ENGLISH HERITAGE

Places of Worship Selection Guide

Heritage Protection Department

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Selection Guide
Places of Worship

1 INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITIONS

Places of worship of all faiths and denominations can be supremely uplifting buildings. Places of worship can also be the most significant repositories of a community's architectural and artistic achievement, and their prominence in the historic environment is universally accepted. Many of our most important historic buildings are places of worship and this is reflected in the statutory lists: 45 per cent of all grade I listed buildings are churches. People feel strongly about them, whether or not they are active members of a worshipping congregation. With their strong claims to special architectural, archaeological, artistic and historic interest, they deserve considerable respect and care.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century secured for the Church of England the lion's share of England's oldest and finest churches. Only in the nineteenth century did other denominations acquire the financial resources and the confidence born of religious tolerance to build on a comparable scale.

This selection guide looks first at the various Christian churches down to the end of the nineteenth century – Anglican (Church of England), Roman Catholic, Nonconformity (Dissenting) - and collectively at churches and chapels of the twentieth century. Then follows a section of the buildings of Judaism, the Mosque in England and buildings of other faiths. Because of the long and complex history of the parish church (and the ready availability of other guides), we concentrate here on the designation aspects, particularly for more recent churches, but give a slightly fuller historical overview of other sorts of places of worship. Churchyard and war memorials are separately treated in the Commemorative selection guide.

2 SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS WHEN SELECTING PLACES OF WORSHIP FOR DESIGNATION

Understanding Places of worship can be extremely complex buildings, with multiple layers of history and meaning. Growing understanding can add to an appreciation of the buildings, and should be reflected in designations that are appropriate and helpful in assigning significance.

Appropriate Assessment The overwhelming majority of places of worship are Christian churches and chapels, and this is reflected in the lists. This does not mean, however, that the buildings of all denominations are equally well represented. Care must be taken to ensure that the places of worship of one faith community are not overlooked or under-valued because they have been judged by inappropriate criteria first applied to the buildings of another. It should also be remembered that for some Non-Conformist

denominations, and in some Jewish worship traditions, architectural simplicity has always been a matter of principle: it would be wrong to judge a primitive Methodist chapel against the standards for a Catholic church, for instance.

Alteration Places of worship have been subject to successive changes resulting from growth, evolving liturgy and patterns of worship - a process that continues into the present day. Sometimes this results in structural change; otherwise, furnishings, fittings and decoration provide the only evidence of these successive phases. Alteration and addition can often add to the interest of a place of worship, and designation should take account of this evidence, where appropriate.

Fixtures and Fittings These can be of great importance in defining the character of a place of worship, and are sometimes regarded as the most important elements of all. While architectural quality is almost always a prime consideration, there are numerous places of worship of limited or little intrinsic architectural or archaeological merit, but of outstanding interest because of their suite of furnishings or aspects of their decoration (stained glass, wall paintings, pews and choir stalls etc). These non-structural elements are often critical to the quality and character of an interior and may in themselves affect its grade.

Grading Churches are among the earliest listings to have been written, and some still have their old grades of A, B and C. These are being updated at present. Churches with extensive medieval fabric will generally be in Grade I, and fine examples of other places of worship will warrant listing in an upper grade too. The upper categories of Grade I and II* constitute less than 10 per cent of all list entries overall. Care must be taken to ensure that places of worship are assigned an appropriate grade, and efforts must be made to ensure that the right yardsticks are being employed in such judgments.

Local Considerations While all listed buildings are of national importance, local factors may sometimes be of significance. Places of worship should be judged within the regional as well as national context; a period, a style or individual architectural or decorative feature that is relatively common in one locale may be rare in another. Similarly, association with a significant *local* patron or architect should also be reflected in the designated status.

Group Value Many institutions have chapels as part of their fabric: cemeteries, hospitals and workhouses, barracks, schools are all provided with places of worship. When assessing them for designation, due regard needs to be paid to their contribution to the overall ensemble and their place in the landscape, as well as to their intrinsic architectural or decorative value. Sometimes, they can be the only designated buildings on account of their exceptional embellishment and prominence.

3 SUMMARY OF SELECTION CRITERIA

The following factors should always be considered as part of the assessment for designation.

- Special interest in design and craftsmanship
- High quality of architectural or artistic embellishment

- Association with a nationally significant architect, designer or artist
- Completeness of an architectural/decorative ensemble
- Association with a nationally significant patron, worshipper or cleric
- Architectural expression of distinctive or innovative liturgy or worshipping practice
- Significant memorials
- Uncommon building materials or innovative construction
- Early date
- Rarity

4 CHURCHES OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

The Church of England

The Church of England is custodian of the single largest number of listed places of worship: out of 16,151 Church of England parish churches, around 13,000 (80 per cent) are listed. Often the oldest structures in a community, most churches will have been considered sacred for many generations, and have been the setting for their rites of passage, from baptism to burial. They occupy a unique position in a community's understanding of its past, even in an age of declining church attendance.

Pre-1800 churches

Medieval parish churches before the Reformation It is unlikely that many medieval buildings have escaped designation. Some, however, may be inappropriately graded. Factors that would justify high-level grading include:

- Traces of pre-Conquest fabric
- Survival of a building of a single-phase of construction
- Credible (preferably documented) association with a nationally significant patron or known architect
- Evidence of medieval devotional foci in the church or churchyard (image niches, carved or painted inscriptions, devotional paintings, churchyard cross)
- Survival of significant pre-Reformation furnishing and decoration, especially moveable and wooden items (stalls, benches, screens, doors, especially if bearing medieval ironwork)
- Survival of medieval altar
- Survival of early timber structural elements (roof, porch, bell-frame)
- Survival of original surfaces (walls and floors)
- Survival of extensive/exceptional documentation that allow the development of the church to be interpreted more fully

Most medieval churches occupy a site of great antiquity, and in their plan form or orientation may echo earlier structures on or near the site. Where appropriate, assessments for designation should take buried archaeology into account as well as the relationship between the church, churchyard and associated structures (funerary monuments, boundary walls, lychgate, rectory etc). Assessments should also be sensitive to the wider landscape context of the church. It has never been possible, under the

current legislation, to designate churches for their archaeological interest through scheduling. Many churches are of supreme interest for their early fabric and evidence of early phases, and wherever possible this should be reflected in both grading and designation documentation.

The parish church c.1540-1600: Reformation, Marian Reaction and the Elizabethan Settlement A period of little new church building, but one in which the successive changes transforming England into a Protestant realm can be 'read' in the adaptation of interiors designed to support the new emphasis on the ministry of the word, which involved both the introduction as well as the removal of furnishings. Most churches will already be listed but sufficient weight may not always be attached to furnishing of this date. Evidence of Marian changes (such as the reinstatement of shrines, or specifically Catholic imagery) is extremely rare and deserves particular notice.

The parish church 1600-1800 Few churches were constructed in this period relative to what had come before, and what was to come after. They are thus rarities and will most likely be listed, generally in a high grade. Most churches prior to the Restoration were self-consciously Gothic and differed from their predecessors only by the thorough use of pews in the nave and the prominence of the pulpit. Buildings retaining little-altered contemporary interiors and furnishings, they are of outstanding interest. Churches built during the Commonwealth are particularly rare.

Despite the relatively low level of building activity overall, London saw considerable church building after the Great Fire of London (1666) and in response to population growth and the encroachment of the Non-Conformist denominations (the Fifty New Churches of 1711). These were the work of nationally renowned architects, e.g., Wren and Hawksmoor, who sought a 'Protestant architecture' for England, favouring plans that enabled all present to hear and see the preacher distinctly: Dutch models were of particular importance. Wren's St James, Piccadilly (1684) formed the model for these 'auditory' churches, with galleries on three sides and a shallow communion apse, with a prominent and multi-storey pulpit centrally placed in front of the communion table. Although this became the standard type for Georgian church building, much was later swept away in the mid nineteenth century. Evidence of their early form - wooden communion tables, small fonts, original box-pews, plain crown glass windows, galleries (which often preserve original seating), centrally located multi-tiered pulpits and enamel-painted stained glass - should be carefully noted and, where enough survives to convey a clear impression of the earlier arrangements, might justify a high grade. The removal of medieval fittings opened up the early modern parish church for the display of secular patronage, especially memorials to local dignitaries. The concentration of memorials in a major town church can represent a major document of civic history and benefaction, as well as the most important of all categories of English sculpture. New modes of funerary commemoration evolved, with monuments positioned in locations that took advantage of new opportunities for ostentatious display.

The nineteenth century: special considerations

Nineteenth-century churches long suffered from a general prejudice against Victorian architecture that has not entirely disappeared. They are relatively numerous - although considerable numbers of Victorian churches built after 1850 remain unlisted - and the challenge in assessing them for designation is not so much one of recognising rarity as

contextualising relative plenty. The English Gothic Revival was of international significance and its finest buildings deserve the highest levels of protection as monuments of world significance. The significance of many Victorian churches relies on their furnishings and fittings; they are vulnerable to loss and damage and surviving decorative schemes, furniture and fittings should be accorded special note.

Well preserved Anglican churches by the best-known architects are unlikely to remain unlisted, although their grading may not always adequately reflect their significance in the national context. Lesser-known provincial architects are not so well represented in the lists, even though their buildings can sometimes match those of the London-based practices in scale and quality. The demand for architects' services was so great in the nineteenth century that many could operate within the confines of a single region or city and still make a good living. While their work needs to be assessed against national benchmarks, designation should also take into account the contribution of these architects to the distinctive character of the Victorian city and countryside. Churches often make an important contribution to the urban streetscape - many Victorian suburbs were planned with the church as their visual focal point - and their relationship to nearby contemporary clergy accommodation, and related school and/or planned residential development should be considered seriously when assessing them for designation.

The parish church 1800-40 Churches of this period are characterised by stylistic diversity – Romanesque and Gothic revival (albeit not of a very archaeologically accurate nature) and Neo-Classicism co-existed. The influence of the Ecclesiological Movement with its concept of a 'correct' Gothic style had yet to emerge (see 'The Gothic Revival' below). Examples of archaeologically well-informed Gothic revival forms in this period are rare and important. Church interiors have suffered disproportionate losses and little-altered examples with original fittings may deserve high listing grades. This period also witnessed a vogue for collecting ecclesiastical furnishings of pre-Reformation date from Continental Europe - woodwork and stained glass in particular - especially after the Peace of Amiens in 1814, and many found their way into restored medieval churches. In addition to their intrinsic interests, they made an important contribution to the revival of the ecclesiastical arts and crafts in England.

The Commissioners' Churches, 1818-56 New parishes could only be created by Act of Parliament, an expensive process that constrained the expansion of the Church of England to meet the needs of a growing population. Fear of revolution, however, together with the success of the evangelising Free Churches, especially the Methodists, resulted in two exceptional parliamentary grants (totalling £3 million) towards the construction of over 600 new churches in the rapidly expanding industrial towns where the Established church was inadequately represented. The quality of these 'Commissioners' Churches' was uneven, some being the work of architects with national reputations (e.g., Soane and Scott), others by local men of variable talent. They represent the single largest church building initiative since the Reformation. Most were designed to accommodate large numbers and many adopted a generally superficial and decorative Gothic style with a west tower or bellcote, galleries and shallow sanctuary: capacity, rather than stylistic authenticity, was the principal consideration.

Some of the 600 have been demolished and many were altered in the later-nineteenth century (principally by the addition of a deeper chancel and removal of galleries and

original pews). The churches were derided by Pugin, champion of the Gothic Revival, and 'Commissioners' Gothic' became a term of derision: today they are assigned considerable respect for their architectural (and structural) qualities, and for their historical importance as the greatest state-funded wave of church building ever seen in England.

The Victorian Gothic Revival, ecclesiology and the Oxford Movement, c.1840-c.1880

The 1840s saw the emergence of Ecclesiology, a scholarly study of the principles of medieval structure and design, liturgy and churchmanship. Although Ecclesiology was not a theological movement, many of its adherents were high churchmen and champions of the Oxford or Tractarian Movement, which sought to reconnect the Church of England with its pre-Reformation roots and to restore the Eucharist to the heart of worship. Their stance on the arrangement of the church interior was based on the authority of the ornaments rubric of the Book of Common Prayer, which required that the chancels of churches be maintained as they were in the second year of King Edward VI (1548-9). The Gothic Revival heralded the demise of the 'preaching box' in favour of the church on a medieval model, cruciform on plan, with nave, deep chancel and aisles but, unlike the model, filled with fixed high-backed benches.

One of the prime movers of the Gothic Revival in England was the Roman Catholic convert A.W.N. Pugin (1812-52), whose polemical works promoted Gothic on aesthetic grounds, religious and moral grounds. His influence extended to a revival of the ecclesiastical arts of metalwork and stained glass and it was the combination of a Gothic architectural revival and liturgical renewal that provided the catalyst for the flowering of the ecclesiastical arts and craftsmanship: stained glass, wall paintings, open benches, textiles, all –unlike in the Middle Ages - produced on an industrial scale. Existing churches underwent sometimes drastic alteration: medieval churches were restored and more recent churches transformed by the addition of chancel extensions and the removal of galleries and proprietary box-pews. Few Anglican churches remained unaffected: such changes constitute a significant phase in the history of a church and one of the challenges of designation is to assess the intrinsic quality of these changes, which was often high, rather than the impact of loss (if any) of what went before.

The period saw the increasing professionalisation of the architect and an explosion of publications that illustrated 'correct' medieval models and disseminated new discoveries and interpretation in archaeology and architectural history. When assessing churches of this date it is desirable to establish sources and indebtedness to exemplars and models, especially for stained glass designs, tiled pavements and painted wall decoration. But by the 1870s the influence of ecclesiology was on the wane and a more eclectic and wide-ranging assimilation of Gothic styles – Northern European, Italian, Byzantine, as well as English - was employed in imaginative and exciting ways by a younger generation of architects.

During this period in particular, considerable numbers of chapels were erected in cemeteries and other institutions, such as workhouses and asylums (more information on workhouses and asylums can be found in the Health and Welfare selection guide). While generally on a smaller scale than churches, and seldom possessing their decorative elaboration, these buildings – generally complemented by Nonconformist chapels in the cemetery context - often play a crucial part in their landscape settings and

should be carefully assessed for designation using architectural and landscape setting grounds to determine their interest.

Late Perpendicular and Arts and Crafts c.1880-1914 The best buildings of this period were less in thrall to the medieval precedent advocated by Pugin and the ecclesiologists. The best display more integrated massing better suited to the liturgical requirements of modern worship, in which the seated congregation required visibility and processional and circulatory spaces. Late medieval English Perpendicular provided fresh inspiration for architects like G.F. Bodley and Temple Moore. Continental *art nouveau* enjoyed limited popularity in ecclesiastical circles in England, but the impact on the ecclesiastical arts of the Arts and Crafts Movement, which drew imaginatively on English vernacular styles remained a formative influence until at least the Second World War. These influences produced a powerful and organic architecture often enhanced by a suite of contemporary furnishings, as expressed in the work of architects like Philip Webb, W. R. Lethaby and E. S. Prior.

The assessment for designation of churches of this period is difficult: the vast array of relevant publications available to architects, the increase in local architectural societies and local branches of professional bodies such as the Royal Institute of British Architects, and improved technical and art training led to a rise in the general standard of architectural competence that was reflected across the whole denominational spectrum. The large number of surviving churches and chapels requires careful selectivity but, although many designs were standardised and wholly derivative, many were imaginative, sometimes dramatic but also, as with houses of the period, sometimes subtle and undemonstrative. Traditionalism can sometimes have equal claims to note as novelty.

The Roman Catholic Church

The study of Roman Catholic church architecture in England is not well developed and, with the exception of A.W.N. Pugin and his sons, there are few individual studies of the leading practices. Partly because of this, Catholic churches are relatively under-representation in the statutory lists. There are around 2,765 Catholic parish churches and 700 other churches and chapels open to the public, of which 625 (18 per cent) are listed.

The penal years Public Catholic worship was illegal in England from the accession of Queen Elizabeth until 1791. Priests trained in Catholic seminaries on the Continent and celebrated clandestine masses in private houses, but the penalties were severe. A small number of mass rooms and estate chapels survive. Catholics did not benefit from the 1689 Act of Toleration. By the second half of the eighteenth century, however, some aristocratic Catholic families felt sufficiently confident to build ambitious new chapels in the relative seclusion of their own estates (as at Lulworth, Dorset) and, by the 1780s a number of English towns also had Catholic chapels. Most of these were barely distinguishable from Non-Conformist chapels. When the Papacy and the European Catholic powers ceased to recognise Charles Stuart the 'Young Pretender' as king of England in 1760, the threat of Jacobitism receded and a new degree of toleration of Catholicism in England led to the passing of first and second Catholic Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791.

The aftermath of the Relief Act of 1791 The Second Catholic Relief Act legalised public worship and sanctioned church building, as long as the chapel had no steeple or bell. This heralded a period of Catholic church and chapel building on a significant scale. Many of the new chapels were built on sites of earlier devotion, and/or preserved relics associated with the martyrs of penal times. Aristocratic and land-owning patrons were in the vanguard, although in larger towns (Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham), well-to-do laymen established societies devoted to fund-raising and church building. These chapels were similar to Anglican and Non-Conformist 'privatised' proprietary churches, where pew rents secured the best seats and the poor were pushed to the margins.

The vast majority of these post-1791 chapels were classical in style, simple galleried boxes hardly distinguishable from Non-Conformist chapels of the period. For the most part, the exteriors remained simple and understated, as old habits died hard. Chapels could be tucked away behind the presbytery, which presented a discreet and domestic face to the world. Examples of these immediately post-relief Act chapels remain to be designated: the inspection of early interiors is essential.

From emancipation to building boom, 1830-1880 The Act of Emancipation of 1829 freed Catholics from most remaining civil disabilities. Catholics could now enter public life and the act also made possible the establishment of a Catholic education system. In 1871 all religious restrictions on entry to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were lifted. This created a social milieu in which an educated Catholic professional class could flourish, and Catholic architects could confess their faith and earn a living working for Catholic patrons. The restoration of the Catholic Episcopal hierarchy in 1850 was another important watershed and coincided with a period of enormous expansion in the Catholic population of England as a result of immigration from Ireland, especially following the Great Famine of the 1840s. By the 1851 census there were 900,000 Catholics in England, a population that had grown to 1,793,000 by the eve of the First World War.

The newly established Catholic bishops made church provision a high priority, and focussed on impoverished urban immigrants in cities such as Liverpool. Fearful that non-Catholic education and poor relief would seduce the faithful from the Catholic Church, much emphasis was placed on developing the teaching and nursing orders of religious. In many Catholic parishes the school preceded the church and the hard and fast division of sacred and secular space meant that the majority of churches were endowed with a building suitable for social and community activities. The complex of school, large presbytery and social hall is common in many Catholic urban parishes and the group value of these combinations should be carefully assessed.

In the 1850s and 1860s, Catholic churches began to match those of the Established Church in terms of scale and architectural pretension. Many of the same stylistic debates are echoed in the Catholic context. A.W.N. Pugin, the great pro-Gothic polemicist, was responsible for a large number of Catholic churches in his short career. Much of his work was compromised by the relative poverty of his patrons, but opportunities were occasionally provided by wealthy Catholics (notably the Earl of Shrewsbury) for him to express his ideals as at St Giles, Cheadle, Staffordshire (1841-6): here, with no expense spared, he recreated with great sophistication the ideal English medieval country church, denied to Roman Catholics since the Reformation.

Pugin was not without his detractors: his insistence on the long chancel, the separation of nave from chancel by a rood screen, and the addition of aisles to the nave, may have been supported by medieval precedent, but usually resulted in poor visibility of the sacred drama enacted at the altars for those seated in the aisles. For many nineteenth-century Catholic clergy, including Cardinal Newman, the classical architecture of the Holy City was perceived to be a more appropriate architectural idiom for the English Catholic Church resurgent. A distinctive visual identity was desirable, while the 'auditory' church plan and galleried interior popularised in the eighteenth century provided both maximum church accommodation and maximum visibility for the congregation in crowded urban parishes. Others, including Pugin's son Edward, and the Hansom and Scoles practices, perfected a Gothic 'town church' with a tall arcade and roof that encompassed nave and wide aisles, providing ample space and good visibility. Economy remained a consideration and many hundreds of these standardised, barn-like Gothic churches were built. Selectivity will be required when assessing them for designation. The survival of original or little-altered interiors may be a decisive factor and could warrant a high grade but it is important to remember that many churches were furnished only as their building debts were cleared, meaning that the original architect did not always design or select the furnishings that survive. Establishing the chronology of aspects of a historic interior, and their links to original architect and patron can therefore be problematic. As with churches of an earlier generation, the value of an ensemble with ancillary buildings may justify inclusion for townscape value.

The late nineteenth century: architectural maturity and liturgical reform In the great flood of late nineteenth-century Gothic Revival Catholic church building, designation should recognize the innovative and original. By the end of the century, Roman Catholic architects were among the most prominent in the field, notably Leonard Stokes, J. F. Bentley, George Gilbert Scott junior, his son Giles Gilbert Scott and H. S. Goodhart Rendel. They drew inspiration from the buildings of the early Christian and Byzantine church and their designs were informed by recent archaeological insights into early Christian liturgical practice. Bentley's Byzantine Romanesque Westminster Cathedral (1895-1903), its style quite consciously and confidently chosen in order to stand apart from the Gothic of Westminster Abbey nearby, was to be an immensely influential building.

Non-Conformity: the Architecture of Dissent

While the term 'non-conformity' is in many ways an unhelpful and negative label, subsuming and masking a huge diversity of practice and tradition, it enjoys common usage and is adopted in this selection guide.

Dissent grew significantly in the seventeenth century, particularly during the Civil War and Commonwealth. Few Dissenting chapels survive from the first half of that century and those that do have been significantly altered, enlarged or completely rebuilt on the same site. The pace of chapel building quickened following the Declarations of Indulgence of Charles II (1672) and James II (1687) and especially following the Act of Toleration of 1689, although this act expressly excluded Roman Catholics and Unitarians, and Quakers could not take the required oaths. Further freedom was afforded by the 1812 Toleration Act, which permitted as many as twenty people to gather for worship in an unregistered chapel.

The period of greatest expansion was from the mid eighteenth century up to about 1870, as Non-Conformists were freed from constraints to their civil liberties. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 opened up the professions to Non-Conformists. In 1837, the civil registration of births, marriages and deaths enabled Non-Conformists to have their marriages solemnized in their own place of worship rather than in an Anglican church. The 1844 Dissenters Chapels Act ensured stability of tenure for Non-Conformists, by securing chapels for those congregations who had worshipped in them for a minimum of 25 years. This was particularly important where a chapel had changed hands, a not uncommon phenomenon. The 1870 Education Act was of widespread national benefit, and had the effect of releasing resources formerly devoted to separatist educational provision in Non-Conformist and Roman Catholic communities alike. After 1870 the growth of membership of most denominations was no longer keeping pace with general population growth and demographic change was bringing about chapel decline and even redundancy.

Despite their considerable architectural diversity, Non-Conformist chapels have some general physical characteristics in common. Orientation is not an issue, so buildings could take full advantage of the site. Striking facades and street frontages are characteristic. Non-Conformist church and chapel founders were free of the parish system that hampered Anglican expansion, and so could build quickly, in response to the demands of growing congregations. They were reliant upon subscriptions or the support of shareholders and this is reflected in the presence of proprietary pews, which lasted longer in Non-Conformist circles than in Anglican ones.

Fellowship and study have always been important and Non-Conformist chapels were often equipped with ancillary spaces or separate buildings devoted to community or educational use – Sunday schools, Ragged Schools, meeting rooms, kitchens, halls for entertainment, young peoples' Institutes etc. Baptist chapels and Quaker meeting houses often had libraries. This often results in interesting massing of groups of buildings around the chapel.

The earliest Dissenting meetings were held in private houses or in buildings converted from other uses and many early chapels continued to resemble domestic buildings well in to the nineteenth century reflecting both economy and discretion in the face of prejudice. Many were built with the volunteer labour of congregation members. The earliest Non-Conformist buildings are generally of modest size, architecturally simple or even vernacular in character and constructed of local materials. Early furnishings are plain and particularly vulnerable and where found are of exceptional importance. A word of warning on dating, however: many chapels re-used date stones, sometimes from the first chapel on the site, and they should not be accepted unquestioned. However, even if chapels (and furnishings) are later than they appear, it is their place in the chronology of the denomination that matters: ideally, chapels should be assessed together at least in a regional context to provide relative dating benchmarks.

By the end of the seventeenth century a generic meeting house type had emerged. The buildings were all characterised by their simplicity and plainness. Square or more commonly rectangular on plan, chapels were usually longer than they were wide, with galleries on three walls and a prominent pulpit of two or three storeys in the middle of the long wall. A small communion table would be placed in front of the pulpit. Gallery fronts were usually panelled and lower walls were often wainscoted. Simple forms or

benches were gradually replaced by box pews. Communion pews positioned close to the pulpit are extremely rare survivors. Gender segregation was common and in larger chapels and men and women entered by separate doors. The chapels of all denominations had a minister's chair. Interior memorials were only gradually admitted in the nineteenth century. Windows were large and plainly glazed until late in the nineteenth century, when stained glass began to appear. Although baptism was a public event, performed in the full view of the congregation, few meeting houses had a font but used a small bowl, as required. With the exception of the Methodists, the chapels of the non-conformist denominations were independent self-governing congregations in which discipline and governance, often including appointment of the minister, were in the hands of a group of elders. The separate seating reserved for the elders (the rostrum) is a prominent feature of many non-conformist interiors.

As Non-Conformist denominations grew in wealth and self-confidence, especially in urban centres, their buildings acquired greater architectural sophistication. Classicism was popular up to c.1850, in part because construction costs were lower but also because it was a means of distinguishing the chapel from the parish church. Thereafter, Gothic was favoured by most denominations, albeit never to the exclusion of other styles. Chapels grew in size and swagger in the second half of the nineteenth century, a period that has been termed the age of the 'metropolitan show chapel'. Congregations of all denominations sought a truly Protestant architecture: centralised 'auditory' plans, sometimes octagonal, allowing congregations to be seated within sight and sound of the pulpit, were made possible on a grand scale by advances in construction technology and particularly in the use of cast iron and structural steel.

The Methodists

In 1932 the Methodist Church yearbook listed 14,500 chapels. By 1970 this number had dropped to 8,500. In 2006 there were 5,312 chapels in England of which 541 (10 per cent) are listed. Figures for Methodist membership are very reliable and show that it experienced its greatest growth in the period c.1740 – c1840. Thereafter, growth was considerable, but de-accelerating, up to c1906 and by the First World War Methodism was in significant decline.

The early years In the earliest years of Methodism, Methodist societies were part of a wider movement of revival and renewal within the Church of England and its leading figures, John Wesley (1703-91) and George Whitfield (1714-70), were both ordained Anglican clergymen. While Wesley himself hoped for an accommodation with the Church of England, co-existence became increasingly unlikely and the breach was finally recognised after Wesley's death.

Both Wesley and Whitfield often preached in the open air, a significant characteristic of their ministry, and landscape sites such as Gwennap Pit in Cornwall, where Wesley first preached in 1762 and on occasion drew crowds of 20,000, have great significance. That Wesley is known to have preached in a number of surviving chapels lends them additional historical interest, which should be recognised in their designation record. The pattern of early Non-conformity outlined above is evident in the use of private houses or the adaptation of other buildings. Notable among the latter was Wesley's own church, the ruined Foundery in London's City Road, leased by him in 1739. It was equipped with galleries but very few fixed seats. Initially no provision was made for

Communion, as it was assumed that those attending meetings would receive the Sacraments in their own parish church. Consequently, the earliest Methodist chapels were refitted later in order to accommodate the celebration of the sacrament. Wesley regarded the seemliness of religious architecture as important but also recognised the need for practicality, recommending large sash windows for light and ventilation. He adopted the standard plan of the late Georgian Anglican parish church, which bears a striking resemblance to Wren's St James, Piccadilly, which was a model for contemporary Anglican churches, too. It was to exert the strongest influence on subsequent Wesleyan building. Early seating in Methodist chapels was usually on backless benches, so pews in early Methodist chapels are usually of a later date. In the second half of the nineteenth century the rostrum with seating and pulpit combined began to replace the earlier form of freestanding pulpit, with an area for communion positioned in front.

Methodist building after Wesley: the adoption of Gothic Once it became clear that the future lay outside the Anglican fold, Methodism was quick to put chapel-building on a firm footing. By 1784, almost 400 chapels were in existence. Financial and building activities (including the suitability of designs) were directed by the Methodist Conference, but by 1836 this had been delegated to a building committee. In 1818 the Wesleyan Methodists had created a General Chapel Fund, enabling them to build bigger and better as membership continued to grow. In 1827 rules for the management of Wesleyan Sunday Schools were introduced. The Wesleyan Bristol Conference of 1846 established a Model Plan Committee, inviting a short list of architects to submit sample plans of chapels to accommodate 750 people, one Classical and one Gothic. This exercise demonstrated that Gothic did not need to be more expensive to build than Classical. Gothic was formally advocated as suitable for Methodist buildings in 1850 by Frederick James Jobson, secretary of the Chapel Committee, in his seminal *Chapel and School Architecture*, a publication that exerted influence on chapel design for a generation.

The Methodist approach to the employment of the Gothic style was more eclectic and less archaeologically correct than in either Anglican or Roman Catholic circles. The structural division into nave, chancel and aisles was irrelevant to Methodist worship, while provision of ancillary spaces for meetings rooms, Sunday schools etc was of paramount importance. Many Methodist chapels therefore turned a Gothic face to the street, the articulation of the façade suggesting an aisled plan-form, while inside the Protestant auditory plan prevailed. A form of free Gothic provided maximum flexibility in accommodating ancillary rooms and community facilities. The 1846 Model Plan Committee specified that classrooms should be provided on chapel premises. While these could be accommodated in the lower storey or basement of a chapel, the juxtaposition of chapel, day school, Sunday school, manse (often with stabling) is characteristic of a Methodist arrangement. Assessments for designation should take a holistic view of these ensembles bearing in mind that the chronology of a site may be complicated by the fact that it was not uncommon for an earlier chapel to be recycled as a school as the congregation outgrew its original premises, so that the school may be the older of the two buildings, and in the refitting of chapels it was also common practice to recycle earlier seating for use in the school room.

The central halls In the early twentieth century Methodism in England's larger cities was focussed on the new central halls, a building type unique to Methodism, of which

Westminster Central Hall (1905-11) remains the most well known. These great urban citadels (e.g., Manchester 1885-6, Birmingham 1903, Liverpool 1905) combined worship space with offices, meeting rooms, halls, kitchens and commercial premises at street level that provided a rental income. The buildings were in use seven days a week, for meetings, lectures, classes and clubs, providing a network of social and spiritual support.

Secessions The history of Methodism, particularly after Wesley's death, is characterised by a series of secessions. The dates of these splits are useful in relation to the chronology of their buildings. During his lifetime the principal division was doctrinal, over the Calvinistic theology of predestination versus freewill. Wesley and his 'connexion' rejected predestination, while George Whitfield, the Countess of Huntingdon and the 'Calvinistic Methodists' embraced it. The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion was established in 1783. At her death in 1791 there were more than 60 chapels affiliated to the Connexion. At the beginning of the twenty-first century the Connexion had 23 chapels. Other secessions resulted in the Methodist New Connexion (1797, midlands and north), the Independent Methodists (1805, mainly in the north), the Primitive Methodist (1811, strong in rural areas and generally drawn from poorer people than most Wesleyans), the Bible Christians (1815, Devon and Cornwall), the Wesleyan Methodist Association (1835) and the Wesleyan Reformers (1849). The last two united in 1857 to form the United Methodist Free Church. In 1907 the Free Methodists, the New Connection and Bible Christians merged to form the United Methodist Church and in 1932 merged with the Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists to form the present-day Methodist Church.

The Baptists

In 2006 it was estimated that there are 1,809 churches within the Baptist Union, of which 283 (16 per cent) are listed buildings.

The formal history of Baptist non-conformity began in England with John Smyth (d. 1612), an ordained Anglican minister, who in 1607 separated from the Established Church and introduced the Baptism of adult believers as the foundation of Church membership. The first congregation met in 1611 in London, developing into the General Baptists, who repudiated Calvinist theories of Predestination. The Particular (Calvinist) Baptists formed in 1633 were the more numerous. By the mid eighteenth century Baptist congregations had dwindled and many General Baptist chapels had become Unitarian. The two Baptist strands merged in 1891 to form the Baptist Union. The Strict Baptists separated from the Particular Baptists at this time and continue to deny communion to non-members.

From the second half of the seventeenth century, Baptist belief in the baptism of (adult) believers had come to mean full immersion: baptisteries (or full immersion fonts), consequently, are key features of Baptist churches. Many are sited adjacent to natural water supplies and even if man-made, baptisteries were often external and filled with rainwater. While baptism in the open air persisted, internal baptisteries emerged at the end of the eighteenth century and, by the 1830s, these were usually positioned in front of the pulpit.

It was the explosive preaching of Charles Spurgeon that accelerated the Calvinist Baptist revival in the early nineteenth century. By the mid 1850s he was preaching to audiences

of over 20,000 and his published sermons sold 100 million copies worldwide. Spurgeon rejected Gothic in favour of classical revival forms and his new flagship London Tabernacle – 'a great tent of meeting, an acoustic miracle' - influenced Baptists and Congregationalists alike. Many of the metropolitan show chapels that followed Spurgeon's Tabernacle incorporated Sunday schools, halls, library, meeting rooms etc. in a basement storey or adjoining structure.

The Unitarians

Originating in the mid sixteenth century, Unitarianism acquired the character of a separate denomination only when Theophilus Lindsey left the Church of England and established a chapel in London in 1774. The Unitarians are distinguished from other Non-Conformists by their rejection of Trinitarianism. They have no formal creed. Like Roman Catholics, they did not benefit from the Toleration of Act of 1689. Unitarianism was only legalised by the Trinity Act of 1813 and it was only with the Nonconformist Chapels Act of 1844 that they secured ownership of those chapels where they could authenticate over 25 years' usage. Consequently, they own a particularly rich architectural heritage, including a number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century chapels, many of considerable architectural distinction with interior fittings to match. The earliest churches were Classical but the Gothic Revival took hold -Dukinfield Unitarian Chapel in Lancashire (1840) claims to be the earliest Gothic Revival Non-Conformist chapel in England - especially under the influence of James Martineau (1805-1900), who had travelled in Germany and enjoyed contacts with progressive theological and philosophical circles there at a time when the Gothic Revival was at its height. Prominent towers and spires became a feature of many Unitarian chapels in the second half of the nineteenth century and, by the end of the century, many Unitarian churches were almost indistinguishable from Anglican churches in terms of their plan form and architectural style.

The United Reformed Church (U.R.C)

The U.R.C. was formed in 1972 out of the union of English Presbyterians and the Congregationalists (independents), from whom the denomination has inherited the greatest number of its historic churches. In 2006 this was estimated to be 1,115 churches in use of which 290 are listed, that is 26 per cent, the highest proportion of listed buildings of any of the Non-Conformist denominations.

Congregationalists recognised the priesthood of all believers and the autonomy of each individual church. Their first church in England was founded in 1616, but the earliest surviving chapels are all post-Restoration in date. Congregationalists were a prosperous denomination and built well-finished and well-furnished buildings. By the nineteenth century they were commissioning some of the best architects such as Waterhouse and Butterfield. In the north of England, Congregational chapels of the later nineteenth century even eclipsed the buildings of the Church of England in size and architectural quality. The Congregationalist architect James Cubitt (1836-1912), deserves a special mention. He led the debate as to the nature of the architecture of non-conformity, taking Christopher Wren as his point of departure, but rejecting the rectangular plan in preference to a more centralised space, and drawing upon early Christian, Byzantine and Romanesque models in his search for the perfect auditory form as exemplified in his Union Chapel, Islington (1876-7), where Cubitt explored the Greek Cross enclosing

an octagon as a means of seating large numbers of worshippers (over 2,000), but bringing the congregation together around the pulpit, with the galleries providing part of the structural support for the building. Through his publications, Cubitt's ideas reached a wide readership among his own denomination and Baptists.

The Society of Friends (Quakers)

George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends of the Truth, began preaching in 1647 and the following year established his first settled congregation, in Mansfield, Nottinghamshire. The Quakers are custodians of more of the older meeting houses than any other Non-Conformist denomination.

Quakers chose to devote their resources to practical work rather than church buildings. They follow no set form of service, use no music and reject all outward signs of church building or ornamentation. Memorials and monuments were prohibited. Early meetings were held in houses. As many early meeting houses were constructed by co-operative labour, in vernacular styles and of local materials, their appearance varies from region to region. Men and women worshipped separately. The most conspicuous feature of the interior of early meeting houses is the Elders' stand, which runs the length of a wall, providing a block of seats facing the congregation in two or three tiers, the upper rows reached by steps at either end of the stand or, less commonly, in the centre. Women were accommodated in a separate (usually smaller) room or a western gallery, their seclusion ensured by means of a shuttered partition that could be opened for the monthly business meeting. After a period of rapid growth, the denomination experienced a numerical decline in the period 1700-1860 and few meeting houses were built in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century the hierarchical nature of Quaker worship began to dissolve. Elders took their seats among the congregation. Few meeting houses were built in the late nineteenth century but there was a revival in the twentieth, the chosen idiom being either understated Arts And Crafts or simple Georgian. Quaker worship has always been conducted in a modest architectural environment with no diverting display - genuinely vernacular at first, 'well built, unostentatious and sensibly honest' in more recent times.

The Twentieth-Century Church and Chapel

All the major denominations experienced modest growth until the eve of the First World War with uneven decline thereafter. Decline was disguised by considerable activity in the inter-war years as new churches were built in considerable numbers to serve new suburbs. This trend accelerated in the years after the Second World War and church building was further boosted by replacement of war damaged buildings. The Roman Catholic dioceses, in particular, continued to build on a significant scale. By the 1960s, however, the trend of church attendance was turning irrevocably downwards and this began to have its impact on church buildings.

As a counter-balance to this, the ecumenism of the century together with the international Liturgical Movement, have had a profound influence, affecting church planning across all denominations.

Church design in England in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and first quarter of the twentieth was dominated by search for a plan form that achieved the unification

of chancel and nave in a single space, a phenomenon that affected all denominations: its leading exponents included G.F. Bodley and Ninian Comper (High Church Anglican), George Gilbert Scott Junior and Giles Gilbert Scott (Roman Catholic) although the Non-Conformist churches had been experimenting with various models for generations (e.g., the work of Congregationalist James Cubitt. Byzantine derivatives enjoyed considerable popularity among all Christian denominations and found an echo in the buildings of Judaism too (see below). In detailing and decoration, the vernacular idiom of the English Arts and Crafts movement was strongly influential. The use of new constructional materials (notably reinforced concrete and steel frames) also affected all church and chapel builders but, where were used, they were often disguised under a traditional cladding.

The longevity of historical styles, predominantly gothic, is a measure of their flexibility and adaptability. The young Turks of post-war church design were sometimes dismissive of 'Revivalist' church design, but in designation terms care should be taken to ensure that the superficially traditional quality of some inter-war churches does not obscure the genuinely innovative in terms of liturgical planning. Similarly, the use of twentieth-century materials alone does not necessarily constitute originality or modernity.

Between the wars England was not in the forefront of modern church architecture but in the years between the two world wars but the influence of the Liturgical Movement could not for long be ignored. The Liturgical Movement had its roots in pre First World War Belgium, in progressive Catholic theological circles. A return to Biblical sources and a deepening understanding of the worship of the Early Church promoted a new concept of liturgy, in which laity and clergy joined in active participation, with the Eucharist at the heart of a corporate act of worship. Modernist architectural styles and new materials combined in response to these new theological ideas. No denomination was unaffected by these developments.

Church building in 1930s England generally remained conservative, although a number of architects experimented with a forward altar as a means of bringing the Eucharist closer to the congregation. Freeing up space in the vicinity of the altar by moving the choir out of the sanctuary was another priority, with a reviving interest in the use of the once-discredited western gallery. In planning terms the two most daring English churches of the inter-war years were built for Catholics, both of them centrally planned: the Church of the First Martyrs, Bradford, by J. H. Lantry Langton (1935) and St Peter, Gorleston, Norfolk, by Eric Gill (1938-9). The clean, white, angularity of European modernism was largely eschewed in favour of large planes of exposed brick, e.g., in the work of Cachemaille-Day and Liverpool-trained architects F.X. Velarde and Bernard Miller. The parabolic arch, a continental structural development, made its appearance in inter-war England at St Faith's, Lee-on-the-Solent, Hampshire (1931-2), designed by Seely & Paget.

Post-war churches Bomb damage and suburban growth generated a demand for new churches, especially Roman Catholic ones. While the traditional rectilinear plan has continued to have its adherents (e.g. Coventry Cathedral, Sir Basil Spence, 1962), innovative post-war church building was dominated by the unified worship space, and in particular by the exploration of plan forms that place the Eucharist literally as well as spiritually at the centre of worship. These include variations of the Greek cross, with freestanding altar placed under the crossing, T-plans and square plans with circulation

space around a centrally placed altar, and churches in the round. Recognising the limitations of the circular or octagonal plan led to experiments with fan-shaped seating arrangements and these enjoyed considerable popularity. Notwithstanding the visual excitement of much post-war modern church design, low-key, vernacular and historically well-informed church design continued to find favour. Well crafted buildings in traditional materials, making imaginative use of a site and appropriate to their particular context continue to deserve recognition.

Church furnishings and art for churches The liturgical furnishing and decoration of the twentieth-century church and chapel was of critical importance and in many cases furnishings were designed or commissioned by the architect. Consequently, the architectural and historical character of the building can be diminished by the loss or careless re-siting of original furnishing components, or by their dilution through the accretive addition of undistinguished additions. The post-war cathedrals of Coventry and Liverpool Metropolitan became showcases for contemporary art and craft, with work by Graham Sutherland, Jacob Epstein, John Piper and Patrick Reyntiens, Margaret Trahere and Ceri Richards; elsewhere, the murals of artists such as Hans Feibusch, or the engraved glass of Laurence Whistler, have added considerably to the artistic traditions of places of worship. Similarly, the work of refugee artists such as Adam Kossowski can give a distinctive character to Roman Catholic interiors.

The Buildings of Judaism

Jews were expelled from England by King Edward I in 1290 and a small number of medieval archaeological sites with medieval Jewish ritual associations have been identified. Jews were readmitted in 1656 and have enjoyed a history of unbroken settlement ever since, a heritage unmatched elsewhere in Europe. This first congregation was of Sephardic Jews (from the Iberian Peninsula) and it was they who in 1701 built Bevis Marks synagogue, England's oldest surviving (and only grade I listed) synagogue. An Ashkenazi congregation (of Central and Eastern European origin and the majority community in England) was established in London by 1692 and built the Great Synagogue in Aldgate in 1722 (rebuilt 1790 but destroyed during the Second World War). By the middle of the eighteenth century, Jewish communities had become established in a number of other English ports (e.g., Liverpool, Hull, Plymouth) and in the relative tolerance of England many Jews quickly became socially assimilated. The Reform Movement, which originated in Germany in the early nineteenth century, built its first synagogue in London in 1842. The community grew enormously in the period c.1881-1914 as the result of immigration from Eastern Europe, as Jews fled poverty and persecution in Tsarist Russia. Their Yiddish language and traditionally Orthodox patterns of worship set them apart from their anglicised neighbours and they established separate places of worship, in converted houses or in redundant chapels. A further, albeit smaller, influx of refugees arrived in England in the period 1933-9, as German Jews sought refuge from National Socialism. The Jewish community is the oldest non-Christian faith group in England. The 2001 census numbered the Jewish population at 267,000, in marked decline from the c.450,000 post-war peak.

There are currently 30 listed synagogues in England.

The Synagogue

The synagogue is a sanctuary providing shelter for three functions: worship, study and community meetings. While patterns of synagogue worship reflect those of the rituals observed in the ancient Temple in Jerusalem, to which all synagogues are oriented (facing south-east in England), the synagogue is a place of prayer, not a place of sacrificial ritual and there is no altar. The sanctity of the building derives from the activity pursued in it, and in particular from its housing of the Torah scrolls, so that once this ceases the building can be disposed of. Synagogue worship has no requirement for a priest. Services are led by a cantor or distinguished member of the congregation. The Rabbi is responsible for teaching and legal exegesis.

The synagogue is usually rectilinear in plan, the prayer hall entered via a vestibule. The prayer hall should be orientated south-east, facing Jerusalem. The ark (*Aron Kodesh, Aron HaKodesh*) containing the Torah scrolls, the most important focus of worship, is located against the east wall. This usually occupies a shallow niche or apse and is often embellished. A perpetual light, first lit at the dedication of the building, is placed before it. The other ritual requirement is for a raised platform (*bimah*), usually placed centrally with rails, from which officiants can read scripture and address the assembly. Different traditions place it further west (Sephardic) or east (Reform). Synagogues are always well lit, with plenty of windows (symbolically twelve) or generous top lighting, and with ample provision of candelabra or lamps. Seating is essential during long services, generally arranged on an east-west axis, with reading desks and storage space raised off the ground (usually under the seat) for prayer books and shawls, which cannot be carried to and fro between home and the synagogue on a Sabbath. Consequently synagogue seating is always numbered or identified by an occupant's name, with some free seating for visitors or strangers. Women and girls are traditionally seated apart from men and boys, usually in a gallery running round three sides of the building. In the most Orthodox synagogues women may be hidden from sight by a screen or grille (*mehitzah*). Ancillary spaces and structures can include a subsidiary prayer hall, study hall (*Bet HaMidrash*), tabernacle for the Succot holidays, and residences for the rabbi and caretaker and ritual bath.

The Mikveh The mikveh, (ritual bath, pl. mikvaot) is a unique Jewish building type. Ritual purification is central to conversion and the maintenance of family purity and, historically, was considered in some traditions to be more important than the synagogue and was built first. The purity of the water supply is important. When built as part of the synagogue the mikveh may sometimes be found in the basement or as a separate building. In Victorian England a number of private baths were established, supported with contributions from synagogues with which they were associated. Mikvaot were not a priority in all traditions: the Reform Movement, for instance, placed little emphasis on mikveh provision. It was the arrival from 1881 onwards of large numbers of Jews from eastern Europe, especially in the East End of London, that led to an increase in mikveh numbers. Local authorities sometimes made provision for Jewish ritual bathing as part of public bathing facilities (e.g., Hull, Leeds and Birmingham). The mikveh is easily overlooked in the assessment of synagogue buildings for designation, and many have been boarded up and obscured: care should therefore be taken to ensure that they are included in designation descriptions.

History

From 1656 to 1850 After the Resettlement of 1656, Jews were prohibited from building on the public thoroughfare. Consequently, synagogues such as Bevis Marks (1701) were tucked away in a yard, the façade turned at right angles to the street. Continuing hostility to dissenters throughout the eighteenth century was a further reason for maintaining a low profile, explaining the plain facade and 'back door' entrance to Plymouth synagogue (1761-2, the oldest Ashkenazi synagogue in use in the English-speaking world). The plainness of their outward faces belies the hidden richness of their interiors and underlines the importance of internal inspection for designation purposes. Before c.1830 synagogues continued to be constructed in an under-stated neo-classical non-conformist idiom and, while this may be explained by a well advised desire to be inconspicuous, it probably also reflected the employment of non-Jewish architects and master-builders who, in some instances, were themselves from a minority denomination. Only a small number of synagogues have survived from the eighteenth century and even fewer remain in use. Their rarity thus accounts for their high listing grades.

About 1850 - c.1920 The growing Jewish population together with greater civil liberties from the middle years of the nineteenth century led to a synagogue building boom, in which architectural style became an issue. The two dominant synagogue organisations – the United Synagogue (1870) and the Federation of Synagogues (1888) - both employed their own architects and established architectural models for their synagogues. A combination of a growing desire for Jewish self-expression, an awareness of the architecture and archaeology of the Holy Land and the availability of new building technologies encouraged stylistic eclecticism and a taste for exoticism, a Jewish equivalent of the 'battle of the styles' that was being waged in the wider architectural world. The rejection of Christian gothic and pagan classicism prompted the search for a 'Jewish style': Egyptian, Italianate, Romanesque, Byzantinism and Islamic Revivalism were all adopted. Above all, the growing self-confidence in the religious and social identity of Anglo-Jewry is signalled in the construction of growing numbers of 'cathedral synagogues', rivalling in size and splendour the great buildings of both Victorian Christendom and European Jewry. Examples include Singer's Hill, Birmingham (1855-6), Old Hebrew Congregation, Liverpool (1872-4), Middel Street, Brighton (1874-5) and New West End synagogue, London (1877-9). With exteriors that proclaimed their religious difference and interiors where no expense was spared, these buildings are the architectural high water mark of Anglo-Jewry. At the other end of the scale are the simple late nineteenth-century prayer rooms and house conversions established by many newly arrived Eastern European immigrants upon their arrival in England. These are fragile and now rare. While the grading of the 'cathedral synagogues' may sometimes warrant reconsideration, the fate of the few surviving examples of the more modest nineteenth-century provincial synagogue, many of them unlisted, remains uncertain.

The mid twentieth century and the post-war years Although not at the architectural cutting edge, significant numbers of synagogues were constructed between the wars as communities moved from city centres to leafy suburbs. Many were built in a modest brand of Art Deco and a significant number now face a precarious future. Some have already been closed as places of worship, with loss of interiors and fittings. Examples of fully-fledged modernism are rare. In rebuilding bomb-damaged buildings and in responding to post-war suburban drift the United Synagogue continued to build big, but few of its new buildings ever enjoyed capacity congregations. More evaluation of the

architectural and historical merits of these synagogues is needed before redundancy overtakes them.

The Mosque in England

England's earliest Muslims were probably to be found among the sea-faring communities of her port cities. In 1887 William Henry Quilliam (1856-1932), known as Sheik Abdullah Quilliam, a Liverpool-born convert and solicitor, established his Muslim Institute and mosque at 8 Brougham Terrace, Liverpool, in a late Georgian house. Although nothing survives of the Moorish decoration of the prayer hall, it can claim to be the site of the earliest mosque in England. The first, and thus far, only purpose-built mosque to have been listed is the Shah Jehan mosque in Woking, designed and built in 1889 to serve the short-lived Oriental Institute founded by Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner (1840-1899), with the architectural assistance of W.I. Chambers. The mosque was named in honour of its principal benefactor, Begum Shah Jehan, a female ruler of Bhopal. It is a Victorianised version of a Mughal mosque built on a classic Islamic module (3x3), reflecting the scholarly preoccupations of its founder. Its original furnishings have been replaced.

The London Jamia Mosque at 59 Brick Lane in London's East End, is probably the best-know example of a mosque occupying a building recycled from another use, in this case built in 1752-3 as the Huguenot Neuve Eglise, serving from 1809-1819 as a Wesleyan Methodist chapel and from 1898 as Spitalfields Great Synagogue. By and large, however, the requirement for the strict orientation of the prayer hall towards Makkah can make the recycling of a place of worship of another faith problematic for Muslims. New build has produced more satisfactory results, so that in recent years there has been a mosque building boom in many English cities. Some of the earliest examples of Muslim new-build have been of modest proportions and of limited architectural pretension (e.g., Coventry and Liverpool), a reflection of limited community resources. They are analogous to the 'tin tabernacle' phase in the life of many better established faith communities and it would be a pity if all of these early buildings disappeared without recognition.

Mosque specialists among the architectural profession (e.g., Atba Al-Samarraie of Archi-Structure) are now emerging. A new generation of mosques identifiably places of Muslim worship but in their massing and scale fitting comfortably into an English streetscape (e.g., Al-Sammarraie's Makkah Masjid, Brudenell Street, Leeds, 2003), marks the beginnings of indigenous mosque architecture. These may be candidates for consideration among the listed buildings of the future.

The Buildings of Other Faiths

To date, no purpose built mandir, gurdwara or temple has been listed, although Hindu, Sikh and Buddhist communities occupy various recycled listed buildings. A number of new buildings of considerable quality and craftsmanship are now making an impact on our towns and cities, e.g., The Shri Swaminarayan Mandir, Brentfield Road, Neasden, London Borough of Brent, completed in 1999, the first traditional Hindu temple to be built in England, with extensive carving by Indian craftsmen; in 1985 a Buddhist temple was created in Battersea Park, with similarly impressive traditional fabric. This is an area in which our heritage of places of worship is set to expand.

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