

Rescuing the Built Heritage of Dissenters, Recusants and Nonconformists: the Historic Chapels Trust

by

ROLAND JEFFERY

The Historic Chapels Trust was set up twenty-one years ago to take into care significant nonconformist and Catholic places of worship. The Trust has assembled a collection of twenty buildings, reflecting the diversity of religious traditions in England and remains the only national charity in this field. It now seeks to give its buildings a sustainable future.

In our increasingly secular times it is often forgotten how long and hard a fight there was to achieve the religious tolerance that Britain takes for granted today. Also at risk of being forgotten – beyond the realm of professional historians – is the huge contribution to our culture made by men and women of conscience who chose to differ from the doctrine, legal privilege and politics of the Church of England. Those who have resisted the claims of the Established Church have often been to the fore in the abolition of the slave trade, active among the Diggers, Levellers and Chartists, in the thick of the co-operative and labour movements, leaders of reforms in the care of the mentally ill and of prisons, pioneering the spread of literacy and education through the Sunday School movement, as well as the battles for religious freedom of conscience itself. Nearer our times conscientious objectors and nuclear disarmament have both been closely associated with nonconformists, Quakers and Catholics.

For the last twenty years the Historic Chapels Trust (hereafter ‘the Trust’) has been ‘acquirer of last resort’ of a small collection of the most important buildings of these traditions.¹ The buildings are those of Quakers, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Roman Catholics, Unitarians, German Lutherans and wholly independent worshipping communities. There are sub-categories too, such as the Bible Christians and Primitive Methodists, both of whom split from Wesleyan Methodists; and the Strict and Particular Baptists who became separate from other strands of the Baptist cause. The Trust does not take on Church of England parish churches as there is a statutory scheme for this through the Churches Conservation Trust, and several other non-statutory bodies besides, not

Roland Jeffery has been Director of the Historic Chapels Trust since 2012. He has been involved in a diverse range of historic restoration projects over the last twenty years, from Hawksmoor’s Christ Church, Spitalfields, and Shoreditch Town Hall to the Second World War code-breaking hub at Bletchley Park and the Dreamland Amusement Park, Margate.

least among them the Ancient Monument Society's sister charity, the Friends of Friendless Churches. Stretched as it is, the charitable and government resources for Anglican churches appear lavish compared with the provisions for minority congregations.

The Trust's churches, chapels and meeting houses were all too important to abandon (Fig. 1), reflected in the fact they are all listed Grade II* or Grade I. Had they been less significant, they might have followed many of their fellows along the route to conversion into houses, village halls, architects' studios and the like. Such conversions often save chapels from wholesale demolition, so that at least their distinctive outline remains in the landscape. But of course such changes of use typically mean the interior fittings and layout are quite lost, as too is public access. The remarkable collection of chapels built up by the Trust were individually too important to be lost to radical reconfiguration. Most were at some stage on the *Heritage At Risk* register maintained by English Heritage, and a few are still on it, pending the completion of full restoration and installation of beneficial new uses.

The Trust has been able to draw on some distinguished expertise. The late Christopher Stell, whose pioneering four volume inventory of nonconformist chapels appeared between 1986 and 2002, was a trustee and shared his encyclopaedic knowledge freely.² Stell also shared his researches no less generously with those concerned to preserve buildings that the Trust was not able to take on, for the Trust acquired buildings selectively and sadly had to turn away many, as a small and unendowed charity must. A group of committed Trustees did much of the work themselves in the early days. Jennifer Freeman, battle-hardened in conservation tussles at the Victorian Society and SAVE Britain's Heritage, was the long-serving founding Director. Many others lent a hand and English Heritage were from the start the major funders of the enterprise, seeing



Fig. 1

Dissenters Chapel, Kensal Green Cemetery, London: semi-derelict with roofless colonnades when acquired by the Trust.

All photographs © the Historic Chapels Trust

the new charity as filling a gap and as a suitable receiver for buildings on the *At Risk* register. The buildings were (and to an extent still are) under-recognised in the listing system, and less studied and written about than other types. This is partly because of the tendency for minority religious heritage to hold its significance in its history as much as its architecture and rich fittings. However, the picture is actually more complex than that, as this article seeks to outline.

The 1662 Act of Uniformity was the trigger. This measure of Charles II's Restoration made non-Anglican religious worship illegal and sought to impose one prayer book with its associated rubrics and one form of church government. The attempt at religious conformity led to well over 2,000 clergymen removed from their livings – the 'great ejection'. Many did not go quietly but started preaching independently, and a large disaffected body of men and women of conscience – parishioners as well as clergy – were at a stroke excluded from university degrees and public office, converted into dissenters with an ethos of self-governance.

The assembly of a collection of buildings by the Trust commenced on a note of Quaker quietude and simplicity. The meeting house of the Society of Friends at Farfield, near Ilkley (W. Yorks.), was acquired in 1994. Early Quakers were prosecuted for conducting meetings for worship along with other dissenters and the name Quaker originated at this time: a term of derision for members of the Society of Friends was recuperated as a badge of honour. A prison sentence was likely for those who dared to construct meeting houses, as some defiantly did. Early meetings were therefore often held clandestinely in agricultural buildings or in the open air, though even here prosecution loomed.³ A simple structure of 1689, it is one of the oldest purpose-built Quaker meeting houses in the country marking the limited decriminalization of Quaker worship by the Act of Toleration of that year (Fig. 2). The Act was an attempt to row-back from the widespread feelings of injustice created by the Act of Uniformity and legalised non-Anglican worship provided worshippers took an oath of allegiance to the crown and rejected transubstantiation (i.e. were not Roman Catholics), and it required places of worship to be registered as such. The Farfield meeting house was built on a site given on a 5,000year lease by the owner of the Farfield Hall estate, who was clearly sympathetic at the least, and the Meeting was already well-established, so had presumably met clandestinely before the meeting house was constructed. The meeting house retains



Fig. 2
Farfield Quaker Meeting House, near Ilkley, built 1689.

simple benches and an elders' stand across one end, from where one of the elders of the meeting would make a sign for the gathering to fall to collective silence. The rural community this meeting house served has long since moved away and this spot is now mostly visited by hikers on the Dales Way, the beautiful rural long distance path that passes alongside; to achieve this the Trust negotiated a lease on a small parcel of land to the rear of the meeting house and a footpath diversion which makes the Dales Way safer from traffic. It is hoped the meeting house provides walkers with a modest surprise as they happen upon it, and occasionally a welcome shelter from unexpected rain. Another early Quaker meeting house was acquired at Coanwood, in the remote uplands near Haltwhistle, Cumbria, dating from 1760, and it too is today mostly visited by fell walkers (Fig. 3).

Among those of a similarly early date to Farfield is the Congregational Chapel at Walpole, near Halesworth in Suffolk, where a place of worship has been carved out of two late medieval timber-framed houses (Fig. 4). The reasons for this were expediency and probably also subterfuge, since it is assumed the congregation originally used the houses clandestinely. Once the 1689 Act of Toleration had been passed the houses evolved in



Fig. 3

Coanwood Quaker Meeting House, near Haltwhistle, (Northumberland) interior dating from 1760.



Fig. 4

Walpole Old Chapel, near Halesworth (Suffolk), converted from residential to chapel use in 1698.

stages to what we see today, with repeated alterations over generations by craftsmen, both skilled and less skilled. The wonderfully uneven, layered interior of this chapel, with its mix of box pews and benches of various dates, is memorable. The timber frames of the original houses still stand – though only just. Among the many structural interventions to stabilize the timber structure, the stability of which was compromised by the removal of floors and walls to create space for worship, is a tall pine ship's mast, installed in the late 18th or early 19th century.

At the other end of the architectural spectrum are buildings of documented authorship and architectural ambition. Petre Chapel near Brentwood, Essex, is a small gem from the early career of William Wardell, commissioned by the 12th Lord Petre. The Petres of Thorndon Hall, Essex, had a celebrated recusant Catholic tradition. Their chantry chapel completed in 1854 is now with the Trust as the house was burned out and the family live elsewhere today. In its crypt lie the remains of the Earl of Derwentwater, Catholic hero of the Jacobite uprising, who was executed at the Tower of London for treason in 1716. His remains were transferred here in the 19th century by Lord Petre for safe-keeping. The Petre chantry chapel has high quality carving (executed in soft sandstone, so not weathering that well) and confident Gothic Revival architecture in a 13th-century style, with finely judged details and a richly painted hammerbeam roof inside (Fig. 5). Sadly the Hardman & Co glass was lost to vandalism before the Trust took this chapel into care. Pugin apparently regarded Wardell's church of Our Lady in Clapham, completed a little earlier than the Petre Chapel, as 'ludicrous'. Perhaps this judgment was tinged with jealousy at the younger man's facility and numerous commissions. As a polemicist Pugin might more wisely have welcomed Wardell as a disciple who followed his precepts for a new architecture for Catholic England and

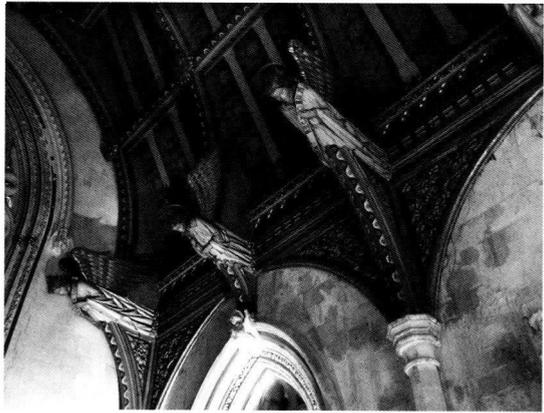


Fig. 5

Petre Chapel, Thorndon Park, near Brentwood (Essex), consecrated 1857: the hammerbeam roof, detail.

one can sense in the Petre Chapel the important career ahead. At the age of thirty-five, Wardell emigrated to Australia four years after Petre Chapel was finished, citing health reasons, and it is in the southern hemisphere that he is today better known.

Also ambitious for architectural effect is another essay in 13th-century Gothic Revival, at Todmorden (W. Yorks.), 1865-69, by John Gibson. It might be mistaken for an Anglican or Catholic project but is in fact a Unitarian church. Unitarian worship was the last to be freed from legal uncertainty with the passage in 1813 of the Doctrine of the Trinity Act. Unitarians reject both the divinity of Christ and the Trinitarian conception of God, so all earlier relaxations on nonconformist worship left them in limbo, legally speaking, since they refused to believe in the Holy Trinity. Emerging from the

dissenting congregations formed after the ‘great ejection’, Unitarians are generally seen as a distinctive strand in nonconformism from the 1770s. In spite of the rectangular, often plain, classically inclined chapels with which they started, Unitarians embraced the Gothic Revival quite early and with enthusiasm, while other nonconformists held back. Todmorden Unitarian Church was commissioned in memory of ‘Honest John’ Fielden, the local MP, industrialist and philanthropist, who was the prime mover of the 1847 Ten Hours Act. Raised as a Quaker, he had moved to Methodism, then converted to Unitarianism.⁴ His two sons paid the £35,835 bill (£3.6 million in 2013 value) for the church and dedicated it as their father’s memorial. Pugin would surely have approved of the way the church’s lofty Decorated spire effortlessly dominates views up and down the Calder valley at Todmorden (Fig. 6) – as he would doubtlessly have disapproved as heresy

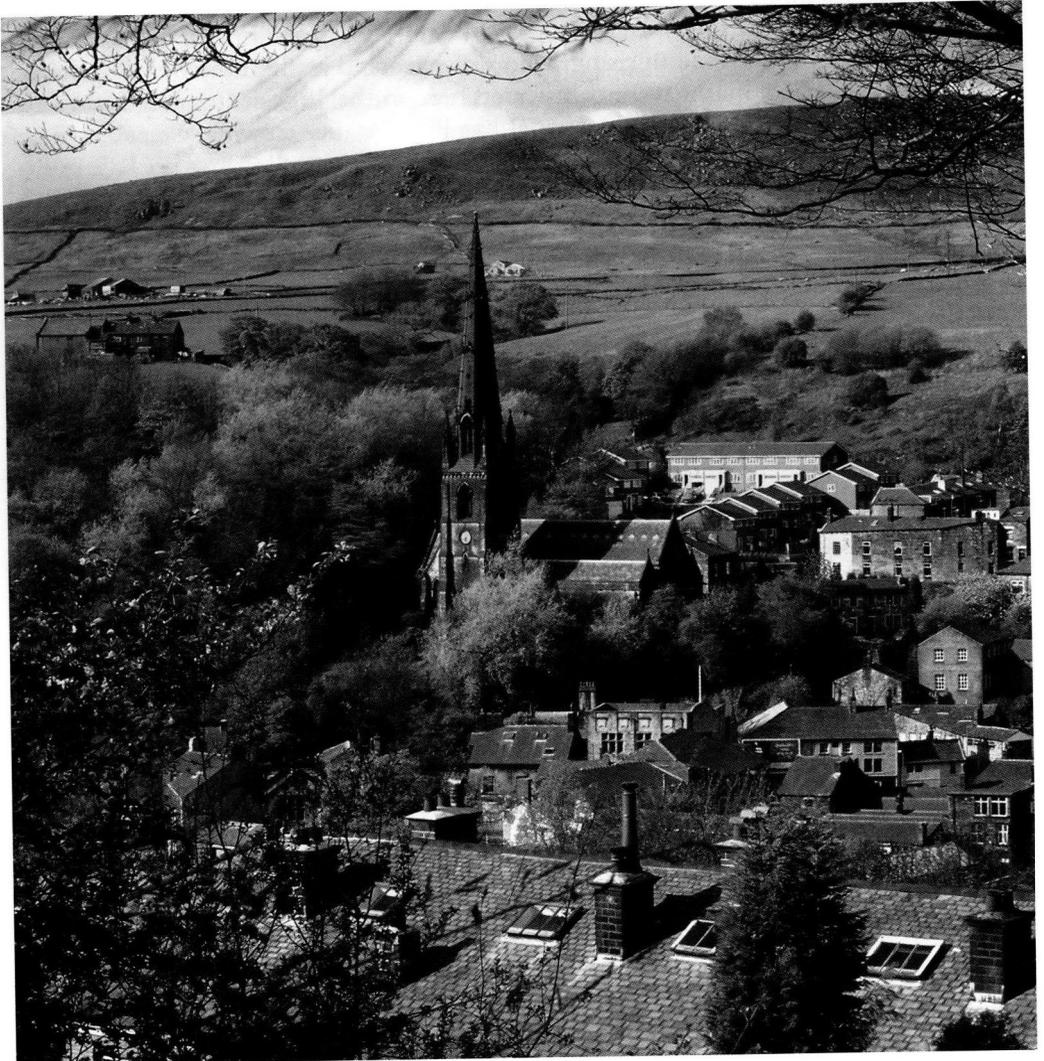


Fig. 6

Todmorden Unitarian Church (West Yorkshire), built 1865-69, in its Calder valley setting.

the Unitarian services within. The spacious church has a complete set of stained glass windows by the Belgian artist J-B. Capronnier, who worked a surprising amount in West Yorkshire and whose windows marry a French-inspired freedom of composition to rich Flemish colours. At Todmorden this works well, perhaps better than in any scheme he did.

A Unitarian church in a different architectural vein is that in Wallasey of 1899. This was sponsored by the Merseyside banking family of Rathbone, many whom were Unitarians.⁵ The building seems to want to appear secular (as some evangelical churches do today) and, though finely built in red brick with gritstone dressings and ornament in a Flemish style and carvings by Benjamin Creswick, it might be mistaken for a well-appointed Passmore Edwards Library, rather than a place of worship. One of its scions, Edmund Rathbone, was joint architect with Edmund Ware. Inside, the restful Arts and Crafts architecture houses several fine fittings. Bernard Sleight provided the decidedly secular ladies on the choir stalls and delicate paintings on the oak pulpit on Creation themes. Another Rathbone, Harold, was the celebrated artist and ceramicist who designed the long reredos across the sanctuary of the church, executed by the Birkenhead Della Robbia works in glazed terracotta (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7

Wallasey Unitarian Church, opened 1899, reredos by Harold Rathbone executed in Birkenhead Della Robbia ware. The inscription reads:
AND WHAT DOTTH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE /
BUT TO DO JUSTLY AND TO LOVE MERCY /
& TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD.



Fig. 8

Grittleton Strict and Particular Baptist Chapel (Wiltshire) 1721, interior.

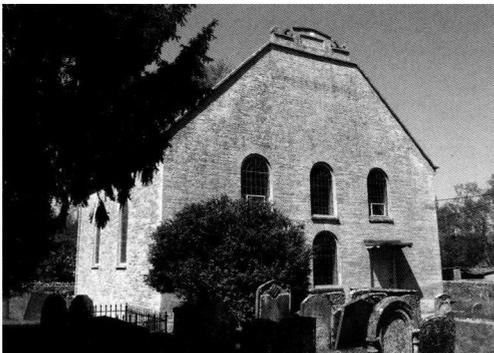


Fig. 9

Cote Baptist Chapel, near Bampton (Oxfordshire) 1703, enlarged 1756.

A cluster of Baptist chapels are in the Trust's ownership. The intimate Strict Baptist Chapel at Grittleton, Wiltshire, of 1721 is the earliest in date, tucked away in a village setting and almost domestic in scale (Fig. 8). It lacks a total immersion font since the congregation used the local mill ponds for open-air baptisms. Almost as old is Cote, Oxfordshire, perhaps known to many from the photographs and drawings of John Piper who visited several times on wartime bike rides (Fig. 9). Both Cote and

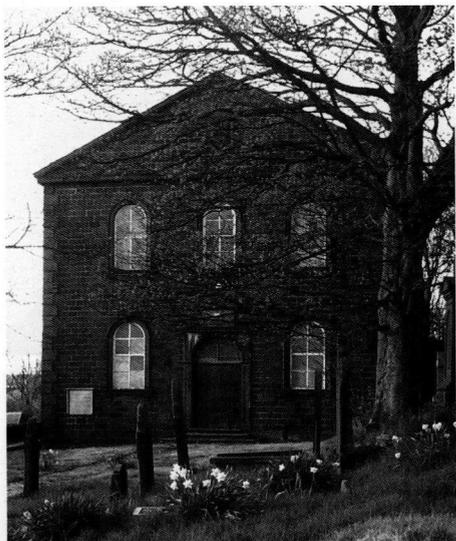


Fig. 10 (above)
Wainsgate Baptist church, Old Town, near
Hebden Bridge (West Yorkshire) as rebuilt
1859-60.

Fig. 11 (right)
Christ Church, Umberslade (Warwickshire)
marble steps and balustrade to the
permanently open baptistery.

Fig. 12 (below)
Thanksgiving Shrine of Our Lady of
Lourdes, Blackpool, architect F.X. Velarde,
consecrated 1957.

Grittleton retain late 18th-century schemes of box pews. High above Hebden Bridge (W. Yorks.), in a beautiful but weather-beaten spot is Wainsgate Baptist Church, demonstrating, with its spacious interior and rich fittings in alabaster and substantial attached Sunday school, that upland industrial communities were strongly attached to the chapel culture (Fig. 10). Yet another variant on the Baptist theme is at Umberslade (Warks.). Essentially an estate church, it was completed in 1877 to the designs of George Ingall and paid for by George Frederic Muntz. The patron was a Birmingham metals magnate among whose patents was that for the alloy 'Muntz Metal', with which the



bottoms of the British Empire's ships were often clad.⁶ He placed his new church in his estate but nearer to the village than the great house, so that both villagers and estate staff would share it - as they did until the M40 motorway severed the connection. Umberslade is in a Decorated Gothic, complete with an elegant needle spire, but its wide, aisle-less interior is every bit a Baptist church, whilst the capacious total immersion baptistery is permanently and unmissably on view and centre-stage, surrounded by a marble and alabaster balustrade of some luxury (Fig. 11).



Fig. 13

Thanksgiving Shrine of Our Lady of Lourdes, Blackpool, Pietà carved by David Jones.

It is not only motorways that have orphaned churches in the Trust's care. The youngest of the Trust's churches is Francis Xavier Velarde's Shrine of Our Lady of Lourdes in Blackpool, built as a thanksgiving for the escape from bombing during World War II (Fig. 12). Once connected to a convent, it was also parentless when the nuns moved out and their buildings developed. Completed in 1954, the church bears many of the hall-marks of its architect's work, much of which is in the north-west, combining Scandinavian modernism with historicist references that are never too literal. In Blackpool the references are to medieval tracery (though here made strictly geometric and glazed in very 1950s pale blue and pink glass); a stone *pietà* carved by David John in a stylised Baroque manner occupying the whole front of the church (Fig. 13); and inside an arcade of round-headed arches on gold mosaic columns redolent of the early Christian basilicas. The deep-coffered bright red ceiling is surprising, bold and timeless, the electric lights framed by the coffering. That all this hangs together, entirely comfortably if not exactly coherently, is a mark of this architect's great, and too little known, talent as a designer.⁷

Another chapel orphaned when its attached convent closed is at Bartestree, outside Hereford. A medieval domestic chapel, it was moved stone by stone to its present location, and perhaps somewhat embellished, under the supervision of E.W. Pugin (Fig. 14). Known as Longworth Chapel, after its original site, it served as the public chapel of the convent. Now the convent is converted to residential use it is hoped that the chapel will become a community space and that the newly built hospice which has grown up alongside will also make much use of it. At Biddlestone, Northumberland, the Roman Catholic chapel lost its adjoining house, the severely classical Biddlestone Hall (home to the Selby family) to wholesale demolition. As the chapel is constructed on the base of a medieval pele tower, it is a rather tall structure and had been entered from the house at first floor level (Fig. 15). Now accessed only from an external staircase, it is a staccato monument in the Cheviot Hills Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, and on a public footpath. The Trust has restored its mid-19th-century interior and left intact the World War II air-raid shelter that was made in the base of the pele tower. Recent forestry clearance has also helped its cause, so that even in this remote and beautiful spot we hope it will receive visitors.



Fig. 14

Longworth Chapel (Herefordshire), medieval and later, relocated to its present site by E.W. Pugin, 1870.

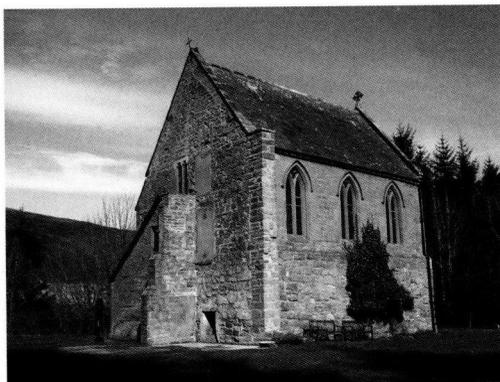


Fig. 15

Biddlestone Chapel (Northumberland), constructed in 1820 on top of the remains of a medieval pele tower.

St George's German Lutheran Church in Aldgate, a stone's throw from the City of London boundary, is in 2013 being enveloped by new high-rise construction as the City breaks its boundaries. St George's origins lie in the East End tradition of receiving successions of immigrant communities. The German immigrants arrived between the Huguenots of nearby Spitalfields and the Russian and Polish Jewish influx of the 1880s. Of course, these were in their time overlaid by Indian, Bangladeshi and now Somali communities. The German-speaking immigrants started to arrive in the 1760s and political uncertainties in what was then far from a unified country drove waves of political refugees, as well as those who hoped to prosper in the world's first one-million city. Known as 'Little Germany', almost all physical evidence of this German-speaking episode has been erased by war-time bombing and development – except, that is, for St George's Church. Perhaps as a result of loss of the physical evidence, the German chapter in the Tower Hamlets' story is so much less celebrated than those of the equally remarkable Jewish or Huguenot settlements. Most of the German speakers worked in the sugar refining trade and its spin-offs in baking and confectionery. The church was founded in 1762 and completed a year later to the designs of Joel Johnson, who is better known as a cabinet maker. Half the money was put up by a successful sugar refiner, Dederich Beckmann. Its frontage today lacks its pretty Baroque bell tower; constructed of wood and copper, it was removed in 1934 by order of the District Surveyor as dangerous. It would be nice to see it reconstructed, for without it the facade lacks vigour. Inside a complete set of box pews are remarkable survivals for the capital and a donations board records an 1842 gift of £50 to the church from the King of Prussia (Fig. 16). The Baroque boards bearing the commandments and Lord's Prayer are in German.

Another church that marks the liberalization of religious practice in England is St Benet's Roman Catholic Church in the hamlet of Netherton, Merseyside. Lancashire was long a recusant stronghold and Catholic worship continued clandestinely under the protection of the local Catholic aristocracy, where it was more or less tolerated in their private chapels. At St Benet's, local Catholics used the estate chapel of Viscount Molyneux until he renounced Catholicism in 1769, became an Anglican and was created Earl of Sefton, leaving the Catholics without a chapel. Following the second Catholic Relief Act in 1791, they set out building their own. St Benet's was finished a year later and fully furnished by 1793. It is a humble structure built by subscription on a very tight budget. From the outside it scarcely discloses its purpose and is almost hidden behind its clergy house – tactfully perhaps, given outbursts of anti-Catholic sentiment. This small church served its predominantly working class community for 180 years. In the 1950s it held nine masses on Sundays to accommodate everyone. When a new, much larger church was built, it fell into near ruin as a builder's store. The Trust has had to buttress its rickety brick walls and it is now stable and weathertight. Providing some modern facilities to make it usable and restoring the naïf wall decorations are the next stages in the restoration project.

Methodism is represented by three chapels in Stoke-on-Trent, Co. Durham and Cornwall, the first and last being the charity's largest and smallest places of worship respectively. Of over 700 nonconformist chapels that survive in Cornwall (many now converted to non-religious use), over 80% are of Methodist origin.⁸ The Trust's chapel at



Fig. 16

St George's German Lutheran Church, Aldgate, London, 1763 (the oldest surviving German church in England): interior.

Penrose, St Ervan, is the size of a drawing room but complete with its fittings (Fig. 17). It is an important surviving representative of the flourishing of rural Cornish Methodism, most strikingly in working class communities. At Bethesda in Stoke-on-Trent, the huge town centre chapel on Albion Street, Hanley, was said to have accommodated 2,000 (Fig. 18). Even by today's standards it would readily hold 1,200. Finding activities that will fill its spacious interior will take all the footfall that its city centre location in Stoke's 'cultural quarter' can bring it. The handsome street frontage is now restored and its ebullient original paint scheme researched and reinstated (Fig. 19), but a good deal of work is yet to do inside. At Westgate, Co. Durham, the Trust's chapel was designed by George Race, a prolific architect whose no-nonsense classical manner was widely employed for Methodist chapels.

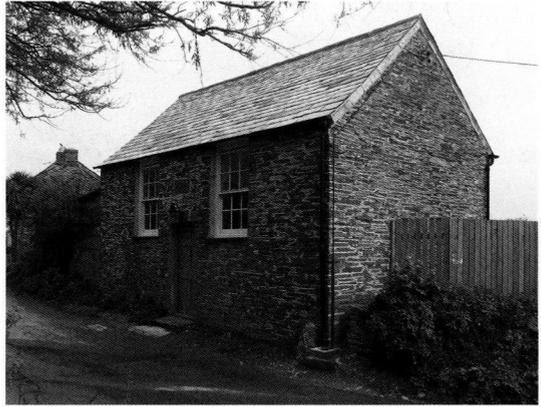


Fig. 17

Penrose Bible Christian (later Methodist) Chapel
(Cornwall), opened in 1861.



Fig. 18

Bethesda Methodist Chapel, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent, constructed 1811 and enlarged 1819 and 1859:
interior after partial restoration.



Fig. 19

Bethesda Methodist Chapel, Hanley: the 1859 Albion Street elevation following restoration.

the earliest of the great ring of joint stock cemeteries around London. It was intended for anyone and everyone who was not an Anglican and was well used, for Kensal Green is the last resting place of many scientists and free-thinkers who eschewed conventional religion.⁹ In the handsome lawn cemetery layout, inspired but not designed by J.C. Loudon,¹⁰ it is the Anglican chapel that gets pride of place, with its wide colonnades and commanding position on a slight eminence in the centre of the site. Dissenters' obsequies were held in the smaller building at one corner of the cemetery. Both chapels are chaste but handsome Greek Revival essays by John Griffith, surveyor to the cemetery company (Fig. 21). An earlier and ultimately abortive architectural competition failed to settle what architectural style the pioneering new public cemetery should adopt,¹¹ and the fact that Kensal Green plumped for Greek had a powerful impact on the development of Victorian cemetery architecture.

Twenty-one years on, the Trust is proud of what it has achieved in putting the built heritage of England's minority congregations on the map, but as a small charity it is under great pressure. Like a number of agencies, it faces scaling back of grant from English Heritage, who have underwritten as much as 70% of the charity's costs in some recent years.¹² It is clear that the charity's buildings will have to earn more of their keep, hosting a wider range of events and more lucrative uses too. This will be a challenge, given such a diverse and limiting range of buildings, and business issues have become as pressing as historical and conservation discussions. These include issues such as what events can be put on in an interior fitted with box pews? Will concerts be viable with only one or two toilets?

Two chapels are not closely associated with any one congregation: Salem Chapel at East Budleigh in Devon and Dissenters Chapel at Kensal Green Cemetery. Salem Chapel dates from 1719 and passed at various dates from Presbyterian affiliations to being wholly independent, then adopting a Congregational connection before in the later 20th century being acquired by the Assemblies of God. The building has evolved too, from its original appearance to what we see today (Fig. 20). Dissenters Chapel at Kensal Green is located in the first public cemetery in the country and



Fig. 20

Salem Chapel, East Budleigh (Devon), 1719 and later, interior.

How can marriages and funerals be offered and on what terms? Are there new uses that might be thought unseemly?

The Trust has typically taken on buildings precisely because there is no other use for them and no other purchaser in prospect, in either the public or private sector. So resourcefulness will be the order of the day. A campaign to persuade the charity's supporters to leave legacies has been initiated, partnerships to share some of the restoration work are being put in place and a spirit of entrepreneurialism is being fostered where this will bring dividends. The charity has a special duty not to let these places of worship down, but to hand them onto future generations in good repair and in beneficial uses, as the physical evidence of important strands in our history.



Fig. 21

Dissenters Chapel, Kensal Green Cemetery, London, opened 1834: after restoration by the Trust (cf. Figure 1).

To visit the churches, chapels and meeting houses mentioned, see details at www.hct.org.uk. Most of the places of worship may be hired for concerts, meetings and other events. Marriages are available at some sites.

NOTES

- 1 The Trust has the power to take on significant non-Christian places of worship, but to date has not been able to do so.
- 2 C. Stell, *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses in England*, 4 vols (RCMHE/English Heritage, Swindon, 1986, 1991, 1994, 2002).
- 3 William Penn and William Mead were prosecuted in 1670 for outdoor Quaker worship, though the jury failed to convict.
- 4 See B.R. Law, *The Fieldens of Todmorden: A Nineteenth-Century Business Dynasty* (Littleborough, 1995).
- 5 For the business and political history, see L. Nottingham, *Rathbone Brothers: from Merchant to Banker 1742-1992* (Oxford, 1992).
- 6 The recent restoration of the Cutty Sark at Greenwich included reinstatement of the ship's Muntz metal anti-fouling sheathing, which is gold in colour until dulled by seawater.
- 7 For a review of his work, see F. Ward, 'Merseyside churches in a Modern Idiom: F.X. Velarde and Bernard Miller', in R. Jeffery (ed.) *The Twentieth-Century Church* (London, 1998).
- 8 J. Lake, J. Cox, E. Berry, *Diversity & Vitality: The Methodist and Nonconformist Chapels of Cornwall* (Cornwall Archaeology Unit, Truro, 2001), 7.
- 9 Including no fewer than 150 Fellows of the Royal Society.
- 10 Loudon is, however, buried at Kensal Green cemetery.
- 11 See J. S. Curl, 'The Architectural Competition', in Curl (ed.), *Kensal Green Cemetery: The Origins and Development of the General Cemetery* (Chichester, 2001), 49-78.
- 12 English Heritage itself is currently facing reductions in its government direct grant of 38% over five years, hence the reductions in grant English Heritage is of necessity having to apply to other organisations.