neither church is worth considering ecclesiologically.

Thomas Denville Barry (apparently unconnected with Charles Barry), though according to more than one source 'of Liverpool'\(^{272}\) was born in Cork. He came to Liverpool only in 1845 and, after only 'a few years', having 'dissolved partnership' with 'another well-known church architect of the time' – probably W. Raffles-Brown – left again to be Norwich city surveyor. Though returning in 1872 and, with his sons, resuming practice, 'practical retirement from his profession' for the seventeen years before his death in 1905 suggests his practice in Liverpool occupied perhaps twenty years at the most. Added to doubt about the extent of his Liverpool practice are other distancing factors. Besides pupillage with James Murray in Liverpool,\(^{273}\) he was a 'Pupil of H. Prosser, esq., of London'; had an address at 'Town Hall, Leamington, Warwickshire'; and was 'Engineer to the Board of Health and Waterworks, Leamington'.\(^{274}\)

His limited work in the north-west – a Presbyterian, a Congregational and eleven Anglican, churches were built elsewhere\(^{275}\) – is thus partially explained. Besides being scant, it is unusual, particularly – with W. Raffles-Brown during his first sojourn in Liverpool – the Unitarian Church in Hope Street, Liverpool (1848), described as

one of the first instances anywhere of a Nonconformist chapel completely adopting the form (including the chancel) of a Gothic parish church.\(^{276}\)

Between 1871 and 1876 Pevsner reports three Anglican churches in Liverpool, a fourth in Bolton, and St. Nicholas, Blundellsands (1873-4),\(^{277}\) in partnership with his sons, all but one – Bolton's St. Matthew, Thomasson Park (1876)\(^{278}\) – awarded 'Dec' approval.\(^{279}\)

But absent – demolished in 1962, before the publication of the first Pevsner for that area – is the study-church of St. Bartholomew, Great Lever, Bolton, ecclesiological status unknown. As a posthumous project, no involvement in its detail by the Howell sisters is likely though influence in choice of architect – they

\(^{272}\) For example, BR88, 356 – main source – P04, 239.
\(^{273}\) DBA (1834-1914).
\(^{274}\) The architect's, engineer's and building-trades' directory (1868), 99; DBA.
\(^{275}\) BR88, 356.
\(^{276}\) P69, 184.
\(^{277}\) P06, 152.
\(^{278}\) P69, 84.
\(^{279}\) P53, 77, 78.
apparently knew Barry [p69] – and likely Evangelical churchmanship as Thomas Loxham's friends and parishioners, cannot be discounted.

Nothing is known of Henry Littler but that he was Lancashire County Architect 'for many years … the first to be appointed to the post'.

Roberts' outsider-status [p76-7] possibly informed his choice of county architect for the Didsbury study-church. But, as with T.D. Barry, little can be said on this score that is more than speculative. His church is ecclesiologically sound, and has a roodscreen.

Summary and Conclusion

_In their own image?_ Assuming choice of architect – on which the form of a finished church fundamentally depends – to be normally the donor's, that in itself signifies a measure of donor-self-image. An interesting example of this is Schofield's choosing Street against incumbent-preference for Shaw. Only very rarely is the choice known to have been made with a definite objective in mind, as in J.S. Crowther's commissioning by Alderman Bennett to ensure, he believed, a result that would satisfactorily enshrine his passionately held Tractarian convictions. Two donors – the Heap brothers and Wilbraham Egerton – demanded of their architects copies of existing churches that had for whatever reason taken their fancy. For Francis Egerton's two churches, his choice of architect – of national standing for his baronial shrine; of modest standing for the lesser structure for his workers – also has implications for donor-self-image.

But for many or most of the sixty-one churches, a donor's choice may have been based on such considerations as favouring a particular architectural style, or budget, or any one of a variety of relatively trivial and lightly-held preferences. Some evidence is available on other factors: locality; social links (of which those known must be only a fraction); and loyalty to a previously-commissioned architect.

Locality was clearly significant (Appendix 3.4). Manchester-located home or church pertained to nine – exactly half – of the eighteen donors who chose Manchester-based practices and only one (8%) of the twelve choosing Manchester peripheral practices. Moreover, eight of the latter group of donors lived or worked within ten miles of their chosen practice. For those looking further afield, there was presumably cachet in commissioning a London practice, or perhaps a Lancaster one, and distant choice hints at more decided donor-preference. But what motivated a donor to choose a Welch, Lloyd or Ladds is a mystery.

280 BR46 (5/1/1934), 10:
Social links are known to have existed for six donors; a likely influence on their choice. These are: Ralph Fletcher, Ormrod and Loyd's with Paley and Austin; Edward Heywood's (via Alfred Dewes) with Bodley; and the Whiteheads and Deardens with Shaw.

Loyal to the same architect were only Whittaker (to Shaw) and Greenhalgh (Paley and Austin). By contrast, Francis Egerton chose the prestigious Scott for the church at his own gates; the comparatively obscure William Young for his more distant workers. The Birley brothers initially employed Shellard and Brown and later, J.M. Taylor, also commissioned, by Herbert Birley alone, for Pendleton. Wilbraham Egerton progressed from Crowther through Paley and Austin and, for his two late churches (Crowther then deceased) to Darbyshire, with and without Smith.

It may be wondered whether a donor's knowledge of and interest in ecclesiology could have determined choice. But whether or not an element in a donor's consideration, the revolution sweeping the country at the time is expressed somewhat inconsistently by the study-architects. None from the twelve Manchester practices is convincingly ecclesiological; Lowe, exceptionally incorrect. Booth's ecclesiology scores well, if patchily, interestingly juxtaposed with the exceptionally strong Evangelical convictions of his patrons, the Haworths. The study-churches from Manchester's peripheral practices are ecclesiologically diverse. Both Cockbain and Eaton, though little is known about either's wider oeuvre, produced ecclesiologically-sound churches. Those of the reputedly-High Freeman and the little-known Wild are mixed; George Shaw's, almost brutally incorrect. Of the six architects with national standing, Street, Butterfield and Bodley were important drivers of ecclesiology – and of how it developed subsequently – while Scott, who underwent a conversion experience, despite later scepticism lent it weight. Besides the question of choice, an architect's ecclesiogical consistency across multiple study-churches, seen with Crowther and Lowe, partially with Booth and Freeman (the latter particularly significant owing to different donor-churchmanship) – arguably suggests a donor having little influence; inconsistency – as with Gregan, Taylor, and Paley and Austin (Appendix 3.5) – donor-influence, hence -self-image. Shaw's ecclesiological idiosyncracy and Truefitt's Evangelically-driven disdain for ecclesiology may also indicate independence of donor in that respect; Lowe's recorded compliance with donors' wishes, the reverse.

Notable are several cases of donor-self-image's apparently modifying or overriding professional inclination. Extant or documented, among Manchester-based practices are recorded: Sumner's Evangelically-oriented internal arrangements at St. John, Bolton (particularly interesting since Shellard's other study-church, St. Philip,
Hulme, is assumed High); and Crowther's (or Tom Bennett's? [p167]) Tractarian-driven arrangements and preferences for Bennett at St. Benedict, Ardwick. Visible are Booth's Evangelical arrangements for Haworth at Christ Church, Walshaw, alongside some notably ecclesiological features – independence and accommodation; and much of Taylor's work: Masonic architectural and iconographical programmes for Royds at St. Edmund, Falinge, and Heginbottom at Holy Trinity, Ashton-under-Lyne (contrasting with Masonic absence for Blair at St. Stephen Kearsley); and iconographic schemes at St. Anne, Haughton, and St. Mary the Virgin, Haughton Green, for Sidebotham and Walton respectively. Documented among Manchester's peripheral practices are Shaw's sometimes capricious collaboration with patrons, and strongly-evidenced friendship with the Whiteheads, while visible are his chapel for Whittaker at St. John the Evangelist, Hurst; and Eaton's accommodation of the Gartsides' desire for a quasi-baronial chapel. Finally, among the distant practices donor-self-image is evidenced tentatively through Scott's letters to Egerton; substantially through Bodley's to Heywood and the latter's diaries; and through Waterhouse's known work for Houldsworth at Coodham before undertaking Reddish, where it can additionally be inferred through the complementarily forceful and vivid character of both church and donor; an example of the tentative nature attending all donor-architect discussion is Waterhouse's description as both 'his own man' and ready to accommodate patrons' wishes. No conclusion, evidential or referential, can be drawn concerning Hoare's involvement with Butterfield or Schofield's with Street, unless minimal in the former; possibly hostile in the latter, when Schofield bullied (presumably) Street into incorporating a family-chapel. Chapter Four further considers churchmanship's contribution to evidence of donor-self-image.
37. All Saints, Newton Heath. Aumbry, possibly not original.
38. St. John the Evangelist, Cheetham. Piscina, showing drain.
   b. St. Edmund, Falinge.
41. George Gilbert Scott.
42. St. Augustine, Pendlebury, interior.
43. St. James the Great, Daisy Hill. Plans
Chapter Four
Churchmanship

Introduction

Churchmanship, with its complex history and terminologies,\(^1\) is a key issue, central to the way in which worship – what a church, on one reading, is fundamentally about – is perceived and conducted. The ultimately personal nature of beliefs or attitudes embodied in a given churchmanship suggests that it may be an exceptionally significant indicator of donor-church-identity, and thus reflection of donor-self-image.

The study's donors and churches – exemplars of the Established Church's subscribers and material manifestations – were lodged between two increasingly polarised extremes. On the one hand was Nonconformity, which held the means of Salvation to be the Word, Conversion, and those (ordained or lay) who preached both. On the other, was the Roman Catholic Church, which held the means of Salvation to be the Church as Body of Christ, the Sacraments, and the Sacred Ministry. During the period of this study, Establishment's role of maintaining a balance between two approaches to faith was under threat from both sides. Within the Anglican Church, the beliefs, practices or attitudes during the period 1847 to 1903 are what concern us here; on the one hand, 'High Churchmen', 'Tractarians' or Anglo-Catholics'; on the other 'Low Churchmen' or 'Evangelicals' and, between the two, 'Broad Churchmen' (informally, 'middle-of-the-road') – terms, for whichever leaning, for convenience used interchangeably.

Churchmanship is, however, often hard to identify. For example, ecclesiological correctness became over time an unreliable means of gauging it [p229, n144], and other convincing evidence of the churchmanship practised at the time of a church's foundation – either integral (evident in the church's fabric) or referential (understood by means of textual and other sources other than church itself) – is available only rarely. Evidence of either kind, even where it exists, should be treated with caution. For one thing, churchmanship-leanings strong enough to have a detectable impact on a building may not have been held exclusively, or even primarily, by the donor. Influence by either or both the architect or a member of the clergy (often, but not necessarily, the first incumbent) should also be considered albeit, with either, where their churchmanship but not the donor's is known, the

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\(^1\) See Nockles (1994), 27-32.
choice of one or other – assuming it was the donor's own and not, say, the bishop's – may well in itself constitute an indication of donor-church-identity. Much of the available referential evidence, too, is fraught with uncertainty. Where derived from modern-day parish representatives in response to questioning during site-visits, the potential unreliability of such evidence – up to 160 years later and often offered with patent diffidence and uncertainty – should be recognised. In sum, it is only hedged about with caveats that the exploration and analysis of churchmanship in individual cases undertaken here should be understood; often impressions, rather than conclusions.

**Evidence of Churchmanship in the Sixty-One Churches**

With the above qualifications in mind, each donor-church-architect nexus is examined for indications of a particular churchmanship, exploring its potential significance for donor-self-image. Integral and referential evidence considered includes ecclesiological features, but only when judged of special relevance. Appendix 4.1 summarises churchmanship-indicators with varying degrees of certainty enabling tentative categorisation into: fifteen High (4.1.1); fifteen Low (4.1.2); eight Broad (4.1.3); eleven uncertain or mixed (4.1.4). Twelve, lacking evidence, are excluded from discussion.

**HIGH CHURCHMANSHIP (Appendix 4.1.1) – 15 churches**

A last-minute correction to a misapprehension about the architect responsible for St. Margaret, Whalley Range (1849), enables its placing in this group. James Park Harrison's alleged association with the Oxford Movement and with John Keble suggest High Churchmanship. Apart from the conceivably relevant fact of Samuel Brooks' daughters' working and presenting altar cloths and linen vestments for (High) St. Gabriel, Hulme, no information has been found concerning Samuel Brooks' churchmanship. But his commissioning Harrison, so far from his own domain, suggests, at the very least, no great hostility to the High persuasion.

Its site now occupied by a differently-named Anglican church, nothing remains of donor Benjamin Heywood and architect J.E. Gregan's St. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting (1855). But its name will ever be associated with the

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2 See the account of episcopal influence over the choice of incumbent in Oldham, particularly in the case of Sumner, bishop of Chester from 1828 to 1848, in Smith, 86-7.

3 McEwan, 65-6, source unreferenced.
furore that revolved in the 1870s around parish priest, Sidney Faithorn Green and his supposed ritualistic practices.4

A leading light of Manchester’s Unitarian Cross Street Chapel before turning in 1836 to embrace Anglicanism,5 evidence of Heywood's piety and devotion to good works6 exists in abundance, most notably in a passage from his personal journal:

If I would know whether my heart is truly, benevolently disposed, I ask myself: Am I as thoroughly gratified when I have done good in secret, as when my actions are noised abroad? If I would know whether my love of truth is genuine, is the renunciation of an error as grateful to me, when it is followed with no praise, as when it is blazoned to the world in proof of candour and openness to conviction?7

and Leo Grindon, fellow-Mancunian a generation younger concludes:

His religious faith was strong and profound; no man was ever more fully persuaded that all religion has relation to life, and that the life of religion is to do good. In works of secret charity he was unwearied, and these were expressive of him to the end. If many rich people knew where he lived, so did a great many of the poor.8

Evidence as to his churchmanship is less direct. Given the source, and likely defensive spirit in the parish at the time of the action against Faithorn Green, claims that before his death twelve years previously Heywood had frequently come to the defence of High Church practices9 may be unreliable. However, High Churchmanship in three of his sons10 is more certain, Thomas Percival (later Sir Percival) Heywood (1823-97),11 becoming 'one of the foremost leaders of the Anglo-Catholic party in the next generation';12 and Henry Robinson (1833-95), incumbent of St. Peter, Swinton, his church within a mile of Edward Stanley's, known, too, for Tractarian teaching and practice.13 This array of referential evidence and the ritualism practised in the church he founded suggests Benjamin Heywood to have been at least sympathetic to the very High Church. Lending support to his leaning towards Tractarianism was his choice of Gregan as architect.

In 1846, as discussed regarding St. Peter, Belmont [p166], Gregan had designed a markedly Anglo-Catholic new chancel for the pre-existing church of St. John the Evangelist, Higher Broughton. The row there that erupted in the early 1850s, after one of Bishop Prince Lee's visits, about supposedly papist structural and

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4 Leatherbarrow, 179, 208, 226, 235, 236. Green was imprisoned in 1881 for contempt of court after ignoring a summons under the 1874 Public Worship Act. The eleven practices provoking the summons later became standard in Anglican practice. – MANCHESTER-Miles-Platting, 5. Benjamin Heywood's son Percival 'exerted himself to the utmost' in Green's defence.’ – Sumner (1897).
5 Gunn (1996), 343.
6 For example, MANCHESTER-Miles-Platting, 2; Axon (1886); Grindon (1878), 187-8.
7 Heywood (1888), 122 (original underlining).
8 Grindon (1878), 194.
9 MANCHESTER-Miles-Platting, 2.
10 Percival, Edward Stanley, and Henry Robinson.
11 ‘Peerage’, websites.
12 Leatherbarrow, 179.
13 Leatherbarrow, passim.
iconographic features in the chancel\textsuperscript{14} was less dramatic than that around Miles Platting over twenty years later – no one was imprisoned. Nevertheless, it exposed the Broughton church and everything and everyone involved – including, presumably, its architect – to considerable notoriety. Of that, Heywood – with his home, Claremont, only about four miles distant, and his Miles Platting church no more than two – must have been fully aware, meaning Gregan, despite sectarian flexibility as seen at Belmont, may have been perceived by a High-inclined donor as a particularly promising choice. In sum, it seems likely that, as Gunn concludes:

'\textquote{the Heywoods were well known for their Tractarian sympathies, backing Green in his legal wrangle with the Church establishment … their conversion to High Church Anglicanism [took place] in the 1840s}.'\textsuperscript{15}

– sympathies, it seems, finding expression only after a conventionally Protestant start: decalogue-boards, triple-decker pulpit, and strict adherence to rubric in celeb rant-position at the altar (or, possibly, still: 'Holy Table').\textsuperscript{16}

The next four – all Birley churches; all likewise demolished – are considered together. They are the fraternal consortium's three in Hulme: Sts. Philip (1860), Michael (1864) and Stephen (1869); and Herbert's St. Anne, Brindle Heath (1863). Assumption of High Churchmanship rests almost entirely on their donors' connection with St. Gabriel, Hulme (1869, joint-funded by Hugh Birley and Wilbraham Egerton), described as

\begin{quote}
well known for its spiritual service to the community and as a church in the Catholic tradition. This was firmly established by Father Weir, who completed the building in 1869.\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

the later setting for the 'good grounding in Anglo-Catholic teaching' received by the controversially High incumbent of St. Mary, Balderstone [p40].\textsuperscript{18} A faint possible clue attaching to Brindle Heath is that the consecrating bishop of its replacement-church (consecrated 1914) spoke of his 'great joy [that] the two sacraments are both treated with worthy respect'.\textsuperscript{19} Sadly unknown is the churchmanship of Robert Birley, one of the funding brothers and St. Philip's first incumbent; he served forty years in the parish.\textsuperscript{20}

Of St. John the Evangelist, Cheetham (1871), justification for selecting archangels Michael, Raphael, Gabriel and Uriel for mosaic-representation above the altar is recorded as 'conviction that no human beings could be fitly placed above Our

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\textsuperscript{14} Leatherbarrow, 150, 217; for a full account, see also Boyd, \textit{theses} (2005), \textit{passim}. \\
\textsuperscript{15} (1992), 288, 343. \\
\textsuperscript{16} Isabel Mary Heywood, \textit{A Memoir of Thomas Percival Heywood} (1899), \textit{cit.} McEwan, 14. \\
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{The Manchester Guardian} (24/4/1936). \\
\textsuperscript{18} ROCHDALE-BALDERSTONE, 2, 106. \\
\textsuperscript{19} SALFORD-BRINDLE-HEATH, 9. \\
\textsuperscript{20} MANCHESTER-HULME, 2.
\end{flushright}
Lord as represented in the Reredos' [plate 44].\textsuperscript{21} Both mosaic and later language – 'Our Lord' – in the magazine suggest High Churchmanship.

Fundamental in creating a Tractarian church was Edward Stanley Heywood's choice of George Frederick Bodley\textsuperscript{22} for St. Augustine, Pendlebury (1874). Comparing ecclesiologically this 'church so obviously built for Catholic worship,'\textsuperscript{23} with other study-churches, its style is not Middle Pointed, but, barely 'at first glance ... indebted to English models' and drawing on influences from abroad;\textsuperscript{24} its chancel modest (41%), a ratio perhaps owing something to the church's length (159-foot; the study's greatest). A full-height screen, lacking the rood Bodley designed, is found, as in study-churches assumed High (Hulme St. Mary; Ardwick; Reddish; Newton Heath) but also foundationally Broad Calderbrook and Balderstone (the latter's, twenty-nine years post-consecration). And, though in nine-stepped nave-to-altar elevation Pendlebury exceeds all, next in order is Evangelical Walshaw. These comparisons serve to endorse repeated emphasis on the process the ecclesiological movement started in the 1840s to impose liturgical requirements on church design [p229, n144] being 'achieved almost everywhere by 1870'.\textsuperscript{25}

Perhaps iconography is Pendlebury's most striking witness to High Churchmanship. In the centre of the reredos, designed by Bodley himself, is St. Augustine flanked by the succeeding six archbishops of Canterbury including

Justus, Honorius, Lawrence, Mellitus, ... These I shall look into again to be quite sure of being correct.\textsuperscript{26}

In the window above are Gregory the Great, who commissioned Augustine; Edward the Confessor (c1004-1066), England's original patron saint; and Paulinus, who founded York Minster and is believed to have converted Lancashire.\textsuperscript{27} Juxtaposed with Old Testament characters, rank upon rank of saints fill the church, led by the nine orders of angels, archangels, dominations, powers, thrones, cherubim, seraphim, virtues and principalities. Saints celebrated as born or otherwise associated with the spread of faith in Britain – 'connected with the remains of ancient piety in this land'\textsuperscript{28} – include Dubritius of Caerleon (died c550); Adwell; Adhelm/Aldhelm (639-709), monk, Wessex prince, and bishop of Sherborne; Aidan (died 651), monk of Iona, first bishop & abbot of Lindisfarne; besides John of Beverley, Ives, Botolph,
Cuthbert and Blaise. Archbishops of Canterbury include English-born Edmund Rich (1175-1240), while martyrs feature the first such Briton, Alban (C3); and Cedd (died 664), educated at Lindisfarne, monastic founder and bishop. Acca (died 740), bishop of Hexham, born in Northumbria; Boniface, martyr, missionary-bishop of the English church; and Bede are among monastic saints, while royal saints include Oswald (died 642), king of Northumbria and martyr; and Edmund (841-869), king of East Anglia and martyr. Women saints – in a memorial window [p112] – include Hilda (614-680), abbess of Whitby; and Ursula (fourth-century?), virgin and martyr, legendarily a British Christian king's daughter. In the small window just inside the south-west porch is, again, St. Augustine of Canterbury, this time in procession with his monks.29

Edward Heywood's churchmanship was probably influenced by two events: the first during his boyhood, when his father Benjamin changed from Unitarianism to (probably High) Anglicanism; the second, during his mid-twenties, when Benjamin created later notorious St. John, Miles Platting (1855) [p207-8]. There were, as mentioned, indubitably Tractarian leanings in his brothers. Edward's Tractarian sympathies were likely further strengthened through the example of his brother-in-law Alfred Dewes [p75, n270] as incumbent initially (1859-74) of Christ Church, the Heywood family's place of worship, subsequently (1874-1911) of St. Augustine's – fifty-two years in all.

Heywood's diaries offer further clues. Attendance at St. Michael and All Angels, Brighton (1861), 'the most ritualistic church in England';30 is recorded with, albeit variable, approval:

We went to St. Michael a church built by Mr Bodley in Victoria road – the service is well & decorously performed – we went both morning & evening.

Went to church at St. Michael & All Angels both morning and evening heard a striking and excellent sermon but the service did not delight me much.31

Another Brighton church, described as having a 'more conventional Tractarian atmosphere',32 and the one in which Bodley had been used to worship, perhaps pleased him more,

Today we all went to St. Paul's in the morning & heard a short & very impressive & helpful sermon from Mr Wagner – in the eve to hear the Dean of Chichester (Dr Stook).33

31 HD (29/11/1863; 3/12/1865). A further visit is recorded (1870).
32 PENDLEBURY, 5, 167.
33 HD (10/12/1865). Arthur Douglas Wagner (1825-1902), leading Oxford Movement follower, from 1850 was incumbent of St. Paul's built (1848) by his father Henry Michell Wagner, Vicar of Brighton. AD Wagner himself created many churches, four in Brighton – 'Wagner', websites.
Of another St. Paul's, in London, it is unclear whether the expression 'advanced' denotes approval or the reverse:

Service at St. Paul's, Walworth, in the evening to S. Mary Magdalene – the service at S. Paul's is certainly very [twice underlined] advanced in ritual.  

A repeat-visit there is recorded, albeit with the qualification 'as Louisa wanted to hear the music again – it is the same sort as she is teaching her class'. A visit eliciting unqualified approval is

All Saints – 'beautiful church, beautiful service' – probably All Saints, Margaret Street (Butterfield). However, about another notably High establishment, an inspection-only visit leaves him distinctly unenthusiastic:

In the afternoon I went to see St Augustine Kilburn – a vast church to hold 1000 people in very many seats – it seems to me nothing could be seen & very little heard – a forlorn church rather I thought.

After over a decade's experimentation with different styles and places of worship, he appears to have settled on a church for reasons other than ritual:

in London Louisa & Beatrice go to St Albans. I went to St Thomas Regent St which I think will be my church – I can kneel comfortably & properly.

Heywood, it seems, though clearly of the Tractarian camp, was as much influenced by considerations of comfort or the sermon he might enjoy as by passion for ritual. Nevertheless, when Dewes decided to abandon St. Augustine's choral worship and other adornments then considered quite ritually advanced, Heywood observes mournfully:

1 April 1877 (Easter) There were no extra candles on the altar & no flags in the chancel & no procession … All this is a great difference from last Easter.

Also Anglo Catholic in tone is his disapproval when 'Miss Dewes' holds a party during Lent. But, whatever the shade of Heywood's churchmanship, the picture the diaries offer of regular religious observance; of attendance at Church Congress in Manchester; and of his appointment as chairman of the Board of Finance of the Manchester Diocesan Church Building Society, suggests his faith-commitment to have been genuine and serious, as when he wrote:

34 HD (15/5/1870).  
35 HD (14/4/1872).  
36 HD (15/5/1871), which Heywood attended later (5/1877).  
37 ‘… the model church of the Ecclesiologists, designed in 1849 …’ – Thompson, 4.  
38 HD (9/11/1877).  
39 HD (5/1877).  
40 HD (20/2/1872).  
41 HD (15/10/1863). Church Congress: annual meeting of members of the Church of England, lay and clerical, to discuss matters religious, moral or social, in which the church is interested. It has no legislative authority, and there is no voting on the questions discussed. It was held in Manchester in 1863, 1888 and 1908 – 'Church Congress', websites.  
42 HD (13/7/1874).
In the evening Mr. Dewes preached a sermon on the grand subject of the atonement – a masterly sermon the preacher is speaking of the great love our dear Master bore to us all, spoke glorious words.

Donor High-Churchmanship is fully expressed at St. Augustine's; a striking example of donor-self-image in its wider sense. That church today continues the tradition established by Heywood, Bodley and Dewes.\(^43\)

The papist-redolent dedication chosen for Peter Richard Hoare's St. Cross, Clayton (1874), provoked an outraged Bishop Lee to refuse consecration.\(^44\) Anglo-Catholicism in both curate-in-charge Charles Lomax\(^45\) and architect William Butterfield, of whose responsibility for All Saints, Margaret Street, the bishop must have been all too well aware, compounded, for Lee, its toxicity.

The nonconformism into which Butterfield was born was perhaps responsible for the paradox in his churchmanship. Though in the forefront of the Gothic revival and an early member of the Ecclesiological Society, one of whose objectives was to restore pre-Reformation liturgy and ritual, he was, his biographer relates, rigidly conservative, disliking, even fearing, any emotion, and adhering strictly to the Book of Common Prayer. He wrote:

Not our feelings but our faith must sustain us. In the thoughtful repetition of the Creed there is the most real, the only real strength.\(^46\)

He was hostile even to the 'revival of catholic practices in private prayer' and wrote, on one occasion, anonymously:

I have no sort of sympathy with lawlessness of any kind whether Episcopal, Evangelical or Ritualistic.\(^47\)

As his biographer has it, he avoided worshipping at either of his two most iconic London churches, All Saints, Margaret Street, designed under the patronage of founding ecclesiologist Alexander Beresford-Hope, and St. Alban's, Holborn (1859-62), 'probably partly because of the ritual innovations – incense, lights, vestments & the elevation of the sacrament – with which they were associated'.\(^48\)

In 1849, when relations between Beresford-Hope and Butterfield were beginning to fray, the latter was pursuing his desire to substitute chancel-screens for the altar-rails he judged an unwelcome innovation. When he suggested this for All Saints, it provoked an outburst in Beresford-Hope:

\(^{43}\) Site-visits (6/6/2010, 18/6/2012).
\(^{44}\) MANCHESTER-Clayton, 1, 4.
\(^{45}\) MANCHESTER-Clayton, 1, 3.
\(^{46}\) Manuscript fragment, Starey collection, cit. Thompson, 33.
\(^{47}\) 'A Layman', The Manchester Guardian, (20/5/1874), cit. Thompson, 33.
\(^{48}\) Thompson, 33.
the stuff of a heresiarch in him, he is of the stamp of Tertullian, Eutyches, etc., stiff, dogmatic, and puritanical, and pushing one side of Catholicism into heresy ... He puts himself above the Western Church.49

But though, from what is known of Butterfield, his then patron's accusations are not far from the truth, the architect's own words on the subject arguably communicate, rather, reverential reflectiveness as to what, essentially, was being enacted at the altar and distributed to the faithful (his own place being, of course, among the congregation):

If we restore this beautiful feature, what need is there of any second fence of rails to the Altar, and why should the congregation go within the screen to receive the Holy Eucharist?

Like so many of Butterfield's town churches, St. Cross 'stand[s] high above [its] surroundings', its materials, though exotic to the Victorian eye, striking today for their intensely local quality ... majestic walls, soot-stained with mill-smoke, rising sheer from a melancholy sea of brick terraces,50

and representing a

... return to a rather gaunt simplicity of shape ... despite the fact that ... the brickwork was strongly patterned and stone-banded. Internally... [n]othing is allowed to challenge the long high main vessel of the church. ... The apparently arbitrary lines have a clear purpose. Line, in fact, is the essence of the new style of the 1860s ...

Charles Lomax, curate between 1860 and 1872, had been inspired by the Rev. Nathaniel Woodard, known for establishing eponymous schools to educate the middle classes in prayerbook-based Tractarian Anglicanism.52 Though nothing of Hoare's churchmanship is known, High Anglican choice of architect, clergy and dedication can hardly be coincidental; churchmanship that still prevails at the church.53

Suggestive of possible High Church leanings in John Taylor's 1878-80 extension of All Saints, Newton Heath – new chancel, choir- and clergy-vestries, organ-chamber, west-end baptistry and porches54 – is the iconography of the 'handsome and costly Reredos' in memory of Taylor's wife, Anne Leng, in which a representation of the Last Supper is surrounded by

passion flower, vine and wheat, pelican, and emblems of All Saints [and] at each end ... a paneled buttress supporting an angel kneeling (carved in white alabaster), and holding the arms and crest of the donor (J. Taylor, Esq.)

49 Law, 175, cit. Thompson, 43.
50 Thompson, 150-151, 320.
51 Ibid, 324ff.
52 Manchester-Clayton, 1, 1.
53 Site-visit (25/5/2010).
54 BR (1882), 446.
a suggestion supported by the north wall's 'elaborate credence'.

An unmentioned aumbry observed in the chancel's north wall is unlikely to be contemporary. Henry Lord, the extension's architect, seems to have been eclectic in his church work – for example, the Grosvenor St. Aidan church of United Reformed persuasion but dealt mainly in the secular, leading to the provisional conclusion that the extension's High accent is more likely, if still uncertainly, derived from donor than architect. All Saints' current churchmanship, moderately High owing to a recent incumbent's preferences, is tolerated with some reluctance by the congregation.

As his son Tom records, it was a 'true churchman' John Marsland Bennett, 'ardent churchman' himself, sought when he commissioned J.S. Crowther architect for St. Benedict, Ardwick (1889). Whether or not, like Houldsworth, the alderman saw 'High Church practices as a means of attracting the working class' a belief inspired by the success of mission by Anglican priests and nuns' to the London poor, he desired a church in which services were to be a model of dignity and grandeur ... the Catholic Faith must be taught in all its fullness, and through the eye as through the ear.

– clarity of notion incontrovertibly expressive of donor. To ensure the church's continuing regulation according to his 'Catholic principles',

he and his sons must solely have the appointment to the living. Bishop Fraser thought differently. He stipulated that he must be the Patron, and not another brick was laid until [Fraser] gave way, and the Patronage deeds were signed.

Once established according to his wishes, he, his wife, Mary – seemingly content to follow her husband's rather than her father's religious inclinations [p77] – and their five sons, ‘all staunch churchmen’, actively participated in St. Benedict's life, in the early days filling ‘all key positions’, the alderman himself being first churchwarden. Tom (1854-1919), his second son, 'a faithful servant to St. Benedict's [and] first Sacristan' was responsible for the ceremonial and ritual in the early days ... During his years at the church he [was] Patron of the living. Yet it must not be supposed that Tom Bennett's devotion was to this church alone. His first duty was to the Holy Catholic Faith ... His remains lie in Walsingham churchyard.

High Churchmanship is revealed in two further aspects: its nature as almost a sub-monastic community of oblates to the Order of Saint Benedict in whose name (as

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56 P04, 443, and passim.
57 Site-visit (25/5/2010).
58 Gunn, theses (1992), 288.
59 Chadwick 2, 308-327.
60 MANCHESTER-Ardwick, 2.
61 MANCHESTER-Ardwick, 3.
62 MANCHESTER-Ardwick, 5.
63 Ibid.
well as that of the founder\textsuperscript{64} it was dedicated; and the many memorials recording non-family parishioners as having been 'for many years a Member of the Guild of St. Benedict', the later ones almost invariably stating the deceased's status as 'Communicant'.

What of Crowther? In churchmanship terms, was Bennet's 'true', code for 'High'? Three factors suggest the architect was considered to present at least no churchmanship-related obstacle to the family. First, the way Tom Bennett refers to him; second, Crowther's other study-church, St Mary, Hulme (1858), is believed, if slightly tenuously [p238], to have been Anglo-Catholic; third, he justifies the practice of prayer for the dead, citing the writings of Augustine, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem and Epiphanius:

> The origin of chantry chapels is to be traced back to the writings of the early Fathers of the Christian Church. These illustrious pioneers of the faith not only asserted in the plainest language the efficacy of intercessory prayer for the welfare and repose of the souls of the departed, but also advocated its practice by the Catholic Church as an incumbent duty.\textsuperscript{65}

When Crowther moved from his original Dissent [p168], it appears to have been to Tractarian-orientated Anglicanism.

Obscurity surrounding Sarah Walker Bubb's St. Peter, Westleigh (1881), by Paley and Austin, is almost total. A very aged parishioner's memory\textsuperscript{66} of connection with Mirfield, the Tractarian monastic house – sole evidence assigning it to this group – has proved unverifiable. Also in vain have been the current incumbent's efforts to discover anything about the donor. Near-total blank, ironically, brings one positive result – affirmation of negative donor-self-image and donor-church-identity. Today, an Anglo-Catholic slant prevails.

A late-twentieth-century incumbent of Joseph Sidebotham's St. Anne, Haughton (1882), writes:

> The altar was originally placed close to the [east] wall and this would indicate that from the outset St. Anne's Church was liturgically advanced in the forefront of the Catholic revival of the Church of England. … On either side of the altar there are three arches … They refer to the sacrifices mentioned in the Old Testament which prefigure the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross that is recalled in the Eucharist Offering. This again is a strong statement of churchmanship. The subjects are from left to right; Abel's sacrifice – Noah's sacrifice – Abraham offering up Isaac – the sacrifice of the 'Scape-Goat' – Aaron the high priest – Solomon's sacrifice.\textsuperscript{67}

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\textsuperscript{64} \ldots derives from the medieval given name "Benedict", from the Latin "Benedictus" meaning blessed. This personal name owed its popularity in the Middle Ages chiefly to St. Benedict (circa 480 - 550)' – 'Bennett Last Name', websites.

\textsuperscript{65} Crowther, 33-4.

\textsuperscript{66} Recounted by Stephen Pollard, site-visit (1/7/2010).

\textsuperscript{67} Manchester-Haughton, 4, 12, 13. For typological interpretations concerning the relationship of Old Testament sacrificial accounts to the Eucharist or Mass, as presented by, among others, the Victorian Anglo-Catholic John Keble, see Landow (1980), 28 et passim.
This discourse on churchmanship is surprising, a subject few parish representatives appear to consider worthy of note: only one other item of parish literature seen in the course of this study is as explicit; that for St. Mary's Balderstone [p232]. And, as the church exhibits numerous signs of Sidebotham's interests – of which churchmanship is not known to be one – the information itself is surprising, though architecturally and iconographically convincing enough. Since churchmanship seems unlikely to have markedly interested the Taylor partnership, Medland as 'arch-rogue',\textsuperscript{68} or Henry as 'the antiquarian, author of Old Halls of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1884',\textsuperscript{69} 'a more scholarly, gentle person',\textsuperscript{70} donor-self-image associated with the observed 'liturgical advance[ment] in the forefront of the Catholic revival of the Church of England', must remain inconclusive. Anglo-Catholic tradition currently prevails.\textsuperscript{71}

St. Paul, Royton's extension (1883) by the Holden family comprised a Decorated-style chancel and memorial east window to John and Jane Holden. Though neither cost nor architect is known, the glass is confirmed as Hardman's.\textsuperscript{72} Its central Decorated tracery contains Christ Salvator Mundi, while scenes from the life of Christ fill the main lights – top, Annunciation, Crucifixion, Resurrection and Nativity; centre, Presentation, Temptation, Transfiguration and Baptism; bottom, the Last Supper with, interestingly, Judas shown haloed, the purse alone distinguishing him from the other disciples. The central light, of the Ascension, occupies the two upper levels immediately over the central figure, and shows a distinctly priestly Christ, at the altar with Host and Chalice [plate 46], suggesting Tractarian leanings. Texts from the Old and New Testaments are incorporated; beneath the top row:

\begin{quote}
He saved them out of their distresses. He brought them out of darkness and the shadow of death; and brake their bonds asunder\textsuperscript{73}
\end{quote}
beneath the central row:

\begin{quote}
And when the hour was come he sat down and the twelve apostles with him, and he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer.\textsuperscript{74}
\end{quote}

Insufficient knowledge of the Holdens prevents any conclusion regarding High Churchmanship's role in donor-self-image at St. Paul's. The church is, today, Anglo-Catholic.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{68} See P69, 43; P71, 35; P04, 66, etc.
\textsuperscript{69} P04, 66.
\textsuperscript{70} 'Medland', websites.
\textsuperscript{71} Site-visit (29/6/2010).
\textsuperscript{72} David O'Connor (email 3/11/2014), confirming Pevsner's suggestion (P04, 612), adding that, Hardman's being RC, the choice has High churchmanship implications.
\textsuperscript{73} Psalm 107, 13-14.
\textsuperscript{74} Luke 22, 14-15.
\textsuperscript{75} Site-visit (5/6/2010).
Of the three men involved in creating St. Elisabeth, Reddish (1883) – donor William Henry Houldsworth, architect Alfred Waterhouse and first-incumbent Adison Crofton – it is hard to say which was chiefly responsible for the exceptionally strong, unequivocally High, accents at its liturgical heart. Houldsworth's model village, is already very different from Greater Manchester's more standard commercial and residential streets; to step inside the church is to enter a world apart. Its impact derives above all from the chancel – apsidal, rich in marble and alabaster, glowing with deep colour, separated from the nave by a magnificent marble screen topped with alabastrine figures of the four Evangelists. Engraved in gilt lettering on the *fasciae* of seven steps leading from nave to altar, is inscribed a verse of a well-known hymn\(^76\) – in this context strongly suggestive of High-Church emphasis on the centrality of 'the Altar', with its sacrificial overtones [plate 47]:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{There let the way appear steps to heaven} \\
\text{All that thou sendest me in mercy given} \\
\text{Angels to beckon me nearer my God to thee} \\
\text{Nearer to thee}
\end{align*}
\]

The eclecticism of this church's interior – a 'free mixture of Gothic Romanesque and early Italian forms'\(^77\) – contributes to what is 'as complete as any Tractarian church could be'.\(^78\) The churchmanship Waterhouse adopted following baptism in 1877 together with his wife and eldest son\(^79\) – the last of his family to take that step – is unmentioned apart from the unevinced assertion that he had 'deserted' the Quaker practice he had followed since childhood to embrace the 'ecclesiastical grandeur of the later Oxford Movement which so much appealed to the best of architects at the time'.\(^80\) However that may be other than architecturally, there is a sense – whether his training with Richard Lane followed inclination or family pressure – that his Quaker roots, and possible continuing allegiance despite turning to Anglicanism, so influenced his practice that it can be said, with hindsight, that his was the sole 'outstanding new name made in secular architecture'.

His career, so far from being typical of the High Victorian architect, is strikingly exceptional. And the secular nature of his work was largely due to a fortuitous lack of opportunity, for Waterhouse in his early years also depended upon a religious connection, the Quakers: the only sect which escaped the chapel-building fever of the period.\(^81\)

Given his tiny ecclesiastical practice nationally – forty-five, a considerable proportion Nonconformist,\(^82\) out of a total 647 commissions – his Reddish church is

\(^{76}\) 'Nearer, my God, to thee', by poet Sarah Fuller Adams (1805-48), in *The English Hymnal* (first edn. 1906), hymn 444. A Unitarian, she was Essex-born – 'Adams', websites.

\(^{77}\) Cunningham, 123.

\(^{78}\) Cunningham, 120.

\(^{79}\) Cunningham, 9.

\(^{80}\) Dobb, 219.

\(^{81}\) Thompson, 27.

\(^{82}\) Cunningham Appendix I, 'List of Works', 207-275.
the more remarkable. Of first incumbent Adison Crofton, little is known. However, what his memorial [p104] reveals of the personal respect, affection and admiration in which his patron held him hints at more than significant input to the project. Houldsworth is variously described as a man 'of considerable wealth and piety'; 'devout churchman'; 'moderately High'; of 'liberal but Catholic faith'; and, perhaps most interestingly, has been counted among those employers who 'saw High Church practices as a means of attracting the working class'. Whatever Houldsworth's own shade, depth of belief or motives for founding the church – an uncertainty calling into question the extent to which High Churchmanship per se was integral here to donor-self-image – it is impossible not to feel there to have been, from a man so singularly endowed with bold imagination and originality, considerable influence on the church he funded so lavishly and for which, as related in the previous chapter, he planned so vigorously. The church today maintains Anglo-Catholic tradition.

LOW CHURCHMANSHIP (Appendix 4.1.2) – 15 churches

The churches evidencing Low Churchmanship are discussed in two subgroups. Of those with clear evidence of Low orientation (4.1.2.a), three have the dedication Christ Church – Moss Side and Friezland (both consecrated 1850, five days apart), and, much later, Walshaw (1892). It may be coincidental that the study's faith-tenet dedications – Christ Church, All Souls, All Saints, Holy Trinity, St. Saviour – are more often than not favoured by Low Churchmen and – including St. Cross, with the High associations so offensive to Bishop Prince Lee [p213] – occur only twice in fourteen (14%) of those identified as High, as against six of fifteen (40%) Low (Appendices 2.1, 4.1). This bias is reinforced by the present Moss Side incumbent's wry exclamation upon learning of his now distinctly High-Church establishment's Evangelical origins, 'That explains the "Christ Church", which usually means Low – something I've always wondered about!' It should be noted, however, first, that London's All Saints, Margaret Street and neighbouring All Souls, Langham Place, demonstrate such dedications to be favoured by extreme High as well as similarly extreme Low; second, that saints, and departed souls, are notably Anglo- and Roman-Catholic preoccupations. Evangelical study-donors may perhaps, rather, have seen dedication in the name of a family-member or saint as either frivolous or doctrinally suspect.

83 Cunningham, 121; REDDISH, 2; Garnett & Howe, 73; REDDISH, 1; Gunn 1992, 288.
84 Site-visit (25/11/2010).
85 Site-visit Christ Church, Moss Side (24/7/2012). Thanks to incumbent Simon Killwick.
The Evangelicalism of Archbishop Sumner is in no doubt. His overriding Shellard, as seen [p165], in the matter of seemingly Evangelically-inspired interior arrangement and 'most dimensions' of Bolton's St. John, Folds Road (1849; demolished 1972), appears to corroborate his national reputation. It suggests, too, strong Evangelical-inspired donor-influence, of significance for donor-self-image.

George Shaw is an architect pivotal to the study. His churchmanship is therefore examined, together with that of Francis Raines, with which it was closely linked, before considering his study-church. The two friends evidently shared attraction to romanticism coexisting with a 'strongly Evangelical Anglicanism which seems to have been prevalent in Saddleworth and other Pennine communities – unsurprising since 'the Evangelical tradition was no less touched by the new [Romantic] cultural style'. More, 'the reason for Shaw writing the diary was the standard Evangelical purpose of keeping a moral record, as confirmed when he writes in his first,

"By recording your thoughts and actions; you have an opportunity of seeing whether they are good or bad."

The Evangelical tone of Raines' new-year sermon concerning

the extreme carelessness which seemed to be manifested by all ranks of people on so solemn an occasion of [?as] the departure of the old year and the entrance of the new. When the following words electrified the whole congregation:

"A year means to heaven or to hell. What if the Almighty should write upon the walls of the habitations of all that are now here present: Before this year closes thou shalt surely die. Yes, what then. Why you would be praying and preparing yourselves for the great exit, such pious, devout exclamations would arise, and you would be constantly on the watch. And why may it not be the case."

strikes Shaw 'very forcibly'. And a few days later this vein of thought is apparent when, with Raines, the conversation turns to cards and the morality of playing for money. Recording this, Shaw – perhaps still affected by the import of the recent sermon, muses:

I thought that even if considering it as innocent and harmless amusement, and only made use of to while away a tedious space of time, yet that tedious space of time, which is so very precious, brings us so much closer to the grave. It is wasting a part of our

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86 ‘Sumner’, ODNB.
87 Dobb, 224; BOLTON-FOLDS-ROAD, 2, 12.
88 Hyde & Petford, passim
89 Hyde & Petford, 39.
91 Hyde & Petford, 39.
92 Quoting Raines? GSDt, 1, with acknowledgements for this previously-unnoticed lead to Hyde & Petford, 39.
93 GSDt, 3 (4/1/1829). Francis Raines was then curate at St. Chad, Saddleworth's, the Shaw family's parish.
lives in a foolish and useless manner and spending a portion of that time of which we
have so little to be prodigal. People of sense may always find something to do in their
leisure hours which will be both instructive and amusing, and combine those two
excellent qualifications utility and pleasure.
Mr. R. considered card playing as much as I did –

– his tone stiffened with what certainly seems an Evangelical ring –

still thought it was no worse than "novel-reading" for that they both alike are equally
frivolous and useless.94

However, though these and doubtless other entries might appear to confirm a
'strongly Evangelical' view of Shaw, such earnestness is found only rarely in his
jottings. Throughout the rest of the diaries, of which a considerable proportion has
been examined for this study, almost nothing is found concerning his religious faith
and practice. Excuses appear, Sunday after Sunday, for failure to attend church, not
atypical being the entry for an occasion when he had arranged to accompany his
aunts, but the 'morning was gloomy so I wrote "could not go".95 The only diary-
entry (found to date) mentioning the word 'Evangelical' is when, visiting Oxford in
July, 1848, he goes
to Trinity Church, a new & very ugly brick Church to hear a celebrated Evangelical
clergyman by name Foley & a relation of the Lord Foley's. – He preached without
books & very finely certainly … 96

And, the same day, 'Went to hear Mr. Foley again', by inference attending an evening
service for that purpose.

This sliver, however, hardly seems to mark him as a fervent Evangelical, and
other entries include references to enjoying wagers, horse-racing, and 'many a
glass'.97 On forays, often with Raines, there are near-daily antiquarian reflections
occupying an incomparably greater part of what he records; presumably a telling
indication of what truly interested and moved him. The following passage, written
when visiting Walter Scott's Abbotsford,98 and the nearby Abbey of Culross,
encapsulates an attitude that is almost a belief-system:

I spent the whole day amongst "long-drawn aisles and fretted vaults" and although no
"pealing anthem swelled the note of praise"99 yet I doubt whether I ever felt or
experienced a more fervid feeling of devotion, unalloyed by the particular dogmas of
zealous teachers. My preacher was Time, and the subject Eternity, and could a more
fitting place for such instruction have been found than this space surrounded by the
gorgeous relics of ancient grandeur, fast sinking beneath time's all purposeful impulse –
And what could afford a better example of the approach of Eternity and another State,
than the decay of mortality and the resting place of the dead.100

94 GSDi, 6-7.
95 GSDiII, 12 (22/2/1832).
96 GSDiv (23/7/1848).
97 GSDiII, 128 (20/5/1832), 242, 285 (20/11/1832).
99 Thomas Gray's 'Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard' (1751).
100 GSIII (11/9/1832).
As Shaw's account has already made clear, during his curacy in Saddleworth
Raines, his apparent mentor, at least sometimes preached sermons suggestive of
Evangelical persuasion, and it was with him that card-playing was discussed. The
first few entries in Raines's diaries,\(^{101}\) covering the period 5-9 August 1829 when he
visited Chester for ordination to the priesthood, contain a number of signs of Low
Churchmanship; that he liked and admired the Evangelical bishop Sumner; that he
was a teetotaller; and that he apparently relished 'A real Evangelical sermon.'\(^{102}\) On
August 25, however, he writes:

Reading a translation of Massillon's Sermons. Free and independent. Well may the
Roman Catholic Church stand, when such able and impartial and good men as
Bourdaloe, Fenelon, etc., have graced it?\(^{103}\)

an unusually broadminded approach for a rigorous Evangelical. Two days later, the
signals are anything but rigorous: attending a party at The Orchard: \(^{104}\)

More than 30 soldiers, fops, belles and all sorts. Everything very gay. More than £20
lost at a game called 'Blind Hookey'!!;

followed, however, by, 'I hate this dreadful way of killing time! It is absolutely
sinful.' On August 29 this interesting entry occurs:

… met Rev. Mr. Eyre who had some ill-tempered remarks on Low Churchmen, or the
'tight-lac'd gentlemen' and 'saints,' as he termed them. I clearly saw that it was all
directed at Me [sic] and indeed when I said, 'We High Churchmen do so-and-so' I was
immediately caught at by Mr. E. I begged him to tell me the difference between the
High Church and Low Church, Methodists, Calvinists, etc. I gave him a knot, which he
could not unloose. We had a great deal of conversation after this …

Francis Raines, it is clear, had a lively wit and sense of humour and, despite frequent
puritanical remarks, was not above pointing out, and humorously, that
churchmanship was questionable. Such contemporaneous records question at least
the rigidity of what was, nevertheless, in both Shaw and Raines almost certainly a
persuasion nearer Evangelical than any other.

Three of his works outwith the study are interesting. The first is St. John the
Evangelist, Wingates, Westthoughton (1859):

Built for a breakaway congregation, following a quarrel over the introduction of ritual
by the incumbent of St. Bartholomew in opposition to the Vicar of Deane and the
Bishop.\(^{105}\)

The second is a Masonic window to commemorate the laying of the 'cube stone'\(^{106}\) at
St. Luke, Heywood, Lancashire in 1862.\(^{107}\) That Shaw was also architect for

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\(^{101}\) Barrow (2011).

\(^{102}\) *Ibid*, 64-5.

\(^{103}\) *Ibid*, 66.

\(^{104}\) Home of St. James' donor – 'Dearden', websites.

\(^{105}\) P04, 676.


The theory goes that the 'Stone of Foundation', a stone once placed in the temple of Solomon's
foundations, was afterwards transported to the Holy of Holies of the second temple. It was a perfect
cube with, inscribed 'on its upper face, within a delta or triangle, the sacred tetragrammon, or
ineffable name of God.'
Christchurch, Healey (1850), where the strongly Masonic Royds family had a chapel (as they also did in the study-church of St. Edmund Falinge [p114]) supports the possibility of his being himself a Freemason. The third – one of the most intriguing of Shaw's commissions – is the Temple of Peace at Hawarden Castle, Flintshire, for W.E. Gladstone (High Anglican since before entering parliament in 1832, and by then Chancellor of the Exchequer)

... in 1864, the architect G. Shaw, of Saddleworth in Yorkshire, was commissioned to design a new tower at the north-west corner of the house, 'containing 3 stories [sic] of which the tower was applied', in the words of the Hawarden Events Book ...

It has been termed a 'political shrine'. Since Shaw never was elected a member of the RIBA – though he did achieve modest status as JP – it is strange Gladstone even knew of him. If Shaw was indeed Evangelical, the leanings of patron and architect must have differed considerably.

Whatever George Shaw's precise churchmanship, no doubt surrounds that of founders, the Whitehead brothers, or Thomas Green, first incumbent of Christ Church, Friezland (1850). A letter from Ralph Radcliffe Whitehead in 1844 to his brother 'Fred' reveals the thinking behind their giving. The project,

a very serious thing in every point of view ... ought to be undertaken as I trust it will be both on your mind and mine, & Heywood's & Dicen's also, with an humble dependence on God and a prayer to him for his blessing. Our feelings all are I believe (and indeed ought to be) that God has blessed us with great prosperity as a family that we have a large population around us looking up to and dependant [sic] on us and as men achieving the spiritual blessings which are freely offered to all, we feel it our duty to do all in our power and extend it to others ...

They required 'the right sort of a man as a clergyman': a 'gentleman'; one who will 'command the respect of our own family and the poor' and also 'the neighbouring clergy' – apparent allusion to a difference over churchmanship between the family and the incumbent of Lydgate parish church, attended thitherto by the brothers (three of them churchwardens):

... if he does the duty which I trust he may he will start out in such bright contrast from his brethren that he will have every hatred, malice and all uncharitableness to bear. He [must be] free from these newfangled notions this Puseyism which puts forms and ceremonies in lieu of our Saviour, he should be an Evangelical painstaking parish priest who will take his Bible and preach his Gospel from it (I do not mean by extemporizing

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107 P04, 237.
109 For geographical reasons in none of the eight Pevsner volumes.
110 'Gladstone', ODNB.
111 Gladstone (2009).
113 He features in none of the RIBA membership lists.
114 Francis Frederick Whitehead (1812-1856).
115 Copied extract headed Thesecombe House, Failsworth, in Rushton 60, 106.
116 Information supplied by Jim Carr, church representative, during first site-visit (29/3/2010).
but one who prefers God's words to man's words)\textsuperscript{117} one who will give himself up entirely to his parish spending his whole time in his duties and in visiting the cottages ...

The paragon they sought materialised as Green who, reputedly procured by Shaw from the Welsh valleys,\textsuperscript{118} after serving nine years at Friezland, was appointed Principal of the Church Missionary College, London,1858, of which he was a most generous and ardent supporter. Again Vicar of this parish from 1870, until he entered into rest Aug. 19\textsuperscript{th} 1896.\textsuperscript{119} – the 'right sort of a man' indeed.

Supreme among integral evidence of the Whiteheads' donor-driven Evangelical intent are, first, the warning, its words carved into the pulpit's panels of darkest wood in pairs – save the last, naturally given its own space:

Yea Woe / is unto / me if / I preach / not the / Gospel

Second is the tablet now in the vestry but originally outside the clergy-entrance, perhaps as a warning to a future incumbent or churchwarden who might not, freed by the grave from the brothers' vigilance, 'do the duty' which Ralph Radcliffe once dared 'trust' they might. Declaring intention and belief as unequivocally and confidently as John Bennett in Ardwick from the opposite end of the churchmanship spectrum,

R. R. WHITEHEAD AND HIS BROTHERS FOUNDERS OF THE CHURCH DESIRE TO LEAVE ON RECORD A STATEMENT OF THE REASONS WHICH HAVE LED THEM TO BUILD AND ENDOW IT AND ALSO AN EXPRESSION OF THOSE VIEWS WHICH BELIEVING THEM TO BE ACCORDING TO THE VERY MIND OF GOD THEY DESIRE EVER TO BE TAUGHT IN IT. TITUS 3 vv 3-9

This passage alludes to the doctrine that sinners, not by their own efforts but by God's mercy, are saved through 'regeneration ... that, being justified by his grace, we might be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.'

Acknowledging debt to divine providence,

THEY WISH THUS TO TESTIFY THEIR THANKFULNESS TO HIM WHOSE ARE THE SILVER AND THE GOLD THAT HE HAS ENABLED THEM TO BUILD A HOUSE TO HIS GLORY. THEY BUILT IT WITH A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SPIRITUAL WELFARE OF THOSE MORE IMMEDIATELY INVOLVED WITH THEIR WORKS AND WHOSE ETERNAL INTERESTS LIE VERY CLOSE TO THEIR HEARTS. THEY HAVE BUILT IT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD GENERALLY

the text concludes surprisingly, 'TO THE END OF TIME'. Then the warning, hedged with prayer:

THEY DO MOST SINCERELY DESIRE AND PRAY THAT NO STATEMENTS MAY EVER BE BROUGHT FORWARD IN THIS CHURCH BUT SUCH AS ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE WHOLE BIBLE IN ITS PLAIN AND NATURAL SENSE

\textsuperscript{117} Thought by Jeremy Gregory to mark distancing from Non-Conformity; possible since, according to Mike Buckley and others, that denomination enjoyed a strong hold in Rochdale.

\textsuperscript{118} Alan Petford, telephone communication.

\textsuperscript{119} Memorial tablet, Friezland.
continuing more strongly:

AND THEY SOLEMNLY CHARGE THE FUTURE PATRONS AND INCUMBENTS OF THIS CHURCH
AS IN THE SIGHT OF GOD, THE FIRST IN THEIR APPOINTMENTS, THE SECOND IN THEIR
TEACHING TO TAKE HEED THAT THE FOLLOWING VITAL TRUTHS MAY EVER BE
PROCLAIMED WITHIN ITS WALLS,

spelling out the requirements for salvation:

VIZ. MAN'S COMPLETELY LOST STATE BY NATURE HIS SALVATION BY GRACE ALONE, THE
RENEWAL OF HIS HEART BY THE HOLY SPIRIT BEFORE HE CAN ENTER THE KINGDOM OF
GOD THE DIVINE INSPIRATION OF THE WHOLE VOLUME OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES
WHICH CONTAINS ALL THINGS NECESSARY TO SALVATION JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH IN
CHRIST JESUS THROUGH HIS ALREADY FINISHED WORK AND ALONE MEDIATION AND THE
CO-EQUAL, CO-ETERNAL DIVINITY OF THE EVER BLESSED TRINITY IN UNITY, GOD THE
FATHER, GOD THE SON AND GOD THE HOLY GHOST TO WHOM BE ALL THE PRAISE AND
WORSHIP AND GLORY FOR EVER AND EVER.

A lower part of the tablet, signed by Green, describes the church's genesis and
constitution. Listing the family's benefactions, including 'the church parsonage house
and schools and master's house, giving the land for sites and [their] plac[ing] in the
fund the sum of 403L 1s 8D [sic] the interest of which is to be applied for the
perpetual repair of the church,' it concludes,

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE STAINED GLASS BY WILLEMENT THE BUILDING AND OAK
CARVINGS WERE EXECUTED ENTIRELY BY SADDLEWORTH MEN UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
GEORGE SHAW, ST. CHAD'S SADDLEWORTH.

If churchmanship is clear, ecclesiological correctness is mixed: felicities –
pulpit and font correctly sited; Decorated style; no box-pews; a chancel arch; sedilia
and credence-table; and an acceptable chancel (40%) – are counterbalanced by a
mere three-step rise between nave and communion-table, which itself, with its
exposed five pairs of legs, would have dismayed an inspecting ecclesiologist, and – a
solecism indeed – seating for the family within the chancel itself. The church today
appears to have somewhat softened its Low stance.

The history of Robert Gardner's Christ Church, Moss Side (1850), with its
anonymous 'popular clergyman of the evangelical school', is singular in more
ways than its change of churchmanship [p168]. The Ecclesiologist seems uncertain
whether to laugh or cry at the 'almost incredible' bill of auction:

"An important property erected in the most substantial manner in the Gothick order of
architecture, and intended for an Episcopal Chapel, ... in the township of Moss Side ... a
very attractive object, designed by an eminent architect, ... an outlay of about £6000
having been employed in its erection. ... A most tempting opportunity is presented for a
clergyman ... in an exceedingly interesting neighbourhood where church
accommodation is much desired by very numerous and respectable families residing in

120 The inscription on this part of the tablet, hard to examine in its current position, relies on an earlier
transcription – OLDHAM-FRIEZLAND, 2.
121 It may be significant that, in Thomas Willement, the Whiteheads had secured the services of Queen
Victoria's glass-painter, one of the very best of his day – see 'Willement', ODNB. I thank David
O'Connor for this insight.
123 Christ's Church [sic], in Loxham, 194.
and describes the architectural plan as monstrously bad. A parallelogram 97 ft. 7 in. by 46 ft. 8 in.; transepts 15 ft. deep by 36 ft. 2 in. wide, with lobbies, vestries, and a tower in the angles; galleries round three sides; an altar against one end of the parallelogram; before it a font, before that a pulpit, and in front of all a reading-pew; – the style what used to be taken for First-Pointed. Is it possible this thing is only just built? The "eminent architect's" name is not given.124

Behind the sale, of course, was the 'Mr. Heath' referred to by Archdeacon Rushton,125 also alluded to as an anonymous 'speculative builder'.126 Robert Gardner's subsequent purchase of the building, warts and all, was, to Richard Loxham, especially pleasing – 'a much sounder churchman & more sober church-builder' – also approved was 'the original name of Christ's Church, given it at the former dedication to religious purposes, being very properly retained.' His enthusiasm makes him expansive:

The ministrations of a popular clergyman of the evangelical school having been secured, the attendance of numerous churchgoers reward the judicious and well-timed outlay: and Christ Church, Heathfield,127 is at length, after its various vicissitudes, a valuable handmaid to the establishment in this vast parish. All praise to that party, who in so many instances, strengthen the bulwarks of our Lion.128

'that party' presumably being the Evangelical Party to which Gardner belonged129 – and conceivably Loxham too – while 'our Lion,' harder of interpretation, may refer to the verse from Revelation, alluding to Christ, 'Then one of the elders said to me, "Do not weep. See, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has conquered …"'.130

Whether influenced by its Evangelical ethos or for other reasons, Christ Church, Moss Side, from information available scores low ecclesiologically; even Loxham sounds bemused by… the Pulpit removed from the center [sic] to a position before the Communion space, which occupies the unorthodox opposite quarter at the West End.131

Thus, a man of, it seems, persuasion quite other than that of the Camdenians concurs with them that something about the church was 'unorthodox'. More recent parish literature notes that 'The Altar was a very small rose wood table and was situated at the West end of the building.'132 Who designed these idiosyncrasies is unknown.

124 E 10, no. 75 (November 1849), 236-7. (omissions, punctuation and spelling as in the original).
125 Rushton 47, 106.
126 Manchester Diocesan Magazine (1904), 11.
127 As it was at one time named, after the developer Heath.
128 Loxham, 194-5.
129 Manchester-Moss-Side, 2.
130 Revelation 5, 5. A current Evangelical website is named after 'Judah's Lion' – websites.
131 Loxham, 195.
132 Manchester-Moss-Side, 4, 3.
Note that it is now referred to as an 'Altar'; as the same source recounts, the third incumbent, John William Challenor, who oversaw the 1903 re-build, was instrumental in selecting architect Cecil Hardisty, apparently a worshipper at the nearby Anglo-Catholic study-church of St. Benedict, as confirmed by evidence pertaining to Ardwick [p168]. From the time of a subsequent incumbent, Lionel du Toit, formerly curate at St. Peter's, Swinton, there seems to have been no doubt that Christ Church, Moss Side, had definitively changed churchmanship in the Tractarian direction – a development of some rarity. And, since the building already existed when Robert Gardner bought it and organised it into an Anglican place of worship, the influence he had – the donor-self-image – must be assumed to have resided primarily in its churchmanship which, as well as the building he bought, no longer prevails.134

The similarities and differences between two Ashton-under-Lyne projects – St. John the Evangelist, Hurst (extended 1862) and St. James the Apostle, Hurst Brook (1865) – identical in prime actors Oldham Whittaker and George Shaw; close in place and time; distant in so much else – make an absorbing study. One of the factors linking funder and architect was almost certainly churchmanship; the other, romanticism.

Whittaker was probably of Evangelical persuasion. Methodism, part of his background, continued to hold the allegiance of members of his family; his elder brother John, having extended Hurst's Methodist New Connexion Church and built it a school costing £4,000, was buried there in 1864, the year preceding St. James's consecration.135 It may well, therefore, have been Shaw's Evangelical reputation, however tenuous the reality [p220-223], that persuaded Whittaker to commission him. But this architect offered more than satisfactory churchmanship; he was also a romantic and antiquarian. The combination of Whittaker's worldly and Shaw's romantic leanings – avidity, respectively, for the trappings of success, and the creative excitement of medievalism – resulted in St. John's Whittaker chapel. Thus, the 'strongly Evangelical Anglicanism' with which Shaw's romanticism was 'tempered'136 seems, in concert with Whittaker, to have receded almost to vanishing point, generating a donor-church-identity of which architect was inextricably part.

At St. James's are Low Church signals including: first, a memorial to the first vicar boasting, in thinly-veiled allusion to what Evangelicals considered the false doctrine of the 'Puseyites':

133 Manchester-Moss-Side, 4, 10.
134 Site-visit (24/7/2012).
135 Parry (undated).
136 Hyde & Petford, 39.
second, enshrined in a glass-topped case a 1598-edition of the Geneva bible, open at Genesis 3\(^{137}\) (Eve taking the forbidden fruit and giving it to Adam); and, third – interesting even if arguably from too long after Whittaker's death to be significant – a memorial to John Bradford, a sixteenth-century Protestant martyr:

**OH ENGLAND, ENGLAND, REPENT THEE OF THY SINS**
**IN MEMORY OF JOHN BRADFORD OF MANCHESTER WHO WAS BURNT AT THE STAKE IN 1555 FOR THE REFORMED FAITH OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.**
"TURN UNTO THE LORD YET ONCE MORE I HEARTILY BESEECH THEE. THOU ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE … WHERE I HAVE TRULY TAUGHT AND PREACHED THE WORD OF GOD. TURN I SAY UNTO YOU ALL AND TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREABOUTS. TURN UNTO THE LORD OUR GOD AND HE WILL TURN UNTO YOU … TAKE IN GOOD PART THESE MY LAST WORDS UNTO EVERY ONE OF YOU."
**BUT FOR THE GRACE OF GOD, THERE GOES JOHN BRADFORD.**
**BY THE REV. J.J. WOOD, MA 1909, CURATE OF THIS CHURCH 1898-1909.**\(^{138}\)

Contrast all this with St. John's extension, whose baronial-romantic flavour, especially in the Whittaker chapel, suggests something strikingly different; if by no means 'ritualistic', at least lacking the evangelically sober style of, say, Christ Church, Walshaw, or, indeed, St. James's, Hurst Brook. Self-image for Whittaker seems expressed far more clearly in the worldly tones of Hurst than in a particular churchmanship.

St. Andrew, Ramsbottom (1875), designed and built as a Scottish Presbyterian place of worship to serve a Scottish Presbyterian family, is particularly anomalous *qua* churchmanship. Not until twenty-seven years after the laying of the foundation stone was it consecrated Anglican [p55]. Its original Low Churchmanship, though abundantly manifest in this building, not least in the original great central pulpit that once completely hid the communion table,\(^{139}\) was not Anglican. Its churchmanship today is unknown.

Evidence of Low Churchmanship at Thomas Evans Lees' St. Mark, Glodwick (1876) is a comment that choice of dedication

remains something of a mystery, but it is thought that as both the founders were known to be strong evangelical men, they might have chosen the name of the first Gospel to be written.\(^{140}\)

Also, that the texts, set in tiles round the walls of the nave, include:

Neither have we obeyed the voice of the LORD our God, to walk in his laws, which he set before us by his servants the prophets.
If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.\(^{141}\)

\(^{137}\) Parry.
\(^{138}\) See Foxe (1555), 1475.
\(^{139}\) BURY-Ramsbottom, 2, 6, 7.
– an Evangelical ring which may or may not reflect Lees', unknown, orientation. If churchmanship was indeed originally Low, it too has changed over time to become, patently, High. 142

Evidence for churchmanship at Bolton's All Souls, Astley Street (1881; redundant) lies in the first place with the 'fervently Evangelical' Thomas Greenhalgh himself.143 Ecclesiological discrepancies between short apsidal chapel and raised altar, irrelevant for churchmanship by that date,144 nonetheless provoke interesting comparisons between All Souls' chancel and those of two similarly apsidal churches that in other respects could hardly be more different; St. Elisabeth, Reddish, and Holy Trinity, Ashton-under-Lyne.145 Regarding length (if apsidal length can be considered a useful measurement at all), the All Souls chancel (41%; joint-seventeenth) is hardly that short, even compared with that of its churchmanship antithesis, St. Elisabeth (49%; joint-ninth). But the real differences seem to lie in detail of style and emphasis. At All Souls, the reredos of Decalogue, Creed and Lord's Prayer; at St. Elisabeth, the 'Nearer my God to Thee', seven-stepped approach to the altar; magnificent sedilia; at Holy Trinity, the Star of David. And All Souls' east window displays texts from the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospels: 'They were all filled with the Holy Ghost'; 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God'; 'then laid they their hands upon them'; 'they received the Word with all readiness of mind'; 'he saith unto him follow me'; and – Jesus' words at Nathaniel's approach, clearly alluding to Thomas' brother, through whose legacy the church was funded – 'behold an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile'.146 The Evangelical emphasis conveys an impression quite different from St. Elisabeth's Christ in Glory flanked by archangels Gabriel and Michael in armour, or Holy Trinity's scenes from the life of Christ – Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Entry into Jerusalem, Gethsemane, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Emmaus, Ascension and Pentecost.

Of the study-churches for which the architectural partnerships of Paley and Austin, or E.G. Paley alone, were responsible, only the Greenhalgh two have virtually undisputed147 Evangelical churchmanship, both very interesting architecturally. As a recent monograph notes of All Souls,
evangelical leanings did not prevent [Thomas Greenhalgh] from commissioning a magnificent church, although they had a very profound influence on the building. The show of a foundation stone-laying was studiously avoided and the desire for a single, undivided congregational space led to a magnificent aisleless nave 52ft wide and six bays long.\textsuperscript{148}

Since 1986 the building, ecclesiastically redundant, has been in the hands of the Churches Conservation Trust.\textsuperscript{149}

The Haworth family's unambiguously Evangelical purpose for Christ Church, Walshaw (1892), surely embodying their self-image, is recorded primarily on a large marble tablet on the wall above what was originally the Haworth pew:

\begin{quote}
TO THE GLORY OF GOD FOR HIS PERPETUAL WORSHIP AND IN AFFECTIONATE REMEMBRANCE OF JESSE HAWORTH OF WALSHAW THIS CHURCH IS INTENDED FOR THE DIFFUSION OF EVANGELICAL DOCTRINE AS SET FORTH IN THE HOLY BIBLE, THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER & THE THIRTY NINE ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AS BY LAW ESTABLISHED: IS DEDICATED BY HIS SISTER NANCY HAWORTH OF WALSHAW & HIS NEPHEW THE REVEREND JOHN GORELL HAWORTH OF TUNSTEAD, CRUMPSALL, MANCHESTER FOR MORE THAN THIRTY SEVEN YEARS VICAR OF TUNSTEAD IN ROSSENDALE. JESSE HAWORTH BORN APRIL 17\textsuperscript{th} 1804, DIED JUNE 3\textsuperscript{rd} 1887, INTERRED IN ALL SAINTS' CHURCHYARD, ELTON.
\end{quote}

Ecclesiology, again overrides churchmanship with eight steps between nave and altar, making it second only to the nine in the church of equally strong but opposite churchmanship, St. Augustine, Pendlebury. The progression is reflected in increasingly ornate flooring until the marble plinth is reached on which stands the altar itself – doubtless differently named by the Haworths. Ecclesiological correctness is shown, too, in other features [p162], perhaps indicating a tussle between ecclesiological and Evangelical correctness. The latter, for these particular donors, must have been far closer to their hearts, and the fact that, as it seems, ecclesiology prevailed illustrates the point that Evangelicals, initially hostile in the 1840s to High Churchmen's architectural views, fell into line when those views became widely accepted, 'on the understanding that they should not contain any aggressively "popish" symbolism'\textsuperscript{150} – perhaps the reason, in this case, for no sedilia, piscina, aumbry or credence.

Today, Christ Church remains Low, its notice-board beside the road proclaiming this both in a 'Jesus Saves' poster and in the notice, with no indication as to what type of church-service it refers: 'Everyone Welcome. Morning Service 10.30 a.m. Evening Service 6.30 p.m.' with, below, 'Living and Sharing the Good News of Jesus Christ'.\textsuperscript{151}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{148} Brandwood, 113.
\item \textsuperscript{149} 'All Souls Crompton', websites.
\item \textsuperscript{150} Yates (1991), 128.
\item \textsuperscript{151} Site-visit (28/6/2010).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
The evidence for Low Churchmanship in each of six churches next discussed (4.1.2.b), referential alone and sometimes vanishingly scant, seems worth presenting here for the glimpses it affords into the currents of churchmanship prevailing in the Deanery of Manchester at the time; for some, additionally, there is helpful information from the oeuvre of the architect. In this group, churchmanship's significance for donor-self-image seems unlikely.

Questioned whether Christ Church, Denshaw (1863), might originally have had any of the four chancel-furnishings, today's unequivocal reply was 'absolutely not'. Following their recent turn from Dissent to Establishment in an area that 'was extremely low church – the district shunned the Oxford Movement' – the donors' churchmanship was 'very low … probably not easily distinguishable from the Independents, Henry Gartside’s father [having] been a pillar of the Delph Independent Church', the tradition in which Henry had been brought up.152 Uniquely in the study, the altar in the (ecclesiologically-incorrect) family-chapel is of stone.

Low Churchmanship in Stephen Blair, co-founder of St. Stephen, Kearsley Moor (1871), is suggested by his wardenship of Bishop Sumner's Evangelically-ordered St. John, Folds Road (1849), disclosed by its first incumbent:

... at the time the church was renewed and opened, a porch on the south side of the Chancel was built and opened to Stephen Blair's pew. The Bishop left me to do as I pleased, and I obtained a Faculty by which that pew and porch are attached to the Bleachery Estate at Mill Hill. My object in doing so was chiefly to obtain pecuniary support, and local interest of every family at those Bleachworks in the future, to a Church and parish so poor as S. John's. Also, it is true that Stephen Blair has done a great deal for the Church (but nothing for the Parson), and I wished to make him some acknowledgment for it.153

Thus singularly favoured at Folds Road, Stephen Blair's Low Churchmanship seems certain, though that is not obviously reflected in his (posthumous) Kearsley church [p36].

'Low Church ... Conservative Evangelical', judges a parish-representative of Charlotte Anne Fletcher's St. Anne, Clifton (1874).154 Similarly Low was St. Thomas, Newhey (1876), founded by the Heaps, of whom a descendant writes: 'The family had been Wesleyan Methodists over many generations; when they became rich and rose socially, they transferred to becoming Anglicans'.155

Finally, St. John the Baptist, Roughtown, Mossley (1878), and Bolton's St. (or The) Saviour (1885), are placed in this group on account of their founders – the former's, the zealously Evangelical Whitehead brothers' only survivor; the latter's,

152 Mike Buckley, email (11/9/2011).
153 Bolton-Folds-Road, 4. (italics original).
155 Thanks to Derek Heap, private communication (25/6/2010, 6/9/2010).
the two 'ardent evangelicals' Thomas and Nathaniel Greenhalgh. Roughtown's ecclesiology rates pretty highly [p177] while nothing is known of demolished The Saviour's but, like Bolton All Souls, the other Greenhalgh study-church, it was designed to enshrine evangelical teaching and was Paley and Austin's.

**BROAD CHURCHMANSHIP (Appendix 4.1.3) – 8 churches**

Referentially, responses to questions on churchmanship put to parish-representatives in the course of site-visits or in subsequent communications were often that the style was neither one thing nor another – middle of the road. This was the case in five of this section's churches – Francis Egerton's St. Paul Walkden Moor, and Beyer's St. James, Gorton (rebuilt and re-consecrated 1848 and 1871 respectively); Buckley's St. Mary, Greenfield (1875) – 'low to middle'; Fitton's St. Mark, Heyside (1878) – 'not particularly high', either originally or now, but became so in the 1890s, with a charismatic phase later; and St. Simon and St. Jude, Bolton (1901) – 'middling'. Broad Churchmanship at St. Thomas, Moorside (1872), and St. Thomas, Bowlee (founded 1877), is suggested, for the former, by Thomas Mellodew's descendant Alice Ramage's description – a choir of women and men; no Sunday restrictive practices; no incense – and, for the latter, more weakly by the Schwabes' history of Unitarianism. Finally, the Radcliffe brothers' St. Mary, Balderstone (1872), though originally 'not High', had an intriguing subsequent churchmanship-history:

> It was not the intention of the founders to alter the churchmanship but an influential figure was R.W. Schofield (a local mill owner) fond of Anglo-Catholicism and it was he who visited St. Gabriel Hulme on behalf of the patrons and secured Father Thomas who started 1911 & was Vicar for 30 years.

His successor had other ideas and there were two court cases in the 1940s about removing Anglo-Catholic items, including an Easter Sepulchre.

This group's architects provide little to supplement such off-the-cuff remarks. Scant knowledge of the Wild and Collins partnership means Heyside continues to share with Roughtown, a degree of churchmanship-obscurity. For Moorside, not a hint of Cockbain's is known. What is learned of Young contributes little to

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156 Brandwood, 112.
157 'All Souls Crompton', websites.
158 Amos Millington – site-visit (27/5/2010).
159 Hedley Richardson – site-visit (29/6/2010).
161 Brian Hartley, church-historian – site-visit (9/5/2012).
162 June Pilling (since deceased) – site-visit (30/6/2010).
163 OLDHAM-MOORSIDE, 5.
164 Hannah Haynes, parish-representative and -historian – site-visit (23/3/2011)
165 Hannah Haynes, email (19/9/2011), story recounted at length in ROCHDALE-BALDERSTONE, 1, 2.
understanding the churchmanship at Walkden. For Gorton and Greenfield, George Shaw's churchmanship is discussed above [p220-223]. Interestingly, these churches of 'middling' churchmanship do indifferently in chancel-nave ratio – a mean thirty-three percent for those of known length.

MIXED CHURCHMANSHIP (Appendix 4.1.4) – 11 churches

Of churches thought to have elements both Low and High, evidence is scant for three. At the Wrights' St. Peter, Belmont (1850), it rests on the parish-representative's assessment – 'Lancashire Low' – contrasted with J.E. Gregan's presumed High Churchmanship [p116] though, even were the assumption about Gregan's churchmanship secure, that could not be held to bar him from accepting a Low commission. For Crompton/Rideout's Holy Trinity, Prestolee (1863), another Shaw church, there are two, possibly conflicting, signals; according to a church representative it was 'Lancashire Low', probably from the start, while a review of the church when new by The Ecclesiologist noted that 'Church principles [are] zealously carried out'. Ralph Fletcher's St. Michael and All Angels, Howe Bridge (1877) has an equally simple disjoint between its parish-representative's reply to the question of churchmanship as 'Low' and the High-Churchmanship associations of the inscription: 'May the souls of the departed …' on the memorial cross to a younger Fletcher outside the entrance to the church.

There is more substance to the other four. Robert Gardner's St. Luke, Chorlton-upon-Medlock (rebuilt and re-consecrated 1864-5) might be thought to reflect its donor's Evangelical churchmanship were it not for:

ST. LUKE'S CHURCH. (THE REV. W.A. DARBY.)
The Rev. W.A. Darby, M.A., the rector, is a gentleman whose name in days gone past was associated with public discussions relating to the Papacy and its aggressions on the Established Church. At that time, as the champion of the Church on Evangelical grounds, he was remarkable for his disposition to detect Jesuitical plots in unsuspected quarters. Though still a zealous watchman over the integrity of the Establishment, there are those who say that with the new church "a change has come o'er the spirit of his dream," and as evidence of this, point to certain high church proclivities in the substitution of a more elaborate ritual for the once simple service. In a recent paper entitled A Plain View of Ritualism, Mr. Francis T. Palgrave endeavours to show that the attempts at a more effective rendering of the English service is the natural consequence of an improvement in church architecture and decorations; that increased display of an aesthetical kind in the building and furniture must in most cases be followed by a corresponding change in the ceremonial. If such a change has taken place at St. Luke's,

166 BR35 (1877), 72.
168 Rev. Dave Thompson, friend of the parish, local historian and ex-churchwarden – site-visit (16/4/2012).
169 E5, 154.
170 Richard Sivill, parish-representative – site-visit (1/7/2010); 'Young Ralph' Fletcher, died 1916, memorial by his widow.
we are inclined to think it is explainable on these grounds, and is more harmless than some people are disposed to admit.\textsuperscript{171}

Though Robert Gardner's known serious Evangelicalism [p43] suggests an architect of sympathetic churchmanship might have been sought for Chorlton, nothing is known of John Lowe's.

Churchmanship at Collyhurst, his earlier-designed study-church, is similarly obscure. His far later (non-study-church) St. George, Heap Bridge, Rochdale (1891) was ecclesiologically-incorrect in having nave and chancel in one; three years before that, he had designed a place of worship for the United Reformed Church.\textsuperscript{172} Much remains obscure about demolished St. Luke's.

In the case of St. James the Apostle, Milnrow (rebuilt and re-consecrated 1869), tension is apparent between James Schofield junior and Canon Raines [p234, n174] concerning supposed churchmanship overtones in the central cross Street had designed for the reredos, virtually contemporaneously with his employment of the same motif at Swinton (also rejected, at the behest of anti-ritualist parishioners). In a letter to the canon, Captain James wrote:

\begin{quote}
You are well aware how opposed my grandmother and self are to any ritualistic notions. By my orders Mr. Thomson wrote to Mr. Street to say I did not at all approve of the red Maltese cross on the white ground over the Communion Table. On making enquiries this morning I find the work is still going on. … Unless my wishes are carried out with regards to this church I shall not attend it at all neither shall I take any interest in it or its schools.\textsuperscript{173}
\end{quote}

At which Canon Raines – despite the Evangelical stance with which he is widely associated – expressed in a letter to Street his 'lack of sympathy with the spirit' behind this petulant demand, openly admitting, however, that the captain's undertaking to fund the church in its entirety (save for the font) had secured his own acquiescence. Bizarrely, Street's substitution for the cross – a bleeding heart design – 'apparently was satisfactory to Captain Schofield'.\textsuperscript{174}

A further point attaching to Street and the Milnrow church is the 'curious note' from Canon Raines to a Mr. Blackburn, found by Leatherbarrow among papers relating to its rebuilding:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{171} MANCHESTER-Chorlton-upon-Medlock, 1.
\textsuperscript{172} P04, 237, 368.
\textsuperscript{173} cit. Leatherbarrow, 78, unreferenced.
\textsuperscript{174} Leatherbarrow, 78-9; the similarity of the 'two anti-ritualist incidents' related to crosses in Swinton and Milnrow led Leatherborough to suspect 'a deliberate connection between them' concocted by the Schofield family and that of Captain James's Swinton bride. Incumbent, Robin Usher, has a rather different story – 'The most interesting churchmanship-related aspect is … the stone "sacred heart" that the architect placed centrally immediately behind the altar, which was objected to (by the Schofields, I think) and covered up with a wooden panel depicting the sun (biblically, a much more idolatrous object!)'. It is still there, although I have never tried to remove the wooden panel that covers it. The panel containing the sun is indeed there [plate 48]; perhaps, unknown to Leatherbarrow, there was a subsequent objection to the heart resulting in the sun.
\end{quote}
I have received what I consider a very curt and ill-mannered letter from Mr. Street which I enclose with my reply. I have not heard from him since. … I find him to be more overbearing than I like and I am not sorry that my intercourse should have ended. But great men have great power, and resistance is not always a wise measure.\textsuperscript{175}

The 'curt and ill-mannered' tone may, one could speculate, have been provoked by Schofield's attitudes, likely to have been particularly offensive to Street, an architect whose work was notoriously 'intimately bound up with his religion'\textsuperscript{176} and whose great object … was that, if possible, every member of the congregation should be able to see the altar, or should at least be so placed as to be able to take an intelligent part, not only in those portions of the service which are conducted from the reading-desk, but also to those more solemn portions which take place before the altar itself.\textsuperscript{177}

This 'great object' would, in this church, have been defeated by the captain's insistence on a private chapel. Furthermore, whatever Raines's views of the captain, little understanding of, or sympathy for, this sort of consideration would have been likely in the far from Tractarian incumbent. Something of Captain James's character seems reflected in the fact that the piscina is said to be imitation – presumably in not being correctly drained.

When James Dearden, Senior, some while before his death in 1862, engaged George Shaw for St. James, Calderbrook (1870), it was a matter of old friends coming together again on a new venture. More than two decades earlier, the two of them had conspired in an unusual way. Whether primarily as a \textit{folie de grandeur} in an extreme pursuit of gentrification by Dearden \textsuperscript{p77-8}, or as perhaps a \textit{folie d’ancienne}, attracting both architect and patron, a chapel Shaw created for Dearden in 1847-9 in Rochdale parish church contained such a convincing, if bizarre, mixture of the genuine and the fake as to be persuasive of ancient aristocratic origins.\textsuperscript{178} At Calderbrook, twenty years downstream, similar tricks out of the question for a new church, and with his partner-in-deception James Dearden having died eight years before the church came to completion and consecration, Shaw seems to have been comparatively restrained. But the grandiose ideas of the elder James Dearden may perhaps have been perpetuated in his grandson, James William – the fourth James Dearden in a row – so far as to inform the latter's choice of Solomon building his Temple for a stained-glass memorial for his possibly slightly less vainglorious father, James Griffith Dearden, whose twenty-first birthday had originally inspired James senior to build the church. Conflicting churchmanship at Calderbrook is found between Shaw's assumed Evangelicalism and the supposed High Church proclivities of Thomas Carter, a curate of Littleborough parish church who took services at St.

\textsuperscript{175}C\textit{i}t Leatherbarrow, 161-2.
\textsuperscript{176}Elliott & Pritchard (1998), 22.
\textsuperscript{177}Street (1888, reissued 1972), 96.
\textsuperscript{178}P04, 589; Hyde & Petford, 41.
James's until two years after its consecration and was subject to complaints from some parishioners. In the church, a brass plaque given by 'two friends' memorialises him. However, there is no reason to suppose that Shaw accepted commissions only from Evangelicals. St. James's is now High, with a locked tabernacle and a statue of the Sacred Heart. Calderbrook's chancel-nave ratio is, apart from Bowlee (originally a school), the study's least (25%).

The supposed element of Low Churchmanship associated with John Seddon's St. Bartholomew, Westhoughton (rebuilt and reconsecrated 1870), burned to the ground shortly before this study began, is posited upon John Seddon's financial support of his Methodist first wife's denomination, his own churchmanship being unknown. Richard Knill Freeman's churchmanship – as a member of the High Church party and at one time an earnest supporter of the local branch of the English Church Union may have found expression in the church, albeit a record of galleries – shocking to Ecclesiological thinking – raises some doubt.

Two churches show evidence of both Low and Broad Churchmanship. For Francis Egerton's St. Mark, Worsley (extended 1851-2) architect George Gilbert Scott was a broad-church Anglican and was never close to the Anglo-Catholic wing which was in the vanguard of church design; as he remarked, 'amongst Anglican architects, Carpenter and Butterfield were the apostles of the high church school—I, of the multitude'.

Evidence of Low Churchmanship is found in the first incumbent, Charles Cameron, an Evangelical type of clergyman with decided views on the bringing up of children, and ... a prolific writer of religious articles, tracts and parochial sermons.

It becomes more mixed – even verging on the High – during the later incumbency of the second vicar, appointed 1872, Earl of Mulgrave, brother of the Countess of Ellesmere:

A bachelor, he was a dedicated and progressive priest who introduced – against initial opposition - choral services, a robed choir and a new organ into the newly-embellished chancel.

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179 Unreferenced article photographed at site-visit 23/7/2010.
180 Site-visit (23/7/2010).
181 BOLTON-Westhoughton, 1.
182 Obituary, Bolton Journal & Guardian (24/6/1904), cit. 'Freeman', websites; thanks to David French for his help generally and for supplying the precise reference, email (5/5/2013).
183 BOLTON-Westhoughton, 3, 26.
184 Scott, 112, cit. 'Scott', ODNB.
185 Worsley, websites.
186 Ibid.
But also of interest, for the light they throw on both patron and architect in matters connected with ecclesiology – albeit during the period preceding the north-aisle and Ellesmere chapel extensions – are passages from the letters Scott wrote to the then Lord Francis Egerton, about the building of the original church. From them, it may be concluded that Egerton was certainly no more than Broad – indeed, probably of little or no churchmanship. Scott's 1844 reply to a letter from his patron suggests some pecuniary caution had crept into Egerton's communications:

I confess I should much regret the shortening of the Chancel and the omission of the Side Chapel. The full proportion of the Chancel I have found by repeated experiments to be essential to the good effect of the Church and the Chapel not only adds to the effect both externally and internally but is a great advantage through its opening a clear way for the Voice from the Altar to persons sitting in the Aisle.\textsuperscript{187}

A further letter to the same effect, but pressing his patron even more strongly, follows just over a fortnight later. Evidently, Scott's views prevailed, but whether they were based, covertly, on the ecclesiological principles he would by then have adopted \cite{181-2} is hard to say. Some two and a half years later, when the church was nearing completion, further problems led Scott to write

I am very sorry that your Lordship should think your directions neglected in respect of the Screen and Chancel seats, if they have been so in any degree it has been unintentionally. I was informed when last at Worsley by Mr Evans, and afterwards received the same information from Lady Ellesmere, that your Lordship had countermanded the screen between the chancel and the side chapel, but as Mr. [illegible name]'s foreman and many of his men were on the spot and had been so for a considerable time it never occurred to my mind that this \cite{illegible name}'s foreman had not been related to them …

Besides chancel-length, the earl, it seems, was seeking – did he this time get his way? – to 'countermand', in the screen, another ecclesiologically-correct feature. But, wealthy as he undoubtedly was, were costs worrying him? It would seem so for in the same letter Scott adds:

I have written to Mr. [illegible name] with a view to finding if possible a purchaser for the screen and seat and most certainly Your Lordship shall not be a loser by the expense which has been incurred since their being countermanded. The cost of the church certainly seems to be from different causes to be \cite{illegible name}'s foreman and many of his men were on the spot and had been so for a considerable time it never occurred to my mind that this \cite{?sense}'s foreman had not been related to them …

There is even mention, in this letter, implying it to have been a feature of the original church, of that ecclesiological horror, a 'gallery'.

A parish-representative's view of St. Mary the Virgin, Davyhulme (1890), as 'very evangelical originally – no candles or cross before World War One',\textsuperscript{189} accords with what is known of architect George Truefitt who, as an Evangelical, was so unsympathetic to 'the high-church arrangements demanded by ecclesiology's leaders

\textsuperscript{187} WORSLEY, 1. Thanks to the parish for sending the photocopied letters.
\textsuperscript{188} WORSLEY, 2.
\textsuperscript{189} Thanks to Sheila Barker, church representative – site-visit (27/5/2010).
[that] his career developed on secular rather than ecclesiastical lines\textsuperscript{190} – a unique phenomenon in this study. However, another account has it that 'from the very beginning' the church displayed

'middle of the road' Anglicanism ... from both Evangelical and Catholic wings of the Church. The first vicar promoted a Tractarian ethos in colour and ceremonial which was later toned down in churchmanship.\textsuperscript{191}

A following observation suggests that stance is reflected today:

over the years as the Church of England has become more colourful in its symbolism so has the worship at St. Mary's though it is still traditional.

Of Wilbraham Egerton's St. Mary, Hulme (1858), one of two churches manifesting both High and Broad Churchmanship, an interesting little piece in a Manchester journal, some years later, in 1869, indicates both its position and that churchmanship was a topic of drawing-room interest:

Most people would, no doubt, call the service at St. Mary's a "high" one. It was, however, a simple Anglican church service we heard performed there. The clergy & choir turned to the east at the creeds … The recent judgment has made as yet no difference to the manner in which the service is conducted at St. Mary's. Candles never were used there, and the priest still stands at the north end not the north side of the altar.\textsuperscript{192}

Possibly contradictory are the High leanings of J.S. Crowther. However, like other churches with this seeming disjoint, the conclusion should probably be that churchmanship was not of all that much importance to most architects. For St. Mary the Virgin, Haughton Green (1876), the categorisation appears rather more secure. There is a discrepancy between the Marian and Eucharistic symbols\textsuperscript{193} in the church's fabric, and its Evangelical reputation – one, indeed, continuing to this day – confirmed by local historian Allan Arrowsmith.\textsuperscript{194}

\textbf{NO EVIDENCE REGARDING CHURCHMANSHIP} (Appendix 4.1.5) – 12 churches

Only six of these still function as churches. For neither them, nor the remainder, has convincing evidence of churchmanship been forthcoming. Also, perhaps, in the case of Albert Hudson Royds' St. Edmund Falinge (1873; J. Medland Taylor), Masonic symbolism can be considered as virtually a churchmanship-equivalent.

\textsuperscript{190} 'Truefitt', \textit{ODNB}.
\textsuperscript{191} MANCHESTER-Davyhulme, 2.
\textsuperscript{192} MANCHESTER-Hulme, 7.
\textsuperscript{193} Site-visit (23/6/2010).
\textsuperscript{194} Allan Arrowsmith, email (24/9/2011).
Summary and Conclusion

In their own image? It is in buildings where a donor's passion is reflected in compelling and distinct churchmanship that donor-self-image is conveyed most vividly. Churchmanship is not just a set of practices, the inclusion of certain ornaments and furnishings or even the holding of tenets of faith. Neither is it, especially later in the period studied, the degree of ecclesiological correctness. They contribute to the aura but it is the addition to these of feeling and conviction in the individuals who created and sustained their churches that is apparent in the most striking examples, endowing them with an almost tangible sense of inspiration and dedication. Such is seen in the High Churchmanship of Pendlebury, with its emphasis on the saints and the heavenly host; in Ardwick's deeply sacramental and monastic flavour; in Reddish's Renaissance opulence, splendour and pointed emphasis on the 'Sacrament of the Altar' – 'Nearer, my God, to Thee!' – and indubitably (though whether or not reflecting Sidebotham's own convictions is unknown) in the sacrificial panels either side of Haughton's high altar. It is also evident in the Low Churchmanship of Friezland's punitive emphasis – 'Yea Woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel' – of Bolton All Souls' didactic use of the Acts of the Apostles; of Walshaw's, like Friezland's, unambiguous statement of Evangelical intent. These, at either end of the spectrum, demonstrate churchmanship in its brightest colours. The aura engendered gives a church impact and speaks strongly of donor-self-image. It is also notable that Louisa and Edward Heywood; the entire Bennett family; and Sidebotham fulfilled active roles for their respective churches at Pendlebury, Ardwick and Haughton.

After a church becomes decommissioned such impact is discernible only through referential evidence and through what remains to be seen, but no longer felt. St. Benedict and All Souls have all but lost their essence now that the former is a climbing centre, the latter, cold and lifeless through disuse. Diminishment of essence reaches its extreme, inevitably, in churches long gone. In their heyday, churchmanship-essence in Benjamin Heywood's and Gregan's Miles Platting; in the Hulme churches of Wilbraham Egerton and the Birley brothers; and in Greenhalgh's The Saviour – each with inferential evidence of strong High or Low Churchmanship – may have burned as brightly as in any now extant.

Such strong churchmanship, though, is comparatively rarely documented. The sense is that most churches from foundation may have lacked strong churchmanship – no more than a leaning in one or the other direction, susceptible to fluctuation over time. Such apparent churchmanship-neutrality is almost certainly a feature of those here defined as Broad or Mixed, and may be responsible for the
scant evidence in many others. Though absent should not be seen as contrary evidence – churches with meagre foundational data could, given fresh evidence, conceivably prove to have churchmanship-essence as strong as any – it may be that (as is evident today) churchmanship interested few churchgoers. Also to be remembered is that the donors of at least ten churches – Bowlee, Newhey, Cheetham, Denshaw, Ashton, Whalley, Ramsbottom, Greenfield, Moss Side and Miles Platting – were previously of Nonconformist allegiance. But, of course, where faith and religious practice are concerned, clear churchmanship is only one signal, though a strong one where present, of donor-self-image.

Study-donors had the prejudices of their diocesan bishops to contend with, notably, in churchmanship terms, Prince Lee's objection to Clayton's St. Cross dedication; and his obstruction of the Radcliffes' original patronage-arrangements for the church they were proposing at Balderstone; a move prompted, it was alleged, by Lee's distaste for what he judged High proclivities in the vicar of Rochdale. There was also Fraser's [plate 49] insistence that he himself hold patronage at Ardwick, doubtless to check the alderman's Tractarian fervour, though unavailing, in the event, against Bennett's stubborness. Despite, however, possibly Higher Churchmanship than Fraser was comfortable with, the Birley family's exceptional munificence gained his approbation. Of third bishop Moorhouse's [plate 50] interactions with study-donors, little evidence exists.

Essence-engendering factors other than churchmanship should also be recognised. The most obvious is Freemasonry [p100]. Though Falinge St. Edmund's huge iconographical and structural impact as a temple devoted to Freemasonry is diminished to the extent of its current lifelessness, its essence is still both integrally and referentially perceptible – albeit (as with Ardwick and Bolton All Souls) seen rather than felt. Another factor possibly capable of engendering almost comparable essence is overwhelming donor-church-identity and donor-self-image, as in Whittaker's family-chapel at Hurst [p124-5]. That essence, though, must depend on the family's continued involvement; once it has waned, as in a decommissioned church, the salt will have lost its savour.

Churchmanship's discernibility depends, at least as much as any other aspect examined in this study, on availability of integral and referential evidence; sought are impressions rather than conclusions. In the handful of churches cited above, churchmanship can be apprehended through impressions of their essence. Beyond this, conclusions, it must be reiterated, are hard to draw.
44. St. John the Evangelist, Cheetham.
Mosaic and reredos.
45. St. Anne, Haughton. Inner sanctuary's sacrificial imagery.
St. Elisabeth, Reddish. Emphasis on the sanctuary: screen; steps, engraved, 'Nearer, my God, to Thee'; sedilia.
50. Bishop James Moorhouse.
Conclusion

There are substantial challenges in a study such as this. Empirically, reliably identifying scale of Anglican church-building, its funding in each case and scoping the donors – in short, establishing a database – was a central difficulty, arguably reliably surmounted for the Deanery of Manchester. More profoundly, devising a methodology to quantify perceived differences of donor-involvement with churches, here termed 'donor-church-identity', was another. More profoundly still, conceptual challenges – the boundaries of self-image; the donors' perspectives; and the identification of driving-forces for his, her or their decisions (an approach to motivation) – are all problematic; their management not eased by a paucity of relevant literature. These issues are discussed in the preceding chapters.

In concluding here, first examined will be how the study's findings and arguments engage with those in the key literature on Victorian philanthropy and how its focus on a neglected aspect of such activity, in scale and personal emphasis – including some of these conceptual issues – may throw new light upon philanthropy's social and psychological aspects. Second, consideration will be given to how some findings – cursorily treated, owing mainly to thesis-constraints – could have been developed; and how others – unaddressed as outside the study's research-orbit and unsuitable for treatment here – could be contextualised in wider frameworks. Among the former group are donors' politics; their architectural choices; the role and contribution of women; and costs in comparison to donors' wealth. Among the latter are church-building and -funding by other denominations and in other industrial centres. Finally, a brief reconsideration is made of donor-church-identity – in their own image?

A mid-twentieth-century work on English philanthropy blithely avoids the thesis' subject-matter, declaring:

Partly for reasons of space, Church and Chapel and their charitable activities will be largely passed over in favour of philanthropies without a specifically religious emphasis.

Critiquing this, another includes 'church-building' among several regrettable exclusions (other omissions with a religious slant being 'Bible societies, ... missions, ... and pastoral aid societies'), opining that by restricting

the discussion to activities which the twentieth century would describe as 'philanthropic,' Mr. Owen prevents himself from discussing charities which the Victorians considered important in securing social amelioration. [His] selectivity also prevents him

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1 David Owen (1965), 20.
2 B. Harrison (1965).
from emphasising the religious origins of social reform and social welfare ...  

More recent scholarly works touch the study's matter, if not conclusions. Gunn leaves no doubt that, begun in the 1850s, led by the Church of England, and targeting Manchester's working-class areas, the massive programme of church and chapel building ... by the later century [leaving] Ancoats, Collyhurst and Miles Platting ... dotted with churches represented 

a major philanthropic enterprise ... unleashing ... private charity.  

cconcerning which, as large employers spearheading the Anglican share in that drive, he cites 

the textile Birleys in Hulme, the banking Heywoods at Miles Platting, the engineering employer Charles Stewart at Collyhurst.  

Meanwhile, Shapely's contribution to the subject is complicated by the substance of his more recently published work – which, as seen, omits reference to church-building – deriving from his doctoral thesis of several years earlier. But his piece from a date between the two concludes, also emphasising the Birleys' role in connection with church-building's 'dramatic increase':

Such large scale benevolence reinforced the idea of 'giving' through the Church as part of an individual's Christian duty.  

Comparing different philanthropic activities, the boost to public-preferment found by Shapely to follow non-church philanthropy is found to be almost non-existent as a result of church-funding. Conversely, the timing found here relating to the 'end-of-life' appears not to have been of interest to researchers into voluntary charity. However, the evangelism judged to have been for many study-donors a possible driving factor has been previously noted: by Harrison, regretting Owen's selectivity as preventing emphasis on 'the religious origins of social reform and social welfare'; by Kidd, referring to the 'drive to "Christianise"' the working class; and by Shapely, remarking on 'notions of Christian duty ... always central to nineteenth-century discourse on poverty' and the very significant part played in Manchester's charitable scene by the Established Church. Above all, Gunn insists on

the centrality of religion to the cultural life of the mid-Victorian middle classes ... It is indeed hard-to conceive of a single sphere of social or cultural existence which religion

3 Ibid, 355-6.  
5 Gunn (1996), 32; 32.  
7 Shapely, 'Saving and Salvation', in TLCAS 92-93 for 1006-7 (1997), 74.  
8 Shapely (2000), especially chs. 4, 5.  
9 Harrison, 356; Owen does, in fact (p. 19), allude to the 'Philanthropy of Piety'.  
did not to some extent penetrate. For if Victorian religion was pre-eminently a matter of faith and belief, it was also much more than this. Churches and chapels were important social centres and sites of ideological production; the discourses of religion shaped social and political identities. They were the sole institutions in which a middle-class population came together on a regular basis and where the family was reconstituted outside the home. Church and chapel occupied a strategic position between ‘public’ and ‘private’, mediating at once the discourses of family and home, accumulation and consumption, collective philanthropy and individual morality.12

The significance of evangelism in spurring philanthropic giving, national and local, seems, therefore, beyond dispute. What the study adds is the donor's personally-directed vision, often avowedly for a workforce, or slanted according to churchmanship or other preference.

In relation to another possible driving-force, paternalism, Owen sees industrial wealth as, by the later nineteenth century, 'developing a quasi-aristocratic sense of obligation'13; Kidd refers to the 'prevalent notion that the beneficent had the right, even the duty, to exert a moral influence upon the needy';14 Shapely, that those associated with charity were seen as caring Christians, serving the community in a display of altruism.15

and that voluntary charities were

at the forefront of middle-class attempts to exert influence over the social displacement which characterised the new urban environment ...vehicles by which they tried to control the habits and morals of the working classes.16

Regarding territorialism, Harrison claims philanthropists preferred to 'see the effects of their donations in their own localities rather than in the slum areas where aid was most needed';17 Rose, that, despite middle-class exodus from the city from 1851,

there remained a concern with the city's problems, with disease, poverty, illiteracy and bad housing; a concern shot through with a continual fear that these corrupting features of the city's life could easily swamp the economic and social progress which they, their fathers and grandfathers had made. Such concern was expressed through activity in the closely associated spheres of culture and philanthropy.18

and Shapely emphasises the 'locality' factor in conferring power through charity.19

Once again, the study highlights personal, individualistic versions of those inferred driving-forces: paternalism towards the donor's own workforce; territorialism over the donor's tenants. Donors of churches – buildings with physical and spiritual presence plain for all to behold – would surely acquire and maintain power and influence very naturally within their immediate living, working or landowning environment.

Not mentioned in the key literature is either dynasticism, perhaps more

12 Gunn (1992), 256.
13 Owen, 470.
14 Kidd, in Kidd & Roberts, 52.
15 Shapely (2000), 64-5.
16 Shapely (1996), 79.
17 Harrison, 367.
18 Michael Rose, in Kidd & Roberts, 104.
19 See Shapely (2000), 84.
than any other approaching the issue of donor-self-image or, clearly related, the study's finding, mentioned above, of imminence-of-death – 'facing their Maker'. This opens the question of motives, which, Harrison insists, 'deserve close attention', and which are self-evidently a crucial part of the social and psychological. Questioning what

strange mixture of idealism, humanity, and arrière pensée inspired so many Victorians to lavish such sums, [what] combination of guilt and compassion ...?

and suggesting

a hidden prompting from within, certainly, but also a social situation – a complex of ideas – which historians are quite competent to analyse. ... It might even be possible to detect recurring biographical patterns among nineteenth-century philanthropists. While the relative importance of different motives may remain obscure, we can at least indicate their range ...

he concludes:

Altruism is certainly not the whole story. ... The psychological condition of the Victorian philanthropist demands investigation. Their obsession with their good works occasionally became an almost passionate act of creation – of a church, for instance?

When compared with what 'philanthropy' generally signifies in the literature, the dynastic driving-force points up church-funding's social and psychological differences and reflects the often intensely personal nature of many or most projects. Thus, for study-donors, 'such sums' are 'lavished', more often than not, to benefit specific groups of dependents, some of them perhaps known intimately and not excluding family, whose respect and liking it is in donors' interest to cultivate. Furthermore, strong evidence is found, in some but not all churches, of ongoing personal involvement both with such dependents and with dynastic aspiration in the churches generated by 'passionate act[s] of creation'. In some but not all, donors worship; serve as wardens; conduct choirs; teach parishioners; erect memorial tributes to forebears; sometimes, poignantly, to sorely-mourned progeny; and provide dedicated family-space, occasionally tombs.

When Harrison goes on to note nineteenth-century 'wastefulness and conspicuous consumption of sorely-needed capital' and wonders,

Did nineteenth-century philanthropy help to divert attention away from more effective remedies for misery, and to preserve an unjust status quo? It was certainly a means of redistributing the national income without disrupting existing institutions [and might have] helped to validate existing social institutions by highlighting the generosity of the rich and the inadequacies of the poor.'

churches like St. Augustine, Pendlebury, spring to mind. The splendour of its stone and stained-glass scheme acted surely to enhance the donor's self-image, not just to evangelise and succour poor dependents beckoned in from surrounding streets.

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20 Harrison, 357.
21 Ibid, 358.
Considering other motives, philanthropic activity certainly had a role to play in alleviating concern dating from the early-nineteenth century about the rich-poor divide and the 'realisation of the need to neutralise conflict which might arise as a result ...' Again, donors would have in mind their workforces and tenants – and, indeed, self-image. The extent of what could be gained through voluntary charitable activity is summed up as

a display of moral duty which ostensibly showed the charitable were fulfilling duties associated with the social citizenship of the late nineteenth century, which earned them the right to symbolic capital and a legitimate form of recognized leadership within the community. Charitable association could transform those whose names became clearly and most constantly involved into local dignitaries of the highest order. Public accolades such as being granted the freedom of the city, the highest honour the council could bestow, coupled with adulation in the local press and periodicals, provided the means of achieving this position.

– with corresponding reward, for

munificence not only earned the gratitude of society but, more concretely, assisted in the ascent of the social ladder.

– such 'ascent', at least in terms of public preferment, not confirmed as resulting from church-creation.

A comment by Shapely suggests the kind of appeal, in terms of control, that church-funding might have for the donor who had the means to practise it, in comparison with the 'contributions' and 'subscriptions' they might otherwise make:

Like all voluntary charities ... success and survival was at the mercy of the public. Financial restrictions meant that charities were rarely inclusive. Power to change rules and vote for committee members lay with subscribers from the general public.

It is hard to imagine some of the study-donors being satisfied with that. Though, within the study's findings, inferences and conclusions, matches can be found for most of the key literature's considerations of motive, the personal slant in many but not all the churches studied, strongly differentiates singular-funded church-building from such general comments. The answer to the question – *in their own image*? – must, for them at least, be clearly positive.

Among areas skimpily treated, what is recorded of donors' politics and broader ideological leanings could helpfully have been developed to consider their significance for image and self-image. Similarly, consideration of architectural style against donor-image could have enabled inferences as to character, though the attraction of opposites – a weak character favouring a muscular style – would arguably need to be accepted as possibilities qualifying glib conclusions.

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22 Rose, 104-5.
23 Shapely, 82.
24 Owen, 470.
25 Shapley (1997), 77.
26 Both suggested by Mark Crinson, internal examiner; I thank him for this, agreeing that the study would benefit from such amplification.
Inadequate attention – paucity of material being contributory – is also given to considering women's contribution, directly or indirectly, usually in the background, to the church-creation projects. Little is known about most of the thirteen female donors and co-donors: Mary Norreys and Elizabeth Bowers, née Norreys; Hannah and Elizabeth Holden; Elizabeth Gartside, née Gartside – just a little included about the curse assumed to have dogged her family and about her part in the church's east window; Nancy Haworth – provision for the poor in her Will briefly mentioned; Sarah Walker Bubb; née Hall, widow of John Hampson – her father a Bury-born cotton manufacturer who retired to live in the south, outside Cheltenham; she had a house near him; Alice Makant, née Haddock, and Margaret Haddock – confusion as to their inheriting as daughters or nieces of 'miller James Haddock'; Jane Schofield – of whom a little in Francis Raines' journal; Charlotte Anne Cotton, ex-Corrie, née Fletcher – a considerable biography furnished; Hannah and Mary Howell – noted what is gleaned of them from the Loxham diaries. Among donors' wives, Louisa Heywood, née Peel, Edward Heywood's wife, appears regularly in his diaries; Julia, née Schwabe, Salis Schwabe's wife, 'carried on her campaign and benevolence in [the education] area for many years after Salis' death'; Anne, née Leng, John Taylor's wife, is noted in the parish magazine as winning 'by her kindness of disposition ... the hearts of all who knew her, and [being] by her constant advice and encouragement ... so largely associated with her husband in all the good works which have been undertaken in connection with our Church and Parish'; and Frances Blair, née Munn, Harrison's widow, is mentioned in association with good works in another parish. Most notable was perhaps Harriet, first countess of Ellesmere who, besides collaborating in her husband's paternalistic initiatives, herself founded the Walkden Moor Servants' School to train 'cleverer local girls', from whom the best were selected for Ellesmere household employment; and the Ellenbrook Chapel and Walkden Church Visiting Society for monthly calls to each cottage and annual distribution of bedding and clothing. Establishing and nurturing other schools and – her 'greatest work' – ending women and children's employment in the mines, all contributed to 'a reputation in her lifetime that cast a halo of honour around the Egerton family' and in 1868 led to the unusual distinction of T. Graham Jackson's Walkden Memorial to her virtues. Comparing more general philanthropic activity, it is worth noting that women

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27 I thank Terry Wyke for this information.
28 Rochdale-Middleton-Bowlee.
29 Makin, theses, 101.
30 William Rogerson, cit. 'Harriet Egerton, first countess of Ellesmere', unreferenced article, copy contributed by Amos Millington.
served to buttress the competitive individualism of the self-made male as well as providing an emotional counterpart to him.31

and came 'to feature prominently in nineteenth-century philanthropy ... a remedy for boredom and invalidism ... Many well-to-do housewives certainly came to look upon "slumming" as a pleasure. ... Fundraising was a female speciality ...32 Women visiting the poor

made a considerable contribution to the stability of nineteenth-century English life; at the same time their own lives were not unaffected. It gave women a shared experience, a wider sympathy, and first-hand knowledge of poverty and distress which were [sic] rare among men except those of the labouring classes.33

The limited material uncovered here is not inconsistent with these comments.

Costs, actual – caveats are noted in Appendix 1.4 – and comparative, pose a vast problem. Owen, commenting on 'the only study made of the question during the period' – noted that the
generality of contributors to late Victorian charity must remain an anonymous mass, for there is little evidence as to their identity, their numbers, and their motives.34

The study to which he refers is Fred Scott's report on charitable institutions in Manchester and Salford for the Manchester Statistical Society. Noting
the insufficiency of legislation alone to promote the fullest well-being of the people.
Voluntary institutions are essential to progress. ... Voluntary effort may therefore be regarded as possessing an equal moral claim for support with legal institutions upon the members of a community.

Scott denounces a situation where

in such a wealthy community many of the voluntary organisations are ... in a chronic state of impecuniosity. ... a very large number of persons who make comfortable livings in Manchester and Salford fail in their duty to support organisations which indirectly increase their means, by the influence that such organisations exert in keeping down the rates.35

Using tables numbering subscribers per number of institutions contributed to; and subscriptions per amounts subscribed,36 he shows how seventy-eight percent of subscribers contribute to just one charity, with fifty percent of contributions being of just one guinea. Though little by way of comparison with church-funding can be deduced from so little detail, one could perhaps suggest that – assuming annual contributions, something Scott's report makes not entirely clear – and further assuming the same mean lifespan as the study-donors' – sixty-nine years – a typical voluntary-charity contributor, starting on attainment of majority aged eighteen, might pay, over a lifetime, fifty-one guineas, while a church-funder, the mean sum for a church being £11,000, would pay almost two-hundred times as much; furthermore,
many church-donors contributed beyond the limits of this study. Interestingly, he adds:

Many ... who regard religion and temperance as the only efficient civilising agencies, contribute liberally to organisations connected with them. But even in the lists of religious and temperance societies, the fact which most strikes one on even a cursory perusal is the great frequency of names which are most familiar in the subscription lists of such institutions as are included in my table.37

A highly valuable measure would clearly be cost of church relative to degree of wealth. But, with probate as possible yardstick leaving uncertain how much a donor had passed on pre-death, and – reality being excluded – incomplete as to true extent,38 the prospect of an uncertain picture as to both actual wealth and true cost of church ruled decisively against the exercise.

Turning to areas that, while offering interesting opportunities for the future, are unaddressed as unsuitable for inclusion in the present study, profitable comparisons with this study's field could be drawn between singular church-funding in, first, other – comparable or contrasting – urban locations; second, other denominations in the Manchester area, were data available. Gunn's comment:

Nonconformist employers were less individually conspicuous in such acts of religious philanthropy ... It was more common for church extension to be funded in subscriptions organized collectively through the chapel or denominational association.39

may, in regard to the latter, be worth noting. No such studies having been identified, either or both could be explored in the future. Further comparisons could profitably be studied between donor- and otherwise-funded churches and – over the intervening 150 years – between continuity and discontinuity of church-use; and between donor-family philanthropic continuity and discontinuity. Also attractive to explore would be Manchester's niche nationally; and donors to the rather more common, subscription-funded churches.

The differences and disparities between churches are not simply measurable; they can strike the visitor, even today, on a church's threshold. Thus, a different flavour is often perceptible between the forty percent assumed family-dedicated, and the eleven percent clearly faith-dedicated; between the near-seventy-five percent of study-churches built near the donor's home and/or workplace, and those with more distant donors; between the eleven providing donor-space, and those not; between those iconographically and textually proclaiming conviction and taste, and those with more reticent or detached donors; between the twelve displaying arms, and those not; perhaps most blatantly in idiosyncratic funerary provision; and memorials, most

37 Ibid, 130.
39 Ibid, 290.
tellingly in their numbers. These differences are what convince of the reality of donor-church-identity and hence of donor-self-image.

Finally, amidst all the variety of these sixty-one churches, this thesis' evidence indicates that many of them possess something that speaks vividly of the donor and even approaches his or her passion. This is what stands out: that, for some, often those of the clearest churchmanship, donor-image shines through, and this is what gives, for them, an unequivocal answer: yes, each of these was indeed created in its donor's image. For others, identity with donor is unapparent; indeed, donor-funding in Manchester was diverse in every aspect; not least in degree of donor-church-identity.
APPENDICES

APPENDIX-INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION.1

ESTABLISHING SINGULAR FUNDING

APPROACHES USED TO IDENTIFY:

♦ 228 churches’ meeting basic criteria of location, date, and substantial building
  ♦ Terry Wyke's 'The Diocese of Manchester: An Introductory Bibliography', in TLCAS 92-93 for 1996-7 (Otley, 1997); information by locality identifies:
    • locality
    • name of church
    • consecration date
    • architect
    • subsequent history: rebuilding, re-consecration, extension, uniting with other churches, demolishment, etc.
  • Manchester Diocesan Archive reference
  ♦ MDDCA (1903); information for 'Parishes, Chapelries, and Districts, Arranged within their respective Ruri-Decanal and Ancient Parishes'; identifies:
    • possible inaccuracies
    • location in the Deanery of Manchester

♦ sixty-one study-churches fulfilling fourth criterion of singular-funding (by an individual or single family – provision of site or endowment excluded for qualifying purposes); sources used:
  ♦ Manchester Diocesan Archives
  ♦ a2a on-line catalogue
    - objective mainly to find leads to funding & cost data
    - easy initial access, especially as compared with hugely extensive hard-catalogue
    - sometimes useful
    - significant funding detail rarely given
  ♦ Manchester Central Library Archives Section
    - objective mainly to find leads to funding & cost data
    - dauntingly copious
    - useful for pre-identified references via a2a, though reference descriptions frequently lack detail
    - significant funding detail found often through parish literature held
  ♦ Archdeacon Rushton's Diocesan Returns
    - objective to pursue references found elsewhere, including via a2a
    - easy access but handwritten entries hard to read
    - almost invariably useful, sometimes exceptionally so
    - limitation – his death in 1860s
  ♦ MDDCA (1860, 1903)
    - objective to ascertain which churches fulfill criterion 3
    - easy of access
    - essential for task
  ♦ church card-index, Local Studies Unit, Manchester Central Library
    - objective to list reference material for each of the 228
    - to study churches to determine eligibility for core-group
    - easy of access
    - comprehensive
    - essential for task
  ♦ subject card-index, Local Studies Unit, Manchester Central Library
    - objective to find parish literature, under author, place or church
    - laborious of access with extremely low rate of result
    - occasional useful finding
bibliographical card-index, Local Studies Unit, Manchester Central Library
- objective to find parish literature, under place name
- virtually no results, as far as I went

Dobb (1978)
- objective to research for information on the 228 churches
- easy of access; readable; provided pointers
- very useful; plenty of results often verifiable elsewhere

internet: googling name of church and 'history' or 'church website' or 'Genuki'
- objective to gain as much relevant information as possible
- generally quite easy of access
- high rate of result, providing pointers often verifiable elsewhere

Manchester Diocese Church List
- objective to get contact details and, where existing, a link to a church's website, often offering a history section
- very easy of access
- high rate of result for contact; moderate rate of result for histories

other websites like on-line *Victoria County History, ODNB*
INTRODUCTION.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF CHURCH-EXTERIORS
(consecration/foundation-date order)

1. St. Paul, Walkden Moor, Worsley (rebuilt, re-consecrated 5/8/1848; W. Young)

1 All, apart from plate 18, the author's photographs. Not photographed: thirteen demolished: St. John, Folds Road, Bolton; St. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting; St. Mary, Hulme; St. Luke, Chorlton-upon-Medlock; St. Philip, Hulme; St. Anne, Brindle Heath; St. Michael, Hulme; St. James, Collyhurst; St. Stephen, Hulme; All Saints, Gorton; St. Bartholomew, Great Lever; The/St. Saviour, Bolton; St. Cyprian, Ordsall, Salford; two since rebuilt: Christ Church, Moss Side; St. Bartholomew, Westhoughton; and four extensions: St. Mark, Worsley; St. John the Evangelist, Hurst; All Saints, Newton Heath; St. Paul, Royton, Oldham.
2. St. Margaret, Whalley Range, Manchester (consecrated 28/4/49; J.P. Harrison)
3. St. Peter, Belmont, Bolton (consecrated 1/4/1850; J.E. Gregan)

4. Christ Church, Friezland, Oldham (consecrated 29/5/50, George Shaw)
5. Holy Trinity, Prestolee, Bolton (consecrated 19/6/1863; George Shaw)
6. Christ Church, Denshaw, Oldham (consecrated 24/9/1863; John Eaton)

7. St. James the Apostle, Hurst Brook, Ashton-under-Lyne (consecrated 28/12/1865; George Shaw)
8. St. Thomas, Pimhole, Bury (consecrated 10/12/1866; Blackwell, Son & Booth)

9. St. James the Apostle, Milnrow, Rochdale (rebuilt, re-consecrated 29/8/1869; G.E. Street)
10. St. James the Great, Calderbrook, Littleborough, Rochdale (consecrated 22/4/1870; George Shaw)
11. St. Peter, Churchgate, Bolton (rebuilt, re-consecrated 29/6/1871; Edward G. Paley of Paley & Austin)
12. St. Stephen, Kearsley Moor, Bolton (consecrated 1/7/1871; J. Medland Taylor)

13. St. John the Evangelist, Cheetham, Manchester (consecrated 10/8/1871; Paley & Austin)
14. St. James, Gorton, Manchester (rebuilt, re-consecrated 2/12/1871; G. & J.R. Shaw)

15. St. Thomas, Moorside, Oldham (consecrated 20/5/1872; H. Cockbain)
16. St. Mary, Balderstone, Rochdale (consecrated 1/7/1872; J.Medland Taylor)
17. St. Edmund, Falinge, Rochdale (consecrated 7/5/1873; J.Medland Taylor)

19. St. Cross, Clayton, Manchester (consecrated 17/6/1874; William Butterfield)
20. St. Anne, Clifton, Swinton (consecrated 19/8/1874; E.M. Barry)
21. St. Andrew, Ramsbottom, Bury (built 1834 as Presbyterian church; became Anglican, consecrated 22/4/1875; Edward Welch and/or William Grant)
22. St. Mary, Greenfield, Oldham (consecrated 6/5/1875; George Shaw)
23. St. Mary the Virgin, Haughton Green, Manchester (consecrated 25/3/1876; J.M. & H. Taylor)

24. St. Mark, Glodwick, Oldham (consecrated 14/6/1876; J. Wild)
25. St. Thomas, Newhey, Rochdale (consecrated 21/12/1876; H. Lloyd)

26. St. Michael and All Angels, Howe Bridge, Atherton (consecrated 8/2/1877, Paley & Austin)
27. St. Thomas, Bowlee, Middleton (founded 1877; J. Ladds)
28. St. John the Baptist, Roughtown, Mossley, Oldham (consecrated 24/4/1878; Wild & Collins)
29. St. Mark, Heyside, Oldham (consecrated 15/5/1878; Wild & Collins)

31. St. Clement, Ordsall, Salford (consecrated 14/9/1878, Paley & Austin)

32. St. James the Great, Westhoughton, Bolton (consecrated 24/2/1881; Paley & Austin)
33. All Souls, Bolton (consecrated 30/6/1881; Paley & Austin)
34. St. Peter, Westleigh, Leigh (consecrated 7/7/1881; Paley & Austin)
35. St. Anne, Haughton (consecrated 29/7/1882; J.M. & H. Taylor)
36. Christ Church, West Didsbury, Manchester (consecrated 5/8/1882; H. Littler)

37. St. Elisabeth, Reddish (consecrated 4/8/1883; Alfred Waterhouse)
38. St. Benedict, Ardwick, Manchester (consecrated 20/3/1889; J.S Crowther)

39. St. Mary the Virgin, Davyhulme, Manchester (consecrated 23/6/1890, G. Truefitt)
40. Christ Church, Walshaw, Bury (consecrated 17/2/1892; Lawrence Booth)
42. St. Ignatius, Ordsall, Salford (consecrated 23/10/1903; Darbyshire & Smith)
APPENDIX 1

1.1 FIFTY CHURCH-DONORS

key:  ●● two churches  ●●● three churches  ●●●● four churches

A  Members of Parliament (6)
(parliamentary-representation date-ordered)

name ➞ (dates) ➞ MP ➞ number of years served ➞ years served ➞ (church/s consecration dates)
1. ●● Egerton, Francis, 1st earl of Ellesmere (1800-53) MP 24 yrs 1822-46 (1848, 1851-2)
2. Heywood, Sir Benjamin (1793-1865) MP 19 mths 10/5/1831-3/12/1832 (1855)
3. Blair brothers Stephen (1804-70) MP 4 yrs 1848-52 & Harrison (c 1812-70) (1871)
4. ●●● Egerton, Wilbraham, First Earl Egerton (1832-1909) MP 25 yrs 1858-83 (1858, 1878, 1899, 1903)
5. ●● Birley, Hugh (1817-83) MP 15 yrs 1868-83 & brothers (1860, 1864, 1869)
6. Houldsworth, Sir William Henry, MP (1834-1917) 23 yrs 1883-1906 (1883)

B  Industrialists (31)
(building-date-ordered; earliest for multiple donors)

Textile-mill-owners
1. ●● Whitehead, Ralph Radcliffe (1809-71) & brothers (1850, 1878)
2. ●● Gardner, Robert (1781-1866) (1850, 1863)
3. ●● Whittaker, Oldham (1810-71) (1862, 1865)
4. Birley, Herbert (1821-90) (1863)
5. Openshaw, Thomas (?1817-70) (1866)
6. Schofield, James (1816-63), Jane & Captain James (1846-83) (1869)
7. Ormrod, Peter (1795-1875) (1871)
8. Mellodew Thomas (1801-79) (1872)
9. Radcliffe, Joshua (1811-91) & brothers (1872)
10. Buckley, Richard (1810-83) (1875)
11. Grant brothers, William (1770-1842), John (1770-1855), Daniel (?1780-1855), & nephew William (1825-73) (1875)
12. Heap brothers, William (1826-79) and James (1828-92) (1876)
13. Lees, Thomas Evans (c. 1829-79) (1876)
14. Schwabe Salis (1800-53) & Frederick (?c. 1845-) (1877)
15. Heginbottom, George (1810-77) (1878)
16. Taylor, John, of Brookdale (1826-98) (1878)
17. Fitton, Richard (1801-79) (1878)
18. ●● Greenhalgh brothers Nathaniel (1816-77) & Thomas (1825-87) (1881, '5)
20. Haworth, Nancy (1817-97) & nephew John Gorell (1822-1907) (1892)

Non-textile factory-owners
21. Rideout, W J (1825-76)/Crompton, T (1792-1858) (1863)
22. Seddon, John (1795-1884) (1870)

Engineers
23. ●● Beyer, Charles Frederick (or Karl Friedrich) (1813-76) (1871, 1879)
24. Stewart, Charles Patrick (1823-82) (1874)
25. Walton, James (1802/3-83) (1876)
Colliery-Owners and Canal-Builders
26. Fletcher, Charlotte Anne (1846-1913) (1874)
27. Fletcher, ‘Old Ralph’ (1815-86) (1877)

Female heirs to industrial concerns
28. Bubb, Mrs. Sarah Walker (dates unknown) (1881)
29. Haddock sisters, Alice Makant, née (1816-97) & Margaret (?) (1881)
30. Howell sisters, Hannah (c. 1798-1876) and Mary (c. 1801-76) (1879)
31. Holden sisters (names and dates unknown) (1882/3)

C Non-Industrialists (13)
building-date-ordered

Bankers
1. Brooks, Samuel (1792-1864) (1849)
2. Loyd, Lewis (1811-91) (1871)
3. Royds, Albert Hudson (1811-90) (1873)
4. Heywood, Edward Stanley (1829-1914) (1874)
5. Hoare, Peter Richard (1803-77) (1874)

Producers of traditional commodities
6. Roberts, William (1806-82) (1882) brewer
7. Bennett, John Marsland (1817-89) (1889) timber-merchant

Landed gentry
8. Dearden, James (1798-1862); James Griffith (1840-1912) (1870)
9. Norreys family (1890)

Clerics
10. Sumner, John Bird (1780-1862) (1849)
11. Wright brothers, Thomas and the Rev. Charles (1799-1865) (1850)
12. Loxham, Thomas (1819-99) (1902)

Public servant
13. Gartside, Henry (1815-80) town clerk & wife Elizabeth Sarah (c. 1804-92)
(1863)
### 1.2 Donors' Public Posts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DETAIL, DATE OF POST [SOURCE]</th>
<th>CHURCH DATES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT (6)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Egerton (1800-57)</td>
<td>1822-46 ['Egerton', <em>ODNB</em>]</td>
<td>re-c. 1848; ext. 1851/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Heywood (1793-1865)</td>
<td>for Lancs. (Whig) – 1831-2 ['Heywood', <em>ODNB</em>]</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Blair (1804-70)</td>
<td>for Bolton (Con) – 1848-52 ['Blair, Stephen', websites]</td>
<td>1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbraham Egerton (1832-1909)</td>
<td>1858-83, then Lords ['Burke (1930)']</td>
<td>1858; 1878; 1899; 1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Birley (1817-883)</td>
<td>1868-83 ['Victorian', websites]</td>
<td>1860; 1864; 1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Henry Houldsworth</td>
<td>1883-1906 ['Houldsworth', <em>ODNB</em>]</td>
<td>1883</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>JUSTICE OF THE PEACE (19)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wm Grant (1769-1842)</td>
<td>1824 ['Bury-Ramsbottom, 1, 77-8]</td>
<td>(1875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PeterOrmrod (1795-1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>re-c. 1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Dearden (1798-1862)</td>
<td>for Lancaster and West Riding ['ROCHDALE-Calderbrook, 2, 4']</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Mellodew (1801-79)</td>
<td>[memorial plaque]</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Richard Hoare (1803-77)</td>
<td>for Devonshire ['Hoare family']</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Buckley (1810-83)</td>
<td>for West Riding, Yorks ['parish']</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Heginbottom (1810-77)</td>
<td>for Ashton, then Southport ['ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE-Holy-Trinity, 1']</td>
<td>1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Hudson Royds (1811-90)</td>
<td>['ROCHDALE-Falinge, 2, 14']</td>
<td>1873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis Loyd (1811-91)</td>
<td>for Surrey ['Loyd, websites']</td>
<td>1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Birley (1812-74)</td>
<td>for Sedgeley, Prestwich &amp; Seedley, Manchester ['Birley, Richard', websites]</td>
<td>1860; 1864; 1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josiah Radcliffe (1815-84)</td>
<td>[parish]</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Hornby Birley (1815-85)</td>
<td>['Birley, Thomas', websites]</td>
<td>1860; 1864; 1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Gartside (1815-80)</td>
<td>['ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE, 2']</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Ralph Fletcher (1816-86)</td>
<td>for Leigh, then Southport, 1859-86 ['ATHERTON, 1']</td>
<td>1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Sidebotham (1824-85)</td>
<td>[Axon (1886)]</td>
<td>1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert Birley (1821-90)</td>
<td>for Spring Bank ['Birley, Herbert', websites]</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Taylor of Brookdale (1826-98)</td>
<td>['Brookdale', websites]</td>
<td>extn. 1878-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Stanley Heywood (1829-1914)</td>
<td>for Lancs. ['Mosley (2003)']</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbraham Egerton (1832-1909)</td>
<td>for Cheshire ['Egerton, Earl', websites]</td>
<td>1858; 1878; 1899; 1903</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>COUNTY MAGISTRATE (4)</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Joshua Radcliffe (1811-91)</td>
<td>by 1866 ['ROCHDALE-Balderstone, 3, 87']</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Sidebotham (1824-85)</td>
<td>for Cheshire [parish]</td>
<td>1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Evans Lees (1829-79)</td>
<td>1866 ['OLDHAM-Glodwick, 1']</td>
<td>1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbraham Egerton (1832-1909)</td>
<td>Chair Cheshire Qtr. Sessions ['Burke (1930)']</td>
<td>1858; 1878; 1899; 1903</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>COUNTY &amp; BOROUGH MAGISTRATE (2)</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stephen Blair (1804-70)</td>
<td>['Blair, Stephen', websites]</td>
<td>1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Evans Lees (1829-79)</td>
<td>soon after 1866 ['OLDHAM-Glodwick, 1']</td>
<td>1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAGISTRATE (6)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Josias Jackson Norreys (né Harris, 1784-1844)</td>
<td>for Lancashire and Cheshire [memorial plaque, St. Michael, Flixton]</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Heginbottom (1810-77)</td>
<td>['ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE-Holy-Trinity, 1']</td>
<td>1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison Blair (1812-70)</td>
<td>from 1850 ['Blair, Stephen', websites]</td>
<td>1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Position</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Frederick Beyer</td>
<td>(1813-76)</td>
<td>shortly before his death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Grant</td>
<td>(1825-73)</td>
<td>visiting Justice Salford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Griffith Dearden</td>
<td>(1840-1912)</td>
<td>for Lancaster, Lincoln, Northampton</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAYOR (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stephen Blair</td>
<td>(1804-70)</td>
<td>of Bolton, 1845-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Heginbottom</td>
<td>(1810-77)</td>
<td>of Ashton, 1863-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josiah Radcliffe</td>
<td>(1815-84)</td>
<td>of Oldham, 1856-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Marsland Bennett</td>
<td>(1817-89)</td>
<td>of Manchester, 1863-5</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALDERMAN (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Marsland Bennett</td>
<td>(1817-89)</td>
<td>of Manchester, 1859-9</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIGH SHERIFF (5)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter Richard Hoare</td>
<td>'of Luscombe' (1803-77)</td>
<td>Devonshire, 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Walton</td>
<td>(1803-83)</td>
<td>Montgomeryshire, 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Hudson Royds</td>
<td>(1811-90)</td>
<td>Worcestershire, 1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis Loyd</td>
<td>(1811-91)</td>
<td>Surrey, 1863</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>LORD LIEUTENANT (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbraham Egerton</td>
<td>(1832-1909)</td>
<td>&amp; Custos Rotulorum – for the County &amp; City of Chester, 1900-1906 [Burke, 1930]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>DEPUTY LIEUTENANT (5)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Josias Jackson</td>
<td>Norreys ('né Harris, 1784-1844)</td>
<td>Lancashire [memorial plaque, St. Michael, Flixton]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldham Whittaker</td>
<td>(1810-71)</td>
<td>Lancashire [ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE-Hurst, 2]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Albert Hudson Royds</td>
<td>(1811-90)</td>
<td>Worcestershire, 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Birley</td>
<td>(1812-74)</td>
<td>Lancashire [Birley, Richard, websites]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Evans Lees</td>
<td>(1829-79)</td>
<td>Lancashire (1873)</td>
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<tr>
<td>COUNCILLOR (5)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John Marsland Bennett</td>
<td>(1817-89)</td>
<td>Ardwick Ward, Manchester, 1851-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Greenhalgh</td>
<td>(1816-77)</td>
<td>Manchester [Rushton 5, 82]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Sidebotham</td>
<td>(1824-85)</td>
<td>when living Bowden [Axon (1886)]</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOCAL BOARD (5)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Heginbottom</td>
<td>(1810-77)</td>
<td>Birkdale, from 1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joshua Radcliffe</td>
<td>(1811-91)</td>
<td>chair of Buersil [ROCHDALE-Balderstone, 4, 87]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison Blair</td>
<td>(1812-70)</td>
<td>Kearsley, 1865-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Greenhalgh</td>
<td>(1816-77)</td>
<td>Astley Bridge, chair 1864-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Heap</td>
<td>(1828-92)</td>
<td>member since 1870 inception; chair, 1870-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>BOARD OF GUARDIANS, POOR LAW AMENDMENT ACT (3)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SCHOOL BOARD (1)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert Birley (1821-90)</td>
<td>from 1870 Chairman of newly-formed School Board: first school in Vine Street, Hulme, built 1874. [Murphy]</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>COMMISSIONER OF POLICE (3)</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joshua Radcliffe (1811-91)</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Radcliffe (1821-85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joshua Radcliffe (1811-91)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>CLERICAL (1)</strong></th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>VOLUNTEER REGIMENTS (3)</strong></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Evans Lees (1829-79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbraham Egerton (1832-1909)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Schofield (1846-83)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>LORDS OF THE MANOR (3)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Seddon (1785-1884)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Griffith Dearden (1840-1912)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Baronet (1)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Heywood (1793-1865)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Fellow of the Royal Society</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Heywood (1793-1865)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**multiple**

**Francis Egerton (1800-1857)** (churches re-c. 1848; ext. 1851/2)


**Albert Hudson Royds (1811-90)** (church 1873)

Deputy Provincial GM of Worcs. Province, 1857-65 [Royds', websites]

Provincial GM of Worcs. Province, 1866-78 [Royds', websites]

'Past Deputy GM of E. Lancs.' [ROCHDALE-Falinge, 2, 15]

Member of the Supreme Council [ROCHDALE-Falinge, 2, 15]

**John Marsland Bennett (1817-89)** – Chair Watch Committee, nearly 24 yrs. (church 1880)

- director Chamber of Commerce, 3 times president
- life-governor, Royal Manchester Institution
- Member Cotton Famine Relief Fund; chaired meetings

[Victorian', websites]

**Wilbraham Egerton (1832-1909)** (churches 1858; 1878; 1899; 1903)

1900-1906 Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for the county and city of Chester, sometime Chairman of the Quarter Sessions of Cheshire; Ecclesiastical Commissioner; Major, Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry; Chancellor of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England; 1886-1900 Past Provincial Grand Master of Cheshire, Past Provincial Grand Master of Mark Masons; 1858-1868 member of parliament for North Cheshire; 1868-1883 member of parliament for Mid-Cheshire. He succeeded as 2nd Baron on his father's death and on 22 July 1897 was created Earl Egerton of Tatton, co. Chester, and Viscount
Salford, co. Lancaster. [Burke, 1930]

JP for Cheshire; captain in the Earl of Chester’s Yeomanry Cavalry; second Chairman of the Manchester Ship Canal (1887-1894) [Egerton, Earl, websites]

William Henry Houldsworth (1834-1917) (church 1883)

served Lancashire County Council, Manchester Chamber of Commerce, Manchester Diocesan Board of Education, and the court of Manchester University (made Hon. LLD); 1905 granted freedom of the city of Manchester ['Houldsworth', ODNB]

miscellaneous

Lewis Loyd (1811-91) - Commissioner of Lieutenancy for City of London ['Lloyd', websites] (church 1871)

Stephen Blair (1804-70) – governor Bolton Grammar School ['Blair, Stephen', websites] (church 1871)

James Heap (1828-92), chairman of Conservative Assocn. [Heap family] (church 1876)

Henry Gartside (1515-1880) – Town Clerk, Ashton-u-Lyne 1847-63; 1875-80. (church 1863)

Boards of Directors


Stephen Blair (1804-70) – Bolton Savings Bank trustee [Blair, Stephen, websites] (church 1871)

George Heginbottom (1810-77) – chair Convalescent Hospital committee [ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE-Holy-Trinity, 1] (church 1878)

Joshua Radcliffe (1811-91) – member of first Gas Committee, 1844 [ROCHDALE-Balderstone, 3, 87] (church 1872)

John Marsland Bennett (1817-89) – several railway directorships [Victorian, websites] (church 1880)

---

### 1.3 Donor-Age at Time of Church-Building

#### Group A MPs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Date(s) of Church(es)</th>
<th>Age at Church-Creation (Posthumous)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Francis Egerton</td>
<td>1800-53</td>
<td>1848; 1851-2</td>
<td>48; 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Heywood</td>
<td>1793-1865</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Blair</td>
<td>1804-70</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>(63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison Blair</td>
<td>1812-70</td>
<td></td>
<td>(59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbraham Egerton</td>
<td>1832-1909</td>
<td>1858; 1878; 1899; 1903</td>
<td>26; 46; 67; 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Birley</td>
<td>1812-74</td>
<td>1860; 1864; 1869</td>
<td>48; 52; 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Hornby Birley</td>
<td>1815-85</td>
<td></td>
<td>45; 49; 54</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hugh Hornby Birley</td>
<td>1817-1883</td>
<td></td>
<td>43; 47; 52</td>
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<tr>
<td>Herbert Birley</td>
<td>1821-90</td>
<td></td>
<td>39; 43; 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Birley</td>
<td>1821-94</td>
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<td>39; 43; 48</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Rev.) Robert Birley</td>
<td>1825-97</td>
<td></td>
<td>35; 39; 44</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Rev.) Alfred Birley</td>
<td>1832-1908</td>
<td></td>
<td>28; 32; 37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arthur Birley</td>
<td>1834-1912</td>
<td></td>
<td>26; 30; 35</td>
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<tr>
<td>WH Houldsworth</td>
<td>1834-1917</td>
<td>1883</td>
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#### Group B Industrialists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Date(s) of Church(es)</th>
<th>Age at Church-Creation (Posthumous)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ralph Radcliffe Whitehead</td>
<td>1809-71</td>
<td>1850; 1878</td>
<td>41; (69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Heywood Whitehead</td>
<td>1810-69</td>
<td></td>
<td>40; (68)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Francis Frederick Whitehead</td>
<td>1812-86</td>
<td></td>
<td>38; 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Dicken Whitehead</td>
<td>1814-86</td>
<td></td>
<td>36; 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Gardner</td>
<td>1781-1866</td>
<td>1850; 1863</td>
<td>69; 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldham Whittaker</td>
<td>1810-71</td>
<td>1862; 1865</td>
<td>52; 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert Birley</td>
<td>1821-90</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Schofield</td>
<td></td>
<td>1869</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Schofield, snr.</td>
<td>1816-63</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Capt.) James Schofield</td>
<td>1846-83</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter Ormrod</td>
<td>1795-1875</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Mellodew</td>
<td>1801-79</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>71</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joshua Radcliffe</td>
<td>1811-91</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>61</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel Radcliffe</td>
<td>1814-76</td>
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<td>58</td>
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<td>Josiah Radcliffe</td>
<td>1815-84</td>
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<td>James Radcliffe</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Radcliffe</td>
<td>1825-76</td>
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<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard Buckley</td>
<td>1810-83</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>65</td>
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<td>Grant family</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Heap</td>
<td>1826-79</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>James Heap</td>
<td>1828-92</td>
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<tr>
<td>T.E. Lees</td>
<td>1829-79</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frederick Schwabe</td>
<td>b. c. 1845</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>c. 32</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Heginbottom</td>
<td>1810-77</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>(67)</td>
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<td>John Taylor</td>
<td>1826-98</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard Fitton</td>
<td>1801-79</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Greenhalgh</td>
<td>1825-87</td>
<td>1881; 1885</td>
<td>56; 60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joseph Sidebotham</td>
<td>1824-85</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nancy Haworth</td>
<td>1817-97</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>75</td>
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<td>John Gorell Haworth</td>
<td>1822-1907</td>
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<td>65</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Openshaw</td>
<td>1817-70</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>49</td>
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<td>W.J. Rideout</td>
<td>1825-76</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Seddon</td>
<td>1795-1884</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Church(es)</td>
<td>Age at Church-Creation (posthumous)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.F. Beyer</td>
<td>1813-76</td>
<td>1871; 1879</td>
<td>58; 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P. Stewart</td>
<td>1823-82</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Walton</td>
<td>1802-3-83</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>74</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charlotte Anne Fletcher</td>
<td>1846-1913</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>'Old Ralph' Fletcher</td>
<td>1815-86</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Walker Bubb</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice Makant</td>
<td>b. c. 1816</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Haddock</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannah Howell</td>
<td>c. 1798-1876</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>c. 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Howell</td>
<td>c. 1801-76</td>
<td></td>
<td>c. 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holden sisters</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1882/3</td>
<td>-</td>
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**Group C Non-Industrialists**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Church(es)</th>
<th>Age at Church-Creation (posthumous)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Brooks</td>
<td>1792-1864</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis Loyd</td>
<td>1811-91</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Hudson Royds</td>
<td>1811-90</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>62</td>
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<tr>
<td>E.S. Heywood</td>
<td>1829-1914</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Richard Hoare</td>
<td>1803-77</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Roberts</td>
<td>1806-82</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Marsland Bennett</td>
<td>1817-89</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Dearden</td>
<td>1798-1862</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>(72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Griffith Dearden</td>
<td>1840-1912</td>
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<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norreys family</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Archb⁶) John Bird Sumner</td>
<td>1780-1862</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Wright</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rev.) Charles Wright</td>
<td>1799-1865</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rev.) Thomas Loxham</td>
<td>1819-99</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Gartside</td>
<td>1815-80</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>48</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Sarah Gartside</td>
<td>1804-92</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**SUMMARY:**

- **Group A** 975/14 = 70
- **Group B** 2481/37 = 67
- **Group C** 1055/14 = 75
- **Total** 4511/65 = 69

**A Members-of-Parliament Church-Funders** (6) 14 individuals with known dates
mean age of death: 975/14 = 70; 0 donors over 64 at time of first consecration

**B Industrialist Church-Funders** (31) 37 individuals with known dates
mean age of death: 2481/37 = 67; 12/37 donors (32%) founded churches aged ≥ 64

**C Non-Industrialist Church-Funders** (14)
mean age of death: 1055/14 = 75; 6/14 donors (43%) founded churches aged ≥ 64

- **Group A**: 0/6 donors (0%) founded (first) churches aged ≥ 64
- **Group B**: 12/37 donors (32%) founded (first) churches aged ≥ 64
- **Group C**: 6/14 donors (43%) founded churches aged ≥ 64

Total 18 of 57 (32%) donors founded churches aged ≥ 64
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>church</th>
<th>donor(s)</th>
<th>consecration</th>
<th>cost</th>
<th>source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Anne, Brindle Heath</td>
<td>H. Birley</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>£1,500</td>
<td>Pendleton, websites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ Church, Moss Side</td>
<td>Gardner</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>£3,000 + £1,000 for endowment</td>
<td>Rushton 47, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. James the Great, Calderbrook</td>
<td>Dearden</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>£3,000</td>
<td>sentence of consecration</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. John Evangelist, Hurst, extn.</td>
<td>Whittaker</td>
<td>ext. 1862</td>
<td>£3,250</td>
<td>Ashton-under-Lyne-Hurst, 2, 1, 103</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. James the Apostle, Ashton-under-Lyne</td>
<td>Whittaker</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>£3,500 + £1,000 towards endowment</td>
<td>Ashton-under-Lyne-Hurst, 1, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mark, Heyside</td>
<td>Fitton</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>£3,500</td>
<td>Heyside, websites</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Mary the Virgin, Haughton Green</td>
<td>Walton</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>£3,500 mean</td>
<td>Manchester-Haughton-Green, 4, 154</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>&gt;£3,000</td>
<td>Manchester-Haughton-Green, 2, 78</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Peter, Belmont</td>
<td>Wright</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>£3,600 church and school, fence, walls etc</td>
<td>Bolton-Belmont, 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Stephen, Kearsley</td>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>£3,900</td>
<td>Bolton-Farnworth-&amp; Kearsley, 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Mark, Worsley, extn.</td>
<td>F. Egerton</td>
<td></td>
<td>£4,000</td>
<td>Worsley, 4, 16</td>
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<td>St. Mary the Virgin, Davyhulme</td>
<td>Norreys</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>£4,000</td>
<td>Manchester-Davyhulme, 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>All Saints, Newton Heath, extension</td>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td></td>
<td>£4,000-£5,000 for 'nave, N &amp; S aisles, chancel, organ chamber, ... vestries'</td>
<td>Manchester-Newton-Heath, 1, 446</td>
</tr>
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<td>£4,100</td>
<td>Manchester-Newton-Heath, 4</td>
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<td></td>
<td>£3,100</td>
<td>Br 17/1/1880, 84</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. John, Folds Road, Bolton</td>
<td>Sumner</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>£4,378 10s. 0d.</td>
<td>Bolton-Folds-Road, 3, 131</td>
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<td>St. Paul, Walkden</td>
<td>F. Egerton</td>
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<td>£4,500</td>
<td>Worsley, 4</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>≥£5,000 – &lt;£10,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. John Evangelist, Miles Platting</td>
<td>B. Heywood</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>£5,000</td>
<td>Manchester-Miles-Platting, 3, 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Holy Trinity, Prestolee</td>
<td>Rideout</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>£5,000</td>
<td>Bolton-Prestolee, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Andrew, Ramsbottom</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>‘just over £5,000’</td>
<td>Bury-Ramsbottom, 2, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John the Baptist, Roughton</td>
<td>Whitehead</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>£5,714</td>
<td>Mossley</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Margaret, Whalley Range</td>
<td>Brooks</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>£6,000</td>
<td>Manchester-Whalley-Range, 4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£8,000; school, £3,000; parsonage, £1,700 + land</td>
<td>Manchester-Whalley-Range, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c £8,000 w endowment</td>
<td>Loxham, 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Bartholomew, Great Lever</td>
<td>Howell</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>£6,000 + £3,000 endowment.</td>
<td>Dobb (1978), 175f.</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Stephen, Hulme</td>
<td>Birley</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>c. £6,000</td>
<td>Manchester-Hulme, 12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christ Church, Denshaw</td>
<td>Gartside</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>£6,000; £7,000 incl. endowment</td>
<td>Oldham-Denshaw, 1</td>
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<td>£7,500-£8,000 est. incl. parsonage</td>
<td>Oldham-Denshaw, 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Michael &amp; All Angels, Howe Bridge</td>
<td>R. Fletcher</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>£6,300 mean</td>
<td>Atherton, 1, 378</td>
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<td>£6,000</td>
<td>Atherton, 3</td>
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<td>£5,000</td>
<td>Atherton, 2</td>
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<td>£8,030 all-in total</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. James, Gorton</td>
<td>Beyer</td>
<td>reb. rec. 1871</td>
<td>£6,421 for church + £1,116 towards rectory</td>
<td>Manchester-Gorton, 3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>£6,000</td>
<td>Manchester-Gorton, 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Parish</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Total Cost</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Michael, Hulme</td>
<td>Birley 1864</td>
<td>£7,000</td>
<td>MANCHESTER-Hulme, 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Peter, Westleigh</td>
<td>Bubb 1881</td>
<td>£7,000</td>
<td>Pevsner (2006), 230</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Luke, Chorlton-upon-Medlock</td>
<td>Gardner r. 1865</td>
<td>£7,000</td>
<td>Axon, 276</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Mary, Greenfield</td>
<td>Buckley 1875</td>
<td>£7,000 for church &amp; furnishings</td>
<td>OLDHAM-Greenfield, 2</td>
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<td>St. Bartholomew, Westhoughton</td>
<td>Seddon 1870</td>
<td>c. £7,000</td>
<td>BOLTON-Westhoughton, 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>All Saints, Gorton</td>
<td>Beyer 1879</td>
<td>church c £7,000, parsonage c £2,000</td>
<td>MANCHESTER-Gorton, 5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>St. James the Great, Daisy Hill</td>
<td>Haddock 1881</td>
<td>£7,750 mean &gt; £9,000</td>
<td>BOLTON-Westhoughton, 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Simon &amp; St. Jude, Great Lever</td>
<td>Loxham 1901</td>
<td>£8,000</td>
<td>BOLTON-Great-Lever</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Philip, Hulme</td>
<td>Birley 1860 predicted cost</td>
<td>£8,000, excl. site; parsonage c £1,700, schools c £3,000</td>
<td>MANCHESTER-Hulme, 3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Thomas, Pimhole</td>
<td>Openshaw 1866</td>
<td>≥ £8,000</td>
<td>BURY-Pimhole, 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. James the Apostle, Milnrow</td>
<td>Schofield reb. rec. 1869</td>
<td>£8,160</td>
<td>ROCHDALE-Milnrow, 6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Clement, Ordsall</td>
<td>W. Egerton 1878</td>
<td>≥£9,000 'well over … incl. fittings, furniture &amp; boundary walls'</td>
<td>SALFORD-Ordsall, 3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>≥£10,000 – &lt;£15,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Thomas, Newhey</td>
<td>Heap 1876</td>
<td>c £10,000</td>
<td>ROCHDALE-Newhey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mark, Glodwick</td>
<td>Lees 1876</td>
<td>c £10,000</td>
<td>OLDHAM-Glodwick, 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Thomas, Moorside</td>
<td>Mellodew 1872</td>
<td>£10,000 + £3,000 endowment</td>
<td>OLDHAM-Moorside, 3, 14</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Mary, Balderstone</td>
<td>Radcliffe 1872</td>
<td>£10,800 mean £13,590 7s. 4d. incl. fittings, school &amp; parsonage¹</td>
<td>ROCHDALE-Balderstone, 2, 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Cross, Clayton</td>
<td>Hoare 1874</td>
<td>£11,090 mean £12,000 incl. 12,069 sq. yds. for churchyard</td>
<td>MANCHESTER-Clayton, 1, 4 (both sums)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Holy Trinity, Ashton-u-Lyne</td>
<td>Heginbottom 1878</td>
<td>£12,500 mean &lt;£15,000</td>
<td>Ashton-under-Lyne, Parish, websites</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Christ Church, West Didsbury</td>
<td>Roberts 1882</td>
<td>£13,000 – total gift; £18,000, incl. site</td>
<td>MANCHESTER-Didsbury, 1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>≥£15,000 – &lt;£20,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Anne, Haughton</td>
<td>Sidebotham 1882</td>
<td>£15,000 mean £20,000 – church</td>
<td>MANCHESTER-Haughton, 5</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>MANCHESTER-Haughton, 2, 46</td>
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<td>MANCHESTER-Haughton, 1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Anne, Clifton</td>
<td>C.A. Fletcher 1874</td>
<td>£16,000</td>
<td>Pevsner (2004), 192</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Mary, Hulme</td>
<td>W. Egerton 1858</td>
<td>&gt;£16,000</td>
<td>Axon, 275</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Consecration sentence: ‘£8,000 or thereabouts. In 1942 Father Thomas quoted the total cost of constructing, fitting out and opening the building as ‘£13,590. 7. 4. … The discrepancy between the two figures is surprising; the latter is more likely to be correct.’ - ROCHDALE-Balderstone, 2, 22.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Architect/Builder</th>
<th>Notes/Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christ Church, Friezland</td>
<td>Whitehead 1850</td>
<td>church, school, vicarage &amp; endowment £16,000-£17,000</td>
<td>OLDHAM-Friezland, 1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£12,000 incl. schs &amp; parsonage</td>
<td>OLDHAM-Lydgate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>≥£20,000 – &lt;£25,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John the Evangelist, Cheetham</td>
<td>Loyd 1871</td>
<td>£20,000 for church, rectory, £200 endowment, site for schools, reredos, etc</td>
<td>MANCHESTER-Cheetham, 2, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Souls, Astley Street, Bolton</td>
<td>Greenhalgh 1881</td>
<td>£20,000</td>
<td>Bolton-Crompton, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£16,500 unfitted</td>
<td>All Souls, Bolton, websites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; £27,000 'whole complex'</td>
<td>Dobb, 181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Benedict, Ardwick</td>
<td>Bennett 1880</td>
<td>£22,000 mean</td>
<td>Manchester-Ardwick, 6</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. £24,000</td>
<td>Manchester-Ardwick, 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£20,000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>≥£25,000 – &lt;£30,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Edmund, Falinge</td>
<td>Royds 1873</td>
<td>£25,000 mean</td>
<td>Rochdale-Falinge, 2, 15</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>≥ £30,000</td>
<td>Pevsner (2004), 590</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>≥ £28,000</td>
<td>Buttress</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£22,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. £20,000</td>
<td>Rochdale-Falinge, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£20,000–£30,000</td>
<td>Royds, websites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ Church, Walshaw</td>
<td>Haworth 1892</td>
<td>£25,000 mean</td>
<td>Manchester-Walshaw, 1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>≥ £28,000</td>
<td>Pevsner (2004), 671</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£28,000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£20,000</td>
<td>Manchester-Walshaw, 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. James, Collyhurst</td>
<td>Stewart 1874</td>
<td>£26,000 mean (without site, etc. costs)</td>
<td>Manchester-Collyhurst, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£30,000</td>
<td>Dobb, 121, cit. Gunn, 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£27,000</td>
<td>Manchester-Collyhurst, 4; Axon, 341</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>£21,000</td>
<td>Manchester-Collyhurst, 5</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>£15,000 incl. site</td>
<td>Manchester-Collyhurst, 6</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£26,601 incl. site, p** &amp; schs</td>
<td>Manchester-Collyhurst, 2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>£26–£27,000, land and buildings</td>
<td>Manchester-Collyhurst, 3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>≥£30,000 – &lt;£35,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The/St. Saviour, Deane Road, Bolton</td>
<td>Greenhalgh 1885</td>
<td>£30,000 including schools &amp; vicarage</td>
<td>Bolton-Deane</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Elisabeth, Reddish</td>
<td>Houldsworth 1883</td>
<td>£31,000 mean</td>
<td>Reddish, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£36,000 with fittings</td>
<td>Reddish, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£20,000–£30,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£19,425 + £125 in 1890</td>
<td>Cunningham et al, 258.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>≥£35,000 – &lt;£45,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pendlebury</td>
<td>Heywood 1874</td>
<td>£35,178 mean</td>
<td>Augustine's, St., websites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£37,000 church; £50,000 incl. sexton's gatehouse, schools</td>
<td>Pendlebury, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£33,356</td>
<td>TLCAS 4 (1887)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Peter, Churchgate, Bolton</td>
<td>Ormrod 1871</td>
<td>£45,000 – £60,000 incl. addns</td>
<td>Bolton-Churchgate, 2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; £45,000</td>
<td>Bolton, 1, 224</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Thomas, Bowlee</td>
<td>Schwabe est. 1877</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Paul, Royton, extn.</td>
<td>Holden</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Cyprian, Ordsall</td>
<td>W. Egerton 1899</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Ignatius, Ordsall</td>
<td>W. Egerton 1903</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cost</th>
<th>group A</th>
<th>group B</th>
<th>group C</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>total cost</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£1,500 – &lt; £5,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>£50,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≥£5,000 – &lt;£10,000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>£158,340</td>
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<tr>
<td>≥£10,000 – &lt;£15,000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>£77,390</td>
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<tr>
<td>≥£15,000 – &lt;£20,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>£63,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≥£20,000 – &lt;£25,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>£62,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>≥£25,000 – &lt;£30,000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<td>≥£30,000 – &lt;£35,000</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>£61,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≥£35,000 – £45,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>£80,178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>£633,538</td>
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Cost unknown: 4
Mean £631,720/57 = £11,083

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>churches of known cost</th>
<th>under £10,000</th>
<th>under £15,000</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MPs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8 (40%)</td>
<td>8 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>industrialists</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>21 (62%)</td>
<td>26 (76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-industrialists</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7 (54%)</td>
<td>9 (69%)</td>
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## Appendix 2

### 2.1 Dedications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dedicated in name of family-member (22)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary the Virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>apostles (7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James the Apostle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James the Great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>first Christian martyr (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stephen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>other saints (9)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elisabeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedict</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>faith-dedicated (11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christ Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moss Side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denshaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Didsbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walshaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Trinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Saints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Souls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St./The Saviour</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dedicated in name of unknown family association (20)</th>
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<tr>
<td>evangelists (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Evangelist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>apostles (9)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartholomew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon &amp; Jude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Christian Martyr (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Archangels (2)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Hulme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael &amp; All Angels</td>
<td>Howe Bridge</td>
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<tr>
<th>Church-Fathers (3)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Clement</td>
<td>Ordsall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprian</td>
<td>Ordsall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignatius</td>
<td>Ordsall</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Archbishop of Canterbury (1)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Augustine of Canterbury</td>
<td>Pendlebury</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 irrelevant: 4 extensions (Newton Heath, Worsley, Royton, John Evangelist Hurst); 4 re-consecrations (Bolton-Churchgate, Bartholomew-Westhoughton, Chorlton, James-Gorton)
2.2 DONOR-CHURCH-IDENTITY
[donor-numbers as in Appendix 1.1]

48 VISITED
42 ASSESSED FOR DONOR-IDENTITY-Scores, RANGING FROM NEGATIVE TO VERY HIGH
6 EXCLUDED FROM DISCUSSION OF IDENTI TY

13 DEMOLISHED

ten with minimal integral evidence of donor-church-identity

I five with geographically-distanced donors

1. St. James, Gorton, Manchester (originally St. Thomas)
   rebuilt and re-consecrated: 2/12/1871
   donor: Charles Frederick Beyer (1813-1876) [B23]
   architect: J.R. Shaw

2. St. Cross, Clayton, Manchester
   consecrated: 17/6/1874
   donor: Peter Richard Hoare (1803-1877) [C5]
   architect: William Butterfield

3. St. Mary the Virgin, Haughton Green, Manchester
   consecrated: 25/3/1876
   donor: James Walton (1803-1883) [B25]
   architect: J.M. & H. Taylor

4. St. Peter, Westleigh, Leigh
   consecrated: 7/7/1881
   donor: Mrs. Sarah W. Bubb (dates unknown) [B28]
   architects: Paley and Austin

5. St. Elisabeth, Reddish
   consecrated: 4/8/1883
   donor: Sir William Henry Houldsworth (1834-1917) [A6]
   architect: Alfred Waterhouse

II five with socially-distanced donors

6. St. Clement, Ordsall, Salford
   consecrated: 14/9/1878
   donor: Wilbraham Egerton [A4]
   architects: Paley and Austin

7. St. Paul, Walkden Moor, Worsley (originally St. Thomas)
   rebuilt and re-consecrated: 5/8/1848
   donor: Lord Francis Egerton, 1st Earl of Ellesmere (1800-1857) [A1]
   architect: W. Young

8. St. Margaret, Whalley Range, Manchester
   consecrated: 28/4/1849
   donor: Samuel Brooks (1792-1864) [C1]
   architect: J.P. Harrison

9. Holy Trinity, Ashton-under-Lyne
   consecrated: 19/6/1878
   donor: George Heginbottom (1810-1877) [B15]
   architect: J. Medland & Henry Taylor

10. St. James the Apostle, Hurst Brook, Ashton-under-Lyne [i.e. the Great]
    consecrated: 28/12/1865
    donor: Oldham Whittaker (1810-71) [B3]
    architect: George Shaw
III    seven with little integral evidence of donor-church-identity

11. St. John the Baptist, Roughtown, Mossley
    consecrated: 24/4/1878
    donors: Whitehead brothers (spanning 1809-1886) [B1]
    architect: Wild & Collins

12. St. Peter, Churchgate, Bolton
    re-consecrated: 22/4/1871
    donor: Peter Ormrod (1795-1875) [B7]
    E.G. Paley, of Paley & Austin

13. St. John the Evangelist, Cheetham, Manchester
    consecrated: 10/8/1871
    donor: Lewis Loyd (1811-1891) [C2]
    architects: Paley & Austin

14. Christ Church, West Didsbury, Manchester
    consecrated: 5/8/1882
    donor: William James Roberts, of Darley Dale (1806-1888) [C6]
    architect: H. Littler

15. St. Simon & St. Jude, Great Lever, Bolton
    consecrated: 5/11/1901; closed: 2011
    donor: Rev. Thomas Loxham (1819-1899) [C12]
    architect: R.K. Freeman

16. St. Thomas, Bowlee, Middleton
    established, as Bowlee church school (never consecrated): 1877
    donors: Schwabe family [B14]
    architect: John Ladds

17. St. Mary the Virgin, Davyhulme, Manchester
    consecrated: 23/6/1890
    donors: Norreys family [C9]
    architect: G. Truefit

IV    six with modest integral evidence of donor-church-identity

18. St. Anne, Clifton, Swinton
    consecrated: 19/8/1874
    donor: Charlotte Anne Cotton/Corrie, née Fletcher (1845-1913) [B26]
    architect: E.M. Barry

19. Holy Trinity, Prestolee, Bolton
    consecrated: 19/6/1863
    donor: William Jackson Rideout [B21]
    imo uncle, Thomas Bonsor Crompton
    architect: George Shaw

20. St. James the Great, Daisy Hill, Westhoughton, Bolton
    consecrated: 22/4/1881
    donor: Mrs. Alice Makant & Miss Margaret Haddock [B29]
    architects: Paley & Austin

21. St. Thomas, Pimhole, Bury
    consecrated: 10/12/1866
    donor: Thomas Openshaw (b. after 1783, d. 1869/70) [B5]
    architect: Blackwell, Son & Booth

22. St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pendlebury
    consecrated 26/5/1874
    donor: Edward Stanley Heywood (1829-1914) [C4]
    architects: Bodley & Garner
23. St. Stephen, Kearsley Moor, Bolton  
consecrated: 1/7/1871  
donors: Stephen Blair (1804-1870) & Harrison (c. 1812-1870)  
architects: J.M. & H. Taylor

V  
eight with considerable integral evidence of donor-church-identity

24. All Souls, Astley Street, Bolton  
consecrated: 30/6/1881; closed: 1987  
donor: Thomas Greenhalgh (d. 1897)  
architects: Paley & Austin

25. St. Edmund, Falinge, Rochdale  
consecrated: 7/5/1873; closed: 2008  
donor: Albert Hudson Royds (1811-1890)  
architects: J. Medland Taylor, (with A.H. Royds & EW Gilbert)

26. St. Mary, Greenfield, Oldham  
consecrated: 6/5/1875  
donor: Richard Buckley (1810-1883)  
architect: George Shaw

27. St. Mark, Glodwick, Oldham  
consecrated: 14/6/1876  
donor: Col. Thomas Evans Lees (d. 1879)  
architect: J. Wild

28. St. Mark, Heyside, Oldham  
consecrated: 15/5/1878  
donor: Fitton  
architects: Wild & Collins

29. St. Michael & All Angels, Howe Bridge, Atherton  
consecrated: 8/2/1877  
donor: 'Old Ralph' Fletcher (1816-1886)  
architects: Paley & Austin

30. St. Peter, Belmont, Bolton (originally St. Thomas)  
consecrated: 1/4/1850  
donor: £3,500 legacy of Rev. Charles Wright (1799-1865)  
architect: J.E. Gregan

31. St. Thomas, Newhey, Rochdale  
consecrated: 21/12/1876  
donors: James Heap (1828-92) & brother William (1826-)  
architect: H. Lloyd

VI  
five with strong integral evidence of donor-church-identity

32. Christ Church, Denshaw, Oldham  
consecrated: 24/9/1863  
donor: Henry Gartside (1815-1880) & wife Elizabeth (c. 1804-1892)  
architect: John Eaton of Ashton-under-Lyne

33. St. James the Apostle, Milnrow, Rochdale [ie. Great]  
re-consecrated: 29/8/1869  
donors: Schofield family (spanning 1793-1874)  
architect: G.E. Street

34. Christ Church, Walshaw, Bury  
consecrated: 17/2/1892  
donors: Haworth family (spanning 1817-1907)  
architect: Lawrence Booth
35. St. James the Great, Calderbrook, Littlebough, Rochdale
   consecrated: 22/4/1870
   donors: Dearden family [C8]
   architect: George Shaw

36. St. Anne, Haughton, Manchester
   consecrated: 29/7/1882
   donor: Joseph Sidebotham (1824-1885) [B19]
   architects: J. Medland & Henry Taylor

VII  
   six with very strong integral evidence of donor-church-identity

37. St. Thomas, Moorside, Oldham
   consecrated: 20/5/1872
   donor: Thomas Mellodew (1801-1879) [B8]
   architect: H. Cockbain

38. St. Benedict, Ardwick, Manchester
   consecrated: 20/3/1880
   donor: Alderman John Bennett (1817-1889) [C7]
   architect: J.S. Crowther

39. Christ Church, Friezland, Rochdale
   consecrated: 29/5/1850
   donors: Whitehead brothers (spanning 1809-1886) [B1]
   architect: George Shaw

40. St. Mary, Balderstone, Rochdale
   consecrated: 1/7/1872
   donors: Radcliffe brothers (spanning 1811-1891) [B9]
   architect: J.M. & H. Taylor

41. St. Andrew, Ramsbottom
   consecrated: 22/4/1875
   donors: Grant family (spanning 1769-1873) [B11]
   architect: ?Hanson & Welch

42. St. John the Evangelist, Hurst, Ashton-under-Lyne
   consecrated: 19/2/1849] extended: 1862
   donor (1862 extension): Oldham Whittaker (1810-1871) [B3]
   architect (1862 extension): George Shaw

VIII  
   six excluded from main discussion

43. St. Mark, Worsley
   consecrated 1846] extended: 1851-2
   donor: Lord Francis Egerton, First Earl of Ellesmere (1800-1857) [A1]
   architect: George Gilbert Scott

44. St. Bartholomew, Westhoughton, Bolton
   consecrated: 24/8/1870; all but tower burnt down
   donor: John Seddon (1785-1884) [B22]
   architect: Cunliffe & Freeman of Bolton

45. All Saints, Newton Heath, Manchester
   [rebuilt 1815] extended: 1878-80
   donor: John Taylor of Brookdale (1826-1898) [B16]
   architect: H. Lord

46. St. Paul, Royton, Oldham
   [restored 1854, public sub] extended: 1882/3
   donors: ?Hannah and Elizabeth Holden [B31]
   architect: unknown
47. Christ Church, Moss Side, Manchester  
consecrated: 27/5/1850; rebuilt: 1904  
donor: Robert Gardner [B2]  
architect: W.C. Hardisty

48. St. Ignatius, Ordsall, Salford  
consecrated: 23/10/1903; closed: 2002  
donor: Wilbraham Egerton, 1st Earl Egerton (1832-1909) [A4]  
architects: Darbyshire & Smith

IX thirteen demolished churches excluded from main discussion

49. St. John, Folds Road, Bolton  
consecrated: 19/12/1849; closed: 1972; demolished  
donor: John Bird Sumner (1780-1862) [C10]  
architect: E.H. Shellard

50. St. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting, Manchester  
consecrated: 27/12/1855; demolished  
donor: Sir Benjamin Heywood, Bt. (1793-1865) [A2]  
architect: J.E. Gregan, completed after his death by W.R. Corson

51. St. Mary, Hulme, Manchester  
consecrated: 13/11/1858; closed: 1981  
donor: Wilbraham Egerton, 1st Earl Egerton (1832-1909) [A4]  
architect: J.S. Crowther

52. St. Luke, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Manchester  
[consecrated 1804] rebuilt & re-consecrated 4/12/1858; closed: 1962  
demolished  
donor: Robert Gardner (?1781-1866) [B2]  
architect: John Lowe

53. St. Philip, Hulme, Manchester  
donors: Birley family [A5]  
architect: Shellard & Brown

54. St. Anne, Brindle Heath, Pendleton  
founded, dedicated: 1863; [replaced: 1913; closed: 1969; demolished: 1969]  
donor: Herbert Birley [B4]  
architect: J. Medland Taylor

55. St. Michael, Hulme, Manchester  
consecrated: 14/5/1864; closed & demolished: 1963/4  
donor: Birley family [A5]  
architect: Paley & Austin

56. St. Stephen, Hulme, Manchester  
consecrated: 18/12/1869; closed: 1978  
donors: Birley family [A5]  
architect: J.M. Taylor

57. St. James, Collyhurst, Manchester  
consecrated: 20/5/1874; closed: 1971  
donor: Charles Patrick Stewart (1823-1882) [B24]  
architect: John Lowe

58. All Saints, Gorton, Manchester  
consecrated: 24/2/1879; closed: 1964  
donor: Charles Frederick Beyer (1813-1876) [B23]  
architect: J.R. Shaw

59. St. Bartholomew, Great Lever, Bolton  
consecrated: 23/8/1879; closed: 1962; demolished  
donors: Hannah (c. 1798-1876) & Mary (c. 1801-1876) Howell [B30]  
architect: T.D. Barry
60. The Saviour, Deane Road, Bolton  
consecrated: 24/9/1885; closed: 1975; demolished 1974/5  
donor: Thomas Greenhalgh (d. 1897) [B18]  
architect: Paley & Austin

61. St. Cyprian, Ordsall, Salford  
consecrated: 1899; closed & demolished.  
donor: Wilbraham Egerton, 1st Earl Egerton (1832-1909) [A4]  
architect: Alfred Darbyshire
2.3 **INDICATORS OF DONOR-CHURCH-IDENTITY DETAILED** (19 excluded: 6, insufficient data; 13, demolished)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>key</th>
<th>with/without graveyard</th>
<th>donor-chapel</th>
<th>ev</th>
<th>external donor-vault</th>
<th>pr</th>
<th>parish representative</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+/-g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>✓</td>
<td>positive</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>donor-entrance</td>
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<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>donor-pew</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-f</td>
<td>non-family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>internal donor-vault</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ce</td>
<td>donor-chapel-with-entrance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ten with minimal integral evidence of donor-church-identity**

1 **five with geographically-distanced donors**

Group I summary: dedications 3/3; proximity: 3 industrialists 1/6; 2 non-industrialists 1/2; memorials 0.6; dedicated donor-space 0; iconography 2; armorials 1; graveyards 3; buried on site 0; exterior vaults 6; interior vaults 0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
<th>church/date</th>
<th>donor</th>
<th>architect</th>
<th>donor-church-identity indicators on site – positive</th>
<th>donor-church-identity indicators off site – negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dedication</td>
<td>proximity¹</td>
<td>donor provision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>St James, Gorton, Manchester re-c. 1871</td>
<td>Beyer</td>
<td>G. Shaw</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>St Cross, Clayton, Manchester 1874</td>
<td>Hoare</td>
<td>Butterfield</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>+g</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>St Mary the Virgin, Haughton Green, Manchester 1876</td>
<td>Walton</td>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>St Peter, Westleigh, Leigh 1881</td>
<td>Bubb</td>
<td>Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>-g</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>St Elisabeth, Reddish 1883</td>
<td>Houldsworth</td>
<td>Waterhouse</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Proximity is to one (✓) or both (✓✓) of residence and workplace.
II  *five with socially-distanced donors* (no. 10 discussed below with companion-church of very strong evidence)

Group II summary: dedications 2/5; proximity: 2 industrialists 3/4; 3 non-industrialists 3/3; memorials 1.2; dedicated donor-space 2; iconography 1; armorials 0; graveyards 1; buried on site 0; exterior vaults 0; interior vaults 0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>donor architect</th>
<th>donor-church-identity indicators on site – positive</th>
<th>donor-church-identity indicators off site – negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dedication</td>
<td>proximity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>St Clement, Ordsall, Salford 1878</td>
<td>W. Egerton Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>-g</td>
<td>0 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>St Paul, Walkden, Worsley re-1878</td>
<td>F. Egerton Young</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>St Margaret, Whalley Range, Manchester 1849</td>
<td>Brooks Harrison</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
<td>-g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Holy Trinity, Ashton-u-Lyne 1878</td>
<td>Heginbottom Taylor</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
<td>-g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>St James the Apostle, Hurst Brook 1865</td>
<td>Whittaker G. Shaw</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
<td>-g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### III  seven with little integral evidence of donor-church-identity

*Group III summary: dedications 3/7; proximity: 3 industrialists 4/6; 4 non-industrialists 4/4; memorials: 1,6; dedicated donor-space 0; iconography 1; armorials 0; graveyards 1; buried on site 0; exterior vaults 0; interior vaults 0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>donor architect</th>
<th>donor-church-identity indicators on site – positive</th>
<th>donor-church-identity indicators off site – negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>St John the Baptist, Roughtown, Mossley 1878</td>
<td>Whitehead Wild &amp; Collins</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>St Peter, Churchgate, Bolton 1878</td>
<td>Ormrod Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>+g 2 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>St John the Evangelist, Cheetham, Manchester 1871</td>
<td>Loyd Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td></td>
<td>-g 2 (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Christ Church, W Didsbury, Manchester 1882</td>
<td>Roberts Littler</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-g 1 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>St Simon &amp; St Jude, Great Lever, Bolton 1901</td>
<td>Loxham Freeman</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>(c) see text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>St Thomas, Bowlee, Middleton 1877</td>
<td>Schwabe Ladds</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-g 0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>St Mary the Virgin, Davyhulme, Manchester 1890</td>
<td>Norreys Truefit</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-g 1 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Flixton site visit]
### IV  *six with modest integral evidence of donor-church-identity*

Group IV summary: dedications 4/6; proximity: 4 industrialists 7/8; 2 non-industrialists 3/2; memorials 2.3; dedicated donor-space 0; iconography 2; armorials 2; graveyards 4; buried on site 1; exterior vaults 0; interior vaults 0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>donor date architect</th>
<th>donor identity indicators on site – positive</th>
<th>donor-church identity indicators off site – negative</th>
<th>burial</th>
<th>memorials (n-f)</th>
<th>donor provision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>St Anne, Clifton, Swinton 1874</td>
<td>Fletcher EM Barry</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>+g</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Salop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St A's Ch, Park Hall, Weston, Salop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Holy Trinity, Prestolee, Bolton 1863</td>
<td>Rideout G. Shaw</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>-g</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SJE Farnworth w Kearsley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>['Rideout', websites]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>St James the Great Daisy Hill, Westhoughton, Bolton 1881</td>
<td>Haddock Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>+g</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(0)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?St Bartholomew Westhoughton</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>St Thomas, Pimhole, Bury 1866</td>
<td>Openshaw Blackwell, Son &amp; Booth</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>-g</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?Bury parish church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>St Augustine, Pendlebury 1874</td>
<td>Heywood Bodley &amp; Garner</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>+g ✓</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>St Stephen, Kearsley Moor, Bolton 1871</td>
<td>Blair Taylor</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>+g</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St John, Folds Rd: p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Bolton – both died pre-consecration) [pr]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St John the Baptist, Little Hulton ['Blair, Stephen', websites]</td>
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</table>

[312]
### Bank Group V summary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>donor date architect</th>
<th>donor-church-identity indicators on site – positive</th>
<th>donor-church-identity indicators off site – negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>All Souls, Astley St., Bolton 1881</td>
<td>Greenhalgh Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>⨯ ⨯ ?c ✓</td>
<td>-g 3 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>St Edmund, Falinge, Rochdale 1873</td>
<td>Royds Taylor</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>ce ✓ ✓ -g 3 (0)</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>St Mary, Greenfield, Oldham 1875</td>
<td>Buckley G. Shaw</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓ -g 6 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>St Mark, Gledwick, Oldham 1876</td>
<td>Lees Wild</td>
<td>⨯ ⨯ -g</td>
<td>7 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>St Mark, Heyside, Oldham 1878</td>
<td>Fitton Wild &amp; Collins</td>
<td>⨯ ⨯ -g</td>
<td>7 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>St Michael &amp; All Angels, Howe Bridge, Atherton 1877</td>
<td>Fletcher Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>⨯ ⨯ -g</td>
<td>8 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>St Peter, Belmont, Bolton 1850</td>
<td>Wright Gregan</td>
<td>✓ p ✓</td>
<td>+g ev 4 (6; 5 Hick)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>St Thomas, Newhey, Rochdale 1876</td>
<td>Heap Lloyd</td>
<td>✓ ⨯ p</td>
<td>+g ev 3 (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### VI five with strong integral evidence of donor-church-identity

Group VI summary: dedications 3/5; proximity: 3 industrialists 4/6; 2 non-industrialists 0/2; memorials 6.6; dedicated donor-space: 1 pew, 1 chapel, 2 chapels-with-entrance; iconography 3; armorials 4; graveyards 4; buried on site 4; exterior vaults 0; interior vaults 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>donor architect</th>
<th>donor-church-identity indicators on site – positive</th>
<th>donor-church-identity indicators off site – negative</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dedication</td>
<td>proximity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Christ Church, Denshaw, Oldham 1863</td>
<td>Gartside Eaton</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>St James, Milnrow, Rochdale rec. 1869</td>
<td>Schofield Street</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Christ Church, Haworth Booth, Bury 1892</td>
<td>Haworth Booth</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>St James the Great, Calderbrook, Rochdale 1870</td>
<td>Dearden G. Shaw</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>St Anne, Haughton, Manchester 1882</td>
<td>Sidebotham Taylor</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### VII six with very strong integral evidence of donor-church-identity

Group VII summary: dedications 3/6; proximity: 5 industrialists 10/10; 1 non-industrialist 2/1; memorials 11.6; dedicated donor-space: 2 pews, 2 chapels-with-entrance; iconography 3; armorials 2; graveyards 4; buried on site 4; exterior vaults 2; interior vaults 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>donor architect</th>
<th>donor-church-identity indicators on site – positive</th>
<th>donor-church-identity indicators off site – negative</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dedication</td>
<td>proximity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>St Thomas, Moorside, Oldham 1872</td>
<td>Mellodew Cockbain</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>St Benedict, Ardwick, Manchester 1880</td>
<td>Bennett Crowther</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Christ Church, Friezland, Rochdale 1850</td>
<td>Whitehead G. Shaw</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>St Mary, Balderstone, Rochdale 1872</td>
<td>Radcliffe Taylor</td>
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### VIII  six churches excluded from main discussion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
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<th>donor</th>
<th>architect</th>
<th>proximity(^2)</th>
<th>other</th>
<th>special factors</th>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Christ Church, Moss Side, M'ter</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Gardner</td>
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<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>St Mark, Worsley</td>
<td>ex(^a) 1851-2</td>
<td>F. Egerton</td>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>(\checkmark)</td>
<td></td>
<td>+g</td>
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<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>St Bartholomew, Westhoughton, Bolton</td>
<td>re-c. 1870</td>
<td>Seddon</td>
<td>Cunliffe &amp; Freeman</td>
<td>(\checkmark)</td>
<td></td>
<td>+g</td>
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<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>All Saints, Newton Heath, Manchester</td>
<td>ex(^a) 1878-80</td>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>Lord</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>family vault Newton Church [Manchester-Newton-Heath, 3, 34]</td>
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<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>St Paul, Royton, Oldham</td>
<td>ex(^a) 1882-3</td>
<td>Holden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>St Ignatius, Ordsall, Salford</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>W. Egerton</td>
<td>Darbyshire &amp; Smith</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-g, buried Rostherne, Cheshire [Egerton, Wilbraham, Earl, websites]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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\(^2\) Data for VIII and IX incomplete.
IX  *thirteen demolished churches excluded from main discussion*

<table>
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<th>other</th>
<th>special factors</th>
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<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>St. John, Bolton</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Sumner</td>
<td>Shellard</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>St. John the Evangelist, Miles</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>B Heywood</td>
<td>Gregan (completed W.R.</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Platting, M'ter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Corson)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>St. Mary, Hulme, Manchester</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>W Egerton</td>
<td>Crowther</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>St. Luke, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, M'ter</td>
<td>re-consecrated 1858</td>
<td>Gaardner</td>
<td>Lowe</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>St. Philip, Hulme, Manchester</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Birley</td>
<td>Shellard &amp; Brown</td>
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<td>54</td>
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<td>1863</td>
<td>H Birley</td>
<td>J Medland Taylor</td>
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<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>St. Michael, Hulme, M'ter</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Birley</td>
<td>Paley &amp; Austin</td>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
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<td>1869</td>
<td>Birley</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>St. James, Collyhurst, M'ter</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Stewart</td>
<td>Lowe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>All Saints, Gorton, M'ter</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Beyer</td>
<td>JR Shaw</td>
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<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>St. Bartholomew, Gt Lever, Bolton</td>
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<td>Howell</td>
<td>TD Barry</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Paley &amp; Austin</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>St. Cyprian, Ordsall, Salford</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>W Egerton</td>
<td>Darbyshire</td>
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</table>
2.4 Armorials

2.4.1 Fletcher

St. Anne, Clifton, Swinton

Painted on paper or cloth, glued to wood, and framed, hung in meeting-room

Argent a cross engrailed between four escutcheons each charged with a pheon Argent a bordure Azure Fletcher impaling Quarterly of 4

1 & 4 Gules three lions' heads couped in fess on a chief Or a cross paty Gules Fisher

2 Or fretty Azure Willoughby

3 Or a cross engrailed Sable Gifford

Torse: Argent and Sable

Crest: Three arrows two points downwards in saltire and one in fess point to the dexter Proper diverging from each angle a fleur-de-lis Argent surmounted in the centre by a saltire wavy Sable

Motto: Alta pete (Aim at higher things)

Charlotte Ann Fletcher (1845-1913), daughter of Jacob Fletcher Fletcher and Ann Fisher. She married in 1866 Sir Robert Wellington Stapleton-Cotton, 3rd Viscount Combermere. They were divorced in 1879 and she married secondly Alfred Wynne Corrie.

2.4.2 Gartside

Christ Church, Denshaw, Oldham

Uncoloured carvings on either side of stone burial-vault, Gartside Chapel

Left


Right

Gartside impaling [Or] on a chevron between three garbs [Gules] three ears of corn [Argent] Reed

Henry Gartside (1815-1880), son of John Gartside and Ann Hampson, and Elizabeth Sarah Gartside (1804-1892), daughter of Thomas Gartside and Mary Ann Reed. They married in 1839 and he purchased Wharmon Towers in 1861.

\[1\] Unless otherwise referenced, supplied by the late Hugh Murray M.A., C. Eng., F.S.A., Heraldic Advisor to the National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Societies’ Church Recorders (April 2012), to whose memory for his armorial expertise, always generously contributed, my very grateful thanks.
**2.4.3**

**GRANT**  
**St. Andrew, Ramsbottom**  
stone carving on exterior of west gable

Argent three eastern crowns Sable GRANT
Torse: Argent
Crest: a burning mountain Proper
Motto: Craigelachie (The rock of alarm).
(Painted in incorrect colours; the arms of GRANT are normally: Gules three eastern crowns Or)

**WILLIAM GRANT** (1769-1842) and **DANIEL GRANT** (?1780-1855).

---

**2.4.4**

**HEYWOOD**  
**St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pendlebury**  
stained glass in two tracery lights on left and right of east window

1. Left: Argent three torteaux between two bendlets on a canton Gules a cross paty Argent HEYWOOD
   Right: Argent three sheaves of arrows proper banded Gules on a chief Azure a bee volant Or PEEL
2. Left: HEYWOOD
   Right: HEYWOOD impaling PEEL
   The Peel impalement on the right (No. 2) is a little damaged. The Argent glass of the field and the Azure glass of the background of the chief are clear but due to paint loss only parts of the arrows and the bee are visible.  


---

**2.4.5**

**HOULDSWORTH**  
**St. Elisabeth, Reddish**  
stone carving? in Houldsworth Chapel (1919)

Ermine the trunk of a tree raguly in bend Proper between three foxes’ heads erased Gules the badge of a baronet in dexter chief HOULDSWORTH
Helm: a knight’s
Torse: Gules and Argent
Crest: a stag’s head erased Gules collared Or the attires banded with a hank of cotton Argent

**SIR WILLIAM HENRY HOULDSWORTH**, 1st baronet (created 1883) of Reddish (1834-1917).

---

2 I am grateful to David O’Connor for confirming these details.
2.4.6
ROYDS
ST. EDMUND, FALINGE, ROCHDALE

uncoloured stone carving, exterior of south wall over entrance to Royds Chapel
Quarterly of 4
1 & 4 [Ermine] on a cross engrailed between four lions rampant [Gules] a spear in pale [Proper] between four bezants ROYDS
2 [Azure] three broken spears [-] UNIDENTIFIED
3 Paly of six [Argent and Azure] a canton [Gules] MEDCROFT
On an escutcheon of pretence
Quarterly of four
1 & 4 [Argent] a shacklebolt [Sable] NUTTALL
2 [-] two bartrules battled counter embattled [-] UNIDENTIFIED
Helm: Gentleman’s
Crest: a leopard sejant [Proper] bezanty collared [Argent] resting the dexter forepaw on a pheon
Motto: Semper paratus (always prepared)

ALBERT HUDSON ROYDS (1811-1890), son of Clement Royds and his wife Jane Hudson, who married on 5 March 1839 as his first wife Sarah Eliza, daughter of Robert Andrews.

2.4.7
SCHOFIELD
ST. JAMES THE APOSTLE, MILNROW, ROCHDALE
stained glass arranged in single-light window in south wall; vertically from bottom: 1, 2, 3, 4

1. Vicar
Sable a chevron between three lions rampant Argent RAINES impaling
Quarterly of 4
1 & 4 Gules 3 bezants and a chief Or BESWICKE
2 & 2 Argent on a bend Gules three goats trippant Argent attired Or HALLIWELL

The Revd JOHN EDWARD NASSAU MOLESWORTH (1790-1877), Vicar of Rochdale 1839-77, and his second wife, Harriett daughter of Sir Robert Affleck, Bart, whom he married on 31 October 1854.

2. Founder
Gules three bulls’ heads couped Argent SCHOFIELD

JAMES SCHOFIELD (1817-1863) and/or Captain JAMES SCHOFIELD (1843-1883)

3. Patron
Vair a bordure Gules charged with eight crosses crosslet Or MOLESWORTH impaling
Argent three bars Sable AFFLECK

The Revd Canon FRANCIS ROBERT RAINES (1805-78), perpetual curate of chapelry of St James, Milnrow, 1832, who married 21 November 1836 Honora Elizabeth (1814-90), daughter of Major John Beswicke of Pike House, Littleborough.

4. Bishop
Or on a pale engrailed Gules 3 mitres Or infilulae Argent on a canton Gules three bartrules enhanced Argent SEE of MANCHESTER impaling
Argent a fess between three crescents Gules LEE

JAMES PRINCE LEE, 1st Bishop of Manchester, 1847-70
2.4.8
SIDEBOOTHAM
ST. ANNE, HAUGHTON
stained glass in memorial chapel (1919) (probably Heaton, Butler & Bayne, as in rest of church)

Ermine a double headed eagle displayed charged on its breast with an escallop Argent between four escallops Vert
SIDEBOOTHAM
Helm: Gentleman’s
Mantling: Argent and Vert
Crest: a demi-lion rampant Argent gorged with a collar pendant therefrom an escutcheon Vert charged with an escallop Argent holding between the paws a staff raguly Vert
Motto: Ad sidera tendo (I stretch to the stars)

JOSEPH SIDEBOOTHAM JP FSA (1824-1882) of Erlesdene, Bowden. In 1871 Joseph Sidebotham obtained a patent of arms to use the arms and crest of Lowe.

2.4.9
WHITTAKER
ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, HURST, ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE
1. on memorial tablet to Oldham Whittaker, east wall of south transept

Sable a fess between three mascles Or WHITTAKER in pretence
Gules a fess wavy between three lions rampant Or CROMPTON
Torse: Or and Sable
Crest: a horse passant Sable
Motto: Robut atque fides (Strength and faith)

2. Whittaker Chapel Stalls - east wall
1. Monogram OW - for Oldham Whittaker
2. WHITTAKER
3. Monogram JW - for John Whittaker, father of Oldham
4. CROMPTON
5. Monogram OW - for Oldham Whittaker
6. WHITTAKER
7. Monogram AW - for Ann Oldham, mother of Oldham
8. CROMPTON

OLDHAM WHITTAKER, Deputy Lieutenant, of Hurst Hall (1811-1871), son of John and Ann Whittaker of Prospect House, Hurst, who married Ellen Crompton in 1832.
2.4.10

WRIGHT
ST. PETER, BELMONT, BOLTON
Wright Pew (now Lady Chapel)

Sable a chevron between three bulls' heads caboshed Argent WRIGHT
impaling
Argent fretty Azure the intersections charged with bezants on a canton Gules a
lion’s head erased Or LOWNDES
Helm: Gentleman’s
Mantling: Murrey and Argent
Crest: issuant from a ducal coronet a bull’s head argent armed Or
Motto: Sublimiora quaero (I speak of higher things)

The Revd CHARLES WRIGHT, 1799-1866, married Clara Selby Lowndes.
1. 14 South Square  
Grays Inn. W.C.  
June 11[?] 1874

Dear Mr. Heywood,

I ought to have sooner answered your query about a book of directions for colours etc. There is Dr. Lee's "Directorium" a large book & very advanced. It wd. contain what you want, but more also. I posted a little almanack wh. contains some directions. I see they say ther shd. be no cushion on the altar, yet in early paintings & up to the 15th cent, such cushions are shown & are as lawful as a desk. Still, if you wd. like a desk I will send one. It is more durable of course. It wd. [cd.?] be brass. Let me hear as to this & other matters wanted, if any. At some places they follow "the Sarum use" - that has red as the ferial colour, not green; & the tradition of the usual red velvet altar cloth is a tradition of this I think. Personally I can't say I care greatly for much strictness of rule or rigid uniformity, so long as all is dignified & solemn, & from an art point of view, beautiful. Still violet for Advent & Lent - Red for Martyrs & Whitsuntide. White for Christmas, Easter & All SS Ascension & Michaelmas. & green for ferial days & Sundays "after Trinity" is the rule. On the eves of festivals the colours shd. be changed for the "first vespers" of the day - so also with fasts. If the Dr. uses coloured stoles I cd. send some & they shd. be quiet in colour.

Mr. Crane writes to me about a few things
1. Extinguisher for candles
2. Holder for taper to lights
3. Cruet for water
4. Burse to hold napkins
these I will send tomorrow.

We are starting our establishment for furniture - for Church & house. I will send you a notice about it soon.

Yours very truly  
G.F. Bodley

The Cross is being made

2. [Athenaeum Club writing-paper] 24 Church Row  
Hampstead  
London NW  
June 3 1876

My dear Mr. Heywood,

I send a diagram of the figures we propose for the panels of the reredos. Also the photograph with an indication of the figures etc. The figures on either side of the Annunciation, however, we propose to be St. John Baptist & St. Michael & St. Raphael & St. Peter. These latter are selected because we do not get them elsewhere. I also enclose a list of figures we have in the glass & of other proposed figures. The reredos, as sketched, shows too many Bishops & the change for the upper row as I have described will be a great improvement.

St. Augustine is surrounded by his immediate successors at Canterbury or companions. Justus, Honorius, Lawrence, Mellitus, Deusdedit, etc. These I shall look into again to be quite sure of being correct. Then, below, one shd. have the Crucifixion with S. Mary & St. John & angels.

We propose to entrust the work to Burlison & Grylls & have been studying old paintings with them. I think they will do it better than most. The estimate is £500 for the whole. This is I think moderate. Possibly we may wish for £40 or £50 more decorative work on the panels - but this one can tell better later. It need not exceed £550 at most. It shall be really a work of art - suitable for the place. The glass for the one window is getting on & I think will be sent before long.

Yours very truly G.F. Bodley

[over]
We shd. like to begin the reredos panels as soon as possible now - please let us hear if what is proposed is consonant with your wishes.  
GFB

3. For a week  
Furze Hill,  
Brighton  
Nov. 10 1876

Dear Mr. Heywood

I was surprised & sorry to find the other day that the sketch for the Reredos painting at St. Augustine's had never been forwarded to you. It was prepared & ordered to be sent some short time after I last saw you at Grays Inn & I really thought it had been sent you long ago. I have been away all the Autumn.

The coloured sketch shows what is proposed & is being carried out. The top being the "Annunciation" - St. Mary & St. Gabriel. Then on either side archangels - namely St. Michael &
St. Raphael. Then St. John Baptist & St. Peter. These are not in the window. As two leading characters I think they come in well here. In the photographs 4 Bishops are indicated instead of those 4 as I have mentioned, but it seemed too many Bishops - The other arrangement is quite the best. Below, in the centre range, we have St. Augustine & six companion saints, Or his immediate successors at Canterbury. Below again, the Crucifixion with St. Mary & St. John, forming a group & then angels with "emblems of the Passion".

The coloured sketch is but slight [If it is] [crossed out] and must not be criticised as to detail, nor indeed of colouring. It is a tinted diagram, more than a drawing. I think the Bishop better see the photograph & be told that it will be thus except that the top row will be S. John Bapt., S. Raph [crossed out] S. Michael, S. Raphael & S. Peter, in place of the four Bishops shown. It will be a question if you shd. get a faculty for the painting. It wd. be hardly necessary I shd. think.

May I trouble you with a question? Do you know anything of 'Cowlishaw, Nicol & Co.', 23, Portland St., Manchester (works at Blackley). They write to me asking me to design some textile fabrics for them. I know nothing of them at all. If you shd. happen to know anything of them I shd be much obliged to you to send me a line. I wd. keep the answer to myself of course. They seem to wish for a number of designs.

Tell me, please, if you wish anything done about the little faldstool? Perhaps you better send me the drawing back. It was done in some haste. If it is done a nice kneeling cushion shd. be made & perhaps, a hanging over the Book board. A place for keeping books cd. be provided & a ledge at the top - Tell me if it is desired to have it thus altered & return me the drawing.

With best regards. Ever yours truly GF Bodley

[over]

Did you see Stanhope1 about the pictures? His address is "4 Harley Place Harley St., London." He goes to Florence for the winter soon. Possibly he wd. like to take the pictures with him. Shall I write to him, or forward a note from you? He returns in quite the Early Spring.

GFB

"Watts & Co" have got some good things that may come in well when you want to renew at Light Oaks. I mean for curtains etc.

4.

24, Church Row
Hampstead
London NW
Jan. 24 1878

My dear Mr. Heywood,
The £295 is for the two windows sent - I hope others may come in somewhat less in proportion. The windows are long & take a good many square feet of glass. I do not think we better spend much on the wall painting. I fear there was something mixed with the plaster that has injured the colouring on the walls. How far the damp in the walls brought out the evil I do not quite know. Some new preparation was put into the plaster of which I did not know till afterwards. Before we colour again we will try and experiment. I sent hangings for the side walls of the Chancel - possibly simpler ones cd. be used in the nave - for the square spaces under the side windows. They wd. improve the building for sound.

[pictures on panels, placed at the pieces of wall at right angles to the windows wd. look well & wd. be durable. Single figures on panels wd. look well there. They wd. harmonise with the panel paintings in the Reredos. You may remember that such an arrangement was shown in the view of the interior sent to the academy. It wd. give great interest to the Church.

Believe me. Yours sincerely GF Bodley

[over]

Perhaps artist Spencer Stanhope; see ODNB. Thanks for this suggestion to David O'Connor, who adds that Stanhope may have embellished the organ-case at Bodley's St. Martin, Scarborough.
Figures for the centre range, Reredos - St. Augustine's Pendlebury

1st: St Austin in the centre = (May 26)
2nd: St Laurence, companion of S. Austin & his successor in the See of Canterbury. A.D. 608-619 = (Feb. 2nd)
3rd: St. Mellitus. He was the head of the second colony of missionaries, A.D. 601. First Bishop of London & Founder of S. Paul's Cath. & Westminster abbey. He succeeded St Lawrence in the See of Canterbury, A.D. 619. (ap. 24th) over
5th: St. Honorius. Companion of S. Austin. Succeeded St. Justus as A. B. of Canterbury & was consecrated by St. Paulinus at Lincoln. 630 A D (Sept. 30th)
6th St. Deusdedit. 6th Arch B. Cantuar
7th: St. Theodorus. 7th Ditto

Called the "seven patriarchs of England". all buried in the porch of St. Augustine's abbey Canterbury, then called "St. Peter & St Paul".

6. {14 South Square
Grays Inn
London WC} [crossed out]
24, Church Row
Hampstead NW
Ap. 7, 1879

Dear Mr. Heywood
I find the new windows come to £1,135. (one thousand one hundred & thirty five pounds). This includes all charges. I am not sure if the key to the figures was sent you or not? I will ask & if not sent yet it shall be directly.
I hope the windows give satisfaction. I shall hope to come & see them soon. Of course all were well inspected before being sent & such alterations made as seemed to be desirable. I have spoken to Leach about the painting. He better meet me & we can examine the state of the walls together. I will arrange for this shortly.
At your convenience please send a cheque for the windows as their painters want their account settled.

Believe me. Yours sincerely GF Bodley

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2 My thanks to David O'Connor for suggesting this must be Frederick Leach, the Cambridge decorator used by Bodley at All Saints, Jesus Lane, Cambridge, and elsewhere.
### 3.1 Ecclesiological Features by Church (date-ordered)

<table>
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<th>key</th>
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<th>irrelevant</th>
<th>rebuilt re-consecrated</th>
<th>all irrelevant</th>
<th>extended</th>
<th>unknown</th>
<th>restored</th>
<th>unknown (demolished)</th>
<th>original</th>
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<td>✗</td>
<td>❀•••</td>
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<td>❀</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Example

**Note:** The chancel of St. Peter, Belmont, was designed to be slightly longer but this was curtailed ‘for various reasons’ - George Skinner, *St. Peter's Church, Belmont: The First Fifty Years* (2010), 18.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>date</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>donor</th>
<th>architect</th>
<th>Middle Pointed, Dec. font site</th>
<th>pulpit site</th>
<th>length: chancel as proportion of nave / steps nave-altar</th>
<th>sedilia piscina aumbry</th>
<th>screen/arch</th>
<th>seating open</th>
<th>donor free</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c 1863</td>
<td>Christ Church, Denshaw, Oldham</td>
<td>Gartside</td>
<td>John Eaton</td>
<td>✔ W</td>
<td>✔ NE nave</td>
<td>62% 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>✔ chapel</td>
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<tr>
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<td>St. Anne, Brindle Heath, Pendleton</td>
<td>Birley, H.</td>
<td>JM Taylor</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
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<td>rbrc 1863-5</td>
<td>St. Luke, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Manchester</td>
<td>Gardner</td>
<td>John Lowe</td>
<td>✔ ud</td>
<td>✔ ud</td>
<td>33% 5</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>✔ Low</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>✔ chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1864</td>
<td>St. Michael, Hulme, Manchester</td>
<td>Birleys</td>
<td>JM Taylor</td>
<td>✔ ud</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>✔ chapel</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1865</td>
<td>St. James the Apostle, Hurst Brook, Ashton-under-Lyne</td>
<td>Whittaker</td>
<td>G Shaw</td>
<td>✔ W</td>
<td>✔ NE nave</td>
<td>32% 5</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ u</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1866</td>
<td>St. Thomas, Pimhole, Bury</td>
<td>Openshaw</td>
<td>Blackwell, Son &amp; Booth</td>
<td>mixed NW</td>
<td>✔ NE nave</td>
<td>44% 5</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ u</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rbrc 1869</td>
<td>St. James the Apostle, Milnrow, Rochdale</td>
<td>Schofield</td>
<td>GE Street</td>
<td>✔ ?W</td>
<td>✔ NE nave</td>
<td>38% 5</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ u</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1869</td>
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<td>JM Taylor</td>
<td>uda</td>
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<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
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<td>Dearden</td>
<td>G Shaw</td>
<td>✔ W</td>
<td>✔ NE nave</td>
<td>25% 3</td>
<td>✔uu</td>
<td>✔ rood</td>
<td>✔</td>
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<tr>
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<td>St. Bartholomew, Westhoughton, Bolton</td>
<td>Seddon</td>
<td>Cunliffe &amp; Freeman</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>36% ud</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
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<tr>
<td>rbrc 1871</td>
<td>St. Peter, Churchgate, Bolton</td>
<td>Ormrod</td>
<td>EG Paley</td>
<td>✔ u</td>
<td>✔ NE nave</td>
<td>37% 6</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ chapel</td>
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<td>c 1871</td>
<td>St. Stephen, Kearsley Moor, Bolton</td>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>JM &amp; H Taylor</td>
<td>✔ W</td>
<td>✔ SE nave</td>
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<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ Low</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ chapel</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1871</td>
<td>St John the Evangelist, Cheetham, Manchester</td>
<td>Loyd</td>
<td>Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>✔ W°</td>
<td>✔ NE nave</td>
<td>50% 6</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ chapel</td>
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<td>rbrc 1871</td>
<td>St. James, Gorton, Manchester</td>
<td>Beyer</td>
<td>G&amp;JR Shaw</td>
<td>✔ E°</td>
<td>✔ SE nave</td>
<td>30% 3</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1872</td>
<td>St. Thomas, Moorside, Oldham</td>
<td>Mellodew</td>
<td>H Cockbain</td>
<td>✔ NW°</td>
<td>✔ SE nave</td>
<td>30% 6</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔ chapel</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1872</td>
<td>St. Mary, Balderstone, Rochdale</td>
<td>Radcliffe</td>
<td>JM &amp; H Taylor</td>
<td>✔ W</td>
<td>✔ NE nave</td>
<td>u 6</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔rood</td>
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<td>✔ chapel</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Donor</td>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>Middle Pointed, Dec. font site</td>
<td>Pulpit site</td>
<td>Length: Chancel as proportion of nave / steps nave-altar</td>
<td>Sedilia : Piscina : Aumbry : Credence</td>
<td>Screen/arch</td>
<td>Seating open</td>
<td>Donor free</td>
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<td>c 1873</td>
<td>St. Edmund, Falinge, Rochdale</td>
<td>Royds</td>
<td>JM Taylor</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>NE nave</td>
<td>44%</td>
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<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>c 1874</td>
<td>St. James, Collyhurst, Manchester</td>
<td>Stewart</td>
<td>John Lowe</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1874</td>
<td>St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pendlebury</td>
<td>Heywood</td>
<td>Bodley &amp; Garner</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1874</td>
<td>St. Cross, Clayton, Manchester</td>
<td>Hoare</td>
<td>W Butterfield</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1874</td>
<td>St. Anne, Clifton, Swinton</td>
<td>Fletcher</td>
<td>EM Barry</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>NE nave</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Low; gates</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1875</td>
<td>St. Andrew, Ramsbottom</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Hanson &amp; Welsh</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>❌boxpew</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1875</td>
<td>St. Mary, Greenfield, Oldham</td>
<td>Buckley</td>
<td>G Shaw</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1876</td>
<td>St. Mary the Virgin, Haughton Green, Manchester</td>
<td>Walton</td>
<td>J &amp; H Taylor</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>W?</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>❌</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1876</td>
<td>St. Mark, Glodwick, Oldham</td>
<td>Lees</td>
<td>J Wild</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>c 1876</td>
<td>St. Thomas, Newhey, Rochdale</td>
<td>Heap</td>
<td>H Lloyd</td>
<td>(copy)</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>❌boxpew</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1877</td>
<td>St. Michael &amp; All Angels, Howe Bridge, Atherton</td>
<td>Fletcher</td>
<td>Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>f 1877</td>
<td>St. Thomas, Bowlee, Middleton</td>
<td>Schwabe</td>
<td>J Ladds</td>
<td>(school)</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1878</td>
<td>St. John the Baptist, Roughton, Mossley</td>
<td>Whitehead</td>
<td>Wild &amp; Collins</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1878</td>
<td>St. Mark, Heyside, Oldham</td>
<td>Fitton</td>
<td>Wild &amp; Collins</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1878</td>
<td>Holy Trinity, Ashton-under-Lyne</td>
<td>Heginbottom</td>
<td>JM &amp; H Taylor</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>c 1878</td>
<td>St. Clement, Ordsall, Salford</td>
<td>W. Egerton Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>(°) W</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>NE nave</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>🆗</td>
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<td>e 1878-80</td>
<td>All Saints, Newton Heath, Manchester</td>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>H Lord</td>
<td>✗</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>🆗</td>
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<td>a 1879</td>
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<td>JR Shaw</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>🆗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
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<td>church</td>
<td>donor architect</td>
<td>Middle Pointed, Dec. font site</td>
<td>pulpit site</td>
<td>length: chancel as proportion of nave / steps nave-altar</td>
<td>sedilia piscina aumbry credence</td>
<td>screen/arch seating open</td>
<td>donor free</td>
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<td>c 1879</td>
<td>St Bartholomew, Great Lever, Bolton</td>
<td>Howell TD Barry</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
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<td>St. Benedict, Ardwick, Manchester</td>
<td>Bennett JS Crowther</td>
<td>✗ SW</td>
<td>SE nave</td>
<td>58% u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>✓ rood ✓</td>
<td>u u u</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1881</td>
<td>St. James the Great, Daisy Hill, Westhoughton, Bolton</td>
<td>Haddock Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>P&amp;D mixed W</td>
<td>NE nave</td>
<td>48% 6</td>
<td>✗×× u</td>
<td>u ✓</td>
<td>✓ chapel all</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1881</td>
<td>St. Peter, Westleigh, Leigh</td>
<td>Bubb Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>✓/P&amp;D mixed² W</td>
<td>SE nave</td>
<td>33% 6</td>
<td>✗×× ✓</td>
<td>✓ Low ✓</td>
<td>✓ u u</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1881</td>
<td>All Souls, Astley Street, Bolton</td>
<td>Greenhalgh Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>mixed W</td>
<td>NE nave</td>
<td>41% 5</td>
<td>✗×× ✓</td>
<td>✓ u u all</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1882</td>
<td>St. Anne, Haughton, Manchester</td>
<td>Sidebotham JM &amp; H Taylor</td>
<td>✗ W</td>
<td>NE nave</td>
<td>49% 6</td>
<td>✗×××× ✓</td>
<td>Low ✓</td>
<td>✓ all</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1882</td>
<td>Christ Church, West Didsbury, Manchester</td>
<td>Roberts H Littler</td>
<td>mixed W³</td>
<td>NE nave</td>
<td>47% 4-3</td>
<td>✗××× u</td>
<td>✓ rood ✓</td>
<td>u u u</td>
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<tr>
<td>r 1882</td>
<td>St. Paul, Royton, Oldham</td>
<td>Holden</td>
<td>✓ ■</td>
<td>■</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>✗uuu</td>
<td>✓ Low ✓</td>
<td>■ a</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1883</td>
<td>St. Elisabeth, Reddish</td>
<td>Houldsworth A Waterhouse</td>
<td>mixed W</td>
<td>NE nave</td>
<td>49% 7</td>
<td>✗××× ✓</td>
<td>✓ rood ✓</td>
<td>✓ x all</td>
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<td>c 1885</td>
<td>(or St.) Saviour, Bolton</td>
<td>Greenhalgh Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>ud</td>
<td>41% ud</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>u u all</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1890</td>
<td>St Mary the Virgin, Davyhulme, Manchester</td>
<td>Norreys G Truefit</td>
<td>✗ W³</td>
<td>NE nave</td>
<td>41% 5</td>
<td>✗××× u</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓ all</td>
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<td>c 1892</td>
<td>Christ Church, Walshaw, Bury</td>
<td>Haworth L Booth</td>
<td>✓ W</td>
<td>NE nave</td>
<td>44% 8</td>
<td>✗××× x</td>
<td>✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓ u</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1899</td>
<td>St. Cyprian, Ordsall, Salford</td>
<td>W. Egerton A Darbyshire</td>
<td>ud W</td>
<td>ud</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
<td>uda</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1901</td>
<td>St. Simon &amp; St. Jude, Great Lever, Bolton</td>
<td>Loxham RK Freeman</td>
<td>✓ o'E</td>
<td>NE nave</td>
<td>36% 5</td>
<td>✗××× ✓</td>
<td>low wall ✓</td>
<td>✓ x u</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1903</td>
<td>St. Ignatius, Ordsall, Salford</td>
<td>W. Egerton Darbyshire &amp; Smith</td>
<td>(copy) W</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u 5</td>
<td>✗××× x</td>
<td>x x</td>
<td>ua</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²Pevsner, LLSW, 230: ‘details Dec. throughout’; Brandwood, 116: ‘The details, as at Daisy Hill, are a mixture of Perpendicular and Decorated’.
3.2  Ecclesiological Features – Incidence
(where data available – percentages to nearest whole number)

◆ essential structure

• architectural style (n = 49) 6uda; 1ud; 2 ■;
correct (√ = Middle Pointed): 22 – 45%
mixed: 10 – 20%
incorrect (■): 17 – 35%

• chancel as proportion of nave (length) (n = 42)
at least one-third of nave in length: 34 – 81%
under one-third of nave in length: 8 – 19%
(over one-half of nave in length: 8 – 20%)

• chancel elevation – number of steps nave to altar (n = 47)

table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>number of steps</th>
<th>number of churches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• chancel arch (n = 45)
arch: 42 – 93%
no arch: 3 – 7%

• chancel screen (n = 47)
screen: 8 rood – 17% (10 low – 21%) total screens: 18 – 38%
no screen: 29 – 62%

• font position (n = 42)
west: 40 – 95%
east: 2 – 5%

• pulpit position (n = 41)
NE or SE nave: 38 – 93%
Central E nave: 3 – 7%

◆ furnishings

• sedilia (n = 42)
sedilia: 18 – 43%
no sedilia: 24 – 57%

• piscina (n = 41)
piscina: 3 – 7%
no piscina: 38 1 uncertain – 93%

• aumbry (n = 40)
aumbry: 6 (none certain) – 15%
no aumbry: 34 – 85%

• credence (n = 33)
credence: 20, of which 3 uncertainly original – 61%
no credence: 13 – 39%

3 Note: furnishings are sometimes structural in nature – piscina inevitably; credence, sedilia and aumbry occasionally.
• **open seating versus box-pews (n = 40)**
  all open seating, mainly non-box pews: 38 – 95% (of which 5 had chapel, 9 family pew, for donors)
  donors' box-pews: 2 – 5%

  ◆ **accessibility**

  • **free seating versus appropriated (n = 33)**
  all free: 23 – 70%
  over half and less than all free: 3 – 9%
  exactly half free: 5 – 15%
  under half free: 2 – 6%
### 3.3 ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICES – THE CHURCHES

#### 3.3.1 architects, and individual members of their practices, for multiple churches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>consecrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birley, Herbert</td>
<td>St Anne, Brindle Heath, Pendleton</td>
<td>11/4/1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birley</td>
<td>St Michael, Hulme, Manchester</td>
<td>14/5/1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>St Stephen, Hulme, Manchester</td>
<td>18/12/1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radcliffe</td>
<td>St Mary, Balderstone, Rochdale</td>
<td>1/7/1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royds</td>
<td>St Edmund, Falinge, Rochdale</td>
<td>7/5/1873</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3.1.1.a J. Medland Taylor (6 churches)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>consecrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birley</td>
<td>St Mary the Virgin, Haughton Green, M'ter</td>
<td>25/3/1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heginbottom</td>
<td>Holy Trinity, Ashton-under-Lyne</td>
<td>19/6/1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidebotham</td>
<td>St Anne, Haughton, Manchester</td>
<td>29/7/1882</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3.1.2.a Edward G. Paley (1 church)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>consecrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ormrod</td>
<td>St Peter, Churchgate, Bolton</td>
<td>reb. rec. 29/6/1871</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3.1.2.b Paley & Austin (7 churches)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>consecrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loyd</td>
<td>St John the Evangelist, Cheetham, M'ter</td>
<td>10/8/1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher</td>
<td>St Michael &amp; All Angels, Howe Bridge, Atherton</td>
<td>8/2/1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Egerton</td>
<td>St Clement, Ordsall, Salford</td>
<td>14/9/1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haddock</td>
<td>St James the Great, Daisy Hill, Westhoughton, Bolton</td>
<td>22/4/1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenhalgh</td>
<td>All Souls, Astley Street, Bolton</td>
<td>30/6/1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bubb</td>
<td>St Peter, Westleigh, Leigh</td>
<td>7/7/1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenhalgh</td>
<td>The/St Saviour, Deane Road, Bolton</td>
<td>24/9/1885</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3.1.3.a George Shaw (6 churches)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>consecrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whitehead</td>
<td>Christ Church, Friezland, Oldham</td>
<td>29/5/1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whittaker</td>
<td>St John the Evangelist, Hurst, Ashton-under-Lyne</td>
<td>ext. 1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rideout</td>
<td>Holy Trinity, Prestolee, Bolton</td>
<td>19/6/1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whittaker</td>
<td>St James the Apostle, Hurst Brook, Ashton-under-Lyne</td>
<td>28/12/1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dearden</td>
<td>St James the Great, Calderbrook, Littleborough, Rochdale</td>
<td>22/4/1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckley</td>
<td>St Mary, Greenfield, Oldham</td>
<td>6/5/1875</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3.1.3.b George & J.R. Shaw (1 church)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>consecrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beyer</td>
<td>St James, Gorton, Manchester</td>
<td>reb. rec. 2/12/1871</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3.1.3.c J.R. Shaw (1 church)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>consecrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beyer</td>
<td>All Saints, Gorton, Manchester</td>
<td>reb. rec. 24/2/1879</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3.2 seven architects and associated practices for two churches each; one for three churches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>consecrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wright</td>
<td>St Peter, Belmont, Bolton</td>
<td>1/4/1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heywood</td>
<td>St John the Evangelist, Miles Platting, Manchester</td>
<td>W.R. Corson com-pleted posthumously 27/12/1855</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3.2.1 J. E. Gregan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>consecrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gardner</td>
<td>St Luke, Chorlton-u-Medlock, M'ter</td>
<td>reb. rec. 1/7/1865</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3.2.2 John Lowe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>consecrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Egerton</td>
<td>St Mary, Hulme, M'ter</td>
<td>13/11/1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bennett</td>
<td>St Benedict, Ardwick, M'ter</td>
<td>20/3/1880</td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### 3.3.2.3 J.S. Crowther

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>consecrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Openshaw</td>
<td>a St Thomas, Pimhole, Bury</td>
<td>10/12/1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haworth</td>
<td>b Christ Church, Walshaw, Bury</td>
<td>17/2/1892</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3.2.4 (a) Lawrence Booth of Blackwell, Son & Booth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>consecrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2.4 (b)</td>
<td>Lawrence Booth of Booth &amp; Chadwick</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3.2.5 (a) Cunliffe & Freeman of Bolton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>consecrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seddon</td>
<td>a St Bartholomew, Whoughton, Bolton</td>
<td>reb. rec. 24/8/1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loxham</td>
<td>b SS Simon &amp; Jude, Gt Lever, Bolton</td>
<td>5/11/1901</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3.2.6 (a) E.H. Shallard (+Sumner)

#### 3.3.2.6 (b) Shellard & Brown
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
<th>architect/consecration date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F. Egerton</td>
<td>St. Paul, Walkden Moor, Worsley</td>
<td>3.3.3.1 Wm Young reb. rec. 5/8/1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooks</td>
<td>St. Margaret, Whalley Range, Manchester</td>
<td>3.3.3.2 James Park Harrison 28/4/1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Egerton</td>
<td>St. Mark, Worsley</td>
<td>3.3.3.3 George Gilbert Scott n aisle extn., 1851-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gartside</td>
<td>Christ Church, Denshaw, Oldham</td>
<td>3.3.3.4 John Eaton of Ashton-u-Lyne 24/9/1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schofield</td>
<td>St. James the Apostle, Milnrow, Rochdale</td>
<td>3.3.3.5 G.E. Street 29/8/1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melodew</td>
<td>St. Thomas, Moorside, Oldham</td>
<td>3.3.3.6 H. Cockbain of Middleton 20/5/1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heywood</td>
<td>St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pendlebury</td>
<td>3.3.3.7 Bodley &amp; Garner 26/5/1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoare</td>
<td>St. Cross, Clayton, Manchester</td>
<td>3.3.3.8 William Butterfield 17/6/1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher</td>
<td>St. Anne, Clifton, Swinton</td>
<td>3.3.3.9 E.M. Barry 19/8/1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>St. Andrew, Ramsbottom</td>
<td>3.3.3.10 Welch/Hansom &amp; Welch, of Birmingham 22/4/1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heap</td>
<td>St. Thomas, Newhey, Rochdale</td>
<td>3.3.3.11 H. Lloyd 21/12/1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwabe</td>
<td>St. Thomas, Bowlee, Middleton</td>
<td>3.3.3.12 John Ladds founded 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>All Saints, Newton Heath, Manchester</td>
<td>3.3.3.13 H. Lord of Manchester ext. 1878-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howell</td>
<td>St. Bartholomew, Great Lever, Bolton</td>
<td>3.3.3.14 T.D. Barry of Liverpool 23/8/1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roberts</td>
<td>Christ Church, West Didsbury, Manchester</td>
<td>3.3.3.15 Henry Littler of Lancashire 5/8/1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houldsworth</td>
<td>St. Elisabeth, Reddish</td>
<td>3.3.3.16 Alfred Waterhouse 4/8/1883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norreys</td>
<td>St Mary the Virgin, Davyhulme, M'ter</td>
<td>3.3.3.17 George Truefitt 23/6/1890</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**architect unknown – 2 churches**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donor</th>
<th>church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gardner</td>
<td>Christ Church, Moss Side, Manchester, consecrated 27/5/1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holden</td>
<td>St. Paul, Royton, Oldham, extended 1882</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3.4 ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICES – THE ARCHITECTS

#### 3.4.1 TWELVE MANCHESTER PRACTICES

#### 3.4.2 EIGHT PRACTICES IN TOWNS SURROUNDING MANCHESTER

#### 3.4.3 SIXTEEN NON-MANCHESTER PRACTICES

##### 3.4.3.a FIVE PRACTICES OF NATIONAL STANDING

##### 3.4.3.b FOUR PRACTICES OF HIGH STANDING

##### 3.4.3.c SEVEN PRACTICES OF MODEST STANDING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practice</th>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Born/Died</th>
<th>Training: Place, Master/Practice-Base</th>
<th>Church: Name/Date/Donor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 Shellard &amp; Brown</td>
<td>John A. Brown</td>
<td>/Manchester [BAL]</td>
<td>S Philip Hulme/1860/Birley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 J.E. Gregan</td>
<td>John Edgar Gregan (1813-55)</td>
<td>Dumfries/Manchester</td>
<td>S Peter Belmont/1850/Wright SJE Miles Platting/1855/Benjamin Heywood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Joseph Stretch Crowther</td>
<td>Joseph Stretch Crowther (1820-93)</td>
<td>?Coventry [RIBA] /M'ter</td>
<td>S Mary Hulme/1858/W Egerton S Benedict Ardwick/1880/Bennett</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Blackwell, Son &amp; Booth</td>
<td>Lawrence Booth (1835/6-94) Isaac Blackwell (d. 1876)</td>
<td>Oldham, Joseph Stott/Manchester [RIBAJ v. 1, 1894, 618]</td>
<td>S Thomas Pinhole/1866/Openshaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Lawrence Booth of Booth &amp; Chadwick</td>
<td>Thomas Chadwick (1851-1923)</td>
<td>/Manchester</td>
<td>Christ Church Walshaw/1892/Haworth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3.4.2  EIGHT PRACTICES IN TOWNS SURROUNDING MANCHESTER – SADDLEWORTH, ASHTON, BOLTON, MIDDLETON, OLDHAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practice</th>
<th>Individual Architect</th>
<th>Born/Died</th>
<th>Training: Place, Master/Practice-Base</th>
<th>Church: Name/Date/Donor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13 George Shaw</td>
<td>George Shaw (1810-76)</td>
<td>Saddleworth/ Saddleworth</td>
<td>Self-taught/ Saddleworth</td>
<td>Christ Church Friezland/ 1850/Whitehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Alan Petford]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 George &amp; J.R. Shaw</td>
<td>J.R. Shaw (b. 1830)</td>
<td>Saddleworth/</td>
<td></td>
<td>S James Gorton r1871 /Beyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Cunliffe &amp; Freeman</td>
<td>George Cunliffe (d. 1887)</td>
<td>/Bolton</td>
<td>/Bolton [Freeman, websites]</td>
<td>S Bartholomew Westhoughton/r1870/Seddon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Richard Knill Freeman</td>
<td>Richard Knill Freeman (1838/9- 1904)</td>
<td>Stepney/ Bolton</td>
<td>Derby or Portsea/ King St., Manchester; Bolton</td>
<td>S Simon &amp; S Jude Great Lever/1901/Loxham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 H. Cockbain</td>
<td>?Henry Cockbain (fl. 1868)</td>
<td>/Middleton</td>
<td>/Middleton [P79a, 86]</td>
<td>S Thomas Moorside/ 1872/Mellodew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 John Wild</td>
<td>John Wild (d. 1901)</td>
<td>/Oldham [BAL]</td>
<td>/Oldham</td>
<td>S Mark Glodwick/1876/Lees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Wild &amp; Collins</td>
<td>Joe Collins (b. 1848)</td>
<td>Oldham/ Oldham, Oldham/ Oldham</td>
<td>SJB Roughtown/1878/ Whitehead</td>
<td>S Mark Heyside/1878/ Fitton</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.4.3  SIXTEEN NON-MANCHESTER PRACTICES

#### 3.4.3.a  FIVE PRACTICES OF NATIONAL STANDING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practice</th>
<th>Individual Architect</th>
<th>Born/Died</th>
<th>Training: Place Master/ Practice-Base</th>
<th>Church: Name/Date/Donor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 George Gilbert Scott</td>
<td>George Gilbert Scott (1811-78)</td>
<td>Gawcott, Bucks/ London</td>
<td>London, James Edmeston/London</td>
<td>S Mark Worsley/ e1851-2/ F Egerton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 G.E. Street</td>
<td>George Edmund Street (1824- 81)</td>
<td>Woodford, Essex/ London</td>
<td>Winchester, Owen Carter; London Scott/Wantage; London</td>
<td>S James the Apostle Milnrow/r1869/Schofield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Born/Died</td>
<td>Training: Place Master/Practice-Base</td>
<td>Church: Name/Date/Donor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>Hubert James Austin (1841-1915)</td>
<td>Darlington, Yorks/The Knoll, Lancaster 85-9</td>
<td>educ grnmr sch., Stockton; Richmond Sch; Newcastle, ½-bro Tom/Lancaster</td>
<td>SJE Cheetham/1871/Loyd/S Michael &amp; All Angels/Howe Bridge/1877/Fletcher/S Clement Ordsall/1878/W/Egerton/S James Great Daisy Hill/1881/Haddock/All Souls Bolton/1881/Greenhalgh/S PeterWestleigh/1881/Bubb/S Saviour Bolton/1885/Greenhalgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 E.M. Barry</td>
<td>Edward Middleton Barry (1830-80)</td>
<td>London/London</td>
<td>London, Thos. Henry Wyatt &amp; David Brandon; ChasBarry/London</td>
<td>S Anne Clifton/1874/CA Fletcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 George Truefitt</td>
<td>George Truefitt (1824-1902)</td>
<td>Manchester/Worthing</td>
<td>London, Cottingham snr; Sancton Wood; Worces-ter; Eginton/London</td>
<td>S Mary the Virgin/Davyhulme/1890/Norreys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3.4.3.c</strong> SEVEN PRACTICES OF MODEST STANDING</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>practice</strong></td>
<td><strong>individual architect</strong></td>
<td><strong>born/died</strong></td>
<td><strong>training: place master/practice-base</strong></td>
<td><strong>church: name/date/donor</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 William Young</td>
<td>William Young (d 1877)</td>
<td>/Bradford</td>
<td>Manchester, Thos. Wright/ Lancs</td>
<td>S Paul Walkden/ r1848 /F Egerton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 James Park Harrison</td>
<td>James Park Harrison (1817-1902)</td>
<td>Bloomsbury/</td>
<td>Oxford; Lincoln's Inn/</td>
<td>S Margaret Whalley Range/ 1849/Brooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 Hansom &amp; Welch</td>
<td>Joseph Hansom (1803-82), Edward Welch (1806-68)</td>
<td>York/London/ Overton, Flintshire/London</td>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td>S Andrew Ramsbottom/ 1875/Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 H. Lloyd</td>
<td>?Henry Lloyd (c1812-87)</td>
<td>London/</td>
<td>lived Bristol</td>
<td>S Thomas Newhey/ 1876/ Heap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 John Ladds</td>
<td>John Ladds (1835-1926)</td>
<td>Ellington, Cambs./London [DBA]</td>
<td></td>
<td>S Thomas Bowlee/1877/ Schwabe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 Henry Littler</td>
<td>Henry Littler (d 1934)</td>
<td>/St. Anne's, Lancs</td>
<td>Lancs. co. architect</td>
<td>Christ Church W Didsbury/ 1882/Roberts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Correct identification of this architect has been established only recently (1/1/2015), following Pevsner's misattribution as 'James Harrison of Chester'. (Wyke, however, correctly gives 'J.P. Harrison'.)
## APPENDIX 4

### 4.1 INDICATORS OF CHURCHMANSHIP

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>key</th>
<th>description</th>
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<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Low/Evangelical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>High/Tractarian/Anglo-Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Central/Broad/middle-of-the-road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>consecrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>rebuilt, re-consecrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sv</td>
<td>standing, visited</td>
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<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>redundant</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>demolished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>memorial</td>
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<td>fr</td>
<td>family representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fl</td>
<td>family literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lh</td>
<td>local historian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lp</td>
<td>local press</td>
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<td>so</td>
<td>site-observation</td>
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<tr>
<td>rs</td>
<td>references</td>
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<tr>
<td>ar</td>
<td>all references</td>
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<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Eccles“&quot;st</td>
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<td>pl</td>
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<tr>
<td>pr</td>
<td>parish representative</td>
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<tr>
<td>O</td>
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### 4.1.1 HIGH CHURCHMANSHIP – 15 churches; 1R, 6D

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<tr>
<td>date church donor architect original site</td>
<td>integral (i) referential (r) architect (a) priest (p)</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1849 St. Margaret, Whalley Range, Manchester Brooks Harrison</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1855 D St. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting, M’ter B. Heywood J.E. Gregan/ W.R. Corson</td>
<td>[pl; other literature]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1860 D St. Philip, Hulme, Manchester Birleys Shellard &amp; Brown</td>
<td>Balderstone link [pl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1863 D St. Anne, Brindle Heath, Pendleton Birley, H. J.M. Taylor</td>
<td>Balderstone link [pl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1864 D St. Michael, Hulme, Manchester Birleys J.M. Taylor</td>
<td>Balderstone link [pl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1869 D St. Stephen, Hulme, Manchester Birleys J.M. Taylor</td>
<td>Balderstone link [pl]</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1871 St. John the Evangelist Cheetham Manchester Loyd Paley &amp; Austin</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1874 St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pendlebury E.S. Heywood Bodley &amp; Garner</td>
<td>[so]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1874 St. Cross, Clayton, Manchester Hoare W. Butterfield</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e 1878-80 All Saints, Newton Heath, M’ter Taylor H. Lord</td>
<td>[so]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1880 R St. Benedict, Ardwick, Manchester Bennett J.S. Crowther</td>
<td>[so]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1881 St. Peter, Westleigh, Leigh Sarah W. Bubb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e 1882 St. Anne, Haughton, Manchester Sidebotham J.M.&amp; H.Taylor</td>
<td>[so]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e 1882/3 St. Paul, Royton, Oldham Holden</td>
<td>[so]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1883 St. Elisabeth, Reddish Houldsworth Waterhouse</td>
<td>[so]</td>
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### 4.1.2 Low Churchmanship

#### 4.1.2.a Low Churchmanship indicated certainly – 9 churches; 1 R, 2 D

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>Donor</th>
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<th>Referential</th>
<th>Architect</th>
<th>Priest</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c 1849 D</td>
<td>St. John, Folds Road, Bolton</td>
<td>Sumner</td>
<td>E.H. Shellard</td>
<td>[pl]</td>
<td>[O]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1850</td>
<td>Christ Church, Friezland, Oldham</td>
<td>Whitehead</td>
<td>G. Shaw</td>
<td>[so]</td>
<td>[fl]</td>
<td>Shaw</td>
<td>Green [m]</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1850 D</td>
<td>Christ Church, Moss Side, Manchester</td>
<td>Gardner</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e 1862</td>
<td>St. John the Evangelist, Hurst, Ashton-u-Lyne</td>
<td>Whittaker</td>
<td>G. Shaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1863</td>
<td>Christ Church, Denshaw, Oldham</td>
<td>Garside</td>
<td>J. Eaton</td>
<td>[lh]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1871</td>
<td>St. Stephen, Kearsley Moor, Bolton</td>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>J.M. Taylor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. John, Folds Rd. connection</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1874</td>
<td>St. Anne, Clifton, Swinton</td>
<td>Fletcher</td>
<td>E.M. Barry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[pr]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1876</td>
<td>St. Thomas, Newhey, Rochdale</td>
<td>Heap</td>
<td>H. Lloyd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[fr; fl]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1878</td>
<td>St. John the Baptist, Roughton, Mossley</td>
<td>Whitehead</td>
<td>Wild &amp; Collins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[fl]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 1885 D</td>
<td>The (or St.) Saviour, Deane Rd., Bolton</td>
<td>Greenhalgh</td>
<td>Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[pl]</td>
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#### Low Churchmanship indicated uncertainly – 6 churches; 1 D

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<th>Referential</th>
<th>Architect</th>
<th>Priest</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>c 1865</td>
<td>St. James the Apostle, Hurst Brook, Ashton-u-Lyne</td>
<td>Whittaker</td>
<td>G. Shaw</td>
<td>[so]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shaw</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1874</td>
<td>St. Andrew, Ramsbottom, Bury</td>
<td>Grant (Hansom &amp;) Welch</td>
<td></td>
<td>[so]</td>
<td>[ar]</td>
<td></td>
<td>MacLean [rs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1875</td>
<td>St. Mark, Glodwick, Oldham</td>
<td>Lees</td>
<td>J. Wild</td>
<td>[so]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[pr, pl]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1881 R</td>
<td>All Souls, Astley Street, Bolton</td>
<td>Greenhalgh</td>
<td>Paleo &amp; Austin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[pl]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1892</td>
<td>Christ Church, Walshaw, Bury</td>
<td>Haworth</td>
<td>L. Booth</td>
<td>[so]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[P]</td>
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</table>
### 4.1.3 Broad Churchmanship – 8 churches; 1R

<table>
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<th>architect</th>
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<th>referential (r)</th>
<th>architect (a)</th>
<th>priest (p)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r 1848</td>
<td>St. Paul, Walkden Moor, Worsley</td>
<td>F. Egerton</td>
<td>W. Young</td>
<td></td>
<td>pr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r 1871</td>
<td>St. James, Gorton, Manchester</td>
<td>Beyer</td>
<td>G &amp; R Shaw</td>
<td></td>
<td>pr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1872</td>
<td>St. Thomas, Moorside, Oldham</td>
<td>Mellodew</td>
<td>H. Cockbain</td>
<td></td>
<td>fr; fl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1872</td>
<td>St. Mary, Balderstone, Rochdale</td>
<td>Radcliffe</td>
<td>J.M. Taylor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1875</td>
<td>St. Mary, Greenfield, Oldham</td>
<td>Buckley</td>
<td>G. Shaw</td>
<td></td>
<td>pr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>f 1877</td>
<td>St. Thomas, Bowlee, Middleton</td>
<td>Schwabe</td>
<td>J. Ladds</td>
<td></td>
<td>pr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1878</td>
<td>St. Mark, Heyside, Oldham</td>
<td>Fitton</td>
<td>Wild &amp; Collins</td>
<td>pr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1901</td>
<td>St. Simon &amp; St. Jude, Bolton</td>
<td>Loxham</td>
<td>R.K. Freeman</td>
<td></td>
<td>pr</td>
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### 4.1.4 Mixed Churchmanship – 11 churches; 1R, 2D

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<th>referential (r)</th>
<th>architect (a)</th>
<th>priest (p)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c 1863</td>
<td>Holy Trinity, Prestolee, Bolton</td>
<td>Rideout</td>
<td>G. Shaw</td>
<td>Crompton L [websites]; H [Eccles]</td>
<td>Shaw L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r 1869</td>
<td>St. James the Apostle, Milnrow, Rochdale</td>
<td>Schofield</td>
<td>G.E. Street</td>
<td>L: Leather-barrow</td>
<td>H [Leather-barrow]</td>
<td>Raines L [Hyde &amp; Petford]</td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1870</td>
<td>St. James the Great, Calderbrook, Littleborough</td>
<td>Dearden</td>
<td>G. Shaw</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shaw L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r 1870</td>
<td>St. Bartholomew, Westhoughton, Bolton</td>
<td>Seddon</td>
<td>Cunliffe &amp; Freeman</td>
<td>L: Methodist conn[pl]</td>
<td>Freeman H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1877</td>
<td>St. Michael &amp; All Angels, Howe Bge, Atherton</td>
<td>Fletcher</td>
<td>Paley &amp; Austin</td>
<td>H [so]</td>
<td>L [pr]</td>
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#### 4.1.4.1 evidence of both Low and High Churchmanship – 7 churches; 1R

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<th>architect</th>
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<th>referential (r)</th>
<th>architect (a)</th>
<th>priest (p)</th>
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<tr>
<td>c 1851-2</td>
<td>St. Mark, Worsley</td>
<td>F. Egerton</td>
<td>Scott</td>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1890</td>
<td>St Mary The Virgin, Davyhulme</td>
<td>Norreys</td>
<td>G. Truefit</td>
<td>L [pr]</td>
<td>C [pl]</td>
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#### 4.1.4.2 evidence of both Low and Broad Churchmanship – 2 churches

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<th>referential (r)</th>
<th>architect (a)</th>
<th>priest (p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>c 1858</td>
<td>St. Mary, Hulme, Manchester</td>
<td>Egerton, W. J.S. Crowther</td>
<td></td>
<td>C/H [lp]</td>
<td>Crowther H [L'barrow]</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c 1876</td>
<td>St. Mary the Virgin, Haughton Green, Manchester</td>
<td>Walton</td>
<td>J.M. H. Taylor</td>
<td>H [so]</td>
<td>C [lh]</td>
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### 4.1.5 No Evidence Regarding Churchmanship – 12 churches; 2R, 4D

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<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>St. Thomas, Pimhole, Bury</td>
<td>Openshaw Blackwell, Son &amp; Booth</td>
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<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>St. Peter, Churchgate, Bolton</td>
<td>Ormrod Paley &amp; Austin</td>
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<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>St. Edmund, Falinge, Rochdale</td>
<td>Royds J.M. Taylor</td>
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<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>St. James, Collyhurst, Manchester</td>
<td>Stewart John Lowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Holy Trinity Ashton-under-Lyne</td>
<td>Heginbottom J.M. &amp; H. Taylor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>St. Clement, Ordsall, Salford</td>
<td>Egerton, W. Paley &amp; Austin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>All Saints, Gorton, Manchester</td>
<td>Beyer G. &amp; J.R. Shaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>St. Bartholomew, Great Lever, Bolton</td>
<td>Howell T.D. Barry</td>
</tr>
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<td>1881</td>
<td>St. James the Great Daisy Hill, Westhoughton, Bolton</td>
<td>Haddock Paley &amp; Austin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Christ Church, West Didsbury, Manchester</td>
<td>Roberts H. Littler</td>
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<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>St. Cyprian, Ordsall, Salford</td>
<td>Egerton, W. Alfred Darbyshire</td>
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<td>1903</td>
<td>St. Ignatius, Ordsall, Salford</td>
<td>Egerton, W. Darbyshire &amp; Smith</td>
</tr>
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</table>
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Notes:
Primary sources are works dated up to and including 1903.

i Footnote-references in main thesis to works in 'Primary Sources' ('Manuscript'; 'Printed'; and 'Periodical and Newspaper') and 'Secondary Sources' ('Printed', 'Periodical and Newspaper') generally give author's surname and page number, with date of publication only when first cited and to differentiate between publication or author, e.g. 'Yates (1991); Yates (1999)'.

ii Footnote-references to works in 'Unpublished Theses …' and 'Websites' cite name followed in bold font by 'theses' or 'websites', respectively, with dates of access to websites provided in the bibliography alone, e.g. 'Gunn, theses.'; 'Tatton Park, websites.'.

iii 'Parish anniversary and historical literature …', is arranged according to town or administrative area, subdivided into parishes, e.g. 'MANCHESTER-Ancoats', 'MANCHESTER-Ardwick'. Each item is listed numbered in date-order, last if undated.

iv Footnotes citing an item in 'Parish anniversary and historical literature …' section distinguish it by name of parish, e.g. 'OLDHAM-Glodwick', differentiated between items by number, e.g. 'OLDHAM-Glodwick, 1'; 'OLDHAM-Glodwick, 2'. To differentiate item- and page numbers, the former are in bold, the latter in standard font, e.g. 'WORSLEY, 5, 7'; 'WORSLEY, 5, 4.'.

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______________


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