THE GOTHIC REVIVAL IN NORTHUMBERLAND & COUNTY DURHAM


Insert: - Episcopal Seal of Bishop Richard de Bury (reigned 1311-1345).

The Pugin Society Summer Study Tour Tuesday 4th - Friday 7th August 2015
The lands north of the River Humber for centuries comprised the Kingdom of Northumbria. By the Seventh Century it had reached its greatest extent and converted to Christianity under King Edwin (†633). His son, the sainted King Oswald (†642), promoted the monastic foundation established by Saint Aidan at Lindisfarne. The indigenous British Christian practices fostered by such institutions, in particular the date of Easter, brought about conflict with the Roman influence, stemming from the Augustine mission to Kent in 597. Such contentious points would be resolved in Rome’s favour at the Synod of Whitby in 664. Despite this, a rich foundation of Christian learning and culture has been laid, embodied in the works of the Venerable Bede (†735) and the enduring reputation of Saint Cuthbert (†687). Following Viking incursions, by the mid-Ninth Century this once powerful Kingdom had been absorbed into the Danelaw. However, the legacy of an Anglo-Saxon Golden Age would actively influence subsequent political and artistic achievements in the region. It is with due acknowledgement to this longer history, still an active component of local identity, that the manifestations of the Gothic Revival can be understood.

Primacy of place must go to the vast complex of buildings erected at Ushaw College, for the scholarly community originating in the English College at Douai in 1568. Relocated outside Durham, it is hardly surprising that the new college drew upon the examples of the Northern Saints, and was dedicated to Saint Cuthbert. The College’s rapid expansion resulted in a startlingly comprehensive series of buildings from the leading Catholic architects of the Nineteenth Century. This runs from A.W.N.P. himself, through Joseph Aloysius Hansom, E.W.P., A.M. Dunn & E.J. Hansom, P.P.P., J.F. Bentley and entering the Twentieth Century with A.W.N.P.’s grandson, Sebastian Pugin Powell. Indeed, the entire course of the Gothic Revival can be traced here, and the individual hands of different architects directly compared. The cumulative value of these buildings and their inseparable collections cannot be underestimated. They remain as a poignant legacy of Roman Catholicism’s ‘Second Spring’, and a prime example of the commitment to Gothic as a style suitable for educational establishments.

Against the narrative of recovery and loss, the deliberate choices by architectural patrons to re-affirm their lineage from the Middle Ages can be explored with reference some of the region’s most celebrated monuments. The rural town of Alnwick is a prime example of such concerns, where during the mid-Eighteenth Century its magnificent castle was extensively repaired by a cadet branch of the mediaeval Percys, created Earls of Northumberland some three hundred years before. Alnwick still bears the impress of its feudal might, augmented with additional structures throughout the castle’s grounds and the town itself. At a time when aristocratic patrons displayed aesthetic preference for the demure Neoclassicism of James and Robert Adam, the consistent intent to adopt Gothic forms suggests a conscious consolidation of newly-attained estates by reference to ancestral pedigrees. Furthermore, the architectural works at Alnwick Castle and town, arguably ask us to reconsider the prominence given to Horace Walpole’s Strawberry Hill and his ‘Committee of Taste’, in the longer narrative of the Gothic Revival. The enduring invocation of lordly power with spiritual patrimony is ably demonstrated in the buildings founded and consolidated by the Prince Bishops of Durham. First established under William Rufus to establish a firm bulwark against Scottish incursions, unlike their beneficaries, the Bishops of Durham held sway over the region in both secular and spiritual spheres. These prerogatives and estates largely survived the Reformation and their architectural expression was given due prominence in the bishop’s seats at Durham Castle and Bishop Auckland. Both sites manifest the succession of lineage through the episcopal office, both before and after the Reformation. This later history is of fundamental importance in tracing the evolution of the Gothic Revival, and understanding the often unspoken meaning behind using mediaeval forms after the Middle Ages had notionally ended. Of prime importance to this process was John Cosin (1594-1672), a leading churchman before the Commonwealth, whose outspoken position brought him into vociferous conflict with Calvinist opponents. Of all the churchmen associated with Archbishop William Laud’s (1573-1645) campaign for uniformity in public worship, it was Cosin who displayed the most consistent recourse to mediaeval architecture, manifest in several lavish refurbishments of parochial churches within the Prince Bishopric either side of the Commonwealth. It was Cosin who converted the mediaeval Great Hall at Auckland into an Episcopal Chapel and who restored confiscated estates and entitlements to the See. He also refurbished Durham Cathedral with elaborately-canopied stalls and a soaring font cover.

The series of buildings included in this Study Tour give a rich picture of the Gothic Revival’s often overlooked presence in the region, where successive and rival claims to precedent and authority overlap across centuries, and were given architectural expression.
Day One: The Northumbrian Hinterland & Coast: Alnwick Castle, Alnwick

Amongst the towns of the Northumbrian hinterland, Alnwick manifests most clearly the presence of feudal overlords, the Percys. Their stronghold here dates back to the mid-Twelfth Century, though the expansive fortress rising over a meander in the River Aln owes much to the heirs of Henry de Percy, who purchased the castle in 1309. The de Percys were raised to an earldom, and the reconstruction of Alnwick Castle no doubt demonstrated their firm grasp over the lands and resources of the region. Against the background of almost a century of continuous Border warfare, the Castle was reconstructed on a plan which largely underpins subsequent restorations: a curtain wall surrounding two baileys, with a multi-towered shell keep between them. The entrances to the baileys were marked by prominent gatehouses with projecting barbicans; an innovative feature of Fourteenth-Century martial architecture, with clear parallels amongst the castles built after Edward I’s Welsh campaigns. The Western Gate survives in this form, with the Percy lion rampant defiantly declaring the family’s pedigree. However, it is the post-medieval history of the Castle and its reinvention, which draws our specific attention to one often overlooked, but highly significant, episode in the development of the Gothic Revival.

After the attainder and execution of the 7th Earl of Northumberland in 1572, no successor to the title took up residence in this ancestral stronghold. The Castle entered a protracted period of decline and ruination. This could have continued were it not for the marriage of Hugh Smithson to Lady Elizabeth Seymour in 1740. With the death of his brother, Smithson (the great-grandson of a haberdasher) was elevated from a plain baronet to the Earldom of Northumberland; a title he could claim via his wife’s descent from the original Percy line. From 1750 onwards the ancient castle was reconstructed to reaffirm the legitimacy of continual succession against the more than apparent rupture in historical continuity. The Earl and Countess’s identity was therefore consciously re-fashioned by proclaiming through architecture their descent from the mediaeval Percys. Such ancestral appropriation, to consolidate (or indeed mask) a new aristocratic position had precedents. When Elizabeth’s favourite, Robert Dudley, was created Earl of Leicester, he appropriated the heraldic device of the ragged staff of the medieval Beauchamps, and undertook building work at their castle at Kenilworth. However, what seems more surprising in the case of the Northumberlands is that the assertion of legitimate lineage should find expression during the height of the Palladian hegemony over aristocratic architectural patronage. Alnwick Castle furthermore provides us with a telling example of the leading architects of the mid-Eighteenth Century working together in the Gothic style. This makes it all the more tragic that so little of their work survives.

The first name of importance associated with Alnwick was James Paine, a leading Palladian architect who had probably been recommended on account of his earlier Gothic work at Raby Castle (begun c.1753). This itself is symptomatic that such conscious remodelling of inherited mediaeval seats to emphasise their antiquity was not as uncommon as may be supposed. Paine rationalised the internal arrangements of the keep to meet the requirements of the age, and gave it the Palladian logic of basement, piano nobile and attic.

Figure 2: Alnwick Castle, The Barbican and Main Gatehouse, early Fourteenth Century, with later 'Jack O’Merlons'. Country Life.

Storeys, however, the new provisions were housed within the irregular mediaeval shell, with the exterior re-cast with the ubiquitous elements of Eighteenth Century ‘Gothick’. The State Rooms were richly appointed with elaborate, sinewy plasterwork comprised of Gothic elements dispersed in a wholly un-mediaeval way, peppered with heraldry. Paine was succeeded in 1768 by Robert Adam, who designed the chapel in which the laimont of dynastic affirmation was made clear in panels containing “a Coat of Arms, shewing the several alliances with this great and noble family”. The centrepiece of this display had the mendacity to depict “the descent of this illustrious family in direct line from Charlemagne”. Whilst the aesthetics would appear frivolous to subsequent generations, the unity between ancestral claims and the Gothic in a historic setting indicates the connotation values the style possessed for Eighteenth-Century patrons.

Of this achievement little now survives, since the Castle was substantially reconstructed, inside and out, under the auspices of the Fourth Duke of Northumberland from 1847 onwards. The exterior was extensively remodelled by Anthony Salvin; no doubt recommended by his earlier creation of a medieval castle et nihilo at Peckforton, Derbyshire. The fenestration was substantially altered, the heights of the keep’s towers variegated, and much work done without reference to archaeological evidence, but rather to evoke the “original dignity and variety of effect”, lost in the campaigns of Paine and Adam. The most startling aspect of this campaign are the Castle’s interiors, which at the Fourth Duke’s behest were designed by Luigi Canina, and overseen by Giovanni Montrich, in the seicento style of Roman palazzi. This stylistic dichotomy between baronial exterior and Italianate interior did not go unnoticed, and was even discussed by the R.I.B.A. in 1857, with poor Salvin in attendance.

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Alnwick Town & Castle Grounds

As much as the Castle at Alnwick manifests the rehabilitation of the mediaeval past, so too does its immediate setting. With the reassertion of the Percy succession from 1750, it is hardly surprising that the surrounding parklands and townscape were pulled into the orbit of this programme. The refurbished Castle therefore stands as a centrepiece to a much wider affirmation of mediaeval identity, both drawing upon historical precedents and fabricating them where deemed necessary. Whilst archaeological authenticity and clarity may first be found wanting, the resulting melange is perhaps more significant for its cumulative effect, co-ordinated through landmarks positioned throughout the Castle’s adjacent geography and topography.

Of the genuinely mediaeval the first prominent fragment is the Hotspur Gate, spanning Bondgate. This was part of the town walls, for which a licence to crenelate was granted in 1434, though the building campaign appears to have run on for fifty years. Feudal ownership is again proclaimed by the now much-withered Percy Lion. To the west of the Castle stands the parish church of Saint Michael. Externally, it presents a surprisingly unified fifteenth-century church, with a curious, half-fortified turret at the eastern corner of the south aisle. Whilst earlier fabric is incorporated internally, the exterior is chiefly due to a charter of Henry VI, granted in 1464, which specified the reparation of the parish church. During the Eighteenth Century, the church was refurbished in a similar manner to the Castle, and the chancel gained a spectacular plaster fan vault. This was removed by Anthony Salvin during his restoration campaign of 1863. The interior contains two crude mediaeval statues (one of Henry VI, the other either Saint Sebastian or King Edmund) and a surprisingly representative series of later-Nineteenth-Century stained glass.

The invocation of the mediaeval within the townscape of Alnwick is also manifest in the works of John Bell (†1784). He appears to have been trained in Durham, and had acted as an overseer for James Paine prior to being involved in the 1760s on the restoration of Alnwick Castle. His knowledge of mediaeval architecture appears to have been informed by first-hand experience, rather than filtered through such pattern books as Betty Langley’s Ancient Architecture Restored and Improved of 1743. This is clear from the Pottergate Tower, commissioned from the Corporation of Alnwick in 1768 to replace a mediaeval gate. Until a storm in 1812 it was crowned by flying arches carrying a pinnacle; a conceit derived from the tower of Saint Nicholas, Newcastle. Despite the loss of the crown, Bell’s work demonstrates the qualities of solidity and architectonic assurance which detractors often found lacking in Eighteenth-Century Gothic. The conviction underlying his handling of Gothic forms and details can be observed in the Saint Michael’s Pant, Clayport Street. This conduit was erected in 1765, when convention would expect civic monuments of this sort to be entirely Classical in inspiration. The townscape of Alnwick is therefore punctuated with such references to its mediaeval past, and the dialogues created between original and posthumous Gothic forms.

The grounds of the Castle likewise serve as a natural setting, pulled into thematic unity by the structures set within them. Apparent natural contours and picturesque vistas are, in fact, the contrivance of Lancelot “Capability” Brown (1716-1783), and probably date from the mid-1760s. His work broke with the previous desire for formal axial avenues and regimented rhythms in planting, in preference for an artful artlessness. This aesthetic has long been linked to the landscapes painted in the preceding century by Claude Lorrain (1600-1682), and here its contribution to the meandering routes cannot be regarded as superficial caprice. The viewer’s response to the separate structures within the landscape, and what meaning they would perceive in these structures, would surely be very different in a setting governed by geometry.

Amongst the Grounds are genuine mediaeval remains, such as Malcolm’s Cross, erected to commemorate Malcolm III of Scotland, who died during the siege of Alnwick in 1093. The present monument is Gothic, dated 1774, and emblazoned on its base are Scottish royal insignia. Its whole appearance looks like an antiquarian exercise, and it could well be the work of John Bell. However, the difference in Gothic design between Bell’s intuition and professional training is sharply drawn in the structures designed by Robert Adam. Notable is the Lion Bridge of 1773, whose parapet is expressed as battlements with projecting bartizans, corbelled out over three arches. The Percy Lion (here cast in lead) re-asserts the heraldic references found elsewhere. Adam’s Gothic coup de théâtre is found crowning a hilltop two miles north-west of the Castle. This is the Brizlee Tower, built 1777-1783, to mark the place of Malcolm III’s death. It takes the form of a multi-storeyed cylinder, clasped between four square buttresses, rising from an encircling veranda. A prominent parapet of pierced battlements offers a viewing platform for the surrounding estates, above which rises the final storey carrying a colossal brazier. The exterior is richly treated, which several niches and aedicule win-...
Anglican Parish Church of Saint James the Greater, Morpeth

BENJAMIN Ferrey (1810–1880) is today best known as the first biographer of A.W.N.P. Though his legacy here has long been open to critical question, his successful career as an architect has received little attention. He was trained in draughtsmanship at Auguste Charles Pugin’s drawing school in Great Russell Street. Ferrey was appointed Surveyor to the Diocese of Bath and Wells in 1841, an office he held until his death, and thereby secured several commissions for new churches, and the restoration of old ones. Whilst his output in the ecclesiastical field is not classed amongst the original and inventive names we associate with Victorian architecture, one compelling indication of the heights to which he could rise early in his career is the church of Saint James the Greater, Morpeth (built 1843–1846). It is an assured and solid essay in Neo-Norman; a great cruciform church, harmoniously proportioned and richly detailed within and without. The plan and arrangements clearly declare the influence of the Cambridge Camden (later Ecclesiological) Society’s pronouncements over Anglican church design in the 1840s. Likewise, Ferrey designed the original furnishings, guaranteeing a liturgical sympathy between these objects and their position in the spaces which surround them. Apse and chancel were further ornamented in 1871 when Messrs. Clayton & Bell executed the series of murals, which sympathetically responded to the Norman style of the building. The resulting ensemble is a powerfully compelling work of surprising accomplishment for an architect only just embarking upon his career.

Such a forcefully-designed work raises a wider question regarding the place of the Norman Revival within the wider Gothic Revival movement as a whole. If a greenhorn architect such as Ferrey could deploy this style with such aplomb, we may well ask why more recourse was not made to it? Such a reticent attitude is apparent throughout the region; Morpeth is the “one quite spectacular Neo-Norman church”, where comparative examples are very minor. This is all the more surprising given that the style is prominent in the Cathedral Church of Durham, and at monastic sites such as Lindisfarne. Elsewhere, the flexibility of the Round-arch style, or Rundbogenstil, enjoyed a Vogue amongst new churches in the expanding suburbs of London, where architects drew upon both English and Continental precedents in their designs. One immediately comparable example to Morpeth is T.H. Wyatt’s lavish Saints Mary & Nicholas, Wilton (built 1844) whose derivation lay in Twelfth-Century Italian Romanesque architecture. The 1840s also saw two landmark restorations of churches, where the original Norman fabric was re-instated. First came the Temple Church, London (Sydney Smirke & Decimus Burton, 1841–1843), a campaign which A.W.N.P. himself stated: “none is more deserving of praise”. Secondly, the Round Church, Cambridge (_______, 1843–1845) under the auspices of the Cambridge Camden Society, and included by A.W.N.P. in his design for their seal, above a scroll inscribed “Quam dilecta [How amiable]”. In the secular sphere, the style’s greatest manifestation came with Thomas Hooper’s gargantuan Penrhyn Castle, (1827–1837), where the solid exterior belies the riot of arches and mouldings within. It need hardly be recalled that some of A.W.N.P.’s earliest churches, such as Saint James the Greater, Reading (1837–1840) and Saint Michael, Gorey (1839–1840) were Norman. At the former, the style marked continuity with the adjacent remains of Reading Abbey; at the latter it may have been an expedient, economical choice. Why then had this experiment in Neo-Norman been abandoned by 1850?

Part of the explanation for this can be found in the symbolic reading of Gothic architecture A.W.N.P. outlines in Contrasts. Of the three Christian doctrines, that of resurrection was manifest in: “great height and vertical lines . . . the vertical principle being an acknowledged emblem of resurrection”. Whilst A.W.N.P. noted that “Saxon churches [infra Norman] possessed verticality in comparison to the temples of Antiquity,” “the introduction of the pointed arch enabled the builders to obtain nearly double the elevation with the same width”. The technical advance allowed the aspirational symbolism to be expressed with greater clarity. By implication, the pointed Gothic arch was a more perfect token than the semi-circular Norman arch. Arguably, the latter style was only a prefiguration of a more perfect incarnation; as John the Baptist was to Jesus Christ.

The distrust of the Norman style, to say nothing of its obviously foreign derivation, steadily grew throughout the 1840s, when preferences lighted upon the Middle or Second Pointed (our Decorated) as the fullest expression of Gothic’s symbolic power. This is clear from the Ecclesiological Society’s own journal. Noting the laying of the foundation stone at Morpeth on 25th July 1844, The Ecclesiologist informed its readers: “We . . . can only depurate the adoption of the Norman style, which, to say nothing of the objection in principle to which it lies open, is less suited than any other whatever for a large modern church.”. By the Society’s eighth annual meeting in May 1847, discussion touched upon the question of church restoration. The Revd J.M. Neale, a leading figure in the Society; “took up the Destructive side of the question, and announced his readiness to see Peterborough Cathedral pulled down, if it could be replaced with a Middle-Pointed cathedral as good of its sort”.

Figure 4: Benjamin Ferrey. Saint James the Greater, Morpeth, the crossing tower looking north east, 1843-1846.
The new church therefore seeks to present by reference to the past. Pearson's design is an astute and inventive evocation of the Middle Ages, but unmistakably Nineteenth Century, and Pearson's design is free from the blighting trait of direct copyism. Saint George's owes its genesis to the Sixth Duke of Northumberland, who commissioned Pearson to design this church as a memorial to his father. As such, it not only represents a pious grand-seigneur gesture, echoing the lay patronage of the Middle Ages, but demonstrates a wider pattern of aristocratic patronage, of which A.W.N.P.'s work for the 16th Earl of Shrewsbury is a classic example. Cullercoats also stands out from the wider pattern of church building in the region, as few architects of national standing were employed in Northumberland. The elevations naturally proceed from the groundplan, which eschews many of the complexities, such as secondary aisles and apsidal ambulatories, found in Pearson's urban works. His ecclesiastical repertoire is here reduced to its essence, resulting in a direct articulation of mass and volume, charted by understated details. The bulk of the nave and sanctuary are anchored by the sheer vertical lines of the tower and broach spire; another component used in similar ways in several of Pearson's urban churches. The interior vista is subtly amplified by a reduction in width and height which increases towards the east end and the apse. Contributing to this effect is the design of the stone vault; quadripartite over the nave, but sexpartite over the transepts and sanctuary. Vaulting is a distinctive feature of Pearson's churches, pulling the interior into an aesthetic unity, so often found wanting where vaults were omitted. The compact nave arcade and dark aisles provide a counterpoint to the vast clerestory windows, and the triforium level is notionally expressed by two string courses. The resulting effect has been likened to "an almost archaically classical feel," which is largely the result of reduction of Pearson's idiom to plain expanses of surface, articulated by sensitively handled detailing. Here we can see the bold inventiveness of High-Victorian church architecture reaffirmed through deliberate understatement and restraint; Pearson's church therefore harnesses these otherwise irreconcilable approaches to ecclesiastical design.

This response to the site and local precedents may well have demonstrated a highly personal response by Pearson. It should be remembered that until he was twenty-five he lived in Durham. At fourteen he was articled to Ignatius Bonomi, who managed a local practice and held the office of County Surveyor. Pearson subsequently worked under Anthony Salvin (also of a County Durham family) and set himself up in independent practice in 1843. After extensive travels through France (from c.1849-1855) his design manner reflected an interest in the Thirteenth-Century High Gothic of the Île de France. By the time Pearson prepared designs for Cullercoats, he had moved away from the forceful, emphatic manner inspired by such French sources. After 1870, his inspiration stemmed from English sources, as embodied in the surviving churches from the early Thirteenth Century. Such monastic churches as Rievaulx and Whitby, and more locally Hexham, Hartlepool and Darlington, epitomise the aesthetic Pearson strove to realise, though French sources are never wholly abandoned. However, there is little direct citation of such precedents in Pearson's churches. Such precedents are assimilated and abstracted rather than literally replicated in a process of fusion. Such churches as Cullercoats indicate how fully the Gothic style had been absorbed by later Nineteenth-Century architects, and though not a major work by Pearson, Cullercoats is eloquently expressive of his command of ecclesiastical design. Through recourse to regional mediaeval precedents, the design seeks to position itself as their architectural successor, framing the present by reference to the past.
*Day Two: Collegiate & Episcopal Gothic:*

Roman Catholic College of Saint Cuthbert of Durham, Ushaw Moor

The imposing complex of diverse buildings at Ushaw demonstrates the appeal of Gothic Revival architecture for Roman Catholic educational institutions seeking to find a suitable confessional aesthetic form following the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. The community of teachers and students originated at the English College at Douai, and settled in County Durham in 1794, following the turmoil and secularization of the French Revolution. The original Neoclassical ranges were begun in 1804, and embody the type of academic building which A.W.N.P. claimed "might be taken for a barrack hospital or asylum". This stood in opposition to the exemplars offered by mediaeval collegiate architecture, where: "Catholic wisdom and Catholic piety stand conspicuous in all the arrangements of these noble building". There was clear scope to articulate these abstract qualities through architectural form, and the development of the Ushaw site clearly realised this aim, marrying the considerable and varied requirements of the Northern District's prime seminary to the dictums of A.W.N.P.'s mediaeval ideal.

The credit for this substantial achievement lies not only with A.W.N.P. and successive architects, but with the dynamic Monsieur Charles Newsham (1792-1863). Newsham succeeded to the Presidency of Ushaw in 1837 and remained in post until his death. His tenure saw wholesale improvements to the education and discipline of the College, and first appears to have met A.W.N.P. in 1840. Their association was marked by the erection of a new chapel in the Early English style, and the expansion of ancillary structures. The chapel quickly proved too small for the growing College, and a larger Decorated replacement was begun in 1844. Its layout adopted the model of Oxford collegiate chapels, with a stalled quire for the community and public access contained in a western ante chapel formed from north and south transepts. These were separated by a double-depth pulpitum, a solution A.W.N.P later provided for St Edmund's College, Ware. Such restorations of mediaeval arrangements met with opposition elsewhere, known as the 'Rood Screen Controversy', which A.W.N.P. defended in his 1851 Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lefs. Completed in 1848, Ushaw's Chapel was richly appointed with an elaborate series of windows reflecting typological parallels between Old and New Testaments, executed by Hardman and devised by Newsham. These reached their zenith in the east window, depicting Eccelesia Triumphans, which A.W.N.P. redesigned to please Newsham, balanced by the west window depicting the Life of Saint Cuthbert, the College's patron. A.W.N.P. went on to recast the refectory with reference to the same mediaeval collegiate sources he employed for the chapel, and set the inventive and elaborate standard for the monastic refectories that followed. A.W.N.P. prepared designs for two of these in 1851 (the Holy Family and Saint Joseph's chapel), though the latter's completion in 1854 appears to have been overseen by E.W.P. As elsewhere, the sheer quantity of unfinished projects assured E.W.P.'s speedy emergence as his father's successor, with the continuing patronage of clients A.W.N.P. had attracted. Significantly, these chapel's dedications reflect post-Tridentine devotional practices; Pope Pius IX had promoted the Cult of Saint Joseph. Significantly, A.W.N.P. felt obliged to defend such apparent departures from his Revivalist position in the periodical, The Tithber.
Anglican Parish Church of Saint John the Evangelist, Escomb

There are few buildings as eloquently evocative of the Kingdom of Northumbria’s Golden Age as the ancient church at Escomb. It is one of only three complete Anglo-Saxon churches still in existence, and set in its circular churchyard, it stands in sharp contrast to the uninspired housing which now surrounds it. It is a humble structure, even in comparison to what is known of the great monastic churches of the era, and is conventionally dated to after the death of the Venerable Bede (†735). This is on account of the celebrated author not mentioning Escomb in his Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum [The Ecclesiastical History of the English Church and People]; a work which records the ascendency of Roman rites and practices in Northumbria, over the indigenous Celtic Church. The gravitation towards Roman missionaries began with King Edwin’s baptism by Archbishop Paulinus (†644) at York in 627. Building upon the success of the Augustinian mission in Kent, the conflicts between Roman and Celtic clergy were resolved at the Synod of Whitby in 664, when Saint Wilfrid of Ripon (†709) refuted the arguments of his opponent, Bishop Colman of Lindisfarne. This success was consolidated in architecture and the foundation of the twin monasteries at Monkwearmouth (dedicated to Saint Peter) and Jarrow (dedicated to Saint Paul). Fragments of the latter’s Seventh-Century church survive, preserving a dedication inscription dated to 684 or 685. Escomb can be seen as a complementary structure to these great monastic foundations, whose cultural gravitation faced towards the Continent, rather than to earlier Celtic and insular precedents.

Externally, the tall and narrow proportions of the building are immediately apparent; a common characteristic of Anglo-Saxon architecture. The division between nave and chancel and their respective proportions (nave: 43ft, 6in × 146,6in; chancel: 10ft square) are probably influenced by the measurements of the Temple of Solomon and the Tabernacle in the Wilderness. Such deliberate evocation of Old Testament precedents for religious architecture reflects a wider interest in Scriptural exegesis, promoted within the region’s monasteries. It should be remembered that amongst Bede’s works are two discussions of such sources: De tabernaculo et vasis eis [Of the Tabernacle and its Vessels] and De edificatione temp[le [Of the Building of the Temple]. The ashlers are almost all re-used Roman masonry, and the quality of workmanship is clear from the long-and-short quoining at the corners of the walls. There is also clear evidence for a western porticus or annexe, no doubt reflecting the influence of Mediterranean sources behind the design. A demonstration of applied scientific aptitude is displayed in the sundial, set between the original windows on the south wall. Curiously, the windows on the south are round headed, while those on the north have plain lintels. Internally, the semi-circular chancel arch is a further example of Roman spolia; the fragments no doubt cannibalised from the fortresses and mile towers of Hadrian’s Wall. As first finished, the church was plastered within and without, and the windows filled with coloured glass. The cumulative message of this building must have been to assert the dominance of Roman-orientated direction Christianity in Northumbria now faced.

The church’s current condition conceals a chequered history of threatened ruination. After 1863, services were transferred to a new church, and the ancient church stood partially unroofed. This state of affairs was not countenanced by the Revd R.E. Hooppell, who drew attention to the church’s evident antiquity at a meeting of the Northumberland Archaeological Society in 1879. The parlous condition of the fabric caused the Revd T.E. Lord (incumbent 1867-1897) to start a campaign of restoration, undertaken from 1875-1880 by R. J. Johnson of Newcastle. The state of decay is clear from the adjacent photograph, showing the Revd Lord seated amidst a scene of total dereliction. Saint John’s was once again restored by Sir Albert Richardson in 1965, when the current furnishings were provided, and the interior stonework whitewashed; a decision subsequently regretted.

Escomb therefore survives as a significant memorial to the place of Christianity in the Kingdom of Northumbria. The legacy of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and the conflict between the indigenous and imported traditions, was long to prove a point of historical contention between Roman Catholic and Anglican apologists. Interest in this period naturally arose during the Reformation, when authors delved into surviving manuscripts to discredit claims of Papal Supremacy over the English Church. The Protestant polemist John Foxe (1516-1587) in his Acts and Monuments produced seven historical proves that these claims were false, and that Christianity was already present in England before the Augustinian Mission of 597. The Catholic position was put forward to counter Foxe’s reasoning in such works as Richard Verstegan’s (c. 1550-1640) Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, which explored the Anglo-Saxon routes of the English tongue, whilst affirming the validity of the 597 Mission. Similarly, in the Nineteenth Century, conflicting lives of Saint Cuthbert were published by the Anglican James Raine (in 1828) and the Roman Catholic clergyman Charles Eyre (in 1849).

*Figure 7*: Saint John the Evangelist, Escomb. The interior before restoration, looking east, 1875-1880.
Anglican Parish Church of Saint Edmund of Abingdon, Sedgefield

In tracing the Gothic Revival’s origins in the Seventeenth Century, one patron of especial note is John Cosin (1594–1672). Under the patronage of Richard Neile (1562–1640), Cosin became a member of the ‘Durham House Group’. This was a courtier of higher clergy who wished to reassert discipline and uniformity over Church services to counter the corrosive effects of puritanism and Calvinism, and who looked to Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626) as their spiritual mentor. Rapidly rising through numerous preferments, he held numerous livings in the vicinity of Durham, and from 1624 onwards, under Neile’s patronage, Cosin worked with other members of the Chapter at Durham Cathedral to improve liturgical and choral performances, and undertake material embellishments to the fabric.

Whilst serving as Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge (1635–1643), he oversaw the ordering of services in the new college chapel, consecrated in 1632. Its idiosyncratic mixture of Gothic windows with Mannerist Classical details has long raised the question of “Gothic Revival versus Gothic Survival” in Seventeenth-Century architecture. This question, whether such work represents a continuous, unthinking tradition or a conscious aesthetic retardation, has never been satisfactorily answered. The extraordinary furnishings surviving at Sedgefield allow us to explore this question afresh, and judge how theological and confessional claims to pedigree and were expressed in material form to affirm the antiquity and legitimacy of the Post-Reformation Church of England.

There is no surviving contemporary account to explain the rationale behind the furnishings at Sedgefield. It is known that in 1638 the carpenter employed at Brancopeth, Robert Barker, had visited Sedgefield with regard to re-seating the church. The first object which arrests attention is the prominent chancel screen, in particular seven canopies of tabernacle work. Cosin’s own annotations to the Book of Common Prayer merely states that the chancel should be “distinguished from the body of the church by a frame of openwork” but says nothing on examples to adopt. The canopies have frequently been related to the fourteenth-century Neville Screen at Durham Cathedral, and so suggest an exercise in affirming antiquarian precedents, and the conscious adoption of cathedrals as examples for parochial churches in the drive for ceremonial uniformity. However, this is clearly not intended to be taken for a pre-Reformation rood screen, and the quire stall beyond merge Gothic and Classical details which mitigates any antiquarian intent. The sanctuary panelling is likewise ornamented with heavy garlands and acanthus foliage, which are unmistakably Seventeenth-Century motifs, rather than mediaeval. To understand the message Cosin and his circle intended such furnishings to convey, we must look beyond such apparent blunders into eclecticism, and assess them in reference to the intellectual mindset of Seventeenth-Century Divines, rather than later architectural historians.

The work at Sedgefield can be directly linked to Cosin’s influence, since the living’s rectors were close kin by his marriage Frances Blakiston, the daughter of Marmaduke Blakiston, who held the living of Sedgefield until 1642. Cosin’s own son-in-law, Denis Granville, succeeded in the incumbency after the Restoration in 1667, and it is likely that the surviving furnishings represent two campaigns either side of the Commonwealth. The presence of such woodwork throughout the churches of County Durham demonstrates the pervasive influence of close-family networks and associations, which whilst common in the Seventeenth Century, could strike the modern viewer as rank nepotism. However, the campaign saw one of the most complete set of church furnishing amongst all the ‘Cosin School’ work; the only richer example was Cosin’s own parish church of Saint Brandon at Brancopeth, destroyed by fire in 1998.
The Episcopal Palace and Castle of the Prince Bishop of Durham, Bishop Auckland

Figure 9: Bishop Auckland Palace: The Episcopal Chapel, seen from the Main Gateway, c. 1662-1665. Country Life.

Rising on an eminence between the Rivers Wear and Gaunless, Auckland is at once dominated by the prime seat of the Prince Bishops of Durham. Their dual authority as episcopal overlord and Count Palatine is expressed in the distinctive form of the complex; at once church and fortress, realised consistently by successive bishops who built here, using Gothic forms. This fusion of temporal and spiritual power can be dated back to William of Normandy’s elevation of William Walcher (reigned 1071-1080) to the Bishopric of Durham, whilst simultaneously creating him Earl of Northumberland.

This was one facet in a wider reorganisation of the region, involving both Church and State, following the Harrying of the North in Winter 1069-1070. Aside from vast estates, the Prince Bishops appointed civil officers to administer the demesne, minted their own coinage, had the right to a private militia, oversaw the minimisation of justice in autonomous courts and had right to summon a Palatine Parliament. Aside from the rift in continuity during the Commonwealth, these privileges were retained by the See of Durham until 1836, when the Durham County Palatine Act was passed. Hitherto, the Prince-Bishops have governed with as an estate unique amongst the episcopate; comparative examples can only be found amongst German sees such as Wurzburg.

The continual sequence of building at Bishop Auckland is a material testament to the resources available to successive Prince Bishops, who affirm the continuity of their prerogatives through a consistent deference to the architecture of their predecessors. The consistent deployment of Gothic on a site occupied since the Twelfth Century, even into the Eighteenth Century, was a deliberate choice, and demonstrates that the wider values and connotations Gothic represented in the post-mediaeval period.

Most prominent amongst the buildings at Auckland is the Episcopal Chapel. This was first built in the late Twelfth Century as the Great Hall, and bears a marked similarity to the Galilee Chapel at Durham Cathedral. Both works are associated with Bishop Hugh de Puiselet (reigned 1154-1195), and his Great Hall in particular captures the nascent of Early English. Its elegant, sprightly arcade of finely-cut columns shafts and arches make conspicuous use of Purbeck marble; a limestone quarried locally on the Bishop’s estates.

The original windows appear to have been expanded during the time of Bishop Anthony Bek (reigned 1284-1311), his new work therefore working within the architectural parameters established by his antecedents, rather than replacing the Great Hall in toto. The building’s transformation into an Episcopal Chapel was begun after the Restoration, at the behest of John Cosin (reigned 1660-1672). During the Commonwealth, Auckland was bought for £6,000 by the Parliamentarian Sir Arthur Haslegrave (1601-1660), who in the process of building a Classical house on part of the site, demolished the original two-storey chapel.

The transformation of the Great Hall into a Chapel, complete for its consecration on Saint Peter’s Day, (29th June) 1665, was a clear re-affirmation of episcopal dignity following the rupture of the Civil War and Commonwealth. That this was expressed through Gothic points only to Cosin’s deference to the work of previous bishops at Auckland, but to the connotations Gothic already possessed by the mid-Seventeenth Century.

Externally, the Hall received a new clerestory with traceried windows, crowned by battlements and pinnacles. The lower walls were re-faced with projecting ashlar blocks; a play on texture with reflects the use of Classical rustication for martial architecture earlier in the Seventeenth Century. The apparent fusion of styles serves to make clear the dual nature of the site: at once secular castle and ecclesiastical palace. Internally, the most dominant feature is the triple screen, effectively making the western bay an antechapel. These were carved by Abraham Smith and John Brasse in 1663, and are topped by Cosin’s own arms (the distinctive lozenge and fret), in an affirmation of patronal identity through heraldry. Cosin’s heraldry is the most prominent feature of the interior: it occurs in the original blue and white glass of the windows (agreed upon in December 1663), and is prominently blazoned upon the ceiling panels. The response to precedents of his episcopal forebears is clear from the uprights of the screens, which imitate the early-Sixteenth Century stalls and screenwork of Bishop Thomas Ruthall (1509-1600). Otherwise, they make a conspicuous display of a richly detailed rinceau of acanthus spirals, and the stalls and reading desks combined cinqufoiled tracery with festoons. The aesthetic richness of the interior was probably of greater importance than stylistic consistency. In place of the current reredos (C. Hodgson-Fowler, 1884), was Classical paneling, framing a tapestry of Solomon and Sheba. This was augmented by illusionistic architectural paintwork, inscribed with “Surrum Deus [Lift up your hearts]” and “Adorate Dominum in decore sancto [O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness].” As completed, the original ensemble, prior to disruptions begun by James Wyatt under Bishop Shute Barrington (reigned 1791-1826), was a bold acclamation of the restored episcopacy and liturgy of the pre-Civil War Church, and its continuum of legitimacy, back through the Reformation and the Middle Ages to the ideal Primitive Christianity of the first few centuries A.D. The gauntlet thrown down by Cosin was taken up by his successors, first by Bishop Richard Trevor (1752-1771), starting with the toy-town Gothic gatehouse, with later extensions to the South Range, and subsequent work by Wyatt.~9~
Day Three: “A City on a Hill”.  

The Episcopal Castle of the Prince Bishop of Durham, Durham

The dual presence of Castle and Cathedral rising over the deep gorge of the River Wear is one of the most picturesque and memorable sights in the canon of English mediaeval architecture. Pevsner went so far as to claim it was “one of the great experiences of Europe to those who appreciate architecture”,121 and likens it to the Romantic Gothic visions painted by such German artists of Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) and Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841).122 The Castle announces the feudal presence of the Prince Bishops, whose jurisdiction extended outside the bailey walls, taking in the ancient ‘Liberty of Durham’, traced by to a grant of land to the monastery of Lindisfarne by King Ecgfrith of Northumbria in 684. Claims for this continuing ownership remained, despite the transference of the See from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street (883-995) and from thence to Durham.123 The autonomy of the region was eventually confirmed by the English Parliament in the late Thirteenth Century, following special representation of this ancient claim by the then Prince Bishop, Anthony Bek (1284-1311). The surrounding city which fell into the ownership of the Prince Bishops was administered by two bailiffs who oversaw the Inner Bailey, the parish of Saint Nicholas and the Borough of Frawellgate.124 The remainder fell under the jurisdiction of the Prior and Convent attached to the adjacent Cathedral.125 As it remains, the Castle embodies the accretions of several Prince Bishops, building metaphorically and literally, upon the work of their predecessors. The result is an architectural conglomerate and a palimpsest, which stands in contrast to the largely post-Reformation appearance of Bishop Auckland. At Durham, there are clear traces of substantial fabric dating back to the Castle’s founding in the Eleventh Century (1072),126 which jostles with later mediaeval work. These in turn give way to the sympathetic reconstructions undertaken by John Cosin (1660-1682) and additional repairs undertaken in the Eighteenth Century. Against the stylistic variances lies the consistent expectation for bishops to repair and maintain their existing residences; not to efface the work of their predecessors, but to consolidate and incorporate it to preserve the lineage of the episcopal estate. There can be few domestic buildings whose chronology is so complex, and only a brief synopsis can be given here.

The first demarcation of episcopal ownership is the gatehouse. This has lost its later barbican, and retains the original four-order round arch, dated to the time of Bishop Hugh de Puiset (reigned 1154-1195),127 though its present form is clearly the result of re-facing and re-fenestration undertaken during the Eighteenth Century. Pevsner dates this to the time James Wyatt worked for Bishop Shute Barrington (reigned 1791-1826).128 though the rudimentary Gothic details surely suggest a more likely date around the mid-Eighteenth Century. However, the Gatehouse embodies the same quality of intervening and retaining fabric which characterises the Castle as a whole. Immediately on the west side of the Inner Courtyard stands the Great Hall and Service Rooms. These stand on a vast Eleventh-Century Undercroft, whereas the Hall was rebuilt on an immense scale (101ft × 35ft) by Bishop Anthony Bek in the late Thirteenth Century.129 Under Bishop Thomas Hatfield (reigned 1345-1381), the Hall was extended southwards, the windows and roof were substantially reconstructed.130 The current windows were restored by Anthony Salvin to an approximation of their original form in a campaign of 1847-1851.131 The entrance to the Screens Passage from the Inner Courtyard is encased in a Classical Porch with coupled Ionic columns. This was created by John Cosin in 1663, and is crowned with his heraldry. The polygonal buttresses and their domed tops also date from this post-Restoration campaign of repairs.132 Prior to this, in 1499, Bishop Richard Fox (reigned 1494-1501) had constructed new kitchens at the south-west corner of this range, and sub-divided the adjacent bay of the Hall into offices.133 His heraldic devices survive on the screens between the Buttery and the Screens Passage, thereby declaring Fox’s patronage to subsequent Prince-Bishops.

At the internal junction between the Great Hall and the North Range stands the Great, or ‘Black’ Staircase, built by Cosin in 1662. In deference to the precedents of his predecessors, the fenestration deliberately copies that of an earlier Staircase Tower (between the Great Hall and Gatehouse) built by the last Roman Catholic Prince-Bishop, Cuthbert Tunstall (reigned 1530-1559).134 However, the staircase it contains make firm use of a Classical idiom, on a gargantuan scale. Its frieze comprises of pierced frothy foliage disgorged by wolf masks. As originally constructed, the treads and risers (since replaced) were bonded to the wall, without the supporting Tuscan newel posts, in a bravour demonstration of the carpenter’s skill.135 The North Range’s core can be dated to de Puiset’s tenure of office, and originally formed the Castle’s Great Hall. The internal southern face of the Range is concealed behind a Communication Gallery, erected by Tunstall.136 Within this Gallery, between Cosin’s two wooden screens is preserved a sumptuously detailed portal, which gives an eloquent indication of mid-Twelfth Century Episcopal patronage. More arches of this quality survive above in the Norman Gallery.137 To the east stands Tunstall’s Episcopal Chapel, whose extension was begun by Cosin, and completed under his successor, Nathaniel, Lord Crewe (reigned 1674-1722).138

The Cathedral of Durham is justly counted amongst the greatest churches of the Middle Ages, and was innovative in its use of stone-vaulting throughout. The first building campaign ran from 1093-1113, with subsequent additions and alterations throughout the Middle Ages. It was the focal point of the cult of Saint Cuthbert, whose shrine stood behind the imposing Neville Screen; the last-word in English Fourteenth-Century high echelon elegance, and used by A.W.N.P. in his plate of ‘Contrasted Altars’ in his 1836 Curates. The rich daily round of ceremonies and liturgical objects at Durham immediately before the Reformation were preserved in a series of accounts, written in the later Sixteenth Century, and collectively known as ‘the Rites of Durham’. This work was known to John Cosin and his colleagues amongst the Chapter prior to the Civil War, and it was even drawn upon during the later Nineteenth Century to provide subject matter Messrs Clayton & Bell’s windows.

As it appears today, the Cathedral is the result of successive restoration campaigns. The most destructive occurred in the Eighteenth Century. In 1777 the severely-eroded stonework of the exterior was cut back (by approximately two inches), thereby flattening the mouldings and nullifying much of their sculptural quality. In 1794 James Wyatt ‘the Destroyer’ to use A.W.N.P.’s moniker, acted as a consultant, in a programme to purify the Cathedral of all perceived accretions to the original design. This would have seen the crossing tower crowned with an openwork spire, and but for the intervention of the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Galilee Chapel at the west end would have been demolished to make way for a carriage drive to the west door. From 1884-1847, the interior underwent a campaign to recreate “the uninterrupted view of the whole length of the Cathedral”, clearly working to the rationale of Wyatt’s earlier work of Salisbury Cathedral. This false archaeological premise saw Cosin’s post-Restoration Quire stalls moved back between the arcades of the eastern arm and his huge Classical Quire screen (with its later Father Smith organ) demolished, on the grounds that it was “wholly inappropriate to a place of worship”. The return stalls behind the screen were demolished, with some fragments salvaged by Archdeacon Thorp and used in his restoration of Saint Cuthbert’s Chapel, Inner Fane. The worst excesses of the later campaign were ameliorated by George Gilbert Scott Senior, who from 1870-1876 brought the Quire stalls forward again. Scott also introduced the Cosmatiwork pulpit and arched Quire screen; intrusions which in themselves have often met with the opprobrium of subsequent commentators.

The worst excesses of the later campaign were ameliorated by George Gilbert Scott Senior, who from 1870-1876 brought the Quire stalls forward again. Scott also introduced the Cosmatiwork pulpit and arched Quire screen; intrusions which in themselves have often met with the opprobrium of subsequent commentators.

Cosin’s work began with a series of Visitation Articles, issued to the re-founded Dean and Chapter in 1662. These questions served as a stock-taking exercise of the deprivations the Cathedral had suffered during the Commonwealth. The most conspicuous issue was what had happened to the lead spires of the western towers. It is frequently reported that the Cathedral’s mediaeval woodwork had been destroyed by Scottish soldiers imprisoned here following the Battle of Dunbar (3rd September 1650). The replacement stalls have been dated to 1665, and attributed to the carpenter John Clement. As completed, they would visually unify the Quire by an enclosure of Gothic pinnacles. Though no doubt reflecting the earlier stalls, the canopies bear a close affinity to those on the Neville Screen, its attendant sedilia and the tabernacle above the tomb of Bishop Hatfield (dated 1363). That Clement should have carved canopies over the screens to the aisles (unknown in mediaeval carpentry) makes clear these spires’ significance in the demarcation of hierarchies of sacred space within the Cathedral. With the example of Sedgefield in mind, this further suggests a controlling, erudite conceit, which read mediaeval forms as surrogates for a longer history of architectural exemplars, where worship was pure and the Divine Presence manifest. Such elevated aspirations underpin the ‘Cosin School’ woodwork. The same ideas find expression in the monumental Font Cover in the nave. Rising to 40ft, it is the most virtuoso example of Cosin’s patronage. It is no mere exercise in mediaevalism. The ‘Rites of Durham’ makes no mention of any such object existing here before the Reformation, but it is in fact the recreation of a similar Font Cover erected in the 1630s by Cosin and his associates in the Chapter. Amongst their liturgical ‘innovations’, this object drew the disproval of Canon Peter Smart, in his sermon of 7th July 1628, when he inveighed against the regime established under Bishop Richard Neale. As recreated after the Restoration, the paintings of the Baptism of Christ, the Dove of the Holy Spirit and the Four Evangelists, denounced by Smart, were omitted, an act perhaps to be interpreted as a cautious gesture of reconciliation.


Smart, Peter. *A Short Treatise of Altars, Altars furniture, Altar-cringing, and Musick of all the Quire, Singing-men and Choristers, when the Holy Communion was administered in the Cathedral Church of Durham, by Pretendaries and Petty-Canons, in glorious Copes embroidered with Images* (London, 1643).


Worsley, Giles. 'Alnwick Castle, Northumberland - II', *Country Life*, 8th December 1988b, pp. 74-79.

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**Miscellanea, Addenda & Nota**

For the duration of the Study Tour only, and in case of either accident or emergency, the Society’s Events Organiser, Julia Twigg, can be contacted via her mobile phone. The number is 07789 465964.

*Nota Bene:* The Collection and Drop-off point for the Study Tour Coach is from outside the Dunelm Building (the Student Union of the University of Durham) and not from Palace Green. The latter is immediately adjacent to our accommodation, whereas Dunelm House is located on New Elvet, to the east of the cathedral. This involves a five-minute walk. To reach this from the Main Gateway of Durham Castle, cross Palace Green to the far left-hand side and proceed along Dun Cow Lane, with the Cathedral on your right.

Turn right onto North Bailey and then left onto Bow Lane, with the Durham Museum on your left and Saint Chad’s College on your right. Cross the River Wear via the Kingsgate Pedestrian Bridge. Dunelm House in on your immediate left. Follow the walkway to pavement level and turn left to wait at the Collection and Drop-off point.

**List of Delegates & Attendees**

Judith Al-Saffar, Birmingham, Com. West Midlands.

Pamla Bowmaker, Com. Greater London.

Ralph Bowmaker, Com. Greater London.

Charles Butcher, Truro, Com. Cornwall.


Trevor Cooper, Burpham, Com. Sussex.

Jane Evelyn, Ramsgate, Com. Kent.


James Jago, York, North Riding of Yorkshire.

Linda Keen, Denton, North Riding of Yorkshire.


Fred Ledden, Widnes, Com. Cheshire.


Grace McCombie, Newcastle upon Tyne, Com. Tyneside.

Lindsay Mullaney, Reading, Com. Berkshire.

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Michael Tedder, Truro, Com. Cornwall.

Diane Tiernan, Liverpool, Com. Merseyside.

John Tiernan, Liverpool, Com. Merseyside.


Austin Winkley, Com. Greater London.

Lala Winkley, Com. Greater London.
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