Historic England

Places of Worship

Listing Selection Guide

Summary

Historic England's twenty listing selection guides help to define which historic buildings are likely to meet the relevant tests for national designation and be included on the National Heritage List for England. Listing has been in place since 1947 and operates under the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990. If a building is felt to meet the necessary standards, it is added to the List. This decision is taken by the Government's Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). These selection guides were originally produced by English Heritage in 2011: slightly revised versions are now being published by its successor body, Historic England.

The DCMS' *Principles of Selection for Listing Buildings* set out the over-arching criteria of special architectural or historic interest required for listing and the guides provide more detail of relevant considerations for determining such interest for particular building types. See https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/principles-of-selection-for-listing-buildings.

Each guide falls into two halves. The first defines the types of structures included in it, before going on to give a brisk overview of their characteristics and how these developed through time, with notice of the main architects and representative examples of buildings. The second half of the guide sets out the particular tests in terms of its architectural or historic interest a building has to meet if it is to be listed. A select bibliography gives suggestions for further reading.

This selection guide provides first a summary historical overview of the various Christian churches down to the end of the nineteenth century – Anglican (Church of England), Catholic and Nonconformist (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. A final section sets out some general principles guiding the listing of places of worship concerning (among others) group value, fixtures and fittings, alteration and degree of survival, churchyard structures and grading.

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Front cover
The church of St Peter and St Paul, Muchelney, Somerset. While having Saxon origins, the present building is largely fifteenth century. The three-stage tower of the 1460s is typical of the region. Listed Grade I.

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Introduction

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, and they are often repositories for the collective memories of the local communities, and their historic place of burial. With their strong claims to special architectural, archaeological, artistic, historic and cultural interest, places of worship 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 first provides a summary historical overview of the various Christian churches down to the end of the nineteenth century – Anglican (Church of England), Catholic and Nonconformist (Dissenting) – and collectively of churches and chapels of the twentieth century. Then follows a section on 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. Following this, the final section sets out some general principles guiding the listing of places of worship concerning (among others) grading, group value, churchyard structures and archaeology. Churchyard and war memorials are separately treated in the Commemorative Structures selection guide, while rectories and vicarages are briefly treated in the Suburban and Country Houses guide. The Salvation Army is referenced in the Health and Welfare Buildings selection guide.Guidelines for scheduling and otherwise managing the archaeological remains of principally early, pre-Christian, sites are provided in the scheduling selection guide on Religion and Ritual post-AD 410.

The designation of post-Reformation burial grounds on the *Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest* is treated in the Landscapes of Remembrance selection guide.

Individual buildings must be assessed on their own merits. However, it is important to consider the wider context and where a building forms part of a functional group with one or more listed (or listable) structures this is likely to add to its own interest. Examples might include a lychgate, minaret or housing associated with the place of worship such as a rectory. Key considerations are the relative dates of the structures, and the degree to which they were functionally inter-dependent when in their original uses.

1 Historical Summary

The following sections give more specific guidance on designation, arranged first by the buildings of the Christian church followed by those of other faiths.

1.1 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, and many of them at a higher grades. The Church of England thus performs a major role as the guardian of many outstanding buildings and sites. Often the oldest and most visually prominent 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.

1.2 Pre-1800 churches

Parish churches before the Reformation

It is unlikely that many medieval buildings have escaped designation. Some, however, especially where designated several decades ago, may be inappropriately graded. As noted above, churches with extensive medieval fabric will almost always warrant listing at a high grade; factors that would particularly support high-level grading include:

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

Figure 1
Church of St. Edmund, Warkton, Northamptonshire. Across England, whether in town or village, places of worship are typically among the oldest, and most visually arresting, buildings. They can also embody much of a place's history, as here where the chancel served from the eighteenth century as the family mausoleum of the Dukes of Buccleuch, their tombs lit by the large east window. Listed Grade I.

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 and so on, which should be separately identified in their listings). Assessments should also be sensitive to the wider landscape context of the church. It is not possible, under existing legislation, to designate churches in active use for worship 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, 1538 -1600: the Reformation and the Elizabethan Settlement

This was a period of little new church building, but one in which the successive changes transforming England into a Protestant realm can be discerned in the adaptation of interiors designed to de-emphasise the mass and the saints, which involved both the introduction as well as the removal of furnishings. Evidence of Marian changes 1553-8 (such as the reinstatement of shrines, or specifically Catholic imagery) is extremely rare and deserves particular notice. Large numbers of church monuments began to be erected, which often adds to the interest of churches.

The parish church 1600-1800

Few new churches were constructed in this period outside of cities. They are thus comparative rarities and will almost certainly be listed,

Figure 2 (top)
St. Andrew's, Brigstock, Northamptonshire. This village church is typical in that its long and complex structural history is readily apparent. That evidences architectural fashions and also, importantly, evolving liturgical requirements. The tower, including the rounded stair turret, is late Anglo-Saxon. Listed Grade I.

Figure 3 (bottom)
St. Nicholas's, Compton, Surrey. There is much that is exceptional about this largely twelfth-century church, not least a two-storey chancel and its chequerboard wall painting – a reminder that even if poorly lit, Norman church interiors could be vibrantly coloured. Listed Grade I.

Figure 4 (top)
St. Nicholas's, North Grimston, North Yorkshire. Baptism is the rite of admission to the Christian church. Here, the heavy twelfth-century tub-font is vividly carved with a depiction of the last supper, bringing the Gospels to life for the faithful. Listed Grade I.

Figure 5 (bottom)
All Saints', Thwaite, Norfolk. Simple, locally-carpentered benches with poppy-head ends, add to the interest of this church. Their date is uncertain; Pevsner suggests they may be seventeenth-century. Listed Grade II*.

Figure 6
St. Stephen's, Fylingdales, North Yorkshire. The 1820s interior is remarkably complete with box pews, a triple-decker pulpit and galleries. Listed Grade I.

generally in a high grade. Most churches built prior to 1660 were generally built in a lingering Gothic style and differed from their predecessors only by the thorough use of pews in the nave and the prominence of the pulpit. The influence of Archbishop Laud in the period leading up to the Civil Wars led to a re-emphasis on the beauty of holiness, and any traces of Laudian worship is of special interest. Buildings retaining little-altered contemporary interiors and furnishings are of outstanding interest; almost all possess monuments which can often be of special note. Churches built during the Commonwealth (1649-60) are exceptionally rare: Staunton Harold, in Leicestershire (started in 1653; listed Grade I) is the supreme example.

London saw considerable church building after the Great Fire of London (1666) and in response to population growth, following the Fifty New Churches Act of 1711. These were the work of nationally renowned architects, for example, 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 multi-storey pulpit centrally placed in front of the communion table. Although this became the standard type for Georgian church building, many fittings were later swept away in the 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 (Fig 6). New modes of funerary commemoration evolved, with monuments positioned in locations that took

advantage of new opportunities for ostentatious display; very much an English speciality, they remain perhaps the most important of all categories of sculpture in this country.

The nineteenth century: special considerations

Nineteenth-century churches long suffered from a general prejudice against late Georgian and Victorian architecture that has not entirely disappeared. They are relatively numerous 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 often of world significance. The significance of many Victorian churches relies on their furnishings and fittings; these 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 – such as the Lancaster-based practice of Paley and Austin – 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 Neoclassicism co-existed. The influence of the Ecclesiological Movement with its concept of a 'correct' Gothic style did not emerge before about 1840 (see 'The Gothic Revival' below). Examples of archaeologically well-informed Gothic revival forms in this period, for example in the churches designed or influenced by the pioneering scholar Thomas Rickman, 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 peace 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 Anglicanism was inadequately represented. The quality of these 'Commissioners' Churches' was uneven, some being the work of architects with national reputations (for instance, Sir John Soane and Sir Robert Smirke), while others were by local men of variable talent. They represented 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 ridiculed by Pugin, champion of the Gothic Revival, and 'Commissioners' Gothic' became a term of derision; today there is greater respect for the sober gravity of their architecture, their innovative structural qualities and 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, about 1840 to about 1880

The 1840s saw the new science of Ecclesiology emerge as the 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 of 1559, 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, ideally cruciform on plan, with nave, deep chancel and aisles but, unlike most medieval churches, filled with fixed high-backed benches.

One of the prime movers of the Gothic Revival in England was the Catholic convert A W N Pugin (1812-52), whose polemical works promoted

Figure 7
One of the most significant religious buildings of the Gothic Revival, the Chapel of Keble College, Oxford, with its polychromatic brickwork and expansive plan, set the model for many urban churches of the second half of the nineteenth century. Designed by William Butterfield in 1876, he declared he had a 'mission to give dignity to brick.' Listed Grade I.

Gothic on aesthetic, moral and religious grounds. He in turn influenced the Cambridge Camden Society (later the Ecclesiological Society), an association of architects, antiquarians and churchmen whose strictures, favouring the English 'Middle Pointed' style of the early fourteenth century, formed a widely-accepted benchmark in Anglican church-building during the 1840s and 50s. This period saw 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, often – unlike in the Middle Ages – produced on an industrial scale. Existing churches underwent sometimes drastic alteration: medieval churches were restored to an idealised version of their original form, 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 the loss (if any) of what went before.

The period also 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. But by the 1860s the influence of Ecclesiology was on the wane and a more eclectic and wide-ranging assimilation of styles – Northern European, Italian and Byzantine as well as English Gothic – was employed in imaginative and exciting ways by a younger generation of architects (Fig 7).

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 interest and context to determine their interest. Additionally many new churches, initially established as missions in temporary prefabricated corrugated iron (invented 1828) chapels to standard catalogue designs (usually Gothic Revival), were erected throughout the country. Sometimes these were re-used as church halls on completion of the new church, although sometimes funding never materialised and worship continued in these so-called 'tin tabernacles' or 'iron churches' (Fig 8). A particularly early example, of 1858 survives on Shrubland Road, Hackney, London (listed Grade II), whilst the Bailbrook Mission Church, Bath, was the most expensive and ecclesiologically correct design from the catalogue of William Cooper of Old Kent Road in London when erected in 1892. It is listed Grade II. Built as a chapel of ease in the same year, St Nicholas, Sandy Lane, Calne Without (Wiltshire), was designed as a timber-framed thatched mission by J.W. Hopkins of Worcester 'to combat the hideous and comfortless iron buildings now used'. It too is listed Grade II.

Church halls

Both the Tractarians and the low-church Evangelicals sought to expand the church's sense of its social mission from what they saw as the complacency and indolence of eighteenth-century practice. One result of this was that many parish churches acquired a suite of ancillary buildings, including schoolrooms and parish halls, to accommodate a range of non-liturgical activities for which the main church was deemed unsuitable. Older buildings were sometimes adapted for the purpose, and these may be of great interest in their own right – for example the fifteenth-century former bede house at Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire (listed Grade I), converted into a hall in the nineteenth century. Others were purpose-built, and while many of these are modest barn-like structures, some are the work of leading architects and may form part of a carefully-planned group along with other

Figure 8
'Tin Tabernacles' were pre-fabricated, corrugated iron-clad churches erected from the mid nineteenth century. They served fast-growing urban areas, while permanent churches were being built, as well as remoter settlements or new faith groups. Now often in other uses this 1914 example, the Golden Green Mission church in Hadlow, Kent, is now an uncommon survivor. Listed Grade II.

ancillary buildings and a new or restored church – as with the quadrangle of cottages, schools and parish rooms adjoining G E Street's church of All Saints', Boyne Hill, in Maidenhead, Berkshire (1854-9; the Vicarage and its service wing listed Grade II*, the rest Grade II). In the non-parochial missionary outposts established in dense slum areas, the integration could be even closer, with worship, education and meeting spaces within a single building; the split-level complex of the former Pembroke College Mission in Bermondsey (London Borough of Southwark), by E S Prior of 1891, is a good example (listed Grade II).

Late Gothic and Arts and Crafts, 1880-1914

The best buildings of this period were less in thrall to the medieval precedent advocated by Pugin and the Ecclesiologists. Many display more integrated massing better suited to the liturgical requirements of contemporary worship, in which the seated congregation required visibility and processional and circulatory spaces. Late medieval English Perpendicular provided fresh inspiration for architects like G Bodley and Temple Moore. Continental *art nouveau* enjoyed limited popularity in ecclesiastical circles in England, but the impact of the Arts and Crafts Movement, which drew imaginatively on English vernacular styles, continued to be felt until at least the Second World War (Fig 9). 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 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

Figure 9
Something of a technological wolf in sheep's clothing, the traditional thatch of All Saints', Brockhampton, Herefordshire, disguises a concrete roof. Designed by the Arts and Crafts Movement architect W R Lethaby, and built 1901-02, the thatch keeps the inside cool in the summer. Listed Grade I.

Architects, along with 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 derivative, many were imaginative, sometimes dramatic but also, as with houses of the period, sometimes subtle and undemonstrative. Critical determinants for assessment will be the quality of planning; the subtlety of spatial handling; the interest of fixtures and fittings; degree of survival; and rarity. Traditionalism can sometimes have as great a claim to note as novelty – as later developments ably demonstrate.

1.3 The 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 some biographies but few studies of the leading practices. Partly because of this, Catholic churches are relatively under-represented in the statutory lists. There are around 2,765 Catholic parish churches and 700 other churches and chapels open to the public, of which 750 (21 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 celebrated clandestine

masses in private houses, but the penalties were severe. A small number of mass rooms and estate chapels survive, and their rarity will usually ensure these are listed at high grades. Catholics were excluded from the 1689 Act of Toleration which legalised some varieties of Nonconformist worship. By the mid-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 there were also Catholic chapels in the towns. Most of these were barely distinguishable from Nonconformist chapels. As the threat of Jacobitism receded the first and second Catholic Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791 were passed.

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. Some of the new chapels were built on sites of earlier devotion, and preserved relics associated with the martyrs of penal times. Aristocratic and land-owning patrons were in the vanguard, although in Lancashire and the larger towns such as Birmingham well-to-do laymen established societies devoted to fund-raising and church building. Their management was similar to that of Anglican and Nonconformist 'privatised' proprietary churches, where pew rents secured the best seats and the poor were pushed to the margins.

Many of these post-1791 chapels were classical in style; simple galleried boxes hardly distinguishable from Nonconformist chapels, their exteriors remained simple and understated, as old habits of concealment died hard. Chapels could be tucked away behind the presbytery, which presented a discreet and domestic face to the world. Further examples of these immediately post-relief Act chapels may remain to be identified and designated: the inspection of early interiors is essential.

Emancipation and building boom, 1829-80

The Act of Emancipation of 1829 freed Catholics from most remaining civil disabilities. Catholics could now enter parliament, and Catholic architects could confess their faith and earn a living working for Catholic patrons. The Restoration of Hierarchy in 1850, re-establishing territorial bishops, was an 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 (1846-49). 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 new Catholic bishops made the control of church provision a high priority, and focused on impoverished urban immigrants in cities such as Liverpool and London. 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. 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 hall is common in many Catholic urban parishes and the group value of these combinations should be carefully assessed.

In the 1840s, Catholic churches began to match the scale and architectural pretension of those of the Established Church. A W N Pugin, the great pro-Gothic polemicist, was responsible for a large number of Catholic churches in his short career, although compromised by a lack of funds, reflecting the relative poverty of his patrons. Some wealthy Catholics (notably the Earl of Shrewsbury) allowed him to express his aspirations as at St Giles, Cheadle, Staffordshire (1841-46; listed Grade I). Here, with no expense spared, he recreated with great sophistication the ideal English medieval country church, denied to Catholics since the Reformation. It was also a model for some Anglicans, and the same stylistic debates were found in both Churches. Pugin had many Catholic

imitators such as C H Hansom, Matthew Hadfield (Fig 10) and W W Wardell, whereas others such as J A Hansom and J J Scoles worked in a range of styles including the Romaneque, Neoclassical and Italianate.

Pugin's detractors, notably Cardinal Newman, challenged him in the Rood Screen Controversy (1848-1852); for them the classical architecture of Rome was perceived to be a more appropriate architectural idiom for the English Catholic Church resurgent. Pugin's son Edward, and his followers perfected a Gothic 'town-church'

Figure 10
A symbol of the foothold the newly resurgent Roman Catholic church established in the nineteenth century, Weightman and Hadfield's St. Mary's, Mulberry Street, Manchester (1848), is squeezed into a dense inner-city site. Affectionately known as 'The Hidden Gem', its uncommon use of the Romanesque style did not find favour with everyone: A W N Pugin declared 'It only shows into what error even good men fall….' Listed Grade II.

with a tall arcade and roof that encompassed nave and wide aisles, providing ample space and good visibility to the sanctuaries. Economy remained a consideration and many 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 may 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

In the great flood of late-nineteenth century Gothic Revival Catholic church building, designation should recognize the innovative and original. By 1900 some Catholic architects were among the most notable in the field, such as Leonard Stokes, J F Bentley, George Gilbert Scott Junior, his son Giles Gilbert Scott: all converts from Anglicanism. Bentley's 'Italo-Byzantine' 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. But despite the influence of Newman and Byzantium, most Catholic churches remained Gothic in style for the two generations after Pugin's death in 1852.

Vatican II

The Second Vatican Council of 1961-65 addressed relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the modern world. It was interpreted as demanding the vigorous re-ordering of churches: altars were to be repositioned to allow participation in the visual drama of the Mass, and anything was removed that might get in the way of a new vernacular liturgy (Fig 11). A new wave of churches was commissioned from architects firmly committed to the modern movement.

Figure 11
Built with a central altar, and on a circular plan, the Roman Catholic church of St. Mary, Leyland (Lancashire), of 1962-4, is an embodiment of the shift in liturgical practice following Vatican Council II. Designed by Weightman and Bullen, it is listed Grade II.

Convents

English Catholic convents, some with pre-Reformation roots, but most founded by English Catholics in exile, first re-appeared in England as refugees from the French Revolution. They were nuns – enclosed contemplatives – who followed a medieval Rule requiring enclosure and elaborate choral observances. By contrast were the Sisters who blossomed in the mid-nineteenth century; these followed later Rules and engaged in activities such as teaching and nursing. Convents tended to have an early nucleus which was later added to in a piecemeal fashion, rather than being single-phase set pieces. The oldest Catholic Convent in England, Bar Gate, York, founded in 1686 with a chapel of about 1770 (listed Grade II*) is an example. Pugin, by contrast, built complete convents (Handsworth, Birmingham, 1839-41; listed Grade II) and there also are examples by his followers (Poor Clares, Darlington, County Durham, 1850s (closed); listed Grade II; church Grade II*), but such complete plans are rare. Nuns had cells, common rooms and a refectory; Sisters had less specialist plans. The chapel is usually the most prominent building, with access for the public restricted to an 'extern' wing or side-chapel; a separate house for chaplains is also characteristic. Overall an institutional character is met with, akin to hospital architecture, but reflecting the work of each Order: some, such as the Carmelites, insisted on austerity. Nineteenth-century Anglican women's groups had a hard time establishing themselves: their convents, such the now-closed House of Mercy, Clewer, Berkshire (1880s; listed Grade II) are even rarer. Female religious communities are now under increasing threat of closure, largely a result of declining numbers of new recruits, and buildings will be disposed of. Their architectural evidence remains testimony not only to a religious but also to a certain female emancipation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Monasteries

Houses of religious men reflected the same historical and site-development pattern as noted above for women. Usually they are associated with schools in the countryside run by the Benedictines and Jesuits, or a town residence and church serving as a parish church. While Pugin published ideal monasteries based on medieval precedent, none were built by him: a late example reviving the plan of the English medieval Franciscan friary was achieved by F A Walters at Chilworth, Guildford (Surrey), about 1895. Very few were completed as one build: St Hugh's Charterhouse, Parkminster (West Sussex, about 1874 by Clovis Normand, a French architect) is the exemplar, as well as illustrating the arrival of Continental monk refugees after 1875, who also established communities at Buckfast Abbey, Devon (from 1882; listed Grade II*) and Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight (1908 and later; listed Grade II*). Men's houses are less under threat than women's.

1.4 Nonconformity: the architecture of dissent

While the term 'Nonconformity' 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 from the doctrines and practices of the Church of England 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 20 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 Nonconformists were freed from constraints on their civil liberties. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 opened up the professions to Nonconformists, and in 1837 the civil registration of births, marriages and deaths enabled Nonconformists 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 Nonconformists, 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 Nonconformist 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, Nonconformist chapels have some general physical characteristics in common. Orientation was generally not an issue, so buildings could take full advantage of the site. Striking facades and street frontages are characteristic. Nonconformist 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 Nonconformist circles than in Anglican ones.

Fellowship and study have always been important and Nonconformist 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 and so forth. 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 Nonconformist 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 these should not be accepted without question. 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 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; the exception here was the Baptists and their full immersion fonts (see below). With the exception of the Methodists, the chapels of the Nonconformist 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 Nonconformist interiors.

As Nonconformist denominations grew in wealth and self-confidence, especially in urban centres, their buildings acquired greater architectural sophistication. Classicism was popular up to 1860 or even beyond, 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.

1.5 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 Nonconformists 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 – from an early date with Regency Gothic examples at Portland Chapel, Cheltenham (1816), and Birchington Methodist chapel, Kent (1830). The earliest 'true' Gothic Revival chapels were in the north-west of England – the Brook Street Unitarian Chapel, Manchester, of 1837 (now the Islamic Academy; listed Grade II*) and Dukinfield Unitarian Chapel, Lancashire (1840; listed Grade II*). The latter was conceived 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. Overall, 104 Unitarian places of worship are listed.

1.6 The United Reformed Church (URC)

The URC was formed in 1972 out of the union of English Presbyterians and the Congregationalists (Independents); from the latter 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 Nonconformist denominations.

The doctrines of the Presbyterians were strongly influenced by Calvinism. They rejected government by bishops in favour of a hierarchy of general assembly, synod, presbytery and kirk session, on each of which sat ministers and elders of equal rank. The number of English Presbyterians grew in the 1570s and 1580s, and it became one of the most influential Puritan sects in the first half of the seventeenth century. After the Restoration it was the most respected nonconformist group, with an educated ministry and prosperous members. However, after the Act of Uniformity in 1662 when 2,000 of its ministers were forced out, Presbyterianism declined, later to be eclipsed in popularity by Methodism. In 1851 it had just 76 places of worship.

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

Figure 12
The Congregational chapel, in Castlefield (Manchester), opened 1858. Most Congregational chapels were built for performance more than ritual. After closure this has been an auctioneer's, a recording studio and offices. Listed Grade II.

and Butterfield, and by 1851 they claimed 3,244 churches in England and Wales. 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 (Fig 12). The Congregationalist architect James Cubitt (1836-1912), deserves a special mention. He led the debate as to the nature of the architecture of Nonconformity, 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). Here 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 the Baptists.

1.7 The Baptists

In 2016 there were 1,964 churches within the Baptist Union, of which 236 (12 per cent) were listed buildings. If all former Baptist chapels are included that total rises from 236 to 573.

The formal history of Baptist Nonconformity 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 mid-nineteenth century. By 1851 there were 2,700 congregations in England and Wales, and by the mid 1850s Spurgeon 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 Metropolitan Tabernacle in Southwark (damaged and rebuilt; listed Grade II) – '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 and so on in a basement storey or adjoining structure.

1.8 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 Nonconformist denomination. Overall, 259 are listed.

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 (Fig 13). Memorials and monuments were prohibited. Early meetings were held in houses. As many early meeting houses were constructed by co-operative labour,

Figure 13
Quaker meeting house, Alston, Cumbria. Nonconformity was strong among the area's lead miners. This began as a single-storey building in 1732; an upper floor was added in 1764. Listed Grade II.

in vernacular styles and of local materials, their appearance varies from region to region. 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's business meetings 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 Meeting for Worship. 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 1800 there were said to be 413 meeting houses, in 1851 there were 371. 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, and in more recent times well-built and unostentatious.

1.9 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 about 5,312 chapels in England of which 869 (16 per cent) are listed. Figures for Methodist membership are very reliable and show that it experienced its greatest growth in the period between about 1740 and about 1840. Thereafter growth was considerable but decelerating until about 1906, 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 Nonconformity 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, first established in the ruined Foundery building in London's City Road 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, modelled in part on Wren's St James, Piccadilly, and this 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 meeting rooms, Sunday schools and so on 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, and 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 focused 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 (for instance, Manchester 1885-86, 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 Methodists (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 Connexion 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.

1.10 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 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.

At this time, two related movements had a profound influence on church planning across all denominations: Ecumenism (the movement which emphasized the universal nature of Christianity, and thereby stressed the similarities between different churches, rather than their divisions), and the Liturgical Movement, which reconsidered the ways in which worship had developed.

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 Bodley, Ninian Comper (High Church Anglican), George Gilbert Scott Junior and Giles Gilbert Scott (Roman Catholic) although the Nonconformist churches had been experimenting with various models for generations (for instance, 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 these 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. Post-war architects were sometimes dismissive of 'Revivalism' in 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 the influence of the Liturgical Movement could not for long be ignored. The Liturgical Movement had its roots in progressive Catholic theological circles in pre-First World War Northern Europe. 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 as the corporate act of worship. Modernist architectural styles and new materials combined in response to new theological ideas, and 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, West Yorkshire, by J H Langtry Langton (1935; listed Grade II) and St Peter, Gorleston, Norfolk, by the sculptor Eric Gill (1938-39; listed Grade II*). Whilst the Protestant church was not without similar ambitions, that for the centrally planned St. Michael and All Angels, Northenden, Greater Manchester (N F Cachemaille-Day, 1937; listed Grade II*) was defeated by the Bishop of Manchester's demand that the altar be placed against the eastern wall. The clean, white, angularity of European modernism was largely eschewed in favour of large planes of exposed brick, for example, in the work of Cachemaille-Day and the 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 (1931-33; listed Grade II), designed by Seely and 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 (for instance, Coventry Cathedral, Sir Basil Spence, 1952-61, listed Grade I), 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 spatially as well as spiritually at the centre of worship as at Liverpool Metropolitan Cathedral (1962-67; listed Grade II*) following Vatican II (1962-65) which saw the Roman Catholic church officially embrace the Liturgical Movement. These also 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, as did the use of striking hyperbolic paraboloid roofs as at St. Aldate's, Gloucester, by Potter and Hare (1962-64; listed Grade II), suggestive of enormous tents.

The various Nonconformist denominations continued the spirit of innovation which has characterised much of their twentieth century work but has yet to be fully assessed.

Notwithstanding the visual excitement of much post-war modern church design, low-key, vernacular and historically well-informed church design continued to find favour. Emerging out of the tradition of worker priests in the 1940s and 1950s some post-war churches consciously sought a domestic appearance harking back to the origins of Christianity – the house church. Where planning forced the mixing of secular and sacred activities good examples are St. Mary Magdalene, Peckham, London (1961-62, by Potter and Hare), St. Mary's, Leyland, Lancashire, by Weightman and Bullen (1962-64; listed Grade II), and especially St. Thomas More, Sheffield (1967-68) which combines a youth club and technical training with worship.

Architecturally there was considerable debate between the followers of continental practice which employed overt Christian symbolism, and that of the New Churches Research Group (founded 1957), most associated with the work of Maguire and Murray as seen in St. Paul's, Burdett Road, Streatham, London Borough of Lambeth (1958; listed Grade II*). However, well-crafted buildings in traditional materials, making imaginative use of a site and appropriate to their particular context, continue to deserve recognition such as the late Gothic Revival work of Sir Giles Gilbert Scott at St. Francis, Terriers, Buckinghamshire (1950; listed Grade II*). Decreasing budgets became an increasing factor in post-war church building with debt becoming a problem in the late 1960s. The Church of England saw a slight decline in the size of its congregations in the 1960s and 1970s, with too many churches in the wrong places. Meanwhile the Catholic Church saw congregations peak in the 1970s but thereafter began to suffer from church over-provision due to its considerable post-war expansion.

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 a building can be diminished by the loss or careless resiting of original furnishing components, or diluted by 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, 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 Catholic interiors, and examples have been listed. The interest of such fittings can be of considerable importance in determining listed status and grading.

1.11 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 including Jacob's Well in Bristol, a possible mikveh of about 1140, which is a scheduled monument.

Jews were readmitted under the Commonwealth 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 in the City of London, England's oldest surviving synagogue (listed Grade I). 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 (for example, 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 between about 1881and 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 (Fig 14). 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 BIG C numbered the Jewish population at 267,000, in marked decline from the post-war peak of approximately 450,000.

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 activities pursued in it, and in particular from its housing of the Torah scrolls, so that once this ceases the building loses much of its religious importance to the community. 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, that is the critical explanation and analysis of texts.

Figure 14
Some buildings bear witness to changing populations. Now disused, the former Great Synagogue on London's Fournier Street began life as a purpose-built church for the French Hugenots in 1743 before its adaptation to the needs of the Jewish faith. Listed Grade II*.

The synagogue is usually rectilinear in plan, the prayer hall being entered via a vestibule. 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.

There are currently 54 listed synagogues in England.

The mikveh

The mikveh (ritual bath, plural mikvaot) is a unique Jewish building type. Ritual purification is central to conversion and the maintenance of family purity (women bathe, for instance, after childbirth and menstruation), and historically the mikveh 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 by 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 (for instance, 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 establish whether they survive.

Building 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; listed Grade II*). The plainness of their outward faces belies the hidden richness of their interiors and underlines the importance of internal inspection for designation purposes. Before about 1830 synagogues continued to be constructed in an under-stated Neoclassical Nonconformist 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.

Building history: about 1850 to about 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 for the first time. 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 (Fig 15), Romanesque, Byzantine and Islamic Revival models 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 (1855-66), Old Hebrew Congregation, Liverpool (1872-74), Middle Street, Brighton (1874-75) and New West End synagogue, London (1877-79). 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: all are listed Grade II*. At the other end of the scale are the simple late nineteenth-century prayer rooms and house conversions established by many newly arrived

Figure 15
Park Road Synagogue, Park Row, Bristol. Of 1870-71, this confident Italianate building is the work of the eminent Victorian synagogue designer Hyman Henry Collins. Listed Grade II.

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.

Building history: 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: Golders Green, in North London, became a preferred area and a new synagogue was accordingly built in 1921 in a Neo-Georgian style by Digby Soloman (listed Grade II). Many were built in a modest brand of Art Deco, while others opted for more historicist styles, 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.

1.12 The buildings of Islam

In the eighteenth century sailors recruited in India formed the first obvious wave of migration by Muslims into Britain. Although there is some evidence for a presence in seventeenth-century London and other port cities there are no known built remains associated with this. By the mid-nineteenth century reasonable numbers of Muslims were living in England through association with, and employment by, trading companies. This dependence on economic and trade-based migration meant that England's earliest Muslims, and therefore, earliest prayer halls were to be found amongst the sea faring communities of her port cities and the earliest known mosques date to the second half of the nineteenth century. Numbers swelled at the turn of the century as between 1890 and 1903 40,000 seamen arrived and settled in England. Before 1914 organised centres of Islam in England could be found in Liverpool and Woking (and Cardiff in Wales).

The history of mosque building in England continued to be closely related to the history of post-colonisation trade and its relationship to the Empire: for example, from the 1950s to 1970s migration patterns relate to events such as the end of British rule in India and the Pakistan Bangladesh conflict. Instability in East Africa precipitated further Asian Muslim migration to England in the 1970s and a combination of economic- and conflict-related migration from central and north Africa occurred through the 1990s.

The concept of Islam and Muslims in Britain is often used as an all encompassing umbrella term, but in assessing a Muslim place of worship it should be remembered that particular communities may have varied geographical origins, which may impact on belief systems and practices. Practice is often related to ethnicity, and, as with other faiths, Islam contains several branches. The largest branch is formed by Sunnis, who globally account for up to 90 per cent of Muslims. Sunnis (sometimes referred to as Orthodox) all follow Islamic Law (Shari-ah), but a number of schools of thought exist within it. The main four of these are Hanafi, Shafili, Maliki and Hanbali; all accept the others as equally valid. The second largest branch of Islam is formed by Shiites or Shias of which the two main groups are the Twlevers (or Imami – which are numerically by far the largest) and the Ismailis.

Because any group of Muslims can gather together in prayer in any place, the mosque – as a building type – is not a requirement for worship. The word mosque is derived from the Arabic word Masjid meaning place of prostration and the purpose of a prayer space is essentially to enable prostration before God to achieve closeness to God. At a basic level, therefore, there are straightforward and simple architectural requirements for a mosque. The layout will include some standard or common attributes, for example the need for a space to wash for wudhu (ritual ablution)

and a large open prayer hall, orientated towards the Ka'bah in Makkah (Mecca). Orientation is indicated by the Quibla wall (Quibla meaning the direction that should be faced during prayer) which is usually identified by the presence of a niche known as the mihrab. There is frequently more than one prayer hall as there may be separate provision for men and women. There may be a gallery for women that overlooks the prayer space (although common, this segregation is not universal). There is often a room for the preparation of the deceased for burial. Some mosques are suitable for daily prayers and others are sufficiently large in size to accommodate Friday prayers (the most important day of prayers – known as the Day of Assembly – and therefore attracting larger numbers) and difference of function and intent should be borne in mind when considering the history and purpose of a prayer hall. Most mosques have community centres associated with them and educational facilities for the community. The patron had a particular impact on the type and appearance of the early mosques, including overseas influence through travelling; management of mosques is usually through a mosque committee and each mosque has an Imam.

It is estimated that there are up to 1,500 mosques in Britain, with evidence of early ones in London, Liverpool, South Shields, Coventry, Hull and Sheffield (and Cardiff); some survive, and others have been rebuilt. Some are house mosques, some conversions of existing buildings and some purpose built. In the UK overall, approximately 16 per cent are purpose built, the rest being conversions of houses or other buildings. The earlier examples of purpose-built structures tended to favour an 'oriental' approach that reflected contemporary Victorian interests and access to the Empire.

The first, and thus far only, purpose-built mosque to have been listed (at Grade II*) is the Shah Jahan mosque in Woking, Surrey (Fig 16), 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 Jahan, 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. Some of the earlier examples of new builds have been to a modest scale, a reflection of limited community resources, for instance, in Eagle Street, Coventry and Hatherley Street , Liverpool. Some of these are analogous to the 'tin tabernacle' phase in the life of many longer established faith communities and it would be unfortunate if all of these early buildings disappeared without due recognition or their cultural or architectural significance. An early mosque (inaugurated 1926), constructed as the international headquarters of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, exists in Southfields, in the London Borough of Wandsworth (Fazl mosque) and shows how contemporary design used in England and in the then Empire could influence this new building type. Purpose-built mosques developing their own language in England are more obvious from the 1950s; one example may be the London Central mosque (Regent's Park), which was initiated by an English convert in the 1920s, but only completed in 1978 (to designs by Sir Frederick Gibberd), after the presentation of land from the British Government in 1940 and an architectural competition. Mosque building significantly increased from the 1970s, and has gone through various phases of approach. Some mosques have developed incrementally, largely through gradual fund raising and changing perceptions of identity. Such buildings differ from single-phase architect-designed buildings, but both may hold interest for their social and historical qualities.

House mosques are likely to be of potential special interest only when they have a very specific cultural or historical association. The most obvious case is the listing of 8 Brougham Terrace, Liverpool (listed Grade II), where in 1889 William Henry Quilliam (1856-1932) known as Sheik Abdullah Quillam, a Liverpool-born convert and solicitor, established his Muslim Institute and mosque, the first in England.

Figure 16
The Shah Jehan mosque, Woking, designed and built in 1889. Listed Grade II*.

In general, conversions for mosque use are common, often of buildings which previously had a religious or educational function and which may already be listed for their special interest in that context. However, some conversions may be distinctive in their own right and the process of adaptation and evidence of palimpsest should be not necessarily be overlooked. The Brick Lane Jamme Mosque (at 59 Brick Lane; listed Grade II*) in London's East End is probably the best-known example of such: it was built in 1752-53 as the Hugenot Neuve Eglise, served from 1809-1819 as a Wesleyan Methodist chapel and then from 1898 as Spitalfields Great Synagogue. It was opened as a mosque in 1976 to serve the local Bangladeshi community and has recently had a minaret added outside the building to display the cultural identity of this most recent phase of use. The requirement for the strict orientation of the prayer hall towards Makkah can make the re-use of a place of worship of another faith problematic for Muslims, although some innovative examples exist, and conversion of extant buildings still far outstrips new builds.

A new generation of mosques, identifiably places of Muslim worship, is emerging dominated by a new Islamic historicism with emerging specialists such as Archi-Structure (for instance, Al-Samarraie's 2003 Makkah Masjid, in Brudenell Street, Leeds); this may mark the beginnings of mosque architecture responsive to its UK context. A sense of cultural identity associated with certain architectural or decorative motifs has emerged most prominently in the last 30 or so years. In some cases features such as domes and minarets have been added to extant purpose-built mosques that previously felt no need for them, such as the Wimbledon mosque, designed in 1973 by J. Godfrey-Gilbert. New approaches to

mosque design are now more apparent with new buildings such as those in Hackney, Aberdeen and Cambridge challenging 'traditional' approaches to symbolism and form.

1.13 The buildings of Sikhism

Sikh presence and architectural influences in England can be traced to the conversion works to Elvedon Hall, Suffolk, by the exiled Maharajah Duleep Singh in the late nineteenth century. However, the history of Sikh places of worship in England is essentially a twentieth-century one, with the first Sikh association being established in 1908. Soon after this (1911) there was a movement towards founding a gurdwara (temple) in London, and a house which became Britain's first was rented then leased at 79 Sinclair Road, Shepherd's Bush (London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham). A significant increase in the Sikh population came in the 1950s, but even so only three gurdwaras were recognised in 1961 by the Office of Register of Places of Worship. Numbers have increased considerably since then, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, and it is currently estimated that there are about 200 gurdwaras in England.

Gurdwara means house of the Guru. There are no idols, statues, or religious pictures in a Gurdwara, and its essential feature is the presiding presence of the holy book (Guru Granth Sahib). In general it contains a Darbar (main) hall for worship, a community kitchen providing langar (communal vegetarian food) free to all who enter, and community facilities which are integral parts of the Sikh worship practice and tradition. In some cases men and women occupy opposite sides of the hall. Gurdwaras, therefore, are Sikhs' principal religious institutions with a strong community focus. Foundation and care of gurdwaras is through management committees and the community and often traditional Sikh preachers known as sants.

In common with other migrant faith groups, early gatherings were often in a private house or a rented building such as a school hall; later a more permanent existing structure might be purchased or leased and adapted for worship, eventually to be replaced by a purpose-built building. Examples of this pattern include the Leicester Guru Nanak gurdwara, begun in a school hall in the 1960s and occupying a house in New Walk in 1968. Re-use of buildings previously used by other faith groups is not uncommon and the Brick Lane Mosque model can be paralleled within the Sikh community. For example, the Union Chapel in Leeds was opened as a Congregational chapel in 1871, then was successively a hall, a synagogue, a meeting place for Hindus and Jains, and finally part of the Sikh Centre. It is listed at Grade II.

More recently there has been the creation of large, architecturally and culturally distinctive gurdwaras, for example the opening in 2003 of the largest Sikh gurdwara outside India, the Sri Guru Singh Sabha Gurdwara in Southall by Architect Co-partnership. This is a mogul-style building that has been referred to as a cathedral of multi-cultural Britain.

1.14 The buildings of Hinduism

Hinduism in England has early nineteenth-century origins, mostly based upon students and scholars and influential leaders such as Raj Ram Mohun Roy, a Hindu reformer (born 1772). Migration was small-scale until the 1970s when significant numbers of Punjabis and Gujaratis settled from south Asia; these were followed by Sri Lankans in the 1990s.

Hindus account for 80 per cent of religious affiliation amongst all Indians. In England there are comparable numbers of Sikhs and Hindus (about half the latter London-based), and there are believed to be over 150 Hindu places of worship or mandirs.

The word mandir derives from a Sansrit word, *mandira*, meaning 'house', the implication being that it is the house of the deity. Most mandirs are dedicated to one deity, although this can vary. Unlike gurdwaras and mosques, mandirs have a significant focus on imagery.

Commonly this will reflect the community or the religious focus on a supreme God whose qualities and form are representated by a multitude of deities (murtis), each of which may be represented in sculptured form on a shrine platform. Once dedicated the murtis are no longer considered sculptures but a living holy presence and as such are not simply decorative features. Equally Hindus generally focus on a set of holy books (Veda) rather than one.

Mandirs provide facilities for education and family and community services. As with other recently arrived faith groups in England, there has been a pattern of initial Hindu worship in houses followed by conversions of existing buildings (which seems to have presented few difficulties) and then new-build. There has been a recent development of large mandirs following traditional building techniques, involving the importation of stone carved in India using traditional methods. The Shri Swaminarayan Mandir, Brentfield Road, Neasden (London Borough of Brent), completed in 1999, was the first traditional Hindu temple to be built in England, with extensive carving by Indian craftsmen; and is said to be the largest mandir in Europe. Others are adopting this approach, and recent new buildings in Bradford and Bedford indicate a growing tradition. A different approach lies behind the Shree Hindu Mandir, Leeds (2001-2), designed by Rajesh Sompura, which intriguingly blends West Riding stone vernacular with Indian temple architecture, and incorporates an earlier building on the site.

1.15 The buildings of Buddhism

There are about 161 'Buddhist' buildings in England, dating from the late nineteenth century to the present day, and representing a diverse range of Buddhist traditions.

Originating from a sixth century BCE prince of the Sakya people, Siddhartha Gautama (later known as Gautama Buddha meaning the awakened one), Buddhism helps its followers towards an enlightened state that escapes the cycle of suffering and rebirth – a middle way or nirvana. Buddhist practice varies between different traditions but the foundation of the practice is the Buddha, the Dharma (the teachings), and the Sangha (the community).

Buddhism first came to England in the nineteenth century as a product of the British colonial presence in Asia; Buddhist texts were translated as a result of academic and intellectual enquiry, and by 1914 British converts were emerging as teachers. Buddhism did not substantially impact on England until after the Second World War and the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950. Since then adherence to the faith has steadily expanded and the latest census (2011) showed a 72 per cent increase in the number of those describing themselves as Buddhists since 2001. Each of the three main global traditions (Theravada, Mahayana and Vajrayana) has communities in England. Buddhist practice and its community engagement stretches beyond the limits of those describing themselves as Buddhist, however, and their buildings in England are designed or can be adapted to serve a number of functions which can include specifically Buddhist practice, cultural and community activities for the Buddhists diaspora, space for monastic living, and somewhere for those interested in Buddhism to stay, retreat and encounter meditation and mindfulness.

The largest number of Buddhist buildings in this country are from the Tibetan tradition, which includes Gelug, Kagyu, Sakya and Nyingma; these buildings are more frequently found in suburban locations, with slightly more in the north of England. Next is the Theravada tradition – almost exclusively suburban and southern – this includes Burmese, Thai and Sri Lankan traditions. The East Asian is also highly suburban and based mostly in the south of England, while a group of non-sectarian, notably the Triratna, whilst predominantly southern are mainly urban. All traditions have some rural locations and all have a number of listed buildings in their ownership.

Some distinctive and impressive new structures now form part of the English landscape. However

Buddhist communities, more than many other faith traditions (in terms of proportion of buildings) have taken on dilapidated historic buildings and their work of care and repair had not only brought these buildings physically back to life but given them new life expressing the cultural and community priorities of the various traditions. The variety of buildings is a physical embodiment of the diversity that has been identified as a feature of Buddhism in Britain.

The expansion of the Theravada tradition marks the beginning of the development of Buddhist buildings in England. This is largely suburban and found in the south of England.

Also within the Theravada tradition, but with a contrasting focus on rural locations, is the Thai Forest Sangha. Established in Hampstead in 1978 by an American born monk, in 1979 it purchased Chithurst House (Cittaviveka), Hampshire, in order to get closer to the concept of a forest monastery. The house was semi-derelict and both it and a nearby cottage (renamed Aloka Cottage) required significant restoration before they became hosts to male and female monastic communities respectively. Afforestation, additional facilities and the construction of a meditation hall have all been developed as part of the community's expansion.

The tendency for conversion can be found in many buildings and in some this goes hand-in-hand with growth, expansion and new buildings. The overall evolution of some of the sites including their Buddhist identity may be collectively significant as a marker of a changing society, separate from the individual character of some of the new buildings. The Amaravati Buddhist Monastery, near Hemel Hempstead (Hertfordshire) was founded in 1983; it is also in the Thai Theravāda Forest tradition and was an off shoot from Chithurst House. The site was originally developed as a summer camp funded by the Canadian government in 1939; left unused at the outbreak of war it provided accommodation for children evacuated from London and for which purpose a 200-person air raid shelter was added. After the war it became a school for children with learning difficulties. The Canadian cedar wood huts remain in use adjacent to a purpose-built Buddhist temple and cloister completed in 1999. Like the buildings at Chithurst, considerable renovation and improvements were required, but the experience of those attending meditations in the old drab gymnasium drove the community to commission something new that would reflect English and Thai traditions and provide a more inspirational place. This marks the beginning of explorations into ideas of what is British Buddhist architecture.

Other distinctive new building types to the English landscape are found in Wimbledon (Wat Buddhapadipa) and Birmingham, where pagodas symbolise peace, compassion and other exemplary qualities of the Buddha. In Birmingham, the temple caters for a relatively small and dispersed Burmese Buddhist community. Its large Burmese-style pagoda was the first building to be put up on the site (in 1998), and is constructed of pre-cast concrete but decorated in a traditional style, largely by two Burmese craftsmen. Subsequently were constructed two houses – the vihara (the monks' quarters) and the dhamma hall (where Buddhist teachings are given).

The range of historic buildings adopted by Budddhist communities is striking. In Knaphill, Manchester an old religious building in the form of Brookwood Hospital Chapel is now a Buddhist temple for the Dhammakaya movement, whilst the former mortuary provides living accommodation for the monks. In Walworth the Tibetan Kagyu Samye Dzong occupies an impressive old bath house and Victorian swimming pool (grade II)**.** The same group had already renovated a redundant public library in Bermondsey and in Manchester a Buddhist centre occupies an old cotton warehouse (for the Triratna Buddhist community). The Diamond Way is a lay Buddhist group, which follows a Karma Kagyu lineage of Tibetan Buddhism, and who, in 2011, purchased the derelict The Beaufoy Institute' – built in 1907 as an industrial school for poor boys. Empty for between 15-20 years the buildings was on the English Heritage Buildings at Risk register.

The capacity of these buildings to reflect British social history can be found encapsulated in the renovation of the Kennington Court House, Lambeth (listed Grade II). Gelug, the newest of the Tibetan traditions of Buddhism (founded about 1400), developed a profile in England in the 1990s**.** A small but significant Gelug group is the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahāyāna Tradition (FPMT), created in 1975 by two Tibetan Lamas - Lama Thubten Yeshe and Lama Thubten Zopa Rinpoche - who had been teaching Westerners about Buddhism in Nepal. Their second foundation in Britain is called the Jamyang Meditation Centre and they purchased a former Victorian courthouse, in Kennington. Large scale renovation was required on the recently listed building after its purchase in 1995, a purchase which saved the building from being converted into flats.

The building started life as a Police Court, designed by Thomas Charles Sorby (1836-1924) who was a police surveyor, and later became a Magistrates Court. The complex expanded to include the Police, a Fire Station and a Workhouse, the latter operational until 1922. When its magistrates function was relocated it became instead a maximum security court for special remands. In the 1960s and 70s it housed a number of high-profile, high security IRA prisoners before their trials. The fabric of the building bears witness to this period with names of prisoners legible on walls and doors. When radiators were removed as part of the rennovations further graffiti was discovered along with notes, written by prisoners, to their loved ones. These notes, and also pictures of the renovations, which included removing bullet proof glass from around the judge's bench, have been kept in an archive at Jamyang London. The former cells now act as accommodation rooms for the Centre and show how much of the historic fixtures and fittings, have been kept and renovated by Jamyang. These now sit alongside the new gompa (shrine room) and large Buddha rupa (statue) and rooms open to the public and local community.

To date, no purpose-built mandir, gurdwara, Buddhist or Jain temple has been listed, although buildings of all faiths occupy various recycled listed buildings. Although there appears to be common trajectory or evolution from house occupation to conversion to new build, it is worth noting that emerging evidence about mosques suggests that the presence of house mosques and conversions far outweighs new builds. We are currently compiling comparable data about gurdwaras and mandirs; it is not a given that purpose-built will automatically be of the most interest with regard to listing. The number of new buildings of considerable quality and craftsmanship now making an impact on our towns and cities is, however, increasing. The variety of building designs and the cultural and historical values they express is developing as fast as the buildings themselves and all, in the future, are likely to be issues for designation. This is an area in which our heritage of places of worship is set to expand.

2 Specific Considerations

2.1 Understanding

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

2.2 Character

The overwhelming majority of places of worship are Christian churches and chapels, and this is reflected in the lists. Different faith groups may have distinctive characteristics not shared by others, and these characteristics may change or develop over time. For example, whilst highly-regarded national architects or high-quality architectural embellishments are likely to be important considerations in a church of an Anglo-Catholic tradition, the things that make a Quaker building distinctive (simplicity, and architecture and furnishings of modest, vernacular, character) are very different. These differences, and others such as variations in plan form to reflect customs in worship and liturgy, need to be fully recognised in designation assessments. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that most denominations have been characterised by schisms and mergers; again, exemplars and important examples of particular denominational sub-sets which display these particular characteristics in their built form may be strong candidates for designation. In summary, it would be wrong to judge a Primitive Methodist chapel against the standards for a Catholic church.

2.3 Intactness

Intactness of a building and its fixtures can be an important consideration. Especially with buildings after 1840, where the number of surviving buildings is large, the issue of completeness, especially of interiors, becomes a major consideration when considering designation and grading. A set of fixtures contemporary with the main phase of the building will often possess particular interest. It should be borne in mind, however, that given budgetary constraints at the time of construction some interiors were necessarily created over time; good examples will possess individual items of quality which together form a coherent scheme. Conversely, some places of worship possess considerable architectural interest which transcends the removal of its fixtures (through conversion into domestic use, perhaps): degree of survival is not an essential for listing.

2.4 Alteration

More typically places of worship have been subject to successive changes resulting from growth, changing liturgy and patterns of worship – a process that continues today. Sometimes this results in structural change; more often, furnishings, fittings and decoration provide the only evidence of these successive phases. Alteration can tell us much about the evolution of a place of worship and thus have a positive value in itself. It can reflect the growth of a congregation or community; the development of patterns of worship; changes in taste and patronage; and the

desire to embellish sacred spaces. Alteration, in this positive sense, can possess positive value.

2.5 Fixtures, fittings and decoration

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. Liturgical fittings which reflect the nature of worship in that building, and changes in that through time, may be of particular interest, while other more secular fixtures such as memorials can add greatly to the historic interest of a church. In some cases, the artistic or design interest of these elements may be enough in themselves to warrant a higher grade for the church than would be justified by its architectural aspects alone.

2.6 Historic interest

The association of a particular site with a leading cleric, architect, significant patron, or development in worship will add to its interest. This is especially true if the association is reflected in the form or appearance of the building itself – for example where internal layout reflects an innovation in liturgical practice.

2.7 Grading

A very large proportion of our most highly-graded buildings are churches: 45 per cent of all Grade I listings are for churches. Grade I, the uppermost grade, is reserved for buildings of outstanding interest. This might include an important medieval church containing notable fittings; the very best examples (from all epochs) of post-medieval churches and chapels; and the key works of leading architects. Very early fabric (particularly Anglo-Saxon) is another justification; so too is rarity. Grade II* denotes more than special interest, and the great majority of medieval churches will warrant this grade at least. Other reasons for inclusion in this upper grade may include fittings (such as monuments, wall paintings, stained glass or liturgical fittings) within an otherwise unremarkable building; or the survival of earlier elements (a Norman doorway, for instance) within a rebuilt structure. Particularly intact, exemplary or rare examples of places of worship may warrant this grade too. Restoration will by no means preclude a church from being listed in a higher grade: much depends on the character, coherence and quality of the alterations and associated fixtures, and sometimes these will be the very features that warrant the higher grade. Grade II denotes special architectural and historic interest. A medieval church listed in Grade II will have undergone heavy restoration or extensive rebuilding, and generally lack fixtures of note. Victorian and later churches listed in Grade II will be buildings of quality and achievement, but which do not possess fittings of high quality, design innovation or overall degree of survival, as found in church listings in the upper grades.

2.8 Churchyard structures

Outdoor monuments are separately considered in the Commemorative Structures listing selection guide. Lych-gates are the ornamental gateways leading into churchyards: these possess a symbolic importance as the thresholds between the secular and sacred zones of a parish. Often of timber, many were replaced (or added afresh) during nineteenth-century restorations; many were installed as memorials after the First World War. Frequently covered as curtilage structures (that is, included within the listing of the church as an associated structure), they will sometimes warrant specific listing on their own right too, particularly when they retain earlier fabric; when they can be associated with an architect of note, or possess design interest of a high order; when they have good group value with the church; and when they possess historic interest through a commemorative function (such as a war memorial). Post-medieval gate piers and walls may often possess an interest warranting separate designation as well.

Churchyard watch houses were built in the eighteenth century and up to the passing of the

Anatomy Act in 1832 (which required a license before a cadaver could be acquired for medical research) to accommodate a watchman to deter body snatchers bent on stealing newly-interred corpses. Most examples are in Scotland, but there are two Grade II listed examples in Northumberland, at Doddington (1826) and Morpeth (1831). Any examples which survive in anything like their original condition are likely to be listable. The same principles will apply to hearse houses and similar structures.

Churchyard crosses, typically of medieval date, are variously scheduled and listed. Few will have escaped designation (further consideration is given in the scheduling selection guide on Religion and Ritual post-AD 410. All these features will have added interest where they are associated with a listed church, or a churchyard with listed memorials.

2.9 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 may also be reflected in the designated status. But many places of worship, especially non-Anglican ones, are not listed. These can nevertheless have considerable local significance and be much cherished by their communities. Their inclusion within conservation areas, and local listing, can assist appropriate management.

2.10 Group value

Many institutions have chapels as part of their fabric: cemeteries, hospitals and workhouses, barracks, schools and others may all be provided with places of worship. When assessing these places of worship 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, a place of worship can be the only designated building in an institutional complex on account of its exceptional embellishment and prominence. Especially from the second half of the nineteenth century there are complexes of ecclesiastical buildings which may include a rectory, vicarage, or presbytery, school, and hall alongside a church; here, particularly if the buildings are broadly contemporary and perhaps by the same architect, a good church can make the case for the whole complex to be designated where they all possess special interest through group value.

2.11 Archaeology and places of worship

The presence of archaeological deposits, or a reasonable assumption thereof (what scheduling terms 'potential'), is likely to add to the interest and significance of a site. Such deposits may provide evidence, among much else, of earlier buildings on the site; of phases of growth or contraction; and of the arrangement of screens and other past furnishings and fittings. Parish churches will also have intra- and extra-mural burials which are likely to be among the earliest indications of the site's special status, and which have the potential to provide evidence about past populations and burial practices. Sites which remain in active use are not scheduled, however, despite their archaeological importance. This is managed through the faculty system and through the Church's own archaeological advisers. Certain abandoned church sites have accordingly been scheduled as a way of capturing the archaeological potential of undisturbed graveyards. For a discussion of our approach to the scheduling of abandoned places of worship, see the two Religion and Ritual scheduling selection guides.

2.12 Listing non-Christian places of worship

So far, relatively few non-Christian places of worship have been designated. Of those that have, by far the highest number comprises synagogues. Listing is a way of capturing architectural and historic interest in a national context: while its principal aim is to inform the planning system of where special significance lies, it is also a barometer of those buildings, structures and sites which are deemed to be of 'special interest'. As different faith groups establish themselves ever more firmly in England, the claims to the status of special interest of their places of worship become ever more valid. Early sites may warrant special consideration, as may examples which are particularly well planned for that particular faith's worship, as well as examples manifesting high design values. This is an area in which our appreciation of, and listing of, places of worship is set to expand.

2.13 Extent of listing

Amendment to the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 provides two potential ways to be more precise about what is listed.

The empowerments, found in section 1 (5A) (a) and (b) of the 1990 Act, allow the List entry to say definitively whether attached or curtilage structures are protected; and/or to exclude from the listing specified objects fixed to the building, features or parts of the structure. These changes do not apply retrospectively, but New listings and substantial amendments from 2013 will provide this clarification when appropriate.

Clarification on the extent of listing for older lists may be obtained through the Local Planning Authority or through the Historic England's Enhanced Advisory Service, see www.historicengland.org.uk/EAS.

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4 Where to Get Advice

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