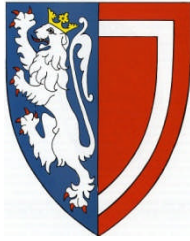
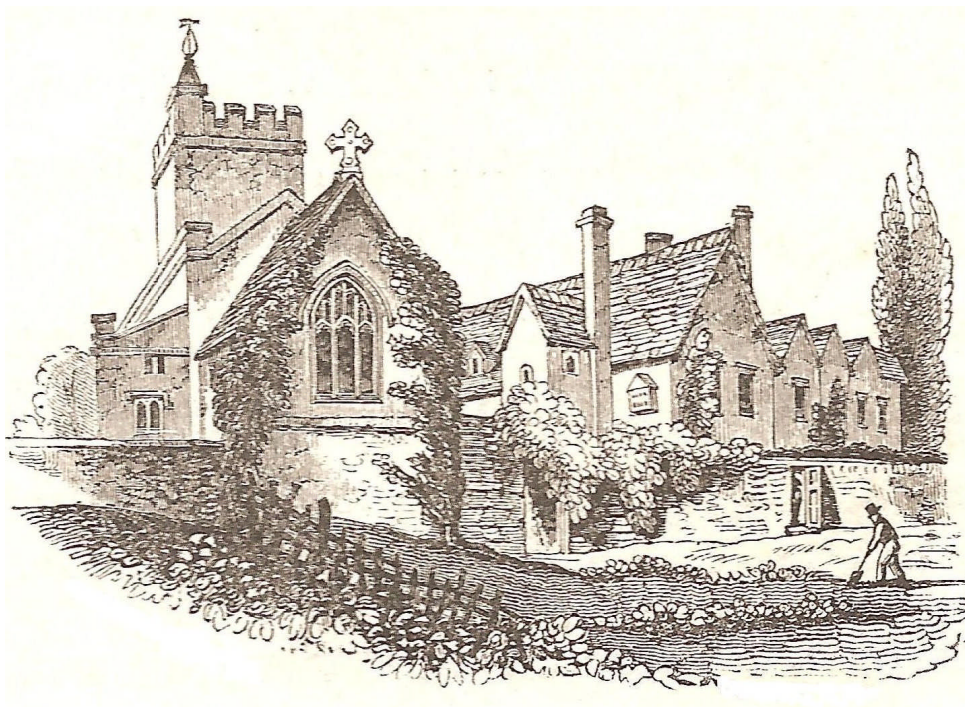


BALLIOL COLLEGE OXFORD



# St Cross Church, Holywell

**Its history, architecture, people,  
and conversion into an  
Historic Collections Centre**



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Robert Montgomery of Montgomery Architects Ltd was the architect. The imaginative brilliance of his scheme speaks for itself, and will survive all of us.

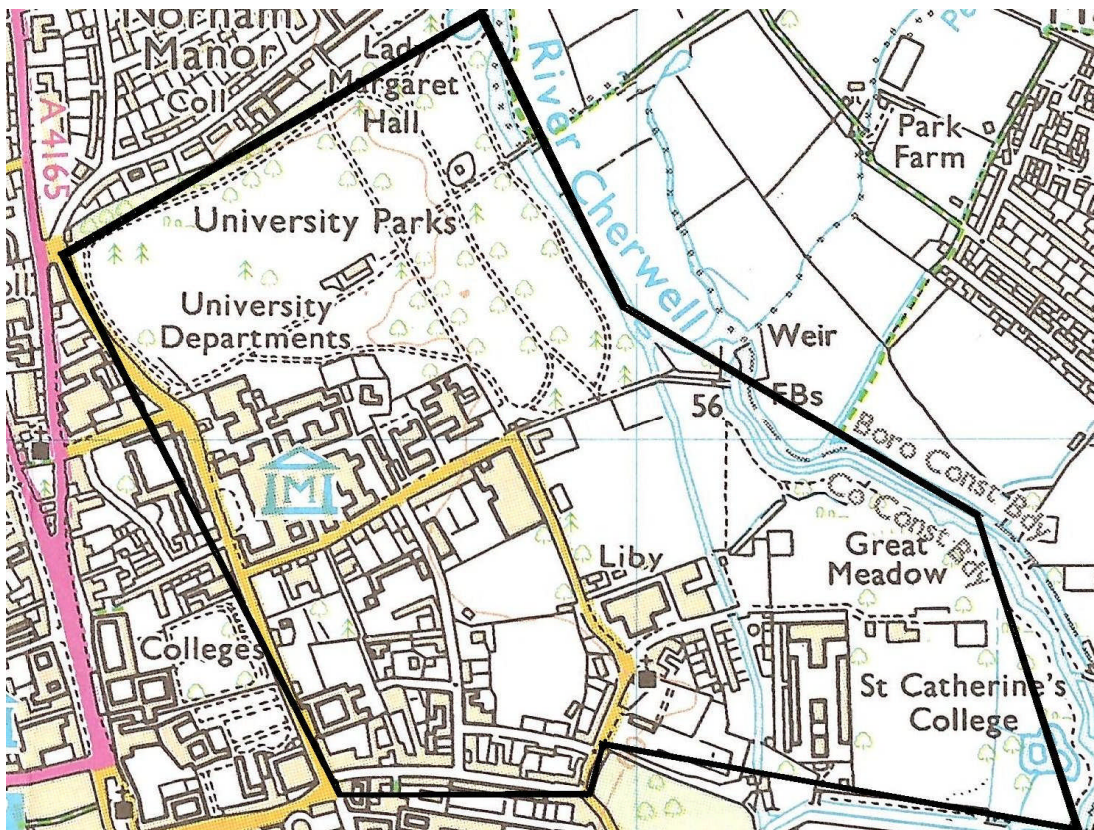
John Jones

New Year's Day 2011

## Chapter 1

### Overview and Background

The mediaeval Manor of Holywell was a largely agricultural area of some 250 acres just outside the northeast sector of the Oxford City Wall. It can be roughly defined in modern terms as enclosed by Parks Road, the northern boundary of the University Parks, the River Cherwell, and a jerky line running more or less due west from the Cherwell to the King's Arms. The Manor in turn defined the Parish, which took its name from a well which rose on the north side of the Church, between it and the Manor House.



**Holywell Parish boundary roughly superimposed on a modern OS map.**

No church or chapel is mentioned in the Domesday Book, and the first on the present site was built around 1100. Merton acquired the Manor, and with it the patronage of St Cross Church, along with St Peter's-in-the-East, in 1266. St Cross Church originally had the status of a chapel-of-ease subordinate to St Peter's, but by the 16<sup>th</sup> century was being treated in most respects as an

independent parish church. The population had grown considerably by then, but was still largely concentrated in Holywell Street, with a few more cottages along the lane to the Church and Manor House, beyond which was open country. The Bishop was informed by the Curate in 1738<sup>1</sup> that “The Parish of Holywell consists of little more than one street, in which are 120 houses.” The essentially rural setting of the Church is clear in John Malchair’s view of 1775.<sup>2</sup>



**St Cross Church 1775, by John Malchair.**

The development of South Parks Road, Mansfield Road and Manor Road<sup>3</sup> did not take place until second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the congregation grew, nourished by a series of active rather high church incumbents.<sup>4</sup> It reached a high

of nearly 300 at Easter 1887. But in the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Parish developed in a way which slowly sapped the stand-alone viability of the Church, as the University and its colleges gradually squeezed the ordinary population out. Union of the benefice of St Cross with that of St Peter's-in-the-East (which had been united with St John the Baptist in 1891) was under consideration in 1923. The PCC protested, and the Bishop decided to take no action then,<sup>5</sup> but the three parishes were united in 1957. In 1966 they were further linked to the benefice of St Mary the Virgin, whose Church is the University Church. St Peter's was closed soon after that, and became the library of St Edmund Hall, but the congregation of St Cross continued faithfully on.

Rumour was rife in 1968 that the Church was going to be taken over, possibly by St Catherine's College, which had held regular services in it for some years, and whose War Memorial the Church still contains. This was publicly denied by the Master of St Catherine's and the new Vicar of the linked parishes,<sup>6</sup> although the St Cross PCC had in fact resolved in 1962<sup>7</sup> to approach St Catherine's. In any case, nothing of the sort happened, but by 1976 the electoral roll was down to about 60. Concerns about the mounting cost of maintaining the building were growing. A Restoration Appeal was launched with a target of £15000 by Easter 1980.<sup>8</sup> It was successful, one of the Churchwardens writing to a donor<sup>9</sup>

...We ... had begun to think we should never get the full amount needed when suddenly a fortnight ago Miss Spalding gave us ten thousand pounds (!) which with the £10,000 we had collected puts us out of all worry! I can't tell you what a relief it is: I can't bear to think of St X being a library or something like that .....

But this was a rearguard action, giving only temporary respite from financial stress, and the congregation continued to shrink.

It became obvious to me about 1980, living as I did at that time on the other side of St Cross Road, that at some stage in the foreseeable future the Church would become redundant. In my wilder moments I imagined it coming into the College's hands for archive-related purposes. There were three stimuli for this daydream.

Firstly, the Church is located right next door to the College's Graduate Centre in Holywell Manor, and also faces Balliol buildings, where many of Balliol's graduate students live, on the edge of its sports field: it is at the centre of the College's secondary site in Holywell.



**St Cross Church and Holywell Manor from the southwest, 2008.**



**St Cross Church and Holywell Manor from the northwest, 2008.**

Secondly, I had already been concerned for many years about the College's need to make proper provision for its historic collections, especially its own archives. Although it had been possible to marshal most of the archive material found scattered around into one place, that place, under the Hall steps, was only better than nothing. It was unsuitable in every respect; cramped, environmentally uncontrolled, and subject to fire risk from kitchens below and

plumbing risks from the Hall serverly above. The non-archival manuscript material was much better housed in the College Library, but was taking up space and interfering with efficient undergraduate use.

Thirdly, there was a clear lesson to be taken from the history of Balliol's development on the Broad Street site: it had grown from very humble beginnings there, in a small tenement given by Dervorguilla, by a stepwise process spread over seven centuries. Our predecessors had seized every opportunity which came up for them to acquire adjacent property, even when they were nigh on broke, until the site was bounded on all sides by public roads and Trinity College. Holywell Manor seemed to present the same scenario; the Church was the only adjacent property which might conceivably be acquired at some date.

So the situation was discreetly kept under review. In 1993-4, with the encouragement of Baruch Blumberg (Master 1989-1994), I had serious discussions with the Canon Brian Mountford (Vicar since 1986), about sharing the building and the burdens, but they came to nothing. On 9 November 1994, a College Meeting considered the report of the *ad hoc* committee which it had set up to consider the matter, and resolved to take it no further, as the parameters envisaged for shared use of the Church did not seem practicable. I wrote to the Vicar on 14 November 1994 regretting this, but added "If the Church is ever made completely redundant, however, our interest will be reawakened." A decade or so later the pressures on the now vestigial congregation, with a single figure electoral roll and maintenance increasingly beyond their abilities, had become severe. Attempts to find another party willing to share use and costs failed. They decided to face hard fact and move towards redundancy. By this stage, architects' opinions about the deteriorating building were daunting, and it seemed unlikely that Balliol would be able to take it on. But Andrew Graham (Master 2001-2011) privately engaged the interest of Dame Stephanie Shirley, who was already the College's biggest Benefactor for centuries. Serious discussions began in late 2007, and a scheme was soon agreed in principle under which Balliol would have full use of all except the chancel, in which occasional services could be held. A feasibility study by Robert Montgomery was funded (anonymously to begin with) by the Shirley Foundation, and when that proved encouraging the Foundation openly pledged a million pounds to the costs, which were then estimated at somewhat over £3m, more than £1m of

which was for basic restoration work on the fabric, such as would have been necessary for any purpose at all.

Working out the legal and architectural details took some eighteen months from concept to commitment, despite the fact that from the outset there was unanimity between Church and College on all essentials. This was because of arcane ecclesiastical bureaucracy, and the need to consult all sorts of bodies. Some of these bodies made very useful suggestions of detail, and the consultative process, although exasperating, must be seen as positive. All was nudged forward in a cooperative spirit.

In the end only some members of the Victorian Society were opposed to the scheme, reluctant to take the balanced view that some small changes were essential. Without acceptance of those changes, Balliol would have been obliged to withdraw; a certain minimum amount of shelf capacity for its collections was necessary for an expensive scheme to be anything like cost-effective, and conservation of ancient monuments *per se* is not its business. If the College had withdrawn, the Church would have been left to descend slowly into ruin, pulling everything Victorian down with it. It is richly ironic that the Victorian features so valued by the Society were created by Victorian improvers who were by any reasonable modern standards gross vandals; they destroyed many ancient memorials in the Church which we only know of because scholarly antiquarians described them in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Conditional contracts (conditional that is on ecclesiastical and civil planning approvals, which were still awaited) were exchanged between the College and Church parties on 23 February 2009, and the definitive lease and licence were sealed and signed a month later, following which a Pastoral Scheme made by the Church Commissioners with the consent of the Bishop of Oxford on 28 November 2008 came into effect. Under this Scheme all except the chancel had been declared redundant although subject to continuing faculty jurisdiction, and the Oxford Diocesan Board of Finance had been empowered to lease it for “use as an archive centre and for purposes ancillary thereto”.

With detailed plans, a geophysical report, and an assessment by Oxford Archaeology in hand, further specialist reports were commissioned in March 2009. Tenders for the work were invited in August, and Feltham Construction Ltd were appointed principal Contractors in October. Gearing up began soon after that, and work began in earnest after the New Year holiday. Specialist

work was undertaken by Nimbus Conservation Ltd (memorials and stonework), Chapel Studios Stained Glass Ltd (stained glass), and International Fine Art Conservation Studios Ltd (wall and ceiling paintings).

The works proceeded steadily through the calendar year 2010, with many but minor problems, and no reportable accidents. Trevor Pike was the admirably flexible and efficient Site Manager. Although at least a hundred people lie interred within the walls, and many vaults, lead coffins and a couple of skeletons were exposed briefly, the new load-bearing floor was installed without disturbing any burials. No original memorials were disturbed or inscriptions destroyed.

In mid 2010 we began preparing for the logistically complex task of decanting the College's collections into their new home, and an approximate year's suspension of archive and manuscript services was announced. The work of restoration and fitting out ended more or less on schedule just before Christmas 2010. At the time of writing this, our aim is to complete furnishing, commissioning and installation of the Collections and be open for business by Michaelmas Term 2011.

The funding need based on detailed analysis and professional advice was estimated at £3.2m and the appeal target was set, after making allowance for inflation, at £3.3-3.4m. But in order to meet obligations to the Diocese under the lease, to start remedial work before costs spiralled upwards, and also to take advantage of highly competitive conditions in the construction industry, work was begun before all the money had been pledged, relying on a bridging loan from the College's main endowment. In the event, by postponing a few small details, tight management, and with contract costs which were significantly more favourable than predicted, the final reckoning now appears to be £2.6-2.7m. This is still about £0.5m more than the amount raised so far, and the College has decided to maintain the appeal target at the original figure to include a modest running cost endowment. So to complete all details of the scheme without a permanent debt to the general endowment of the College and set the Centre up indefinitely about £1.0m remains to be raised.

There is sadness that a place which was a centre of religion and burial for nearly a thousand years could not be sustained as such any more. But there is much to be thankful for now that a deal to the mutual advantage of Church and College has been struck, which has enabled the chancel to be restored for use as in

ancient times, and the rest to be put to just about the most dignified alternative use imaginable, with a guarantee of the whole for longer than any of us can comprehend fully. Not for St Cross the blasphemous fate of St Paul's in Walton Street.

The final congregation of St Cross fought the good fight, and must be admired for that, but they must also be admired for their ultimate realism. The Vicar put it best in the thoughtful sermon he gave at the final service in the full Church on 12 October 2008:

..... no one can easily halt demographic change – in this case it's no one's fault. Here is an ancient village church now in the wrong place: no public transport, no residential population, no easy parking, a walk away from the centre, little money to maintain a crumbling fabric, massive competition from college chapels and other city churches, and all this in a society that becomes daily more secular, more cosmopolitan, more plural ..... it is greatly to the credit of those most committed to this place that eighteen months ago they recognised that their Christian duty called them to move on and to seek redundancy for this building, and to offer their talents to the church elsewhere. It was painful, but right.

## Chapter 2

### Benefactors and Patrons

Without the initially anonymous funding of exploratory work by the Shirley Foundation, the idea of establishing an Historic Collections Centre for Balliol in St Cross Church would never have got anywhere. The Foundation followed up this exploratory support with a generous pledge of a million pounds, and many others, whose names will in due course all be displayed in the Church, followed their lead.

At an early stage it was felt that the patronage of a body of distinguished people with relevant standing would be helpful, and it was most encouraging that the following readily agreed to be named as Patrons of the Scheme. In fact nobody declined except one from overseas who was privately very supportive, but found himself inhibited because of his distinguished position from going public in the matter. The final (2009) list of Patrons was:-

Lord Bingham of Cornhill KG, Visitor of Balliol and former High Steward of the University of Oxford

Baruch Blumberg, Nobel Laureate, President of the American Philosophical Society and former Master of Balliol

Sir Hugo Brunner KCVO, formerly Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire

The Right Reverend Lord Harries of Pentregarth, formerly Lord Bishop of Oxford

Sir Anthony Kenny, formerly Warden of Rhodes House, Master of Balliol, President of the British Academy and Chair of the British Library

Sir Colin Lucas, Warden of Rhodes House and Chair of the British Library; formerly Master of Balliol and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford

Michael Meredith, formerly College Librarian of Eton College and President of The Browning Society

Jon Moynihan OBE, Foundation Fellow of Balliol and former Chairman of the Balliol Campaign Board

Lord Patten of Barnes CH, Chancellor of the University of Oxford

The Right Reverend John Pritchard, Lord Bishop of Oxford

Sir Adam Roberts KCMG, President-elect of the British Academy

Dame Stephanie Shirley, Foundation Fellow of Balliol

Sir Keith Thomas, formerly President of the British Academy

Sarah Thomas, Bodley's Librarian; formerly Librarian of Cornell University

We do well to remember too under this heading that the very existence and survival of the Church is the result of contributions from private donors known and unknown over many centuries, and from Merton, the Ecclesiastical Patrons. Major donations and legacies can be traced at the Oxfordshire Record Office, but the parable of the Widow's mite comes to mind.

The benefactions board, recording the endowment of Parish charities (all now dissipated or absorbed into other charities) is still in place, restored.



We should even be grateful to the Victorians I have sniped at elsewhere in these notes for abusing ancient memorials; without their extensions the building would have been too small for the College's scheme.

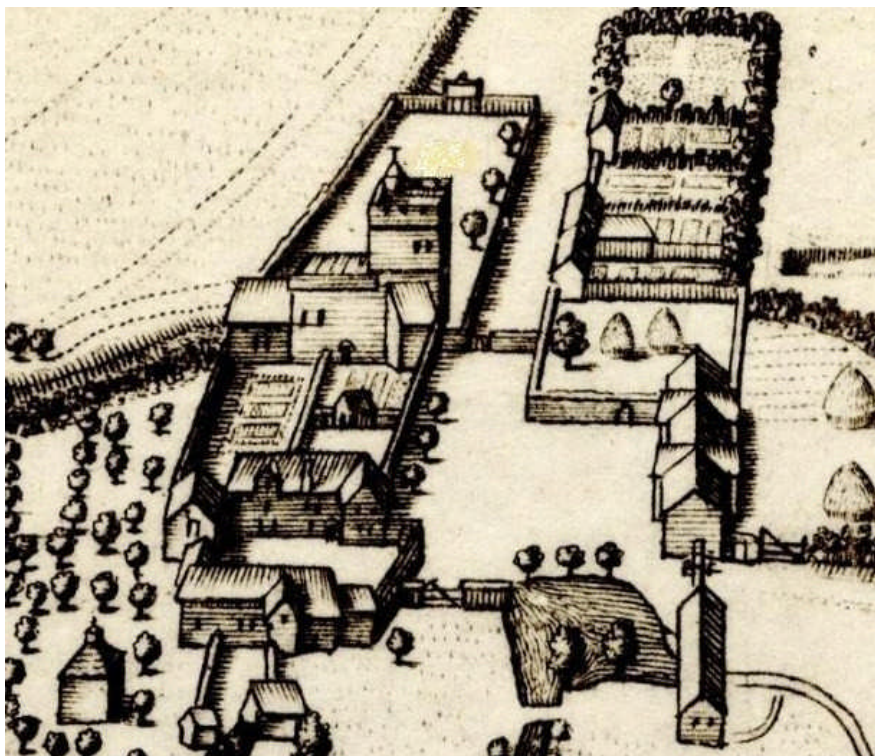
## Chapter 3

### The Architecture

#### *The basic structure*

The building which stands today was never planned, but evolved starting from a simple chancel and nave in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A tower and aisles were added a hundred years or so later. The tower was rebuilt in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, possibly following a collapse, probably by Henry Sever, Warden of Merton: all except the west end of the north aisle and east end of the south aisle were probably destroyed at this time. A porch on the south side was built by Merton towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century: it had the date 1592, Merton's arms, and shields containing the initials RH and WH above the door.<sup>1</sup>

Several views of the Church before the major additions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century survive. The earliest, David Loggan's birdseye view from the north of 1675, is stylised, but where checkable his drawings are faithful representations, and he did live in the Parish (four children of his were baptised in the Church 1668-1674), so it is credible.



A birdseye view of Holywell village centre from the north, 1675.

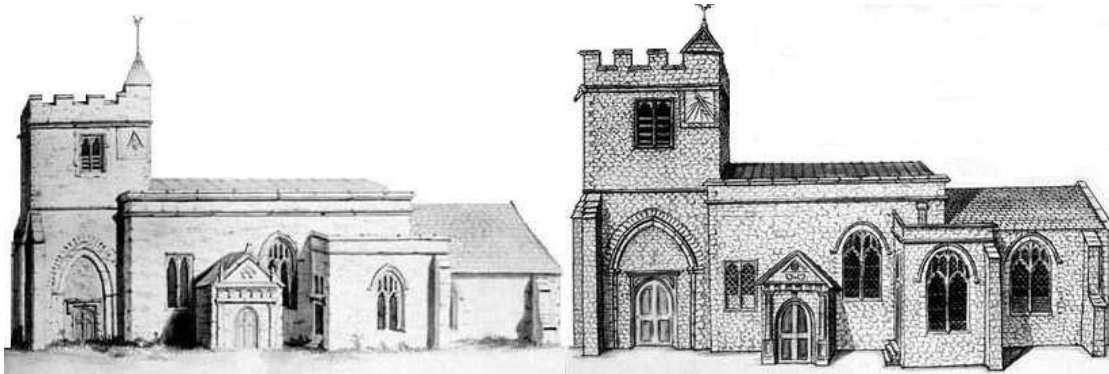
Loggan shows the remnant of the north aisle. In 1786, following a visitation, the Archdeacon ordered<sup>2</sup> that this “recess adjoining on the right of the Entrance to the Belfry” was to be “emptied of its present rubbish, the Top to be ceiled, and the floor of it to be stoned or bricked, to be used in future as a vestry room for all Parish Business”. The tiny hutch-like structure shown by Loggan a few feet north of the Church is probably a covering known to have been erected over the Holy Well which gave the Parish its name. The north aisle remnant, by then the vestry room, is also shown in drawings of 1820 and 1828, which agree. They also show a more substantial building over the Holy Well, which was by then the water source for a small rectangular swimming pool – the Cold Bath which the young John Henry Newman took dips in. In some work on the area in 1896,<sup>3</sup> traces of the Holy Well and the Cold Bath were found. The Holy Well and all the other wells in the neighbourhood had dried up fifty years earlier because of drainage operations made necessary by the opening of Holywell Cemetery in 1848 (see later).<sup>4</sup>



**The Church from the northwest, 1828.<sup>5</sup>**

Of the south side, we have two separate drawings of about 1800 which are more or less congruent in what they show; the tower has a blocked arch which

formerly opened into the south aisle, Merton's south porch is clear and so is the remnant of the south aisle.



**The Church from the south, separately drawn, *ca.*1800.<sup>6</sup>**



**The same elevation, 2009.<sup>7</sup>**

Both drawings show the sundial, which was restored as a millennium project, and is a striking unusual feature. The date 1803 is a puzzle, as it appears that there was a sundial in place before that: the present one must be a replacement or was restored in that year.

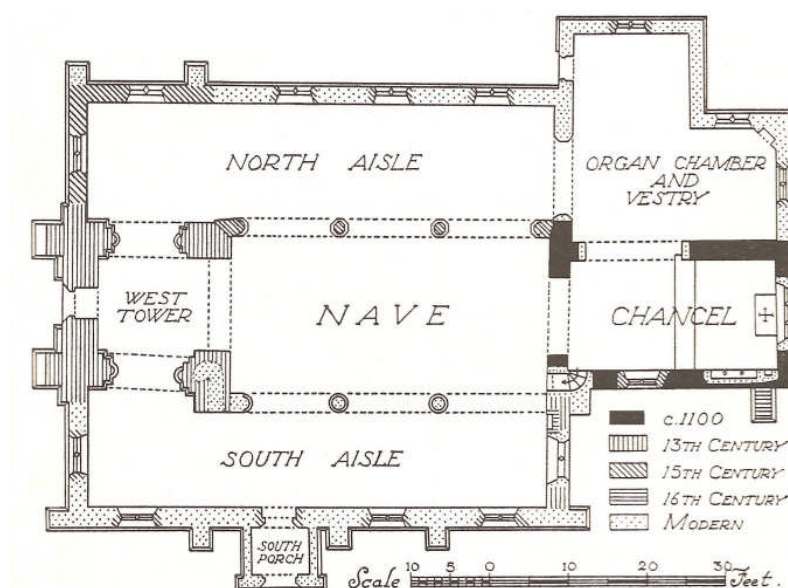


**The sundial, 2009.**

The present north aisle was built to the design of John Plowman in 1837-8<sup>9</sup> (reusing several much earlier windows, which confuses casual inspection) and a new south aisle with clerestory windows was added in 1843-4 on the initiative of, and at the expense of, the Vicar SE Bathurst;<sup>10</sup> his architect was JM Derick.<sup>11</sup> There had been no west door prior to these developments: one was created. A tiny vestry<sup>12</sup> was also built to the north of the chancel around this time.

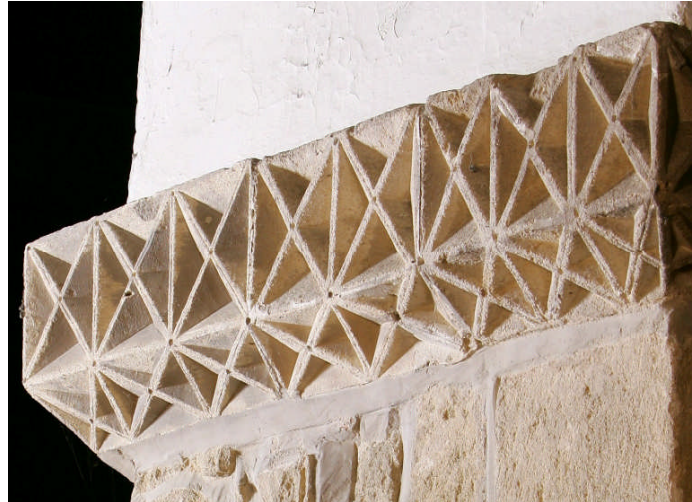
HJ Tollit directed major work on the tower costing about £100 including provision of a new parapet in 1874;<sup>13</sup> two years later<sup>14</sup> he built the present vestry (replacing the tiny one) and organ chamber on the north side of the chancel, and made arches connecting with the chancel and north aisle, for a total of over £600. At some stage, possibly in connection with strengthening the tower in 1889,<sup>15</sup> the spiral stairway which ran up the core of the south tower pillar was filled in. In 1891 the Vicar GN Freeling made extensive proposals for repairs and improvements, and CC Rolfe<sup>16</sup> produced plans which included increasing the height of the roof.<sup>17</sup> Freeling died later that year, but it was decided to proceed with the scheme, except for elevating the roof, which would have pushed costs over £1000. Rolfe declined to reduce his plans, so EP Warren<sup>18</sup> was engaged. Warren's works of 1892-1893,<sup>19</sup> comprising roof repairs, internal decoration and the enlargement of the clerestory windows to improve the lighting, still cost over £700.

The ages of the standing masonry were summarised by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments as follows ("modern" here means post-1800). The basic architecture is as Warren left it.



### *Internal appearance*

How the inside of the Church looked before about 1800 can only be conjecture. The original chancel arch with its distinctive carving was always there, but what did the niches on either side contain, and was the surface facing the nave painted in mediaeval times?

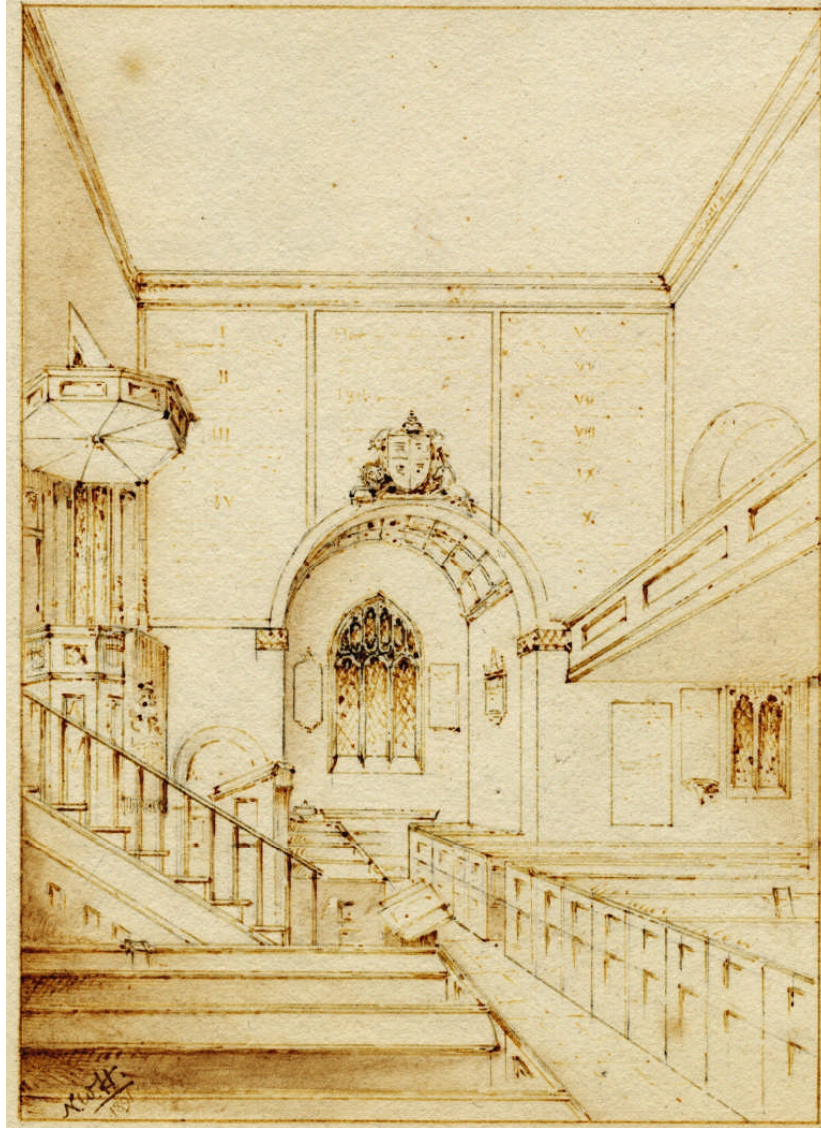


**Decoration on the chancel arch, carved *ca.* 1100**

There might have been statues or reliquaries in the niches,<sup>20</sup> and in 1954 an observer<sup>21</sup> who saw traces of red paint on the arch speculated that there had been a mediaeval painting there; but these traces were probably from the painting of 1893 (see below).

Galleries were added at the west end and above the south aisle *ca* 1675 and 1746 respectively; the latter<sup>22</sup> can be seen in a drawing<sup>23</sup> which is said to show how things were before the Victorians got to work. The former<sup>24</sup> is mentioned by Peshall,<sup>25</sup> who says (1773) that both galleries were painted blue, like the “Partition cornished between the Church [*ie* the nave] and the Chancel”. The western gallery,<sup>26</sup> for a choir, was presumably supported between the tower piers. Both galleries had been removed by 1852, and new pews had been installed throughout.<sup>27</sup> In the same period the grand pulpit and its sounding board shown in the drawing were replaced by the present stone pulpit, accessed from behind by a stair cut into the chancel arch. In the chancel itself many ancient memorials were ruthlessly thrown out or obscured, and the wall memorials in the rest of the Church were relocated, so that most of the survivors are now mounted on walls which postdate them. What might be meant to be the Royal Arms appear above the chancel arch in the drawing; and on careful

scrutiny the Roman numerals I-X can be seen flanking them, where the Ten Commandments were displayed.<sup>28</sup>



**The nave looking east, *ca.* 1820.<sup>23</sup>**

The chancel and nave were “restored” as part of the works supervised by Warren which have already been mentioned. These works included the painting of an elaborate Crucifixion scene, with much embellishment, by Reginald Hallward<sup>29</sup> on the chancel arch. The nave ceiling was painted at this time too, by Bernard Smith<sup>30</sup> to Warren’s design. Warren also designed the Freeling memorial,<sup>31</sup> which was executed by Lawrence Turner. The chancel ceiling was painted by Henry Strachey<sup>32</sup> in 1898.



**The nave looking east, *ca.* 1900.<sup>33</sup>**

The elaborate coloured decoration of the chancel walls which was carried out in 1856 prompted a protest to the Bishop, but the Archdeacon inspected and found nothing objectionable. This decoration, which included paintings of angels flanking the east window, survived until 1950, by which time deterioration beyond restoration had set in so it “had to go”.<sup>34</sup>



**Looking through the chancel arch, *ca.* 1935.<sup>35</sup>**

The chancel arch paintings, which were “quite hopelessly decayed and peeled off”<sup>36</sup> were overpainted with a simpler Crucifixion scene about 1940 by Leslie Pimm,<sup>37</sup> the Choirmaster.



**The nave looking east, 2008**

A lady chapel was established in the south aisle in 1923 at the expense of the WD Sargent, the Vicar, in memory of his late wife;<sup>38</sup> the Virgin and Child statue in the niche there was provided at this time. By Alec Miller,<sup>39</sup> it was given by Canon RL Ottley in memory of Walter Pater and his two sisters, who are all buried in the Cemetery. An aumbrey was added in 1930.<sup>40</sup>



**The choir stalls on the north side of the chancel, 2008.**

For the present scheme the chancel was cleaned and redecorated, but the only change to fixtures there was the restoration of the front choir stall on the north side to its original length, and removal of the middle choir stall on that side. Elsewhere the pews were disposed of, and the organ<sup>41</sup> chamber was cleared. The font<sup>42</sup> and one layer of its plinth were relocated from by the south door to the left of the chancel arch.



**The font, 2008.**

Some of the memorials are mentioned later, and are the subject of separate systematic notes.

If there ever was any ancient stained glass, none survives; all which does, on which separate notes are available, is of *ca.*1850-1902.

All the environmentally controlled installations, bookcases etc, are freestanding, and could in principle be removed, making the scheme theoretically reversible. But the intention is permanent use as an Historic Collections Centre with occasional services in the chancel. The College has a 999-year lease of all except the chancel, for which it has a concurrent licence, all subject to limitation to the present use.

#### *The immediate neighbourhood.*

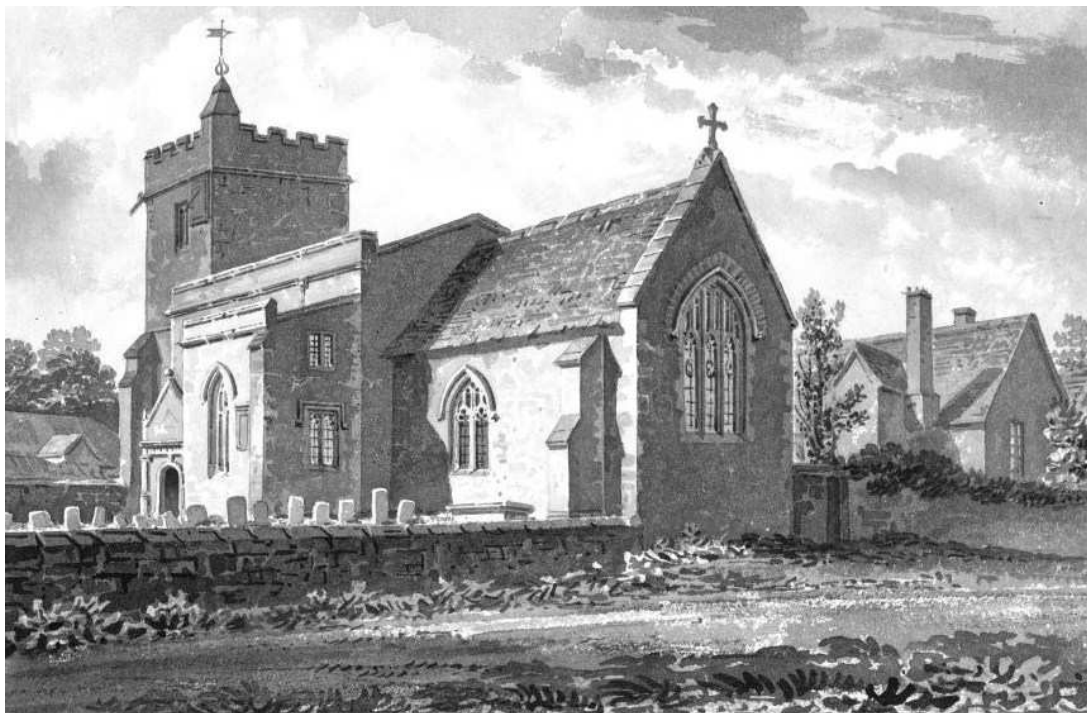
A 1771 view from southeast of the Church shows its relation to the Manor House ,with a cockpit on the other side of the House. Holywell was something

of a low life centre in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with bowling greens and cockpits and associated drinking and gambling.



**Holywell Church Manor House and Cockpit from the southeast, 1771.**

This view<sup>43</sup> looks over what was Holywell Green; another<sup>44</sup> of sixty years later shows more of the Church.

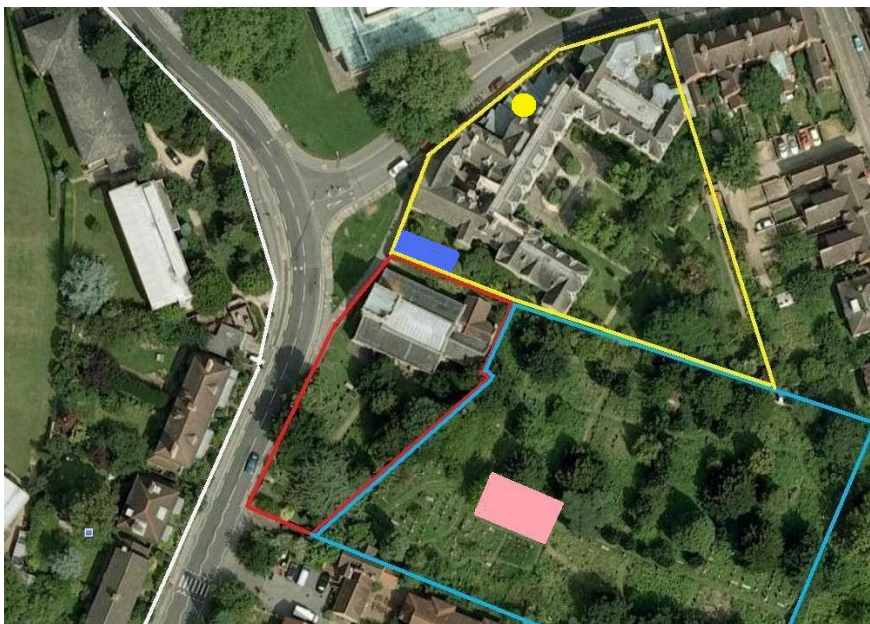


**The same view, from more to the south, 1828.**

Holywell Green (aka Jackson's Green) is now Holywell Cemetery, which was established with its own Chapel in 1848.<sup>45</sup>



**Holywell Cemetery Chapel (1848-1955) from the southeast, *ca.*1885.<sup>46</sup>**



**A Google Earth view of the Church in immediate context, 2008.**

The area left of the white line above is the Balliol sports field, which is edged with Balliol buildings. The area delineated in yellow is Holywell Manor. The area delineated in blue is St Cross Cemetery, which is not part of the current scheme. The area delineated in red is the Church of St Cross and its Churchyard. The pink rectangle is the approximate site of the Cemetery Chapel,

demolished *ca.*1955. The blue rectangle is the approximate site of the Clewer Sisters' Chapel, and the yellow circle the approximate site of the cockpit.

The Cemetery<sup>47</sup> was and is separate from the small Churchyard, which was closed for burials except for a few later additions to existing vaults.

The ancient Churchyard shown in Loggan's view of 1675 had been widened by fourteen feet along the eastern edge at the expense of the Green some years before 1819, when this was regularised by the Bishop.<sup>48</sup> It was walled as now and given railings in 1866.<sup>49</sup>

The Manor House, following a period as a workhouse, was established as a "Female Penitentiary"<sup>50</sup> about 1857. A refuge for fallen and rejected young women, it was supported partly by subscription and partly by taking in laundry. It was run by the Anglican Clewer Sisters of Mercy, for whom a Chapel was built on the ground between the Church and Manor House, on top of the site of the Holy Well and Cold Bath mentioned previously. This Chapel is seen in EH New's drawing<sup>51</sup> of 1929 from the west.



**The Clewer Sisters' Chapel and the Church, 1929.**

The Chapel was demolished very soon after this drawing was made, one wall remaining with its windows as the present wall between the Praefectus's garden and the Churchyard.

## Chapter 4

### Antiquities

#### *Bells*

There are five ancient bells (1620,1641,1677,1677,1726)<sup>1</sup> which were rehung with the addition of a new one in 1874.<sup>2</sup> They remain in place, but unfortunately cannot be rung. There is also a sanctus bell of 1721. All the bells were described in detail with notes of inscriptions, founders etc in 1925.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Plate*

A detailed account of the Church plate, with descriptions, weights and inscriptions, was published in 1928.<sup>4</sup> The chalice of 1569, late 17<sup>th</sup> century alms dish, and flagon of 1702 described then have been in the Treasury at Christ Church since 1983, as has the plate of St Peter's-in-the-East, which passed to St Cross when St Peter's closed.<sup>5</sup> In 1986, however, the St Cross vestry was burgled<sup>6</sup> with loss of the chalice of 1864, the flagon of 1869, and the paten of 1905, which were all recorded in 1928.

#### *Furniture*

The furnishing of the chancel is as it was; the only change made for the present project was removal of one choir stall on the north side and shortening of another. The great majority of the moveable furniture in the redundant part of the building (*ie* the nave, organ chamber and vestry) was rehomed appropriately by the Churchwardens and Vicar in 2008. The pews were mid-Victorian: they were in poor condition and were scrapped. The only major item which remains is the arts and crafts ecclesiastical armoire which was in the vestry: it was purchased by Balliol. The great parish chest, which stood for some years near the west door, was in fact from St Peter's-in-the-East. It is now in the University Church of St Mary the Virgin. A sermon hourglass which was originally in St Martin's Carfax is mentioned in a number of places: it is also now in St Mary's.

#### *Stained glass*

All the stained glass, which is of *ca.*1850-1900, has been cleaned, repaired where necessary, and protected. Separate notes are available.

## Chapter 5

### The Ministers

The various analyses which have been made of the succession of ministers at St Cross which are found at the Oxfordshire Record Office<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere<sup>2</sup> are not mutually consistent. The situation is also confused by much coming and going, as well as loose terminology.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, many clergymen took services on an *ad hoc* basis, right up until the final service in the full Church of October 2008.<sup>4</sup> Canon Peter Hinchliff, for example, Chaplain of Balliol 1972-1986, who lived in the Parish and whose wife Constance (“Bunty”) was Churchwarden, frequently took services. As a chapel-of-ease, St Cross was not technically a benefice at all until the late eighteenth century,<sup>5</sup> when it became a perpetual curacy, incumbents of which were accorded the courtesy title “Vicar” from the mid-nineteenth century. A reasonably definite list of incumbents can be given from about 1800, and that is all<sup>6</sup> which will be attempted here.

1802 Robert Wall

Fellow of Merton .Died 1803.

1803 Peter Vaughan

Fellow of Merton, later Warden. Died 1825.

1813 Francis Dyson

Fellow of Merton. Died 1858.

1816 Francis Rowden

Fellow of Merton. Died 1852.

1823 Charles William St John Mildmay

Fellow of Merton. Died 1830.

1824 William Arundel Bouverie

Fellow of Merton. Archdeacon of Norwich. Died 1877.

1828 George Tyndall

Fellow of Merton. Died 1848.

1840 Brook Edward Bridges

Oriel 1831, but MA from Merton. Died 1869.

1843 Stuart Eyre Bathurst

Fellow of Merton. Although only Minister for a short time, he was responsible for the present south aisle (see above). He took the path to Rome *ca* 1851.

1844 Edward Meyrick Goulburn

Scholar of Balliol 1834. Fellow of Merton. See the *ODNB*.

1850 Constantine Estlin Prichard

Scholar of Balliol 1837. Fellow of Balliol 1842. Died 1869.

1851 Henry Baskerville Walton

Fellow of Merton. Died 1871. The east window by Messrs Hardman of Birmingham<sup>7</sup> commemorates him.

1871 George Noel Freeling

Fellow of Merton. There is a fine memorial on the chancel arch which credits him with the works of 1892-1893, which were largely planned by him and carried out shortly after his death .

1892 Howard Francis Leigh

MA from Merton 1886, and Chaplain but not Fellow of Merton. There is a memorial in the south aisle.

1907 Oscar Dan Watkins

MA from Merton 1875 .There is a memorial in the Church.

1921 Walter Dimitri Sargent

MA from Merton 1891. The altar rail is inscribed in his memory.

1935 Bernard Henry Bravery Atlee

MA and DD from Merton 1900. There is a chancel memorial.

1943 Thomas Edward Mayo Boulton

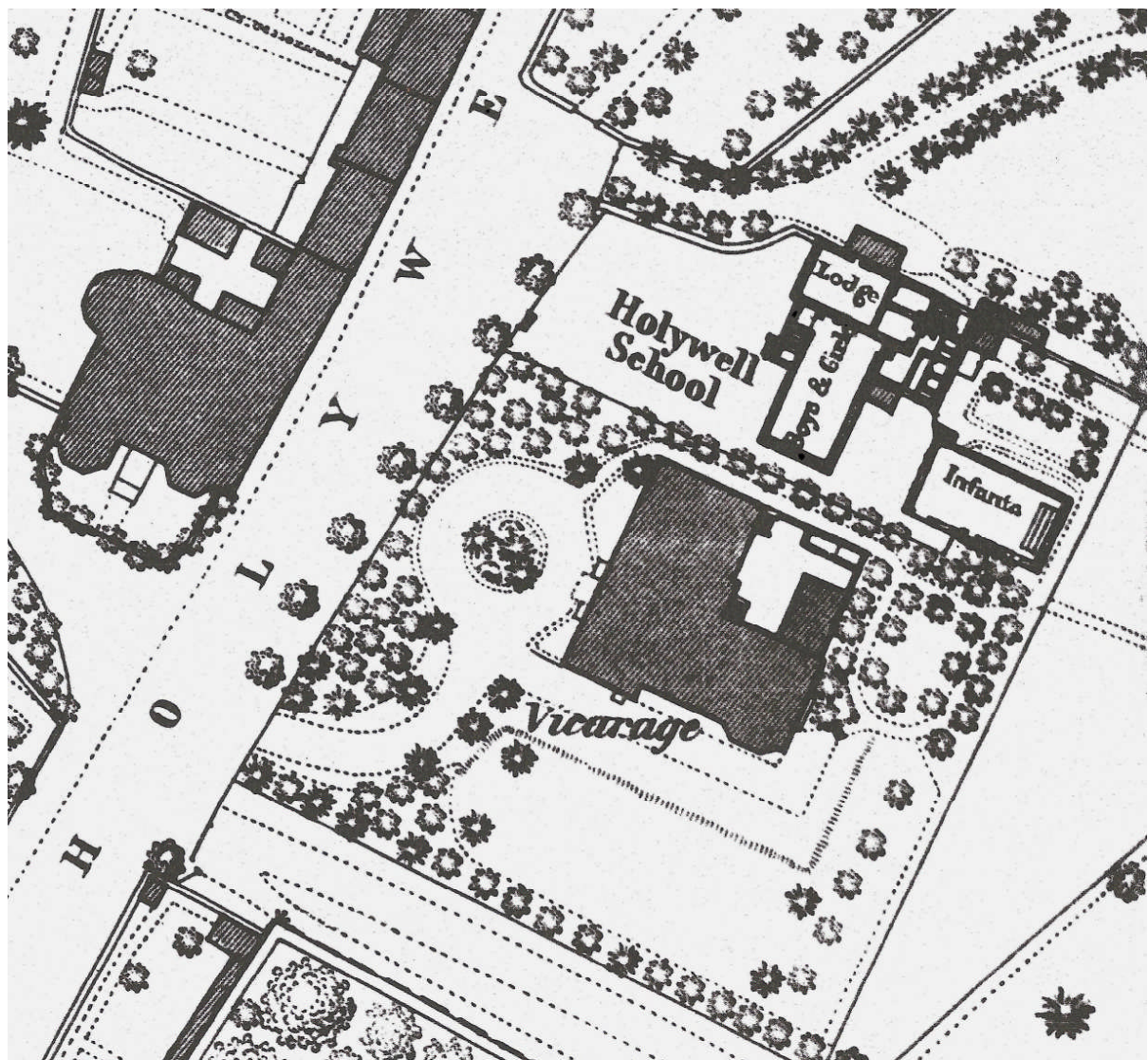
Merton 1910. There is a chancel memorial.

1951 Charles Arthur Crofts

Balliol 1933. Also Vicar of St Peter-in-the East 1957-1962.

Resigned 1962. Died 2008.

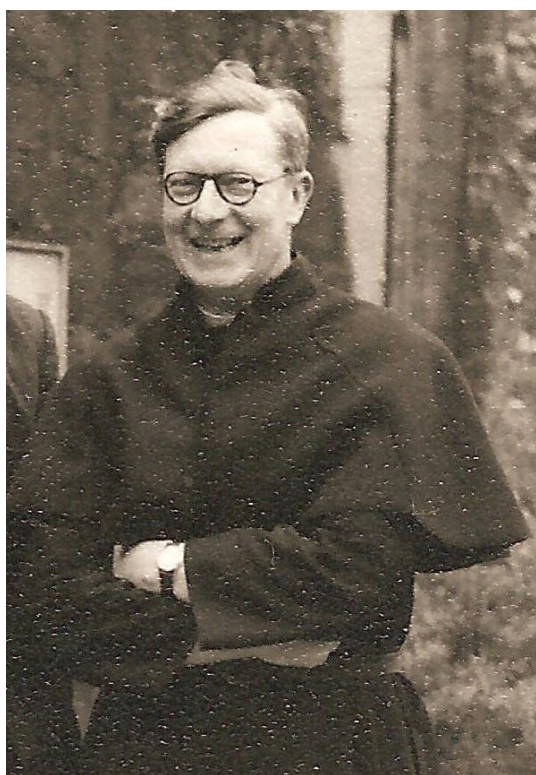
Almost all of these were Mertonians, Merton being the Patron. Until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century they were Fellows who resided in college, but a massive vicarage was built to the south of the present Cemetery in 1864;<sup>8</sup> it was demolished in the nineteen sixties, clearing the area for the first (temporary) buildings of St Cross College.



Crofts and his family moved to a new vicarage at 12 Mansfield Road about 1960; that was in turn demolished about 2000 to make way for the Chemistry Research Laboratory. When he resigned in 1962, St Cross Church became the responsibility of PM Martin, Vicar of St Mary the Virgin. He was Priest-in-Charge of St Cross until 1966, when he became Vicar of St Mary the Virgin with St Peter in the East and St Cross; he was succeeded as Incumbent of the linked benefices by Peter Cornwell 1975-1984, and Canon Brian Mountford in 1986.<sup>9</sup>

St Peter's Church was closed in 1965 for conversion into a library for St Edmund Hall, and with the St Cross conversion St Mary's is left as the only fully functioning church<sup>10</sup> in the united parishes. But it is a vibrant church, a second mini-cathedral, as befits the place in which the University began some eight hundred years ago, and which in its time has seen much drama, including the condemnation of Thomas Cranmer, and much spiritual eloquence – John Henry Newman was Vicar there.

As things stand, the Vicar of St Mary's will always have responsibility for the chancel of St Cross.



**1962**



**1951**

**Charles Crofts, last Vicar of St Cross, 1951-1962.**

## Chapter 6

### Parishioners and Memorials

The Napier or Napper family were Merton's Holywell Manor House tenants for about a hundred years from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. They were a prominent Catholic family, in times when that faith was barely tolerated, and penalised even when it was tolerated. Many of them were buried in the chancel. One who was not is the Blessed George Napier. Born and bred in the Manor House, he was executed in 1610. After the Napiers, the Catholic tradition was continued by the Harding family, and then by Thomas Kimber (buried 1716), with whom William Joyner alias Lyde lived in the latter years of his life. Joyner was a Catholic playwright: he died in the Manor House singing an hymn in 1706.

Samuel Clarke (died 1669), the orientalist polyglot and first *architypographus*, or controller of the University Press, lived in the Parish and was buried in the Church. His memorial, which recorded that he was "right famous for orientall learning" is lost. But his daughter Alicia D'Anvers, who was buried in the middle of the nave, has the most imposing surviving wall memorial of all. She wrote and published hard-hitting satirical poetry, famously lampooning the University of Oxford.<sup>1</sup> Her epitaph has been translated by Guy Westwood:-

"Alicia D'Anvers, daughter of Samuel Clarke the polyglot, died on the 13<sup>th</sup> July 1725 in her 58<sup>th</sup> year. She was a woman endowed with a ripe and lively wit, outstanding for her courage as for her compassion, learned without show, generous and devoted. She took the greatest pleasure in familiarity with literary people; she was invariably the only woman among them, but easily came up to the level of all of them, except that she was extremely wary of liberality with slander, and elegantly reined this in, seeing that she preferred to bear malicious talk than to retaliate. She was extremely well-versed in the French language, and far from ignorant of the Italian; she was often busy reading historians and poets. Out of the theatrical shows on our stages, she found the more recent distasteful, but dearly loved the older ones. As for the poems she wrote herself, she published several, but preferred to let many more be lost, and all the while carefully analysed sacred works, so as to adapt to their rule, authority and moral code. She bore adverse fortune tranquilly, and good fortune humbly; and managed to be at once careful of her property, as much

as her health allowed, and almost extravagant in her generosity to those in need. Knightly D’Anvers, Esq., raised this, in mourning, to his most beloved wife, much missed after almost 38 years of marriage; and, if it had pleased Almighty God, he would gladly have chosen to live [no] longer and to die together with her; so now, following her example and her counsel, he hopes that he will meet her again in heaven.”

Other Holywell people who flourished in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries include David Loggan the engraver, Christopher White, Oxford’s first chemist (who appears as Churchwarden in 1681) and John Keill, Balliol mathematician.

All these people are frequently mentioned in the diaries of the antiquaries Anthony à Wood and or Thomas Hearne, both of whom knew Holywell and Holywell Manor House well.

The surviving Parish registers begin in 1653, but Wood saw earlier records than that, and inscriptions since lost by erosion or Victorian vandalism. Only two of the memorials he described survive, both of them well-known early seventeenth century brasses. The Hopper brass (1625),<sup>2</sup> for Agnes wife of Thomas Hopper, *medici, Coll. Novi quondam socii*, and Jane their daughter is rather crudely executed, and was abused by the Victorians, who relocated it into the middle of a later memorial tablet. But the Franklin brass (1622),<sup>3</sup> for Elizabeth Franklin, third wife of Thomas Franklin, first keeper of the King’s Arms, who survived childbirth three times only to die at the fourth, is finely engraved and subtle in content. It is on the wall of the south tower pier now. Wood also described the chancel gravestone of John Snell (died 1679), one of Balliol’s greatest Benefactors, and through his Exhibitions, tenable by Glasgow graduates, the origin of the College’s modern Scottishness. JL Strachan Davidson, discovering that Snell’s gravestone was no longer visible, had the present plaque put up, also on the south tower pier to a fellow Scot and Balliol Benefactor.<sup>4</sup> Among the lost epitaphs Wood noted was one in the Churchyard for Thomas Holt (died 1624), *architectus* or *faberlignarius*, who was largely responsible for the construction of the Schools Quadrangle. Another in the Churchyard was for Bess Hampton (died 1661), a much respected Puritan conventicle-keeper who lived in Holywell Street: it mourned the passing of “our shee-Professor of Divinity”.



### The Franklin brass.

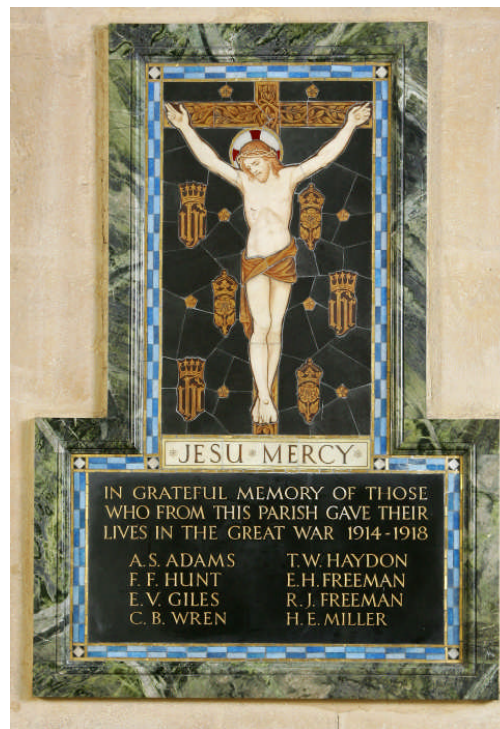
Although exposed to the elements for nearly four centuries, there is one largely readable Churchyard inscription which Wood did not bother to record, on the east end of a tabletop tomb near the south door: that of the parish benefactor William Merryman (1628) and his wife Anne (1619). Merryman described himself as a cook in his will,<sup>5</sup> and was associated with Hart Hall. He was probably more than the man who organised the kitchen there, and bought supplies in on his own account, selling on at a profit. At any rate he left a fair estate, and after family provision he left legacies to Hart Hall people and for the

poor of Holywell Parish: his name is at the top of the list on the Benefactions Board.



**The Merryman tomb.**

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Holywell Street was favoured by prosperous Oxford businessmen, and many Aldermen, at least half dozen of whom were Mayors of Oxford,<sup>6</sup> some of them for several terms, lived in Holywell. One of these was John Knibb the clockmaker (died 1722); there is a wall memorial to numerous members of that family in the Church.<sup>7</sup>



**The Great War memorial.**

The striking Great War memorial is by J Powell & Sons (Whitefriars) Ltd.<sup>8</sup>

Well over a dozen of those accorded the ultimate salute of an entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* were in their time closely associated with St Cross Church. Of these the best known is Sir John Stainer (died 1901), prolific musician, who lived in South Parks Road and was Churchwarden. Many familiar hymn tunes were composed by him. The beautiful window in the south aisle is a memorial to him.



The Stainer window.

There is a wall memorial to Rhoda Broughton (died 1920), a successful novelist whom few now read. And Charles Williams (died 1945) the Inklings poet was a regular member of the congregation. But the best known literary association is described by Dorothy Sayers in *Busman's Holiday* (1937): Harriet Vane married Lord Peter Wimsey in the Church. Wimsey was a fictional Balliol man based on a real one, Roy Ridley, Chaplain and English Tutor, who lived in 7 Mansfield Road for several years.

Many other notable people lie with Stainer and Williams in the Cemetery. With the highest popular profile, near the gate, is Kenneth Grahame, author of *Wind in the Willows* (1908). But for the present purpose it is the Balliol men who command most attention. AC Bradley the great literary critic (died 1935) rests there, as does Hugh Cairns the neurosurgeon (died 1952), with two Masters of Balliol, JL Strachan Davidson (died 1916) and AL Smith<sup>9</sup> (died 1924). Nearer our own time, the ashes of Jack de Wet (died 1995), a great Balliol Tutor of the fifties and sixties, are there too. The remains of Ronald Poulton-Palmer, a Balliol man killed in 1915 who had been Captain of the English Rugby XV in 1914, were buried in a corner of a foreign field. But, mounted on the wall at the bottom of the Cemetery, placed there by his sister in a Poulton family corner, is a rotting wooden cross, which was his original grave-marker. He was briefly a tragic national hero, like Rupert Brooke.



**Ronald Poulton's cross in the Poulton-Palmer corner.**

Balliol has had a secondary site in Holywell since the eighteen nineties, when the Master's Field was acquired and the first houses for Tutors were built around it. The College's presence in the Parish was greatly increased when it took over Holywell Manor in 1929. Most church-going members naturally attended the College Chapel on Sundays in term time, but there was Balliol involvement with the Church throughout much of the twentieth century all the same; it was for example the Parish Church of the enormous household of AL Smith, Canon Peter Hinchliff often officiated out of term time, and several residents of Holywell Manor are known to have attended St Cross. Jim Tyler was one. His reminiscences give a vivid picture of a lively intimate community in the early sixties. He arrived in Holywell Manor from Yale on a Saturday evening in September 1962, and went to a service next day. He was warmly welcomed, especially by Len Collins the Verger and Rosie his wife. Their little house by the Cemetery gate became his home from home for the next two years, during which he became closely integrated with the congregation, acting as a sort of assistant verger, sometimes tolling two bells while Len managed three to announce services, and once even digging a grave. The Tylers were married in the Church in 1963, with the congregation in lieu of family, and their first child was baptised there in 1964.

The acquisition of the Church completes the colonisation of Holywell by Balliol, and it seems unlikely that it will ever grow any more there, unless, perish the thought, it builds further on the Master's Field.

## References and Notes

The principal general sources for this booklet, and much else about St Cross Church and Holywell Parish, are given below, followed by references and notes for each chapter on specific points of interest or obscurity. I have not given references or notes for well-known facts which are easily traced to origin from the general sources.

Students of detail who are interested in accuracy must be warned that most of the accounts written for popular consumption are unreliable, often repeating speculation as fact and contradicting each other. Even the work of recent professionals does not always stand up to critical scrutiny. And as a final caveat, the many elegant drawings in the Bodleian and Ashmolean collections (see the card index of topographical views which was in 2009 in Duke Humfrey's Library), although agreeing in the broad, exhibit artistic licence in the details.

All the material collected for these notes, including the documentation of the St Cross Historic Collections Centre project from concept to completion, has been deposited in Balliol College Archives (hereafter BCA).

### *General Sources*

- i. *The Victoria County History, Oxfordshire*, **IV** (The City of Oxford), 1979.
- ii. JH Jones, 'The Development of Holywell between 1799 and 1900', *Top.Oxon.*, 1978.
- iii. Oswyn Murray ( compiler), *Holywell Manor : An Anecdotal History*, 2007.
- iv. John Jones, *Balliol College. A History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn revised, 2005.
- v. K Hylson-Smith, *A History of Holywell and the St Cross College/Brasenose College Residential Site*, 1996.
- vi. [Mrs] Bryan Stapleton, *A History of the Post-Reformation Catholic Missions in Oxfordshire*, 1906.
- vii. VH Galbraith. *A Memorandum of Holywell Manor*, 1932. Reprinted in Murray *op. cit.*
- viii. Oxfordshire Record Office (hereafter ORO), formerly St Luke's Church Cowley, Oxford. Material deposited by the St Cross Churchwardens or Incumbent is in ORO class PAR 199. Faculties survive for some works in that class: from 1850 on the diocesan side they are sometimes in ORO MS Oxon. Dioc. Papers c1929; earlier faculties are in c2170. Faculty records are however completely lacking on both parish and diocesan sides for some works which ought to have required faculties. Minutes of Vestry and Parochial Church Council (hereafter PCC) meetings survive from 1782 in ORO PAR199, and Churchwarden's accounts from 1664.
- ix. Bodleian Library (hereafter Bod.), especially the class MS Top. Oxon.
- x. Merton College Archives (hereafter MCA). Merton owned most of Holywell Parish for six centuries and were Patrons of the Church from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Its Archives are correspondingly rich in material related to the Parish, especially the Manor House and Church.

- xi. BCA. Balliol established itself in Holywell in stages by acquisition of property from Merton *ca.*1890-1929. There is copious material about these acquisitions in BCA. The documentation arising from the acquisition of St Cross Church and the material collected for these notes has all been laid down in BCA. Also, there is an electronic copy (hereafter BCA Nedderman Collection) of a package of ephemeral material, photographs and correspondence concerning the Church, which was kindly lent by Mrs Judith Nedderman (née Boulton) of Brisbane, daughter of TEM Boulton, Vicar of St Cross 1943-1950.
- xii. The Centre for Oxfordshire Studies (hereafter COS), Westgate Library, Oxford.
- xiii. St Cross Parish Registers. The surviving Registers are in ORO PAR 199. Transcripts to the year 1900 have been published by the Oxfordshire Family History Society.
- xiv. Surviving memorial inscriptions. Detailed notes have been posted on the College website .
- xv. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Oxford* , 1939 (hereafter RCHM).
- xvi. Anthony à Wood makes frequent references to Holywell Manor and Church: A Clark (ed.), (a) *Wood's City of Oxford*, **I-III**, 1889-1890 (Oxford Hist. Soc.); and (b) *Wood's Life and Times*, **I-V**, 1891-1895 (Oxford Hist.Soc.). See especially *Wood's City of Oxford*, **III**, 186-191,
- xvii. Thomas Hearne also makes frequent references to Holywell Manor and Church: various eds., *Hearne's Collections*, **I-X**, 1885-1915 (Oxford Hist. Soc.). See especially **III**, 403-408.
- xviii. J Elders, *Pastoral Measure Report; Oxford (Holywell) St Cross*, Council for the Care of Churches, 2007. Copy in BCA.
- xix. Oxford Archaeology, *St Cross Church Holywell Oxford. Historic Buildings Assessment*, 2009.[OA Job No:4245]. Copy in BCA.
- xx. G Simms, 'Some historical and antiquarian notes on Holywell Parish, Oxford', *Oxford Architect. and Hist.Soc.*, 1889, **5**(New Series), 196-212. George Simms was a local antiquarian enthusiast who was born in Holywell *ca.*1830: his account draws on his boyhood memories, and he was clearly very familiar with the Church.

### ***References and Notes for Chapter 1***

- 1. *Oxfordshire Record Soc.*, 1957, **XXXVIII**, 113.
- 2. Reproduced by courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum.
- 3. JH Jones, 'The Development of Holywell between 1799 and 1900', *Top. Oxon.*, 1978.
- 4. Not without controversy over practices "contrary to the spirit of the Reformation", such as candles in broad daylight, unfamiliar vestments, and a stone altar "after the Romish fashion". See *Jackson's Oxford Journal* (hereafter *JOJ*) 11 and 24 Dec. 1858. Some parishioners protested to Samuel Wilberforce the Bishop, who supported HB Walton the Vicar, apart from ordering the removal of the stone altar, and rebuked the protesters for going behind the Vicar's back. For the correspondence of the Vicar and Bishop in the matter see Bod. GA Oxon 8° 262(3). See also *Oxfordshire Record Soc.*, 2008, **66**, 239-243.
- 5. St Cross PCC Minutes, ORO PAR 199/3/A1/1, 6 Nov. 1923.
- 6. University Church of St Mary the Virgin and the Parish of St Cross & St Peter-in-the-East, Parish Paper, Dec. 1968, pp7-8; newspaper cuttings, nd, *ca.*1968. BCA Nedderman Collection.
- 7. St Cross PCC Minutes, ORO PAR 199/3/A1/3, 18 May 1962.
- 8. Restoration Appeal leaflet, nd, *ca.* 1978-9. BCA Nedderman Collection (copy also at ORO).

9. Mary Rodger to Judith Nedderman, 20 Dec. 1979. BCA Nedderman Collection.

### **References and Notes for Chapter 3**

1. Bod. MS Top.Oxon. a36 fo.120. Hearne **III** 406 identifies WM and RH as William Merryman and Rich<sup>d</sup>. Harper, Churchwardens.

2. Archdeacon's directions, 1786: ORO PAR 199/11/F1/3.

3. CC Rolfe reported his discovery on 10 Nov. 1896: *Proc. Oxford Architectural and Hist. Soc.*, 1902, New Series, **VI** (1894-1902), 110-112. See also CC Rolfe to the Warden of Merton from Holywell Ford 17 Sept 1896, MCA MCR 5.2.1, and the newspaper cutting in Bod. GA Oxon. b154 fo. 13. On Newman's regular use of the Cold Bath, including in winter-time, see *The Times*, 15 June 1939.

4. *JOJ*, 17 Feb. 1849, 24 Feb. 1849, and 19 Oct. 1850.

5. By JC Buckler, 1828: Bod. MS Don a3 fo 72. An independent drawing of 1820 by J Fisher (Bod. MS Top Oxon b89 fo. 98) from a position few more degrees to the west confirms the accuracy of Buckler's view, and shows more clearly that there was no west door at this time.

6. These illustrations are derived from photographs of drawings taken by Henry Taunt *ca.*1907. The originals have not been definitely traced, but the one on the right has a visible Bod. stamp in Taunt's uncleaned-up photographs COS HT 10374 and HT10312, and is apparently Bod. MS Top Oxon b14 fo. 9.

7. Drawn by Jenny Holden. The elevation shown cannot be captured by photography because of trees and changes in the level of the Churchyard.

8. A sundial, perhaps slightly smaller than the present one, is faintly shown in an Ashmolean Museum drawing by J Malchair of 1775, in the same position. Payments and donations for "y<sup>e</sup> south dial", "y<sup>e</sup> wether cocke" and "y<sup>e</sup> este dial" were recorded by the Churchwardens in 1667: ORO PAR199 4/F1/1.

9. St Cross Vestry Meeting Minutes 4 May 1837, ORO PAR 199/2/A1/1; it was agreed "to enlarge the Church on the north side according to the plans of Mr J Plowman's". It is not clear whether the architect was John Plowman (*ca.*1773-1843) or his son John Plowman (*ca.*1807-*ca.*1871), both of whom were Oxford architects. The builder was "Mr Banting", presumably the Banting who built Littlemore Church (see P Howell, 'Newman's Church at Littlemore', *Oxford Art Journal*, 1983, **6**, 51-56). The foundation stone for the north aisle was laid by the Vicar, G Tyndall, in 1837: *JOJ*, 3 June 1837.

10. St Cross Vestry Meeting Minutes 18 May 1843, ORO PAR 199/2/A1/128. According to *The Times* 6 Aug. 1844, Bathurst gave £1000, making the Church "an almost perfect specimen of an Anglo-Catholic church".

11. P Mottram, 'John Macduff Derick (*ca.*1805/6-1859). A biographical sketch', *Ecclesiology Today*, 2004(32), 40-52. It is not clear who the builder for the main works of the south aisle was; presumably Bathurst paid him direct, so nothing shows in the Parish records. Richard Redhead ( *ca.*1786-, a builder living in Broad Street ) was paid about £100 for various works in the period 1843-1847, including framing and hanging the new door at the west end.

12. The tiny vestry is shown in the OS map of 1876, which was surveyed just before demolition and rebuilding in the northeast corner of the Church.

13. *JOJ*, 24 Oct. 1874. The builders for this, and much other work on the Church before and since then, were Knowles & Son, who were already long-established and still are a leading Oxford family firm: D Sturdy, *A History of Knowles and Son Oxford Builders for 200 years 1797-1997*, (British Archeological Reports: BAR 254), 1997. Sturdy's book is effectively a family history as well as a history of the firm, and includes a detailed family tree. The firm and the Knowles family itself were based in Holywell; many of them are buried in the Churchyard and Cemetery. There is a grave-vault with many Knowles names on the surface monument near the south door of the Church.

14. *JOJ*, 21 Oct. 1876; for the faculty see ORO MS.Oxf.Dioc.Papers c1929. Tollit was (1875) also Churchwarden.

15. ORO PAR 199/17/MS1/31.

16. On Rolfe, see A Saint, 'Three Oxford Architects', *Oxoniensia*, 1970, **35**, 53-102. Rolfe not only lived in the Parish (see note 3 above), but was also a Churchwarden around this time.

17. 'Report of the Committee appointed by the Vestry in 1892 and 1893 to control the works of repair and restoration of Holywell Church', St Cross Vestry Meeting Minutes, ORO PAR 199/2/A1/128, fos.230-231v.

18. Edward Prioleau Warren (1856-1937) was later Balliol's architect for several major projects including the JCR Staircase, Staircase XV (for which Knowles & Son were contractors), Staircase XX, and numbers 5 and 7 Mansfield Road, in the last of which the present author and his family lived for many years.

19. Warren's specifications: ORO PAR 199/17/MS1/89. The faculty is in ORO MS Oxf. Dioc. Papers c1929.

20. *Wood's City of Oxford*, **III**, p189, says plausibly that the niche on the south side did contain a "picture" "in stone" of the Virgin Mary which was removed at the reformation, but the authority is not evident.

21. Notes by CA Crofts, 1954. BCA Nedderman Collection.

22. A faculty was granted for the installation of a new gallery in a corner of the south aisle in 1746 : ORO PAR199/11/L1/1.

23. This drawing, which was in the vestry, is now in ORO. It is signed "N.W.H" and dated 1891, but it is not clear what it was based on, as no contemporary image of the Church interior before the Victorian work has been traced. However, vague allusions in the *St Cross Parish Magazine* 1875-1890 ( Bod GA Oxon 4° 179) indicate that there was local memory going back to the 1820s, and possibly a now lost drawing was then available .

24. 1675 Churchwardens' accounts, 1675: ORO PAR 4/F1/2.

25. A à Wood (additions by J Peshall), *The antient and present state of the City of Oxford.....*, 1773, pp250-254.

26. This gallery and its alteration (specification in ORO PAR 1999/11/F1/7, 1827) according to the plans of Mr Wyatt is mentioned several times in St Cross Vestry Minutes, ORO PAR 199/2/A1/1, in the period 1814-1828. The Churchwardens' accounts, ORO PAR 199 /4/F1/4, record that Wyatt was paid over £65 in 1827-8.

27. *History Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Oxford*, pub. R Gardener, 1852, p302; St Cross Vestry Minutes, ORO PAR199/2/A1/A1, 3 Aug. 1837.

28. *JOJ* 24 Nov. 1900 mentions the removal seven or eight years previously of the Commandments and Creed, and their replacement by angelic figures painted by Reginald Hallward.

29. Reginald Francis Hallward (1858-1948) was a versatile artist whose work included other church murals and stained glass designs.

30. Warren also engaged HA Bernard Smith elsewhere around this time, and Googling on that name in January 2009 identified several churches he worked on.

31. The faculty is in ORO MS Oxf.Dioc.Papers c1929. See also ref 17 above.

32. ORO PAR 199/17/MS2/26 is a memorandum by Henry Strachey about the work. Strachey was both a painter and an art critic, probably of ca.1863-1940. When the chancel ceiling was restored, a note was discovered attached high up stating that "All the panels of the roof were painted by Henry Strachey in Aug: & Sept: 1898.They are painted with wax and oil medium. The 4 Angels & Chalice .. centre are on canvas fixed to the roof with white lead .The rest...[illegible]".

33. Photograph by Henry Taunt ca.1890. COS HT 6619.

34. On the controversy, see *Oxfordshire Record Soc.*, 2006,**66**,239-242; an incomplete crude inscription on a piece of thin metal found nailed high up in the chancel in 2010 indicates that RGH Orchard and his wife Marian had something to do with this work. On the 1950 removal, see St Cross Parish Paper, Sept. 1950, BCA Nedderman Collection. Tracings were said to have been made, but they have not been located. Actually the removal was incomplete, and some indications of what had been there before (see the illustration <sup>35</sup>) could be seen peeping through the 1950 whitewash in 2010. These vestiges were too fragmentary for restoration to be attempted however, and the walls were simply given a fresh covering.

35. BCA Nedderman Collection.

36. ORO PAR 199/11/MS2/2.

37. Leslie Ronald Pimm (1902-1974). He was Organist and Choirmaster 1924-1962. A newspaper obituary (cutting in the BCA Nedderman Collection) also refers to his work as “an ecclesiastical and ornamental illuminator”; in a letter to Judith Nedderman of 12 Jan. 1987 (BCA Nedderman Collection) Muriel Pimm his widow wrote “...Leslie made his mark there when he did the Crucifixion picture on the chancel arch....”. See also the Secretary’s Report to the PCC, St Cross PCC Minutes, ORO PAR 199/3/A1/2, 27 March 1940.

38. Faculty papers (1923) are in ORO MS Oxf.Dioc.Papers c1929. The architect was HS Rogers of St Aldates. Alice Frances Sargent was buried in the Cemetery in 1922.

39. *The Oxford Journal Illustrated*, 27 Jan. 1926 names the sculptor as “Mr Alec Miller of Campden”; the donor’s name and the fact that the statue was given in memory of Pater and his sisters are recorded in St Cross PCC Minutes, ORO PAR 199/3/A1/1, 1 March 1923. There is no inscription. The gift was no doubt prompted by the death of Hester Pater in the previous year; Clara Pater died in 1910 and Walter Pater in 1894. All of them are buried in Holywell Cemetery. Alec Miller (1879-1961) was a prolific sculptor whose works are widely distributed; locally in, for example, St Luke’s Cowley, now ORO. I owe my information about Alec Miller to Graham Peel, who was (2009) working on his biography.

40. The faculty (1930) is in ORO MS Oxf. Dioc. Papers c1929.

41. An organ and organist payments are first recorded in 1828; the organ was improved by Gray and Davidson in 1855 and probably rebuilt altogether by JW Walker in 1861. The 1861 instrument was enlarged by William Hill and Son in 1876/7. For further detail and subsequent history see the *National Organ Pipe Register*, ref. N11074. See also R Pacey and M Popkin, *The Organs of Oxford*, 1997, 91. It was dismantled in early 2009 under the direction of the Reverend Adam Matchett, Rector of Adare, Limerick, and taken to Ireland.

42. A new font was first used in 1840 (the first baptism in it is noted as such in the Register) when it was installed at the west end of the Church. It was still there in 1859, but by 1882 a font was by the south door: see pew plans ORO PAR 199/17/MS1/15 (1859) and 16 (1882). In 1875 there were hopes (*St Cross Parish Magazine*, March 1875, Bod. GA Oxon 4° 179) of installing a new font designed by “the late Mr Buckeridge”: perhaps the one now surviving is by Buckeridge.

43. Bod. Vet. A5. d1127, fo.250a. Signed and dated W.C. [W Calcutt] 1771. The little building just to the right of the Church is the Cold Bath mentioned earlier.

44. Bod. MS Don. a3, fo.73.

45. The Cemetery was consecrated by the Bishop of Oxford in October 1848. The Chapel was “in the decorated style, built of Gibraltar stone, with Bath stone quoins and mullions, and reflects great credit on the architect Mr Underwood”, *JOJ* reported (14 Oct. 1848). It was demolished in 1955 to make room for more burials and because it was maintenance liability: ORO PAR 199/12/C1/4.

46. Photograph by Henry Taunt, ca.1885. COS HT 4820.

47. Lists of burials in Holywell Cemetery are available, and copious material about the Cemetery survives at ORO in class PAR 199.

48. ORO MS Oxon. Dioc. Papers c1929.

49. Knowles & Son replaced the previous high wall with a “dwarf wall with light iron railing”: *JOJ* 13 Oct 1866. The areas in front of the west door and between the Church and Chapel were also enclosed at this time: until then the Churchyard wall connected with the SW corner of the Church.

50. Detailed reports on the annual meetings of the “Oxford Penitentiary and House of Refuge” appear in *JOJ* most years 1860-1900.

51. This drawing by EH New hangs (2009) in Holywell Manor. The illustration was derived from it by taking a section of a digital scan and enhancing it electronically with the help of John Mellor.

### ***References and Notes for Chapter 4***

1. Report by Whites of Appleton, Oct. 2005. BCA.
2. *JOJ*, 24 Oct. 1874.
3. *Oxfordshire Record Soc.*, 1951, **XXXII** [F Sharpe, *The Church Bells of Oxfordshire*, **III**], 288-289.
4. JT Evans, *The Church Plate of Oxfordshire*, 1928, pp126-127. RCHM, Plate 41 (30) is a photograph of the Elizabethan chalice.
5. Information kindly provided by Professor Sarah Foot and Edward Evans.
6. ORO PAR 199/11/C1/7 is a gathering of papers concerning the theft.

### ***References and Notes for Chapter 5***

1. See material in ORO PAR 199/9.
2. *Clergy of the Church of England Database*, a valuable resource found in 2009 at <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/index.orig.html>
3. “Curate” and “Perpetual Curate” often appear interchangeably; but a Curate was an untenured deputy appointed by the Vicar and was usually ephemeral, whereas a Perpetual Curate had tenure subject to the whim of the Bishop. A Vicar had secure tenure.
4. See the St Cross Parish Registers, in ORO PAR 199/1. A CMB transcript to 1900 is available.
5. *The Victoria County History, Oxfordshire*, **IV** (The City of Oxford), 1979.
6. One earlier minister-in-charge of whom certainty is possible is of particular interest. Richard Meadowcroft (1695-1790) signed the Visitation Return to Bishop Secker in 1738 (*Oxfordshire Record Soc.*, 1957, **XXXVIII**, 113-114). He has an *ODNB* entry. He was a Fellow of Merton, and reported to the Bishop that it was usually the case that a Fellow of Merton was Curate.
7. *JOJ*, 11 Oct. 1873.
8. Built by “Mr Castle the builder” (estimate £1300) under the direction of Charles Buckeridge on a site given by Merton. Its plan appears on OS maps of 1886. See Bod.MS Top. Oxon. c104 fos. 166-174. Buckeridge was also the architect for Holywell School, which was between the Vicarage and Cemetery, *ca.*1858: part of that survives converted to collegiate use. Described when built (*JOJ*, 15 Oct. 1864) as “a commodious Gothic parsonage”, the inconveniences of the Vicarage’s vastness were vividly described a century later in an interview given to the *Oxford Mail* by Mrs Crofts: cutting dated 23 Sept 1959 in the BCA Nedderman Collection, which also contains some photographs.
9. *The Parish of St Cross and St Peters-in-the-East with St John Baptist, Oxford* was formally united with *The Parish of St Mary the Virgin, Oxford* by a Pastoral Measure made by the Church Commissioners on 28 April 2010, the new Parish being named *The Parish of Oxford St Mary the Virgin with St Cross and St Peters-in-the-East*. No perceptible change attended these legal formalities, which was the end of St Cross Church’s status as a parish church.
10. Leaving aside the various college chapels of course, but these do not legally come under the auspices of the Diocese.

### References and Notes for Chapter 6

1. Her published works have been reprinted in facsimile with an introductory note by RC Evans in *The Early Modern Englishwoman: a Facsimile Library of Essential Works, Series II Printed Writings 1641-1700: Part 2, Volume 2 Alicia D'Anvers*, 2003, ISBN 0 7546 3094 3.
2. This brass is now just below the chancel step, set with no respect into a later memorial slab by Victorian vandals, but at least near its original position in the chancel; a replica is available.
3. This brass has been for many years mounted on the south pier of the tower; it was originally in the south aisle. It has attracted much commentary: see especially HFO Evans, *Trans. Monumental Brass Soc.*, 1938, **VII**, 222-224, which includes a reproduction.
4. Strachan Davidson's letters from CL Stainer, Churchwarden (and son of Sir John Stainer) of 1910-1912 are in BCA MBP 29(3). Stainer had a thorough search made, including under the altar, and concluded that the Snell memorial was either lost or buried under the Victorian floor, remarking, "1840-1860 treated Holywell Ch: as no vandals would have".
5. His will was proved in the University Chancellor's Court, and survives in OUA.
6. A valuable list of Oxford Mayors with biographical summaries was found in January 2010 at <http://www.headington.org.uk/oxon/mayors/index.htm>
7. RA Lee, *The Knibb Family. Clockmakers*, 1964; J James, 'Johannes Knibb Oxoniae Fecit', *Antique Collector*, Aug. 1936, 212-215.
8. The faculty (1924) is in ORO MS Oxon. Dioc. Papers c1929.
9. For many years before he became Master, Smith and his family lived in the King's Mound, Mansfield Road . St Cross became the family church, and is frequently mentioned by Smith's biographer wife: *Arthur Lionel Smith Master of Balliol (1916-1924). A Biography and some Reminiscences by his Wife*, 1928. Six of their seven daughters were married in it, five of them to Balliol men. See also: *Balliol College Register*, various edns.; MJ (ed.) *A Goodly Heritage*, 1950, printed for private circulation; E Nussbaum, *Dear Miss Baird*, 2003; E Brunner (ed. HMR Brunner) *Child of the Theatre*, 2010.

