

Pilgrimage & England's Cathedrals

PAST & PRESENT



Westminster Cathedral

Report and findings March 2017



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Contact

If you wish to contact the project team, please use the following details:

Dr Dee Dyas

The Centre for the Study of Christianity and Culture, Berrick Saul Building Rm 122,

University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD

E: dee.dyas@york.ac.uk | T: 01904 328095

Foreword

It has been our great pleasure and privilege to work with the team from York University and the Arts and Humanities Council in their research into Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals both in the past and in the present. For over a hundred years countless visitors of every faith and none have come to Westminster Cathedral, sensing and seeking the presence of God filling it with prayer and contemplation and admiring its unique architecture and design. At the same time Westminster Cathedral is a vibrant parish Church. The parish community welcome pilgrims from all over the world to Holy Mass, Lauds and Vespers or just to sit and be still.

The vision for the Cathedral when it was consecrated in 1910 was that up to 2000 people could have an uninterrupted view of what was happening on the Sanctuary. This is still true today and makes the Cathedral a unique place for personal prayer, parish Masses, national and international celebrations.

The presence of Saint John Southworth in the Cathedral is treasured by many parishioners and pilgrims. St John Southworth was born in Lancashire but lived and ministered in the streets of where the Cathedral now stands. He died for his faith in 1654. We are delighted that he is referred to in this report, as he is a great example to us all.

I recommend this report to you, it gives all of us much to think about and consider, so that we can offer all our visitors and pilgrims to the Cathedral a faith filled encounter with God in the next hundred years.

May God bless you,

Canon Christopher Tuckwell

Project summary, team and acknowledgements

Project summary

This report is the product of a three-year interdisciplinary research project (2014-2017) funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council and led by a team based at the University of York. The project examined the history and contemporary experience of pilgrimage in its broadest sense through the lens of case-studies of four English cathedrals: Canterbury, Durham, Westminster and York. The chief interdisciplinary strands were history, social science, anthropology, theology and religious studies. Through a combination of historical research and on-site fieldwork the team has been enabled to compare past practice with modern experience in a new way. The project has examined people's expectations and the ways in which these were met or modified by their experience of engagement with each building and the community it houses.

Project team

The Principal Investigator was Dr Dee Dyas (University of York), a recognised authority on pilgrimage, who is currently carrying out detailed research on engagement with sacred space. The two Co-Investigators were Dr Marion Bowman (Open University) and Professor Simon Coleman (University of Toronto). Dr Bowman is a Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies, a recognised specialist in contemporary vernacular religion and pilgrimage. Professor Coleman is an anthropologist who holds a chair in The Study of Religion, specialising in the theory of pilgrimage and the study of cathedrals. The Research Assistants were Dr John Jenkins and Dr Tiina Sepp. Dr Jenkins is a medieval historian who has undertaken research into the experience and management of pilgrims at each case-study cathedral. Dr Sepp, a social scientist and ethnologist with expertise in the study of pilgrimage, worked with Dr Bowman and Professor Coleman, to undertake extensive on-site fieldwork and interviewing of participants for the study.

Acknowledgements

The project team would like to record their considerable gratitude to the staff and volunteers at Westminster Cathedral for all the help, support and goodwill they showed to the project across the three years of research. We hope the results of our work will assist this hardworking team to continue to enhance the mission of the cathedral to worshippers and visitors, of every faith and none, who cross the threshold of this special place.

Introduction

Context

A Church for us is more than a building – it is a sacred space, filled with God's presence. Everything within that space – the paintings, the statues, the stained glass – exists for a spiritual purpose... This is to provide people with a focus for prayer and an insight into God: literally a 'glimpse of heaven'. 'Patrimony', Catholic Church in England and Wales website

Westminster Cathedral, in common with other cathedrals in England, is seeking to offer a 'glimpse of heaven' to the increasingly wide range of visitors who complement the worshipping communities built around its parochial, diocesan, national and international roles. As a place of extraordinary beauty, rich history, and ever-developing artistic heritage, it draws Catholics and non-Catholics to experience its daily round of worship and prayer, whether as participants or observers. This reflects a national increase in visitors to cathedrals prompted in part by the resurgence of interest in spirituality, 'special' places and pilgrimage shown by so many today. This resurgence offers cathedrals across the country great opportunities for mission and community building; it also brings significant challenges in terms of resources and strategy.

The 'Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals, Past and Present' (PEC) Research Project

Since 2014 the PEC team has been working with the community of Westminster Cathedral on an agreed plan of research exploring the cathedral's history *and* contemporary visitor experience. Both perspectives are key to understanding the way the Cathedral was designed and used in the past, and recognising the needs, expectations and hopes of the increasingly diverse groups of people who may enter it today. The team has explored a wide range of evidence related to the Cathedral's stated purpose *'to be a house of prayer, which represents and realises a Catholic presence in our parish, diocese, city and nation, through the celebration of the sacraments, the preaching of God's Word, the beauty of worship, and ministry to those who come here.'* This summary report is designed to promote discussion and build on current achievements to further enhance the Cathedral's outreach and the experience of all who visit and worship.

Some key issues

- Cathedrals have *worship*, *welcome* and *witness* at their centre of their being, yet they are now welcoming increasingly diverse audiences for whom both *worship* and *witness* may not be as familiar as in the past. What can cathedrals offer to audiences who may have very varied levels of spiritual understanding to enhance learning, experience, encounter and spiritual response?
- Cathedrals are shared but diverse spaces inhabited by many overlapping groups and individuals: staff, volunteers, visitors of all ages and interests, pilgrims, regular congregations and other worshippers. All affect each other; all are affected by and influence the shared space. Should everyone, whatever their reasons for being in the space, be seen as a 'potential pilgrim' capable of spiritual response?
- In Christian tradition pilgrimage can be a journey through life, an inner journey, and a journey to a holy place. All who cross cathedral thresholds are on a life journey, with many keen to take the chance to reflect on it, or just to spend time in quiet. Evidence shows a wide range of interactions with sacred places, past and present. These may include formal 'pilgrim' activity but may also be fluid, spontaneous and variable, even within a single visit. What does this mean for providing for worshippers, visitors and others, and for the ways in which buildings are presented and explained?

Cathedrals are places of 'spiritual heritage'. How do they explain their meaning to visitors who may come from any faith or none and have little if any Christian understanding?

Principles of Investigation

Our team consists of historians and social scientists, all with experience of working in Christian contexts. Team members are aware that their role is not to redescribe the cathedral for staff who already know its spaces intimately. Rather, the aim is to develop a holistic perspective that would be difficult for any single person to attain. Thus, we are guided by a number of general principles:

- An interdisciplinary approach is necessary to understand how current understandings and uses of cathedrals relate to their role in the recent as well as more distant past.
- Cathedrals are not only important *repositories* and *guardians*, but also significant *interpreters*, of history, through exhibitions, guided tours, notices, and material culture.
- Worship spaces are vital parts of cathedrals, accessible to the public, but our focus on the management, mission, and civic profile of cathedrals means that we are interested in all dimensions of work associated with them. We have therefore developed techniques to learn from as many people as possible with connections to cathedrals.

Methods

These guiding principles led us to develop the following research strategies:

- Study of cathedral archives.
- Tracing shifts in spatial arrangements and uses of cathedrals over time.
- Consulting previous works published about cathedrals, including commissioned reports.
- Techniques designed to gain a wide and rich variety of information, including:
- Direct observation of behaviour in cathedrals from different vantage points, during different seasons and special events, and at different times of the day.
- Interviews with both staff, volunteers, and visitors to cathedrals. The term 'staff' is understood to cover a wide variety of roles, ranging from senior clergy to lay employees. The term 'visitors' is taken to cover both local residents and travellers.
- Questionnaires distributed from a project table located within each cathedral.
- Online responses/ email interviews as a means of gaining extended insights from even brief visitors, regardless of their home location.
- Observation of social media.

Conceptual Frameworks

While this report presents detailed analyses of different spaces and uses of the cathedral, our research has uncovered broad themes, derived from our observations and academic literatures. These themes represent challenges but also great opportunities for cathedrals:

- The significance of **adjacencies**, i.e. the ways cathedrals house different activities, often simultaneously, within close proximity. Boundaries between these activities may be fuzzy.
- Cathedrals as containing **tight and loose** spaces: sometimes, activity in a cathedral is highly focused and regulated in space and time, as during a service; sometimes activities are far less regulated and focused, as during times of open access. Staff manage the often swift transitions between these different uses of space.
- Cathedrals as places of **low thresholds**, but **high expectations**. Apart from charging for entry in some cases, cathedrals are open freely to all; but those who come often have high expectations for the spiritual or heritage experiences offered.
- Spaces with norms of **access and behaviour**. Cathedrals control access (times and spaces). Behavioural protocols (ideas of 'appropriate behaviour' not necessarily shared by/ explained to visitors) are important to convey without censure: these are often key in determining the experience of visitors, and key points of challenge for staff.
- Spaces of **relationality**. Cathedrals are places where people may seek anonymity, but may also seek connections with fellow visitors, faith, history, their city, etc. Sometimes, the connections they make are unexpected, leading to surprising transitions in identity, as between a 'tourist' and a 'pilgrim'.

1. Cathedrals as multi-purpose spaces

'Westminster Cathedral is, and will remain, above all a house of prayer, where tourist and pilgrim alike experience God, and find refreshment for their souls.'

Westminster Cathedral Guidebook, 2011

In 'Thinking Spatially about Religion,' (2012) sociologist Grace Davie notes that in the 1970s cathedrals were seen by many as dinosaurs, large and useless, with no place in the 21st century. Elsewhere, Davie has summed up the appeal of cathedrals thus: 'Cathedrals offer a distinctive product – one which includes traditional liturgy, top-class music and excellence in preaching, all of which take place in a historic and often very beautiful building, an important repository of individual and collective memory. Above all, a visit to a cathedral is an aesthetic experience, sought after by a wide variety of people, including those for whom membership or commitment presents difficulties.' While some of these comments may seem more applicable to Anglican cathedrals, Westminster has a unique role in London as a Catholic cathedral that attracts not only the religiously highly literate, but tourists, local workers, people seeking a calm and safe space in the city, people from faiths other than Christianity, and non-aligned spiritual seekers who see cathedrals as repositories of the sacred.

Historical perspectives

From its foundation, Westminster Cathedral has been both a symbol and a functioning centre of Catholic activity in England. Cardinal Vaughan intended a 'live cathedral' where the highest standard of liturgy would be carried out in fullness every day as a benchmark for the Church; a parish church where there would be a constant hum of prayer; and that 'what went on in it... would be its ultimate justification.' It was the seat of a Cardinal-archbishop who traced a lineage back to Reginald Pole (1500-58), Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury, and a sign of the re-establishment of Catholicism in the heart of the Empire, where a piece of the True Cross in St Edward's Tower gave unceasing blessings to the capital of the world's greatest city.

As a living house of worship, the Cathedral has responded to the changing circumstances of the past century. Much of this has taken the form of increased pastoral care and devotional focus. In 1930 it became home to the body of the martyred BI (later St) John Southworth, 'Westminster's Parish Priest'; in the 1950s the all-day confessional was introduced; and under the leadership of Cardinal Hume the Cathedral opened care services for the local needy. The Cathedral choir pioneered an English form and repertoire of choral singing, and since 1964 has hosted highly-regarded concerts of sacred music. There have been challenges, not least after Vatican II, when debates about how to respond to the new liturgical atmosphere amid financial pressures led some to call the Cathedral 'obsolete'. However, events such as the Eucharistic Congress of 1908, the papal visits of 1982 and 2010, and the tours of the relics of St Thérèse of Lisieux and St Thomas Becket (when Catholics and others thronged the building and the streets around), as well as the recent 'Way of Mercy', have emphasised the Cathedral's power.

Contemporary observations

The contemporary Cathedral is not only a multi-purpose space, it is also one that balances visible and less visible functions in ways that have changed over the years. While the basilica is the most accessible and most 'open' part of the building, other activities such as social care, parochial administration, storage and distribution of relics, and organization of both guilds and pilgrimages occur behind the scenes. Two further dimensions of the Cathedral's shifting visibility and versatility are significant. First, the opening of the Piazza leading to the Cathedral (as a Westminster Council tourism initiative), symbolises a Church open to more diverse publics, and connects with a wider public that is open to and interested in exploring the building and its meaning. Second, recent decades have shown how attitudes to religious spaces have changed considerably since the 1970s, when some internal voices even questioned the need for Westminster Cathedral itself. Places of spiritual heritage are increasingly attracting both people of (diverse) faith and spiritual seekers, less concerned with traditional labels and boundaries, more focused on experiencing the sacred. Westminster Cathedral, through its accessibility and permeability, flexibility and diversity of religious offerings and engagement, offers opportunities for encounter with the sacred in both overt and subtle ways. These themes will be explored further in later sections.

Historical evidence

- *'It has been well said that churches are buildings, not merely in which, but with which, we worship God. And a cathedral or parish church is, moreover, a place of assembly and instruction and a place of common prayer.'* **Cardinal Vaughan**
- *'...the Catholic body must have a cathedral in which the sacred liturgy of the church should be carried out in all its fullness day by day, and many times a day, as it was of old in Westminster and in Canterbury.'* **Cardinal Vaughan, at the foundation of the Cathedral, 1895**
- *'More and more frequently the whole Christian world... looks here for teaching and guidance in matters of Faith and Morality. [But] something else gives Westminster Cathedral its special genius. This is assuredly to be discovered in the mind of its founder Cardinal Vaughan, determined that his Cathedral should be a 'live' Cathedral. This intention has been fulfilled in many ways; by the non-stop stream of penitents who besiege the confessionals manned by devoted priests from dawn to dusk; by the great throngs at Mass and Communion and the wealth of private prayer that goes on in its walls. But Cardinal Vaughan had another idea: that in the heart of the Capital the day-to-day round of the Liturgy – the official and incessant worship of Christ's Mystical Body – should hallow these walls in a special way. [It] is this we hold, above all else, that gives Westminster Cathedral its special determination in the heart of the Commonwealth. It is a constant reminder – or should be – of the primacy of the spiritual in a material world.'* **Administrator Mgr Gordon Wheeler, 1961**
- *'It was to gain insight into the outgoing community of life of a contemporary Roman Catholic centre that some of the members of the staff of Coventry Cathedral requested that they be allowed to spend part of a day with the community of that Cathedral. It started with attendance at the High Mass where we sensed the unwavering stability of the liturgical offering of the Catholic Church, giving a strong heart to everything that flowed from it. The tour around the Cathedral which followed High Mass was more than a tour of the building, beautiful as this is. It was entering into the continuous life of prayer which was in every part of the Cathedral.'* **HCN Williams, provost of Coventry Cathedral, 1964**

Contemporary evidence

- *'It is first a house of prayer, a very spiritual place and a working church. It is also of course a pilgrimage place not only in this Year of Mercy but for all who come from far and away. Because of its remarkable architecture it is a historic, heritage site.'* **Parishioner**
- *'The main purpose of the Cathedral is as a place of worship and as the seat of the Archbishop of the Diocese.'* **Volunteer**
- *'It unites the whole diocese under the Cardinal.'* **Pilgrim**
- *'Both a spiritual place and a tourist attraction.'* **Worshipper**
- *'It is a safe haven for a lot of people.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'People are crying out... they come to the church looking for answers.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'They are coming because it is the Mother Church of England and Wales for Roman Catholics, and... to see this amazing building. You get people who come here because they are interested in the mosaics... [or] because they just walk past on the Piazza and spot this amazing building. And a lot of people say, I have worked in Victoria for XYZ number of years, I've never been here... I came in my lunch break and found it was just amazing. People pop in just because... it's such a prayerful place'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'I've seen people... they're Sikhs and sometimes Muslims and they're not just coming to do sightseeing, they just want to come and sit and... reflect and then do their own prayers and go.'* **Cathedral staff**

Reasons for visiting given in questionnaires: 'To pray'; 'to do the Way of Mercy, and for confession'; 'interest in history'; 'spare time before meeting'; 'to experience the peace of Christ'; 'peace, refreshment, my 'spiritual' home (even though I'm an Anglican)'; 'to talk with God, to see English church, to meet other people who pray like me'; 'to feel God's presence after a day's work'.

2. Experiencing worship

A distinctive feature of Westminster Cathedral is the daily pattern of Masses, Lauds and Vespers, which provide a continuity and visibility of worship through the day not found in Anglican cathedrals. Such worship is practised alongside more casual visits from tourists and other groups, who are permitted to remain in most areas during services.

Historical perspectives

The presentation of liturgy was fundamental to the conception and construction of Westminster Cathedral. Cardinal Vaughan intended the daily hours to provide a benchmark for the Church in England. His choice for choirmaster in 1901, Richard Terry, made use of an English polyphonic tradition of Byrd, Tallis, Taverner, to provide a clear continuity with a national Catholic past. The Cathedral choir led a Catholic music revival. Catholics and non-Catholics alike were soon drawn to the Cathedral to witness and engage in its high standard of sung worship. The Cathedral's basilican, Byzantine-inspired structure meant that all who entered were confronted with the Divine Service as soon as they entered the nave. This was in deliberate contrast to the enclosed sanctuaries of the prevailing Gothic style in order to allow as great a number as possible to experience the liturgy. The magnificence of the setting, however, led to claims from the outset that it was too distant from the congregation and insufficiently participatory. Regular Masses in the Lady Chapel, Blessed Sacrament, and side chapels were appreciated by some for their greater intimacy and particular spiritual focus. After the Second Vatican Council, the new emphasis on enhanced participation in Masses at the High Altar prompted exploration of a range of approaches, such as the provision of a portable aluminium nave altar on wheels and a 'temporary' altar set up under the Rood for the 1982 papal visit, but these were not judged to work well. Following the moving of the High Altar for the papal visit in 2010, the focus has again been on the altar beneath the baldacchino.

Contemporary observations

The spatial and liturgical organisation of the Cathedral permits powerful *adjacencies* to occur: Masses alongside school visits, and personal devotional activity (e.g lighting candles) alongside guided tours. The *simultaneity* of these activities allows for a degree of *permeability* to occur between activities, as bystanders (who may or may not be Catholic) are able to observe and may be drawn in. The presence of tourists does not seem to disturb worshippers, 'policing' is kept discreet, and the freedom with which worshippers and visitors move around during the services is notable. Moreover, it is easy for people to join in who arrive after the Mass has started. These are tremendous strengths of the Cathedral, drawing on its scale and comparative anonymity to make it a place of accessibility with a '*low threshold*' of entry, making participation, and degrees of participation, relatively easy to negotiate. Experiencing the liturgy is clearly a powerful factor in conversions. In addition, the literal and metaphorical placing of the Cathedral in the midst of many people's professional lives means that work and worship can combine in multivalent ways, as for example Vespers might mark the transition from working day to 'real life', helping people to 'decompress', or early Masses mark the start of the working day for some.

One question raised in our research is whether and how it is possible further to bridge the gap between 'bystanders' and 'liturgical participants'. It may be that the Year of Mercy provides a model that can be applied to wider uses of the Cathedral. While not constituting a major pilgrimage activity such as going to Walsingham, the YOM provided specific pathways through the Cathedral, allowing for smaller or larger, guided or unguided, groups to find meaningful paths through the Cathedral in a way that mediated between formal liturgical experience and a 'tour'. Given the variety of spaces offered by the Cathedral, it may be that more internal pathways through the Cathedral could be developed over time (including simple ways of engagement, such as prayer and/or lighting of candles), especially as they are low maintenance once established.

Opportunities to explore

- Perhaps a brief guide to services could be produced, for example, explaining Vespers, and inviting people to pause and appreciate the worship, even if not participating directly?

Historical evidence

- *'A church of this [basilican] type, with its exceptionally wide nave and view of the sanctuary therefrom, unimpeded by columns or screens, was without question that best suited to the congregational needs of a metropolitan cathedral, where, day by day, the Hours of the Church's Office were to be solemnly sung, and her great liturgies enacted, in the sight as well as the hearing of the people.'* **Cardinal Vaughan, 1894**
- *'When the Cathedral was opened it was seen that there were chapels properly furnished all round the building, but though large crowds visited it daily everyone was free to wander at will, and even during the Divine Office there was hardly any restriction except that of the Church itself and the reins of one's own common sense and good taste. It was not a vast nave and only that. Little incentives to prayer were all around you.'* **Westminster Cathedral Chronicle, 1932**
- *'A thousand votive candles stood out, their golden shadows flickering over mosaics and carved representations of the Stations of the Cross. There were smells of incense and sounds of murmured prayer. Hanging from the ceiling at the centre of the nave was a ten-metre-high crucifix, with Jesus on one side and his mother on the other... The facile din of the outer world had given way to awe and silence. Children stood close to their parents and looked around with an air of puzzled reverence. Visitors instinctively whispered, as if deep in some collective dream from which they did not wish to emerge. The anonymity of the street had here been subsumed by a peculiar kind of intimacy. Everything serious in human nature seemed to be called to the surface: thoughts about limits and infinity, about powerlessness and sublimity...*

After ten minutes in the Cathedral, a range of ideas that would have been inconceivable outside began to assume an air of reasonableness. Under the influence of the marble, the mosaics, the darkness and the incense, it seemed entirely probable that Jesus was the son of God and had walked across the Sea of Galilee.' **Alain de Botton, 2006**

- *'For those of us who live in London, Westminster Cathedral is viewed as a shining example of outstanding liturgy... the liturgy of the Church is the central focus of the Cathedral and oozes its way into the lives of those who worship there with an open heart and mind. Through the daily celebration of Mass... and the liturgy of the hours, the building itself has been hallowed to such an extent that one only has to enter the Cathedral to feel the presence of Almighty God.'* **'Justin', 2007**

Contemporary evidence

- *'Westminster Cathedral is my spiritual home...To me Westminster Cathedral combines at all times a perfect balance of spirituality, prayerful atmosphere, beauty, high standard of music, wonderful ceremonies and uplifting sermons. All this comes with humility, gentleness and respect of worshippers. It has a vibrant community. It is open and welcoming to all. This is where I feel comfortable.'* **Parishioner**
- *'It's very rare that you have to tell people who are looking around that there is a Mass on. You sometimes have to tell [them] to just be aware, because sometimes people come in and they are in their kind of little bubble... for the most part it works very well.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'Every day I come to Mass... Some days I do communion, some days not, but I do come and pray at the Cathedral. It's a very peaceful place so it's very useful for my life.'* **Volunteer**
- *[Coming to Mass every day is] 'Very consoling, and I want to get closer to God more and more. It makes me happy. And I won't get depressed.'* **Volunteer**
- *'When I go to Blessed Sacrament Chapel, I always think that he's looking after us, Jesus is there and I can place everything in his hands, whatever we need.'* **Volunteer**
- *'I walked quietly round enjoying the PEACE, the mosaics and Gill artwork and the organ music & display showing corporal / spiritual works.'* **Visitor**

3. Enhancing spiritual engagement

The extraordinary beauty of Westminster Cathedral makes a great impression, both on those who come primarily to worship and those who come as visitors. Those who enter are deeply impressed by the centrality of the great Crucifix and the rich multi-sensory qualities of the building, which provide multiple invitations to devotion through sight, sound, touch and scent.

Historical perspectives

The Cathedral has been rightly proud of its decoration, built up gradually within the initially bare-brick building. When the Cathedral first opened it was largely unfurnished beyond the sanctuary, apart from the statue of St Peter. The gradual addition of liturgical artworks has meant that the Cathedral has grown organically, reflecting within its walls changing spiritual and artistic priorities. It thus functions as a living celebration of the Catholic past, present and - in the potentiality of the undecorated areas - future. More than works of art, they are intended not just to be appreciated but to be used, as Eric Gill said 'to lead people to prayer and devotion... as neutral as the beads on a rosary.' Yet changes in levels of 'religious literacy' mean that not everyone has the requisite spiritual understanding to use these focal points in traditional ways today. While the locations of the main devotional focal points, and ways to engage with them, may seem fixed, many of the statues and their settings were originally only intended to be temporary (that of St Anthony, for example, was to be replaced by a statue in metal). The Cathedral has never been afraid to experiment with new devotional items or changing their settings - a portable altar (now in the crypt) used to stand before Our Lady of Westminster but was removed so flowers could be placed there.

Contemporary observations

The Cathedral (approached from the Piazza doors) provides the potential for a complex and graduated experience of spirituality, which begins from the first, relatively distanced view of it from the commercial streets of Victoria. The Piazza provides the possibility of an unobstructed view and approach to the Cathedral; once inside the visitor is met not only by the openness of the nave but also the smaller scales and intimacy of the side chapels. The distanced, 'optic' (viewing) experience is also complemented by the possibility of closer, 'haptic' experiences (touch), as people can gain access to statues and paintings that would never be available in a museum context, while also being offered opportunities to say prayers and light candles.

For the experienced Catholic, the Cathedral contrasts with a parish church in offering relative anonymity. For the seeker or the tourist, the Cathedral offers the possibility of 'mimesis' (observing and copying others) because of its many *adjacencies* and *permeabilities*, whereby it is possible to be in close proximity not only to statues, but also to experienced worshippers during the sights, sounds, and movements of services. A key question may be the extent to which engagement of the liturgically inexperienced, religiously less literate visitor (who will initially be 'reading' the Cathedral as they would a museum or art gallery) can be enhanced still further, for instance through offering trails through the Cathedral that not only focus on saints and other 'highlights', but also on the material culture of everyday Roman Catholic worship. Trails involve visitors making their own way through spaces in the Cathedral; they could link the Cathedral with its immediate environs in Westminster.

Opportunities to explore

- Would it be possible to create a leaflet about the Stations of the Cross, similar to the Way of Mercy leaflet which people found very helpful?
- Could exploration of Catholicism in Britain be encouraged through a trail involving the 'national' chapels and mosaics of saints, leading up to the Martyrs chapel?
- In describing objects in the Cathedral and Museum, could more information about their importance in worship and devotion be added to for those whose spiritual understanding needs to be built up?

Historical evidence

- *'[In the Cathedral] the witness of numerous Catholics began to take effect. I watched them praying so intently in front of the Blessed Sacrament. I watched them with rosaries. I watched them lighting candles. After that I was irresistibly drawn to the Cathedral whenever opportunity occurred. Then one morning when I was staying in London, I went to Mass there – and, to be honest, was completely overwhelmed!'* **Gillian Phillips, 1958**
- *'Many non-Catholics visit the Cathedral for High Mass on great occasions, and many more witness the ceremonies when they are seen on their television screens... to see the ceremonies performed with dignity and reverence may be a means of leading them into the true Church.'* **Mgr. Frederick Row, 1961**
- *'From the first time I went into it as a non-Catholic, I was swept off my feet. It has an extraordinary ethos of spiritual power and the mystery of the God-head, in fact a tremendous atmosphere of prayer. The Cathedral always 'takes over' and anything banal is somehow spiritually excluded.'* **Bishop Gordon Wheeler, former Administrator, 1990**
- *'When I first went into Westminster Cathedral... the beauty of the High Mass and Office had a tremendous effect even though one did not understand a word of it. And I know a great many converts are started off by a visit to Westminster Cathedral in this way.'* **Gordon Wheeler, former Administrator, 1965**
- *'[Door duty ensured a Chaplain] just being available at the back of the cathedral to meet and talk to people and so to break down the inevitable barrier which a highly formalised liturgy created between the congregation and the clergy.'* **Fr. Michael Hollings, 1992**
- *'[Confession] is one of the glories of Westminster Cathedral; for all its other proud achievements, the fact that the Sacrament of God's forgiveness is available every day, all day, is one of the most important.'* **Mgr Mark Langham, former Administrator, 2007**

Contemporary evidence

- *'In the same way that you would greet a friend or a family member, you want to hug, you want to touch, you want to give a kiss... We know the worth of touch, but quite often we can forget... and think, "Why are you touching a statue? It's plaster"... But I'm human. I'm made with this sense of touch... I am touching the foot of that plaster statue... to make that bridge between myself and the Virgin Mary or Saint Peter.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'[Lighting a candle] facilitates a moment of reflection.'* **Pilgrim**
- *'[A candle] for the world and one for the family. Dear friends, some friends, I know are going through terrible illnesses: cancer, Parkinson's Disease.'* **Parishioner**
- *'I offer [the candle] up in my hands... I say, "Lord, this light I offer up to You." I pray for all the people in my life... those who are suffering and going through difficult times... when I put the candle down I say, "May this light as I leave this Cathedral continue to shine and brighten the days of those who are suffering." And I leave it with them: a light to see them through the darkness.'* **Parishioner**
- *'It is wonderful to see the great queues for confession in this year of mercy.'* **Pilgrim**
- *'[The Door of Mercy] 'All the pilgrims that were there were very tactile... especially they were kissing [the banner of the Divine Mercy]'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'One of the beautiful things about... being Catholic is most of the things that... all of the sacraments are very physical: baptism, you're washed; the Eucharist, you eat; and in a sacramental like the Holy Year, what your being wants to do is walk through a door. It's really going with very basic science we're taught from very small how to use our body to reflect what we think we're doing, even when we're not aware of what we're thinking.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'The Cathedral is essentially a "powerhouse" of prayer and tranquillity - this is its strength and value.'* **Worshipper**

4. Experiencing the building

'The remarkable creation which is Westminster Cathedral exists to help us search for God and offer Him worship. It is a home for all. It is here to serve the needs of all men and women, to help them on their journey through life.' **Cardinal Hume, 1995**

Historical perspectives

Opened for worship in 1903, the Byzantine design of the Cathedral was intended to mark out the global nature of Catholicism and highlight links with the Apostolic churches of the East, although it has also contributed to a sense of 'otherness'. The experience of the building starts with the exterior, and yet for many this is not easily understood. In 2000 the presence of the Millennium Cross in the Piazza helped guide the large numbers of uninitiated visitors as to how the building should be approached.

The internal atmosphere of prayer and reverence for which the Cathedral is rightly famous is mainly the result of policies of pastoral care and welcome instituted in the 'Golden Age' of the 1950s. The building has become a reverential space through the activity that takes place within it. The waiting queues of penitents for the all-day confessional have been frequently and favourably noted in descriptions of the Cathedral as a reminder of the purpose of the Church. From the 1950s to at least the 1980s, 'door duty', where a chaplain or member of the clergy was on hand to talk to the laity on an informal and anonymous basis, was one of the most cherished functions of the Cathedral. The possibility of anonymity, in the enormous space, the opportunity to be present, to learn and respond without pressure, has played an important mission role in the conversion or re-connection of visitors to the Catholic Church. However, although the building is awe-inspiring, it can no longer be taken for granted that even all Catholics will instinctively understand the space; historically the Cathedral has provided valuable interpretative help through pamphlets, and clerical and lay assistance.

Contemporary observations

Westminster Cathedral is one of the most externally striking buildings in England, yet it was only in 1975 that the Cathedral's facade was opened up with the creation of the Piazza, providing a 'fuzzy boundary' (permeability) between the Cathedral and its surroundings, and potentially extending the Cathedral's 'reach' into the wider world.

Once inside the building, both Catholic and non-Catholic visitors may be drawn into the liturgy and music, while the introduction of Guild of St John Southworth guides, in addition to the freely available leaflets, help people to make sense of and respond to the building. The reservation of spaces for private prayer, where silence is observed, is clearly valued and the possibility of not acting or interacting with others enhances the anonymity some seek in the Cathedral.

Two easily overlooked and 'extra-liturgical' areas are potentially highly significant in visitors' experience of the cathedral: the Café, and the Tower. The Café as a social focus is a valued part of many regulars' sense of interaction with, and sense of belonging to, the place. The Tower, so striking externally, is ironically easily 'overlooked' from inside the Cathedral, but for those who venture up, it further roots the Cathedral in London. More could perhaps be made of this striking feature of Cathedral space, which not only provides a striking panorama of the capital but also shows how the Cathedral sits at the heart of the city. Like the Piazza, the Café and Tower help to blend secular and sacred activities in powerful ways.

Opportunities to explore

- How might the Crypt be used more widely?
- Could the Baptistry be open more regularly for people to pray?
- What scope is there for clarification of external signage to make the Cathedral's identity more obvious?

Historical evidence

- *'It must ever be borne in mind that the Cathedral is not a museum of art, but a house of prayer. Primarily we must seek the honour and glory of God in all that is undertaken. Secondly, we must take care that there is nothing which would hinder, and that every-thing shall assist, the piety of the ordinary faithful Catholic.'* **Cardinal Bourne, 1935**
- *'I had expected the very size of the place to give it a somewhat impersonal atmosphere, in contrast to the smaller, homey churches to which I was accustomed. But how wrong I was! To assist at Mass with hundreds of others is sufficient to give anyone a sense of belonging. At any time of day there is always someone praying – perhaps on the way to the office, or after a morning's shopping. It is this continuous prayer which lends it a lived-in atmosphere, so that throughout the whole building one is conscious of the presence of God. Although a place of beauty, the Cathedral is not a building to look at, guide-book in hand and camera on shoulder, like an historic monument or relic of a past age. It is essentially a place to be used, and it is used.'* **Letter to Westminster Cathedral Chronicle, 1961**
- *'It is easy to assume that what is clear to us, as regular worshippers, is clear to those who enter as tourists, or casual visitors. We must enable them to understand what they are looking at, where to go, and where to find our principal locations. Above all, we must turn tourists into enquirers, and enquirers into worshippers. A Cathedral is a text-book of the faith, and we need to take care to open up the riches it represents to those who come here.'* **Mgr Mark Langham, former Administrator, 2006**
- *'[The Piazza should be] a threshold, and a sanctuary, protecting the sacred atmosphere of the Cathedral and the residential areas alongside it.'* **Mgr Mark Langham, former Administrator, 2007**

Contemporary evidence

- *'I like to come here. I like the choir. I like the smell... the whole thing about this Cathedral. It's a big place, but it's so intimate to me.'* **Parishioner**
- *'There is an interesting mix of people coming into the Cathedral. Some people don't even know where they are when they come in to the Cathedral. They just walk past on the street ... there is no particular big sign on Victoria Street or in the Piazza saying, this is Westminster Cathedral. You'd have to look very closely at the notice board to work out that's what it is... So the first question I ask some visitors is, do you know where you are? Do you know what this place is? And so far many of them have said, no.'* **Volunteer**
- *'There aren't many safe, warm places in London where you can sit and be left alone.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'And one of the things that Westminster Cathedral, in my view, gains from is because it [is] a free to enter site, it becomes more than a religious centre and it's one of the very unusual – probably one of a dwindling number of places of refuge that transcends the spirituality, and it's just a place of quiet, a place of calm, and there aren't many of those where you can sit unchallenged for hours and just reflect.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'I think if somebody wanted to pray, I'll take them to the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, because that's very quiet... that's where the presence of our Lord is.'* **Volunteer**
- *'Being in the Cathedral gives a universal sense of the Catholic Church.'* **Pilgrim**
- *'I hope that the life and the atmosphere, the feeling of the Cathedral is of a place of prayer, a place of refuge, a place of safety. A place where people of all faiths and none can come and be quiet, and pray in their own tradition.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'I've had one Muslim lady say that she feels it's such a prayerful place, that she feels she can come in and sit and just be closer to her God.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'I bring people to the Cathedral as often as possible, for ceremonies... or to show them the interior... On fine days, I take them...up to the top of the Cathedral Tower where the view of London is better than you can see from the London Eye.'* **Parishioner**

5. Festivals and special events

Festivals and 'Special Events' not only connect the Cathedral with wider Catholic communities, but may also - as at Christmas - provide key 'bridging' opportunities in making connections to nearby workers, residents and institutions.

Historical perspectives

While it is part of the function of any Cathedral to bring together large crowds and host events of particular diocesan or national significance, in a manner beyond the means and role of parishes, for Westminster this has been a particularly important part of its history. The story of the Cathedral is waymarked by major special events - the premiere of Elgar's *Dream of Gerontius* in the unconsecrated building; the 1908 Eucharistic Congress; the 1930 Translation of Blessed John Southworth; the televised enthronements of the archbishops; the 1982 and 2010 Papal visits; the showing of the relics of St Thérèse of Lisieux and St Thomas Becket; and the recent Way of Mercy. These events allow Catholics to connect with the Cathedral, and non-Catholics to witness the building 'in action'. For the Cathedral, they offer a context for changes or additions to the layout of the building that often prove popular. New 'traditions' which work well seem to become accepted and established very quickly, such as the moving of St John Southworth to the nave for his feast - first tried in 2007 and now a key part of the ritual.

Through the year, the Feasts and special Masses of the liturgical calendar, together with Independence Masses and various occupational Masses, centre the Cathedral within Catholic London. Concerts are a relatively recent addition (1964), having previously been strenuously resisted. They can be a source of contention, but can also serve as a form of mission when the selection of music supports this.

Contemporary observations

Attending festivals and special events offers a wide range of audiences reasons and opportunities to (re)connect with the Cathedral. Apart from Easter and Christmas, the biggest services held in the Cathedral include the Chrism Mass in Holy Week, the Lourdes Mass which includes anointing of the sick, the Migrants Mass, the Ordination of priests and the feast day of St John Southworth. One question to consider might be how the narrative of the Cathedral, including the life of St John Southworth, might be brought discreetly to the fore in some events, indicating that the history of Catholicism in the city extends far beyond the history of the Cathedral itself. In addition, the special Mass for the members of the Guild of St John Southworth makes his presence more visible as a 'saint of the city'.

Hosting concerts, carol services and graduation ceremonies are significant opportunities to invite in people who might otherwise not have an 'excuse' to come. In particular, the Christmas Carol service is an excellent 'bridging' event, involving the cooperation of the Cathedral with secular groups and institutions, and other organizations based in London.

Pilgrimage (discussed in more detail in Section 7) itself offers a powerful 'bridging' ritual, capable of being private, spontaneous and informal on one hand, but also official and incorporating a visible processional component on the other. The response of so many school and parish groups, as well as individuals of many nationalities, to the Way of Mercy indicates the value placed by a wide range of people on this kind of spiritual engagement. The numerous Masses for schools often ended with activities spilling out into the Piazza, with many wanting to be photographed with Cardinal Vincent to record the occasion. Such events give the wider public a glimpse of cathedral activity and diversity.

Opportunities to explore

- Could some of the factors which make large events (such as the Way of Mercy) so positive in their impact be further incorporated into day-to-day experience?

Historical evidence

- *'[The Cathedral was designed to have] a nave of generous breadth with an uninterrupted view of the sanctuary to render it ideal for the reception of great multitudes on ceremonial occasions, for which obviously the metropolitan cathedral must be specially adapted.'* **John Francis Bentley, 1895**
- *'Holy Week this year brought the usual large numbers of pilgrims from all parts of London and beyond to participate in the services of the Church. It is impossible adequately to gauge the effect which devout assistance at these services must have on Catholics, and even on non-Catholics they must leave a deep and lasting impression.'* **Westminster Cathedral Chronicle, 1931**
- *'The impressions left by the scene of that evening will never be effaced from the minds of those who were present. The dense crowd which not only filled every corner of the building, but blocked each avenue of approach, the dim vastness of gaunt brickwork and vaulted roof overhead, the brilliantly lighted sanctuary, the purple robes of innumerable prelates, the subdued roar of cheers and the blare of trumpets from outside, the thrill that swept through the church as the imposing figure of the Legate passed up the aisle, the sudden sinking of that vast assembly upon their knees for the Papal blessing, and then the climax, when Legate, Cardinals, Bishops, Priests, and laity knelt in humble adoration before the Blessed Sacrament enthroned, all these things are memories which will be handed down among the Catholics of England as long as Westminster Cathedral stands.'* **Official Report of the 1908 Eucharistic Congress**
- *'[The Papal visit] was the most extraordinary feeling because everyone in Victoria was so happy. That night had been the most extraordinarily warm night and at about one o'clock in the morning I went onto my balcony and the whole Piazza was crowded with people just milling about and talking to each other saying: 'I'm not a Catholic but isn't it lovely... oh he's so gorgeous!' And this sort of upsurge of lovely feelings for him was just fantastic.'* **Local resident, 1982**

Contemporary evidence

- *'The Midnight Mass is beautiful. You feel you are in Heaven and I think – I always say to myself, I thank God, I don't think there is another Heaven more than this, greater than this! Because the music, the liturgy, everything is perfect, perfect. I will thank God that he brought me to the right place actually.'* **Volunteer**
- *'It's great that people sort of reconnect with the Cathedral at that time [Christmas] from across the diocese... it is meant to be their home.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'Having these carol services is a great opportunity to connect with the local community and local businesses... lots of people come into the building who might not otherwise.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'The first Mass of Christmas is at 6.00pm on Christmas Eve and a lot of families will come to that - the Blessing of the Crib. And there's also the big Midnight Mass... The hairs are standing up on the back of my neck just thinking about it. There's a 45 minute vigil before the Mass begins... conducted in semi-darkness. And there's usually standing room only and people... singing Psalms of the Divine Office and various readings... And the main lights don't come on until later... this full Cathedral in darkness bursting with song is absolutely astonishing.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'Every year for many decades [we come] to the Christmas Celebration. With family and friends. Our numbers vary but we can be... up to 9 or 10 people sitting together. It is for us all an essential and wonderful spiritual preparation for the Feast of Christmas.'* **Parishioner**
- *'We've seen a surge in attendance at Masses but particularly at confessions. The numbers have increased and then you have a good amount of people who come either privately or as groups to do the Way of Mercy... We see a lot more people after having finished their Way of Mercy sitting in church somewhere and having a private prayer or joining in in the Mass... it's been a very great boost to the spiritual and pastoral life of the Cathedral.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'I was keen to do the Way of Mercy and go through the door as soon as it was opened. But the service for the opening of the door was amazing... I think they printed some 500 orders of service. 1,500 people turned up and I think that gave us all a bit of a shock... it was wonderful... one of those fantastic, spontaneous moments of piety and devotion.'* **Cathedral staff**

6. Saints, beliefs and traditions

The saints celebrated in the Cathedral provide numerous focal points for expressing and deepening devotion, but also implicitly provide a history of the Catholic Church in Britain.

Historical perspectives

Since 1930 Westminster Cathedral has held the only complete body of a Reformation martyr in England. Indeed, the relics of St John Southworth are greater in substance than all that survives of the remaining English Reformation martyrs combined. He was a focal point of the Cathedral's devotional life until the mid-1960s, with the Chapel of St George having been remodelled to house his shrine. Although interest waned somewhat after Vatican II, renewed interest in saints and pilgrimage today offers new opportunities to focus on his story. Since 2007, when his body began to be moved to the nave for his feast day and his role in the area and Cathedral was highlighted by new publications, devotion to him has markedly increased.

St John Southworth embodies links between the Cathedral and English Catholic history; he also evokes the struggle and suffering for faith still recurring all over the globe. He was the 'Parish Priest of Westminster' and it is in this guise that he is currently presented, if not necessarily always understood. Originally his shrine was meant to be covered by an opaque wooden box with curtains - limiting the times when he was on view. He was only to be displayed fully on major feast days. However, his instant popularity with Londoners led to this plan being abandoned, with his body being made more permanently accessible. Initially covered in a winding-sheet, he was 'dressed' in 1954 to emphasise his priestly nature. The record of favours granted shows how Londoners brought their everyday concerns over employment, renting, and domestic issues; he became an 'everyday' saint. Intimately connected with this role is the 1930s enamel petitions box on the wall of the north pillar outside St George's chapel. Successful petitions were, as part of the devotees' thank-offerings, published in the *Cathedral Chronicle*.

The Cathedral has a very extensive relics collection and, until the 1960s, it was common to loan out relics temporarily to the needy and sick faithful, or to prayer groups. These were normally the small oval 'testers' containing bone fragments; a very large number of these remain.

Contemporary observations

Whereas a number of national and other saints are celebrated in the Cathedral, prayers and petitions are chiefly left in the vicinity of St Anthony. Internationally loved, and appealing to a wide constituency of Catholics, St Anthony's significance is reinforced by his positioning, the availability of candles and prayer notes near his statue, while also being easily accessible to touch. The medieval statue of Our Lady of Westminster makes a powerful connection with the past and also attracts many signs of devotion.

St John Southworth has considerable potential as a 'saint for London', although his story and identity are still relatively unknown. His history as an exemplary martyr priest who served nearby makes him a powerful saint for Catholics, *and* what the Roman Catholic anthropologist Victor Turner called a potent 'dominant' symbol for non-Catholics: through his activity in the local area, his work with the poor, and his links with a turbulent period in English history.

Opportunities to explore

- Could the presentation of St John Southworth's body, together with accounts of his life, miracles, and meaning for people today, be highlighted to increase awareness? Further development of a St John Southworth trail, within and beyond the Cathedral, could increase recognition of his relevance both to Catholics and Londoners as a whole.
- Could prayer notes be made available in areas dedicated to saints other than St Anthony?
- Consider the production of a further leaflet on saints, using the chapels and statues, reflecting the popularity of the 'guided journey' ideas of the Way of Mercy?

Historical evidence

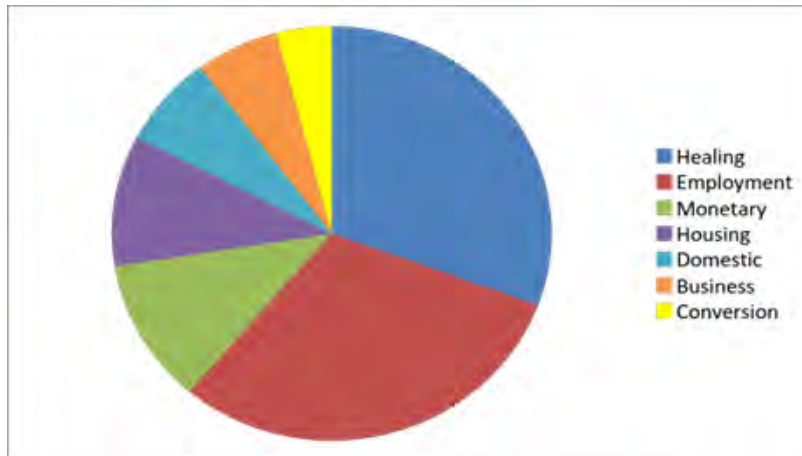


Figure: Types of favours granted 1930-1936 by Blessed John Southworth (canonised 1970), published in the *Cathedral Chronicle*.

- 'The shrine...is to consist of an inner glass enclosure, and an outer covering of wood, which can be removed when it is desired to expose the relics... The glass window in the side is fitted with red silk curtains, which can be drawn aside to give a view of the Martyr's body within. This arrangement will be of great practical use... when it is desired to expose the Relics without removing the temporary cover of the Shrine. This cover is only temporary, and a richer permanent one is in contemplation.' **Westminster Cathedral Chronicle, 1930**
- 'For you here in Westminster Southworth's importance is that he is your protecting saint. Not only did he work here in the district that is now the Cathedral parish, but here is the shrine of his mangled, shrunken, mummified body, as the Abbey, at the other end of Victoria Street, holds the tomb of Edward the Confessor. It requires no gift of prophecy to foretell that within two years or less pilgrims from non-Catholic countries like Norway shall come and pray at the tomb of 'Saint' John Southworth here, as in other centuries they came to the Abbey to put their petitions at the feet of Saint Edward.' **Fr Philip Caraman SJ, 1964**

Contemporary evidence

- 'I lit a candle to St Joseph. That candle was a symbol and echo of my prayers and prolonged them even after I left... I also light candles... when thanksgiving.' **Parishioner**
- 'A lady... she is a Protestant...she was very upset, she is homeless...then she felt an experience with him [St Anthony], like he was talking to her, and she put some candles.' **Volunteer**
- 'Oh man, what a guy... I pray for his courage when I go out on the streets sometimes. You know, give me the courage of [St] John to share the Word. We complain about so many things... and what he went through, what he suffered... all the saints are great role models. And you say well, what am I moaning about? I've got everything: a roof over my head, my belly's full.' **Parishioner**
- 'I also love St Patrick's Chapel, because with my dad being Irish and having Irish relatives, I have that connection. I light a candle for my dad every day there, and I also just sit, I do sit in there and have a moment when I get a chance to.' **Cathedral staff**
- 'It was the most incredible three days, it was extraordinary... At times the queue reached right down to Ambrosden Ave., and round the corner... somehow Thérèse of Lisieux set us on fire... it certainly contributed to the sense of the Cathedral as a place of pilgrimage.' **Cathedral staff**
- 'To me the most remarkable moment is, when we put the body of John Southworth there, and then we have the ordination to the priesthood... As part of the ceremony those who are to be ordained are prostrate on the floor face down in an act of self-giving, self-abandonment to God... they actually lie around the body of this priest martyr. So that's very moving... Here's this man who ministered in these streets... and now we believe, is in the presence of God. And therefore, lies face upwards so that something of the glory of God can be seen in his face. Whereas we, in this part of our pilgrimage, are seeking mercy and grace, so we lie face downwards. But we are in it together, and he is a great encouragement, a great focal point.'

7. Pilgrimage and the Cathedral

Christian 'holy places' have always been intended to reveal the existence and greatness of God and stimulate belief in his willingness and power to respond to human openness and need. Studies indicate that there is a very wide range of engagement ranging from the dedicated and experienced pilgrim to the tourists who find, to their surprise, that they are on a spiritual journey. There is often movement along this continuum while in the Cathedral, posing both opportunities and challenges.

Historical perspectives

The Cathedral has always thought of itself as a place from which pilgrimages begin - to Lourdes, Walsingham, and Tyburn particularly. In the Cathedral's own publications, the notion of Westminster being a pilgrimage site was only alluded to in the few decades after the 1930s in connection with St John Southworth. Yet even then, besides a handful of parishes around his birthplace in Lancashire, the 'pilgrims' were mainly Londoners, and the nature of their interaction in keeping with his 'parish priest' persona. Cardinal Hume's tomb has also been a focus for members of the Chilean Manquehue Apostolic Movement and others, who make a point of visiting it on pilgrimage when they come to England to teach.

For many others, though, Westminster itself has been a place of pilgrimage, not necessarily specifically to a saint, but to the sacraments, the preaching of God's Word, the beauty of worship, and the ministry to all who come, as befits its dedication to the Holy Blood, the Holy Family, and St Peter. The liturgy, and in particular the Latin Mass, have historically drawn Catholics from all over the country and beyond to hear it done 'properly' in the 'proper setting'. The biannual Latin Mass Society services, and the placing of a wreath on Cardinal Heenan's tomb, could be seen as a pilgrimage to the liturgy. Similarly the artworks, particularly Gill's Stations of the Cross, and the professional quality of the music have historically brought visitors on a (semi) secular 'pilgrimage', but it has always been in the Cathedral's experiential power to convert these visitors to 'pilgrims'.

Contemporary observations

Because of their scale, centrality and multi-functionality, cathedrals have the capacity to encompass many dimensions of contemporary developments in Christian practice, including growing interest in, and varied practices of, pilgrimage. Contemporary pilgrimage often appeals not only to established believers, but also to those who are not rooted in parish communities and yet wish to visit sacred places at times of spiritual exploration or crisis. While some pilgrimages occur annually on specially appointed days, a growing trend is for pilgrim-tourists to combine leisure with visiting and engaging with holy sites. Westminster Cathedral is ideally suited to adapt to and guide such changing patterns of pilgrimage, given its easy accessibility and numerous links to London-wide, national, and international Roman Catholic landscapes.

As the Year of Mercy has shown, people are very responsive to the idea of spiritual journeying both *to* and *within* the Cathedral. A core element of the 'Way of Mercy' was the provision of a special route, enhanced by 'pause points' with a range of powerful devotional stimuli. The development of further 'pilgrimage trails', focusing on chapels and saints and adaptable to groups with different levels of knowledge and engagement, could open up pilgrim experiences to many. Such an approach would allow people previously unknown to each other to engage briefly in pilgrimage community together within the Cathedral, observing and learning from each other. Furthermore, there is the possibility of moving out from the Cathedral, making connections through pilgrimage routes *between* sites across London and the UK.

Opportunities to explore

- How might the popularity of the idea of pilgrimage shown in the Way of Mercy be built upon?

Historical evidence

- 'A constant stream of pilgrims has filled the kneelers' place in front of the Martyr's body, which has remained exposed during the month, and organised pilgrimages have been arranged by several parishes.' **Westminster Cathedral Chronicle, 1930**
- 'Whenever Manquehue members find themselves in London, they always take the time to visit Cardinal [Hume's] tomb in Westminster; they describe how they feel at home by his tomb, how they sense his presence. In recent years young members of the Manquehue Apostolic Movement have been invited to travel to England... Their trip always starts with a pilgrimage to Westminster Cathedral.' **Basil Hume: Ten Years On, 2010**
- '[On the celebration of a Mass of the Old Rite in the Cathedral] Motor coaches are coming from as far off as Cheshire and the head of 'Una Voce' (Italia) is coming from Rome, as also other Una Voce representatives from France, Belgium, Germany, Norway, and other countries.' **Geoffrey Houghton-Brown, chair Latin Mass Society, 1972**
- 'It is in the best Catholic tradition to use the Cathedral for sacred plays and good music. This is not done to raise money but to allow the Cathedral to take a part in the cultural life of the country.' **Cardinal Heenan, 1975**

Contemporary evidence

- 'Each time I go to Mass... each time I walk into any Catholic church going to Mass, to me it is a pilgrimage, because I am going there to interface with Him, to talk to Him as the Eucharist. Or even if I am there just to pray, I go there quietly, I kneel there, I need to see that there is God here. You have that feeling that you are talking to Him, you kneel down and beg Him and talk to Him, interface with Him. It is a pilgrimage as far as I am concerned.' **Worshipper**
- 'It's notable this particular year definitely because we have deliberately invested in the pilgrimage experience, if you like, linking with the Year of Mercy, and that's been encouraged from Pope Francis down to see significant places of worship in your diocese or your region as being places of pilgrimage, make an effort to go on pilgrimage, the pilgrimage of grace, through the holy door, and attached to that the granting of a very specific indulgence and that sort of thing...
For instance, in my role as a chaplain for the last three weeks I've brought each of the school classes through for an hour to do the pilgrimage of mercy... And we prepared them in the school and this became part of their RE lessons and there was a prayer book that went with it and even though... they're just around the corner, you know, they came and so, "What are we doing today, children?" "We're on pilgrimage." They used the word. "And what is a pilgrimage?" "It's a holy journey." "And what do we do on pilgrimage?" "We pray." **Cathedral staff**
- 'I think most pilgrimages... first of all you want to know about that place you are going to, the connection that it has with your life... And I think it encourages people... when they go and see, I think it touches them in a way that can bring conversion.' **Volunteer**
- 'There is a short reminder before the coach takes off that we are going on a pilgrimage and therefore we should be aware of why we are going... and that we should keep our hearts open to all the Grace that we receive when we go to Walsingham or Aylesford and then we pray the Rosary.' **Volunteer**
- 'We value pilgrimages a lot, and generally people see pilgrimages as an interface to see God face to face, the angels and the saints... we get a lot of non-Catholics as well, who are now partaking in this gift, this pilgrimage... it is very important, because we are all pilgrims on earth.' **Volunteer**

8. Leaving and taking away

Since the earliest days of Christian pilgrimage there has been a desire to take away objects which help individuals recall and rekindle their experience, and share what they have learned and felt. In the Middle Ages these channels of memory and holiness included pilgrim badges and other simpler objects, such as pieces of stone or cloth. Such objects were imbued with the spiritual power associated with the saint or place. It was also important for pilgrims to leave something of themselves behind, usually as offerings representing prayers. Opportunities to take away and to leave behind items charged with meaning still carry real spiritual significance for many visiting cathedrals today.

Historical perspectives

Despite its importance to the Cathedral experience, it is not always possible to get a sense of the often deeply personal items that people have bought or taken as mementos, or left behind as part of a lasting connection to the place, as much of such activity is transitory or hidden. Despite some changes in the emphasis of Catholic spirituality in the past fifty years, candles, flowers, petitionary prayers and tokens of thanksgiving have always been at the heart of the Cathedral's devotions, with the opportunity to leave things in proximity to particular saints, or Our Lady, being important. Petitions are now mainly left in proximity to the statue of St Anthony, but provision was formerly made for them to be left close to St John Southworth. The Cathedral has had souvenir stalls and bookstands since at least the 1920s, and the lay entrance from Ambrosden Avenue now blocked by the gift shop led through a porch where inexpensive devotional items, instructional pamphlets, and postcards were sold. In the 1930s it was suggested that postcards could be stamped and posted from 'Westminster Cathedral Tower', which may have enhanced their personal value.

Contemporary observations

The importance of presence, proximity and the transferability of sacredness remain significant in relation to what is left at and taken away from the Cathedral by a range of visitors. The flowers and lit candles indicate strong attachment to popular devotional foci (St Anthony, Our Lady of Westminster), while the St John Southworth prayer card that can be used in proximity to the saint and then taken away provides an ideal ongoing physical link with saint and shrine. It seems there is greater opportunity for touch and material engagement here than in some parishes. Even visitors who are not liturgically or theologically well-informed can engage in rituals such as lighting candles and saying simple prayers.

Though sometimes dismissed as frivolous, the value of photographs as meaningful mementoes, establishing an individual's connection with place at that point and beyond, is clearly significant. The role of material objects in making connections is perhaps epitomised by cards declaring 'I lit a candle for you in Westminster Cathedral'. People buying (and receiving) cards and other items, feel those bought on site have more 'value' and meaning than normal commodities. Like the Café and the Tower, therefore, the shop is an apparently more 'secular' space that nonetheless complements explicitly liturgical activity in important and memorable ways. The Cathedral shop's role as supplier of low-cost but significant devotional supplies, as well as high value icons and carefully sourced bespoke items connected with the Cathedral's material culture (e.g. Gill-related goods), indicates the range and inter-changeability of clientele; not only tourists buy high value goods. Souvenirs depicting the Cathedral itself are more likely to be attractive to the spiritually non-aligned visitor, for it is the experience of the Cathedral itself that is significant.

Opportunities to explore

- Provision of a 'general' candle-stand, for visitors with no particular devotional focus? Encourage using candles from the Cathedral as gifts for others, or to light at home?
- Provide the opportunity (using a 'prayer tree'?) to leave prayers near to St John Southworth?
- The 1930s suggestion that postcards stamped 'from the Tower of Westminster Cathedral' could add extra value could be pursued, in relation to Tower or Cathedral generally.

Historical evidence

- *'The [souvenir] stall in the porch... in the last few months has doubled its size; an indication of the increasing numbers of visitors who wish to take home with them some tangible memento of a visit to the Cathedral. It would be very short-sighted to regard as mere commerce this important department of our Cathedral activities; innumerable questions have to be answered and enquiries satisfied. We are sure that the devoted services of Miss Bliss and her helpers make many a friend out of a casual visitor.'* **Westminster Cathedral Chronicle, 1957**
- *'[Our Lady of Westminster] has become a great centre of devotion. Iconographers have linked it with the pre-Reformation statue in Westminster Abbey of Our Lady of the Pew. One person gave us a silver altar to place in front of it... subsequent generations have thought that it would be better to have an open space in front of it with room for votive candles and flowers.'* **Bishop Gordon Wheeler, 1990**
- *'Within a few days of placing a petition in the Box in the Cathedral, and special prayers offered, my request was granted in a way which left no doubt that it was the outcome of the intercession of Bl John.'* **Westminster Cathedral Chronicle, 1935**
- *'It is proposed to put a letter-box on the top landing so that visitors can write their postcards, have them stamped with the words 'Westminster Cathedral Tower', and put them in the collecting-box.'* **Westminster Cathedral Chronicle, 1930**

Contemporary evidence

- *'[I lit a candle for you at Westminster Cathedral] card' 'Things like that are very useful. I had a Jewish friend who was going to hospital recently and I sent her that. I thought that was the sort of thing you can send to somebody of any faith without causing offence.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'[St John Southworth prayer cards] 'We only used to have [the prayer cards] there for his feast day, now we have them all year around.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'A very important thing to a lot of people. They'll open a book and they'll have 20 or 30 cards in it... for some people their prayer is working through these cards.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *Taking away the music: "People buy [CDs].. more to kind of revive or reprise what they hear at the Masses. The CD business is on the decline... but we sell quite a lot of them still... People buy them because... it's a way of taking away something that belongs. (Cathedral staff)*
- *'You get that all the time up at the St Anthony's [statue]... Just this morning somebody left an apple, some days they'll leave biscuits... St Anthony's bread.'* **Volunteer**
- *'They leave stuff there, food, fruits there. Obviously, you find people leave around papers as well, pictures... for free... and booklets about prayers, Catholic religion, they leave around for other people to take... Somebody else will come and take it.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'All the way through November, we have a Holy Souls' table... and somebody left a different devotional article every day in that chapel.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'In the collection boxes we do sometimes get jewellery, you get plastic things, you get gold rings, you get buttons.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'I would like to ask not to remove the pot flowers from any chapel I bring with love for saints [saints?] Specially in Blessed Sacrament chapel and Chapel of Holy Souls.'* **Worshipper**

It was reported that someone who had had a real turnaround in his life and had returned to the church came and bought an expensive icon in the Cathedral shop, as a thanksgiving. It was very important that the icon was purchased at the Cathedral, as that made it more 'special'.

9. Belonging, identity and ownership

The Cathedral represents an important institution of continuity, but is also adapting to a changing constituency, within and beyond the Roman Catholic Church, providing a spiritual home for Catholic migrants from around the world, and developing an increasingly civic identity that can appeal beyond Catholic boundaries.

Historical perspectives

From the outset Cardinal Vaughan envisaged a parochial role for the Cathedral, although this has not always proved easy to balance with the Cathedral's metropolitan functions. In particular the Chaplains have always had to work hard to create a sense of community in the building given the sizeable transient and non-resident demographics of the congregations (see Appendix 3 for surveys taken in the 1970s showing that a sizeable portion of Cathedral worshippers were visitors from abroad and from a wide range of linguistic backgrounds). The central London situation of the Cathedral has meant that it has often had to respond to changes beyond its control which have gravely affected its use - particularly the population movement to the suburbs, and steep rises in public transport fares which robbed the Cathedral of a number of its Sunday Mass attendees from the 1960s. This led to something of a crisis over Westminster's purpose in the mid-1970s, and resulted in Cardinal Hume placing the Cathedral at the heart of his city-wide pastoral mission, the renewal of the societies and guilds that had been a big part of the Cathedral's role in the 1950s, and the foundation of the Friends in 1977.

The Cathedral's in-house publications have been a vital tool in building a sense of community within the diocese. The *Cathedral Chronicle* gave the text of major sermons, carried photographs of important events, and balanced spiritual and instructional pieces with input from and profiles of the Catholic laity. After its successor, the *Journal*, ceased publication in 1974, the importance of a newsletter to the life of Cathedral was shown when the Parish Council began to produce the *Bulletin*. This was brought back into Cathedral editorship in 1996 as *Oremus* and made a free magazine in 2013.

Some of the laity's most poignant and meaningful contributions to the Cathedral may also be its least-known. The wedding-rings donated by female devotees for the tabernacle veil in 1909, and replenished by donations ever since, are a distinctive Westminster tradition, while one of the crowns made for the statue of Our Lady in the 1930s from donated jewellery is on display in the Treasures exhibition.

Contemporary observations

The Cathedral has multiple congregations. For some it is their parish church; others have dual affiliations (Cathedral and a parish elsewhere). It has an important function as a 'workers' church', with people visiting on their way to or from work or during their lunch break. For many the 'anonymity' of the cathedral has particular value. It is striking that the Cathedral also provides a haven for other groups who may lack immediate or conventional roots in the area, ranging from various ethnic communities to the homeless and lonely who are welcomed into the building. Such inclusion demonstrates how community is framed by but extends beyond the liturgical. Masses for particular groups and varied opportunities for devotional expression are complemented by 'behind the scenes' activity occurring through the establishment of Guilds, national groups, and care for homeless people and others in need.

The Cathedral sits at the centre of a web of complex relationships. Groups and networks connect a wide range of national and devotional communities, providing opportunities for belonging and rootedness, as well as for service together. The core ministry of the clergy team is complemented by the indispensable work of the highly-committed lay staff and volunteers and the Cathedral is notable for its investment in training and coordinating volunteer guides and welcomers.

Historical evidence

- *'The Cathedral is a good place, [Johnny, a local barrow-boy] was married there, his daughter was baptised there, and she was also married there. Was he a Catholic? He is not, but shares the feeling of belonging, because of his marriage into the Cathedral family world. This point showed up constantly. Couples of mixed marriages feel just as much a part of the Cathedral, they attend services with their partners and even not being able to take Holy Communion, they manage to share this with their partner, and you speak to them of the Cathedral and they say "Our Cathedral", regardless of denomination.'* **Fr Richard Wakeling, Cathedral Chaplain, 1979**
- *"The Cathedral probably meets the needs of the more sophisticated parishioner who has time and energy to go out to 'meet' it, to join in the many activities, concerts and recitals, but it is difficult to imagine that it meets the needs of the lonely, those who have less time to spare, and have family commitments. The area covers a unique part of London - indeed of England - with the widest range of income groups and types of residence - the very expensive and the very humble. It is indeed a problem to cater for all.'* **Cathedral Support Group, 1979**
- *'Everyone who now visits the Cathedral, be they worshipper, pilgrim, wanderer or tourist, is most welcome to take home a copy of its official magazine there is no charge. Enormous numbers of tourists and the merely curious come to Westminster Cathedral each week. Walking around the Cathedral most days, I am struck by the diversity of those whom we welcome here. It is true to say that a substantial portion of our visitors are not Catholic. Many have never even been inside a church before, and quite a few are keen to know more about the building as well as the faith that draws hundreds of people to worship here every day.'* **Dylan Parry, former editor of Oremus, 2013**

Contemporary evidence

- *'I come here and I class it as my second home, or an extension of my home. And I look forward to coming here to meet all my friends and family.'* **Parishioner**
- *'I come here every day before I go to work and after work to attend Mass and visit all the time Monday to Sunday.'* **Parishioner**
- *'It's just wonderful just seeing people coming from all over the world. We're all one. It's universal. Well, that's what Catholic means. We're all together.'* **Parishioner**
- *'Often it's based around a prayer group for example. So the two big ones are the Guild of St Anthony – St Anthony is a huge Saint for most communities... and then from that flows meeting up outside of that group.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'They can still have their roots from home and they can talk about things going on back at home and links to that, but being together, without being separated around the diocese. They can still meet up and... it's a convenient place for most, you can get here fairly easily.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'The Migrant Mass a couple of months ago, I was there, and it was wonderful, it was very moving, and a lot of communities.'* **Volunteer**
- *[About the charismatic evening] 'We have guitars. We have music. We dance in the Spirit. We have a wonderful talk. We have a healing team. We have a great ministry. It's exciting. That's Friday evening. It starts at 7.00pm, well, 6.30pm and we sing and praise until 7.30 to 8.00pm and then we have a speaker and we have a fellowship... And that's a family and people come from all over the world... we're from The States, we're from Australia, we're from Italy. People get to know. It's exciting. Wonderful things are happening in this parish. You hear a lot of bad news, but there is a lot of good news.'* **Parishioner**
- *'I think the anonymity thing is a key part we find of being in the Cathedral; you can come to Mass and you probably won't see many people you know... that's maybe why they come to the Cathedral, just to see the bigger picture and yes anonymity really.'* **Cathedral staff**

10. Building wider relationships

Westminster Cathedral has local, national and international links and status. The Cathedral has the capacity to influence and foster relationships between Catholics, between Londoners, between Christians, and between people of faith, non-aligned spiritual seekers and the broader public. Relationship and community building involves both clerical and lay involvement and commitment.

Historical perspectives

Westminster Cathedral was carefully planned to conceptually and visibly highlight the centrality of the Catholic faith to London, England, and the world. Cardinal Vaughan's vision was for a 'house of prayer in central London working on behalf of others and winning them graces'. It was to house carefully selected altar relics (Boniface, Thomas and Edmund of Canterbury, William of York, and Francis of Sales). The Tower would be a spiritual beacon visible from all over London, dedicated to St Edward the Confessor, and crowned with a piece of the True Cross.

As part of its mission, the Cathedral has historically been one of England's primary repositories and 'distribution centres' for relics. For example, it is possible to trace the dissemination of relics of St John Southworth in the 1930s to parishes in Lancashire and the Catholic schools, and at the outbreak of World War II, the Cathedral provided relics for the portable altars of British Armed Forces chaplains. Policy for the last half-century has been broadly one of acquisition on the part of the Cathedral, particularly as parishes and lay inheritors sought to rehouse their historic collections in a new spiritual atmosphere. Previously, however, it was common practice not only to loan but to give out relics to worthy petitioners, with an expectation that these and others would then be bequeathed back to the Cathedral.

Contemporary observations

As the Mother Church for English and Welsh Catholics, in the heart of multicultural London, Westminster Cathedral is significant locally, nationally and internationally. As such, it can lead by example in fostering community building and cohesion: ecumenical, interfaith, local and national. Recent high profile interactions with Anglicans, from the Archbishop of Canterbury to participants in joint pilgrimages and events in relation to relics, show ecumenism in action.

The Way of Mercy built on and boosted outreach work with schools and parishes, catching people's imagination and also bringing in people who had never been to the Cathedral before. The attempt to renew interest in and devotion to St John Southworth likewise reflects a reaching out and potential drawing into the Cathedral.

Lay initiatives (Legion of Mary, St Vincent Paul) alongside the Cathedral's more formal considerable welfare work are crucial to the Cathedral's role as a neighbourhood church. The annual Two Cathedrals Procession of the Blessed Sacrament from Westminster to St George's Cathedral, Southwark, instituted in 2011, functions as a public act of witness to the faith. By organising trips and pilgrimages to the places associated with St John Southworth, the Guild of St John Southworth has been creating links between the Cathedral and various places in London and Lancashire.

The Cathedral has long appreciated the value of communication through publications such as *Oremus*; using social media, particularly its Facebook page, provides another important, strategic vehicle for broader public engagement.

Opportunities to explore

- Consider how the Cathedral might renew connections with parish churches to which it has given altar relics?
- How might requests for relics mark the start of a relationship with a person or place?

Historical evidence

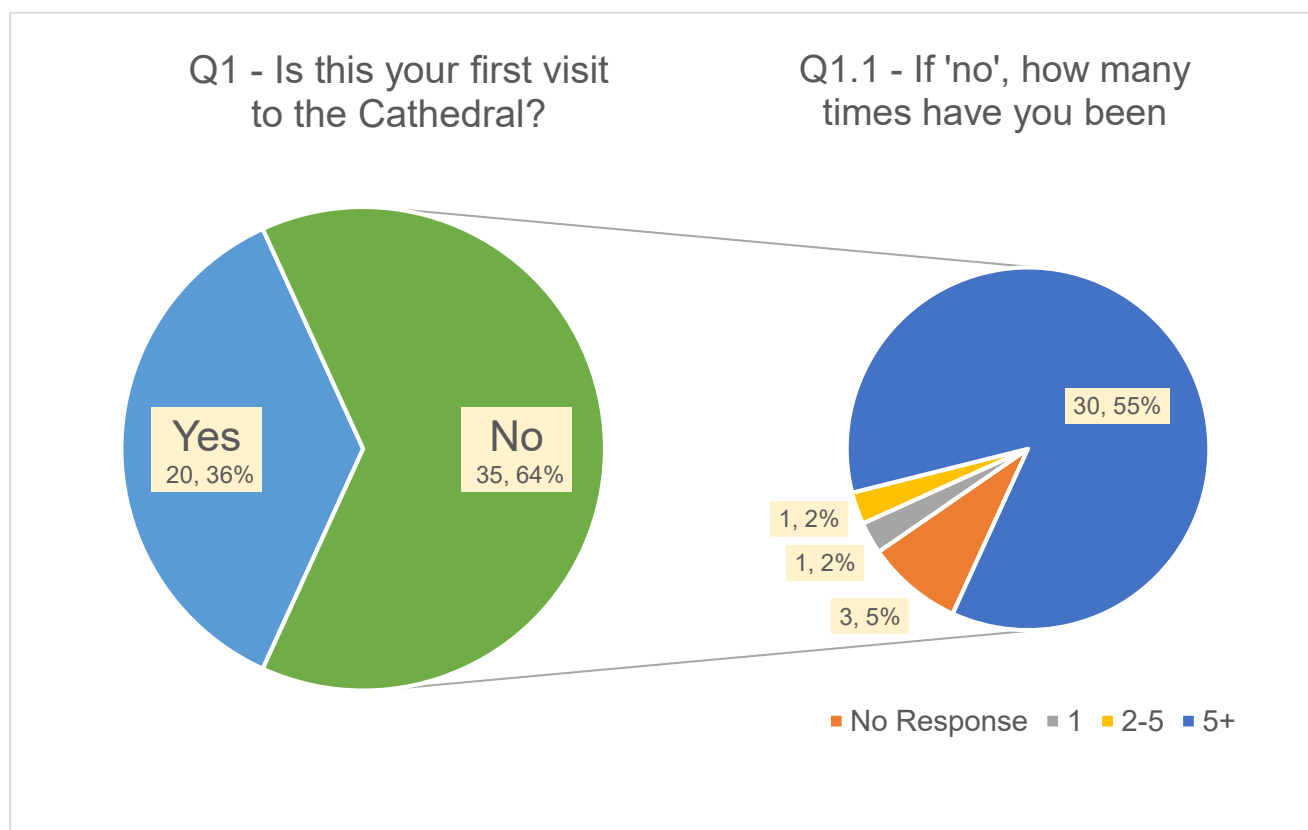
- *'This fine church where we meet is a symbol of the faith and energy of the English Catholic community in modern times. Its architecture is unusual for this country: it evokes memories of other parts of the Christian world, reminding us of our universality.'* **John Paul II, Westminster Homily, 1982**
- *'I am venturing to write to ask if it would be possible to let this Mission have a relic of Bl John Southworth? It would be really appreciated by us all in this, the Martyr's native parish – and an inspiration and help to us, as also to intending pilgrims to this place. The first large pilgrimage in honour of the Samlesbury Martyr, to his birthplace, takes place on July 27th next, and I have reason to believe that we may look for many such in the future, more particularly if there is a relic of our local saint to be venerated.'* **Fr. Francis Gurd, St Mary's Samlesbury, 1930**
- *'Sacred portions of the bones of St Honoratus, Martyr, and St Austera, Martyr, in twenty-four paper containers secured with a seal, were requested by the Most Rev. James Dey, Bishop of the Forces.'* **The Custodian of Relics, Fr. Richard Berry, 3rd September 1939**
- *'Now that all these visitors and guests will be able to take home a free copy of Oremus, it is hoped that the Cathedral's 'story' will reach a much wider readership than before. We wish to reveal the Cathedral and those who live, work and worship here to as many friends and visitors as possible. Oremus wishes to contribute to the New Evangelisation and seeks to promote the work and mission of Westminster Cathedral. By being a free magazine, we believe that we will achieve these goals more effectively.'* **Dylan Parry, former editor of Oremus, 2013**

Contemporary evidence

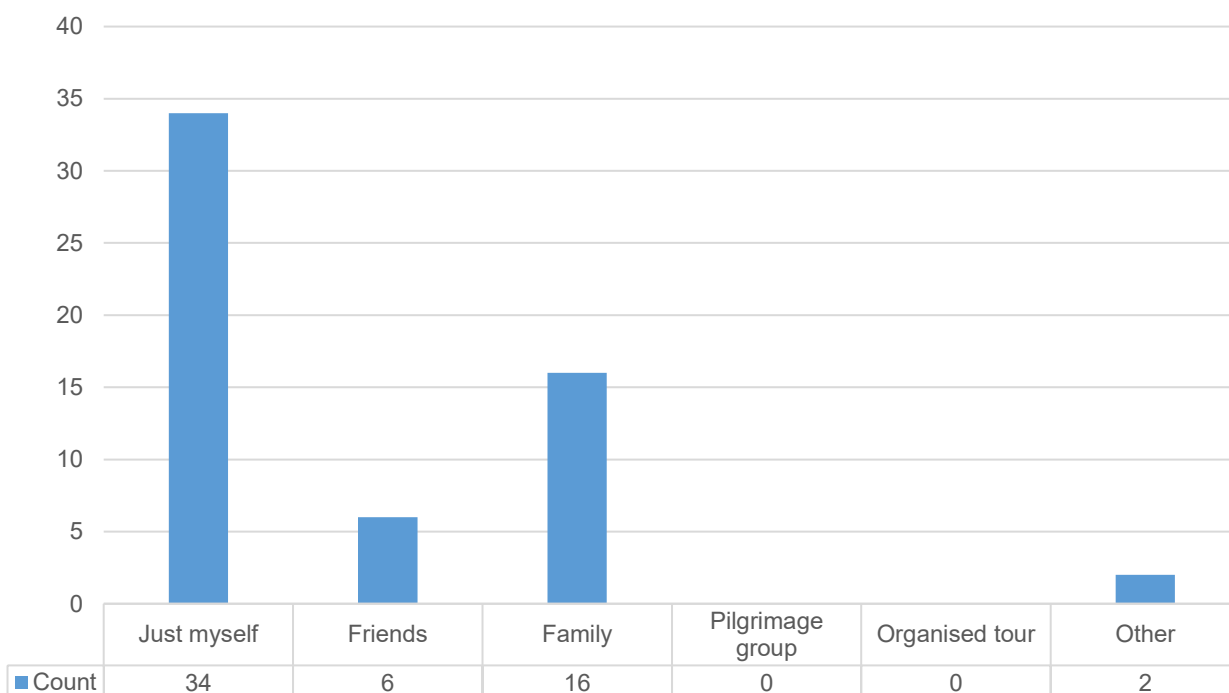
- *'It works across three levels... you get people who come here very locally as a local church and also you get people on pilgrimage from across the country and even across Europe, because the Cathedral has an historic link to whichever group they are.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'It's been very interesting to see the number of people as groups, as individuals, schools groups, parish groups, the Legion of Mary, the Catholic Women's League, different organisations, and just individuals who come here to pass through the Door of Mercy... to follow and to pray the prayers. I've met all sorts of people in the Cathedral who said, "We're from here, there and everywhere and we've come to do the Way of Mercy".'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'It's a global thing in a sense coming to the Holy Door in any Cathedral, all over the country, and all over the world... So people say, "I've been to five different Holy Doors" and that's quite something for them... All sorts of people for very different reasons..., holy reasons, wanting to go and do this very thing, partly for the indulgences, but equally yes just going to see what it's all about, and the artwork as well is another way of experiencing the faith.'* **Cathedral staff**
- *'So we knock on all the doors, and then give the newsletter, and we meet any non-Catholics who are interested in becoming a Catholic... If we meet any Catholics, we give them Miraculous Medals... we also take the Fatima Statue to their homes, and we say the rosary... We have the housebound... we also have young families as well... and even the Muslims, sometimes, they take the Miraculous Medal.'* **Member of the Legion of Mary**
- *'There's one guy, he used to sell the Big Issue at the front of the Cathedral and his clothing just had a lot to be desired. So I said, "If you want I could register you as a client for the SVP and we'll see about getting you some clothing". So we've done that and I got to Primark, got his measurements, denims, t-shirts, thermal stuff, gloves, hats, one of those big wheelie luggage things to put his belongings in, all stuff like that... Other people we've got televisions for, microwaves, freezers, fridges...'* **Volunteer**
- *'The other day we went to Lancashire, where St John Southworth was born and brought up... And it was really, really nice because it gives me more experience; it gives me the knowledge to know more about him.'* **Volunteer**

Appendix 1: Westminster Cathedral question data overview

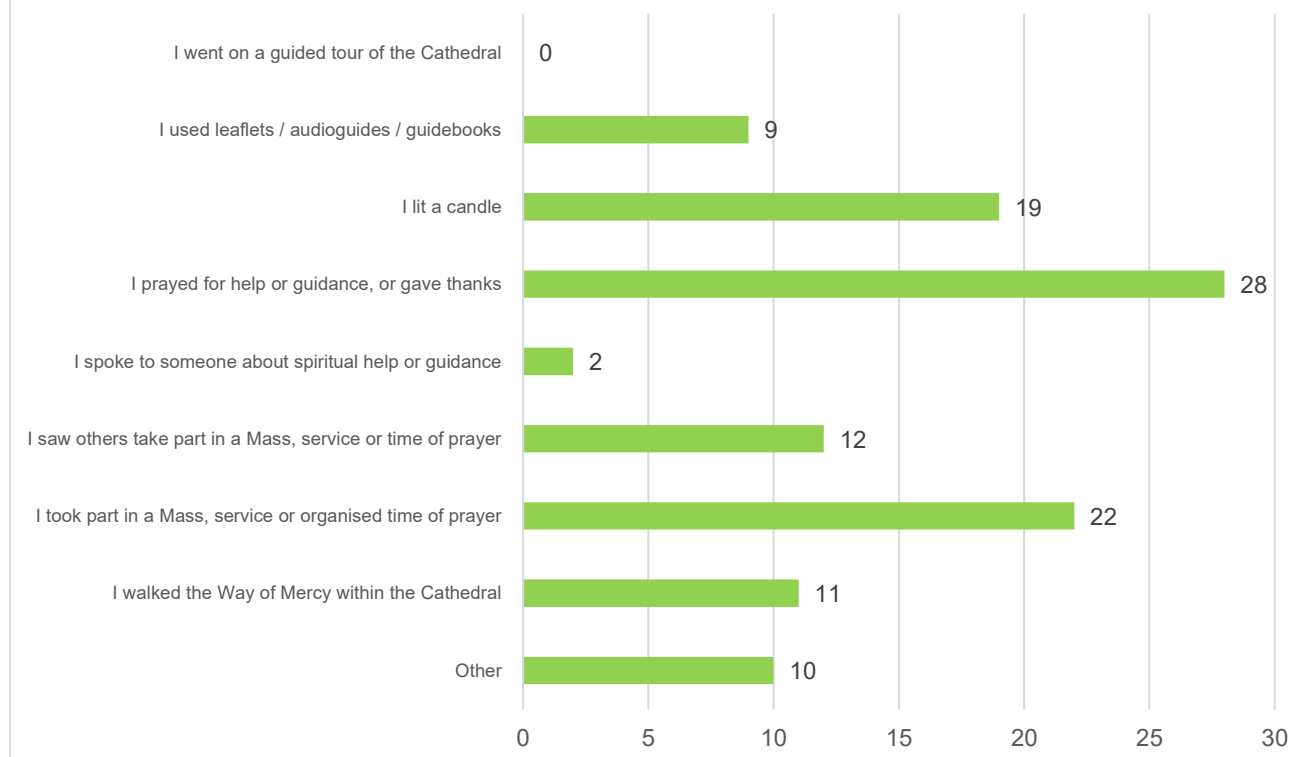
Total number of respondents: 55



Q3 - Who are you here with?

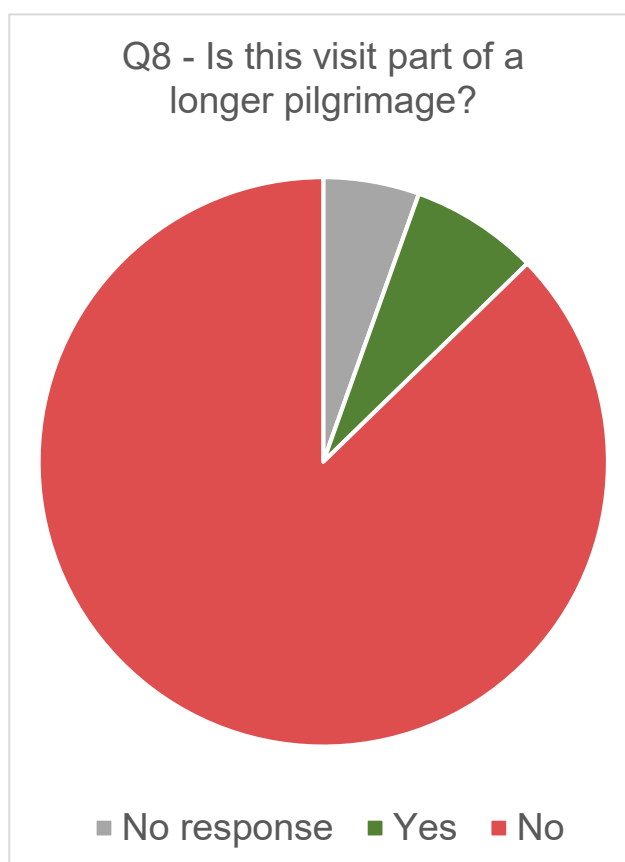
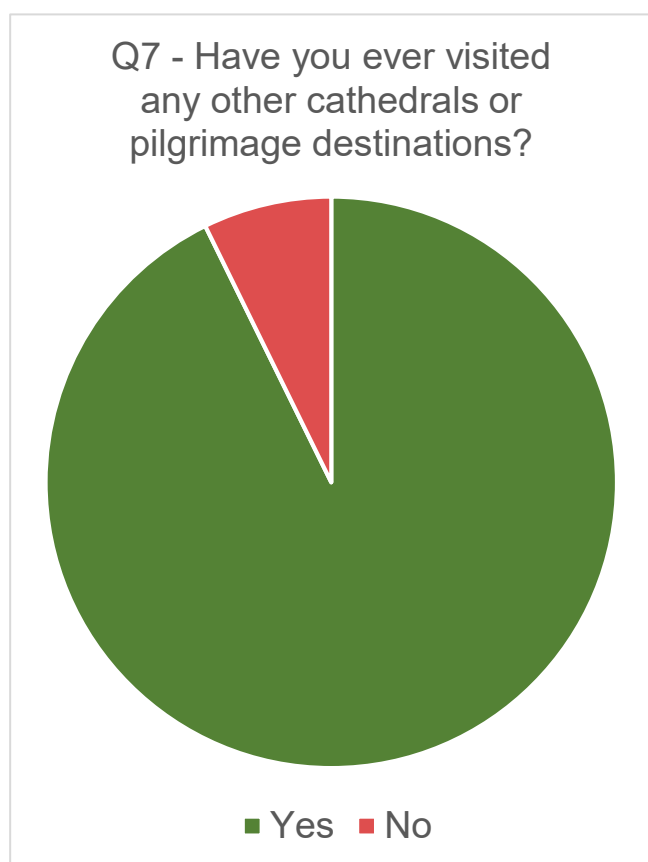
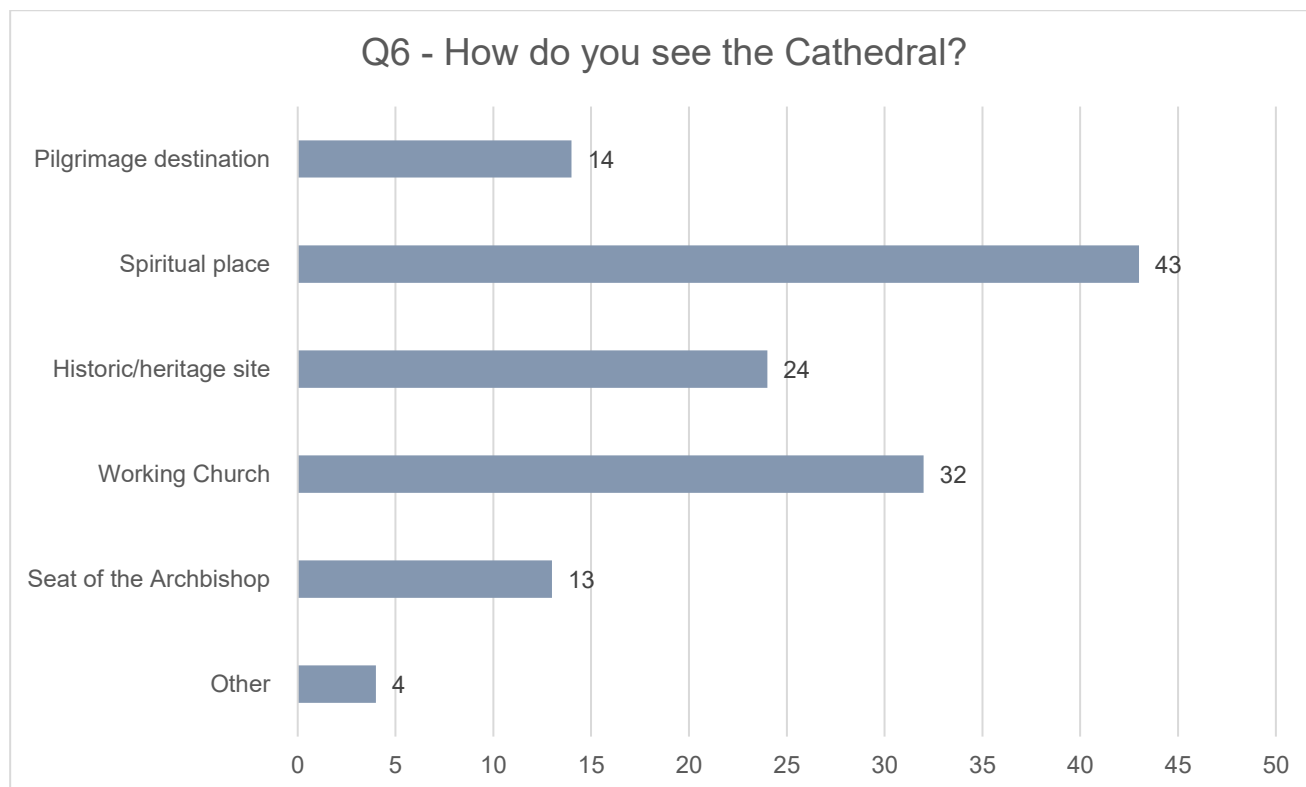


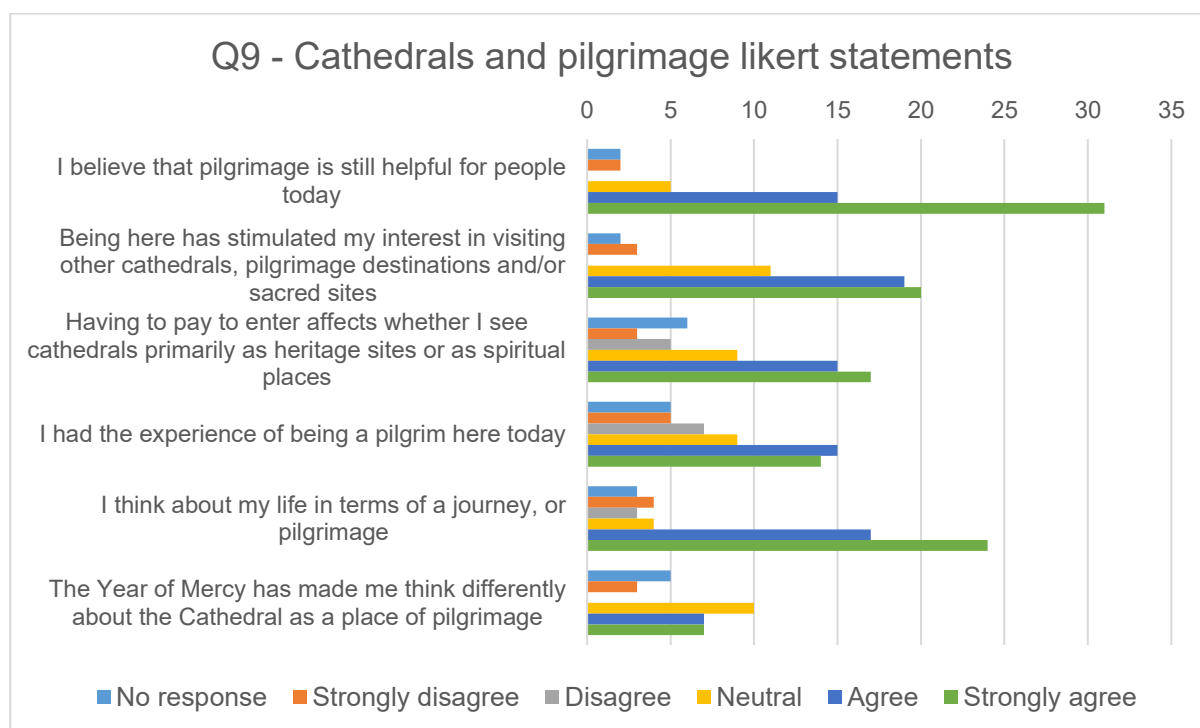
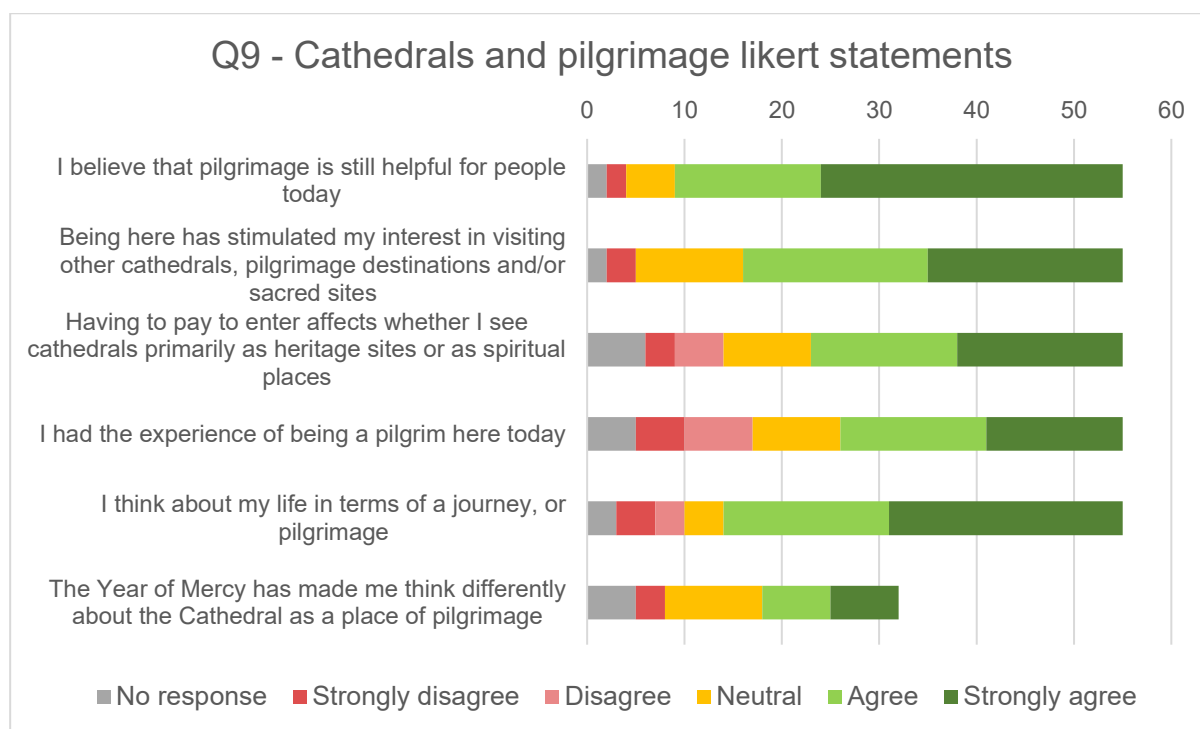
Q5 - What did you do here?



Q5 notes:

- Option 'I walked the Way of Mercy within the Cathedral' was not present in early versions of the questionnaire. To adjust for this, responses should be judged against a total of 32 questionnaires, rather than the overall total of 55.

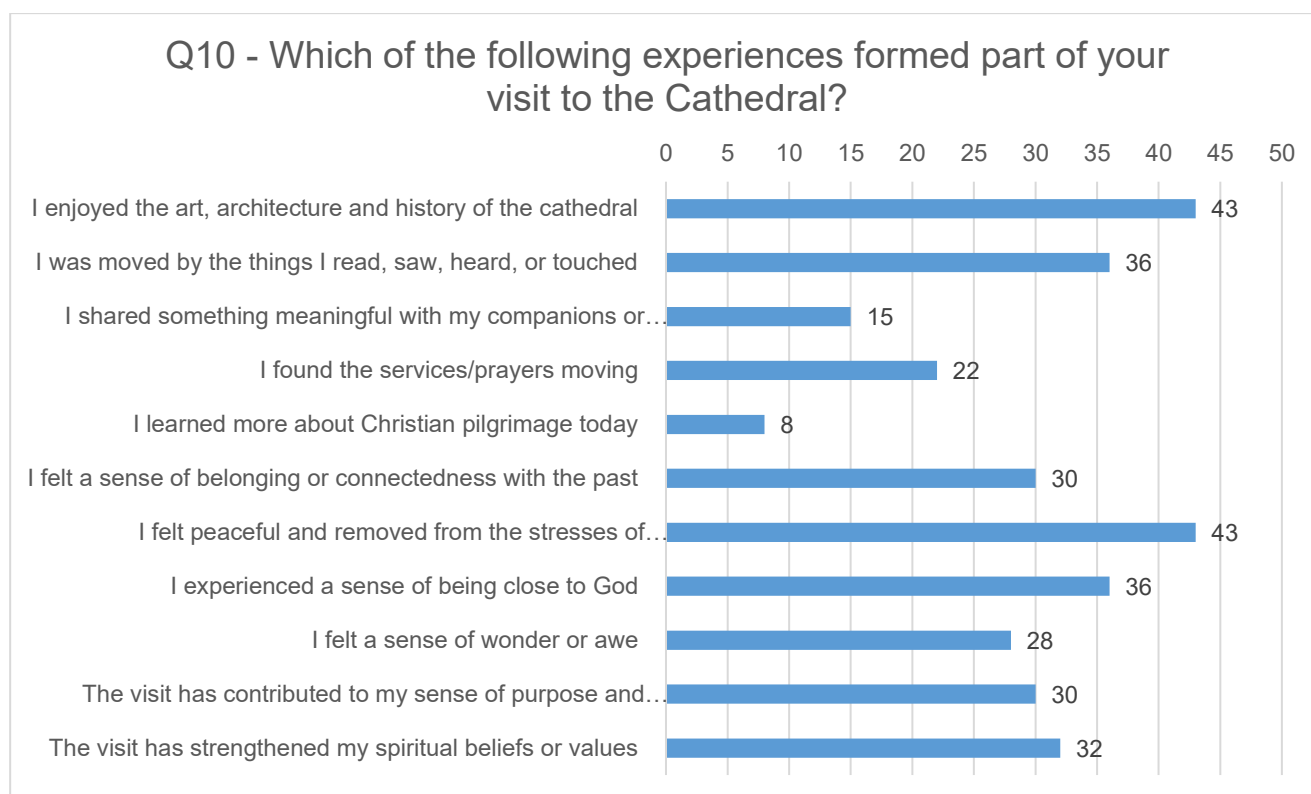




Q9 notes:

- Option 'The Year of Mercy has made me think differently about the Cathedral as a place of pilgrimage' was not present in early versions of the questionnaire. To adjust for this, responses should be judged against a total of 32 questionnaires, rather than the overall total of 55.
- Full data overview displayed overleaf.

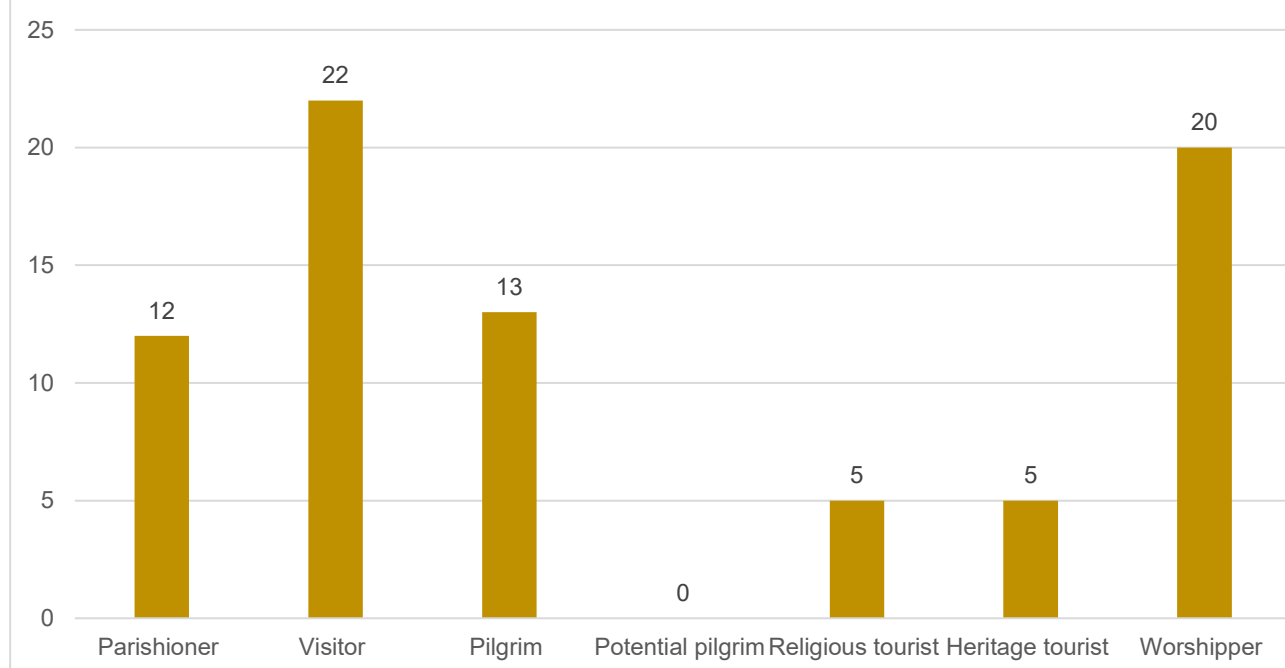
Q9 - Cathedrals and pilgrimage likert statements – data overview						
	No response	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I believe that pilgrimage is still helpful for people today	2	2	0	5	15	31
Being here has stimulated my interest in visiting other cathedrals, pilgrimage destinations and/or sacred sites	2	3	0	11	19	20
Having to pay to enter affects whether I see cathedrals primarily as heritage sites or as spiritual places	6	3	5	9	15	17
I had the experience of being a pilgrim here today	5	5	7	9	15	14
I think about my life in terms of a journey, or pilgrimage	3	4	3	4	17	24
The Year of Mercy has made me think differently about the Cathedral as a place of pilgrimage	5	3	0	10	7	7



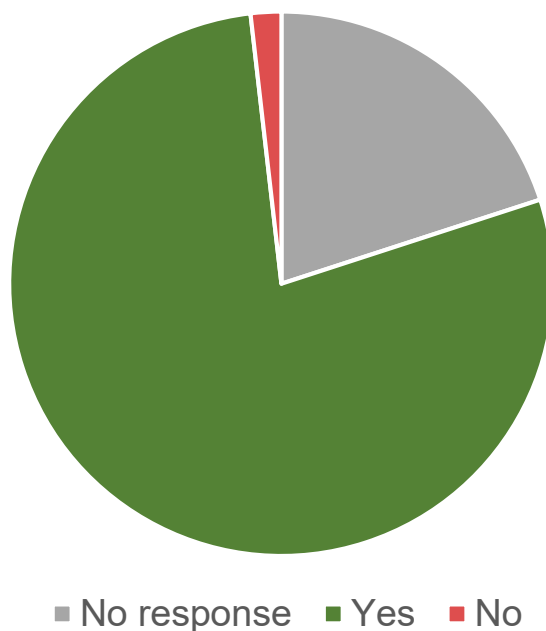
Q10 full question list:

- I enjoyed the art, architecture and history of the cathedral
- I was moved by the things I read, saw, heard, or touched
- I shared something meaningful with my companions or others present
- I found the services/prayers moving
- I learned more about Christian pilgrimage today
- I felt a sense of belonging or connectedness with the past
- I felt peaceful and removed from the stresses of everyday life
- I experienced a sense of being close to God
- I felt a sense of wonder or awe
- The visit has contributed to my sense of purpose and meaning in life
- The visit has strengthened my spiritual beliefs or values

Q11 - Thinking about your experience here today, how would you describe yourself?

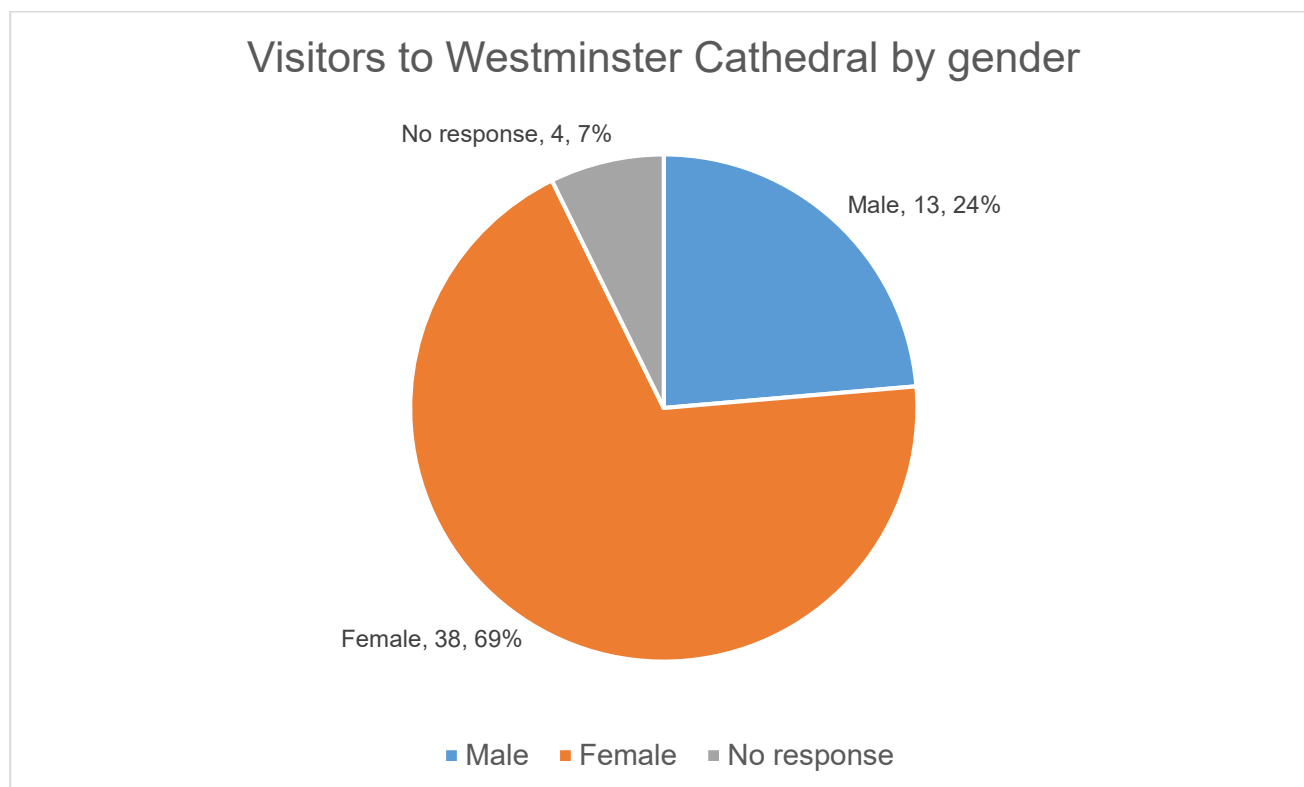
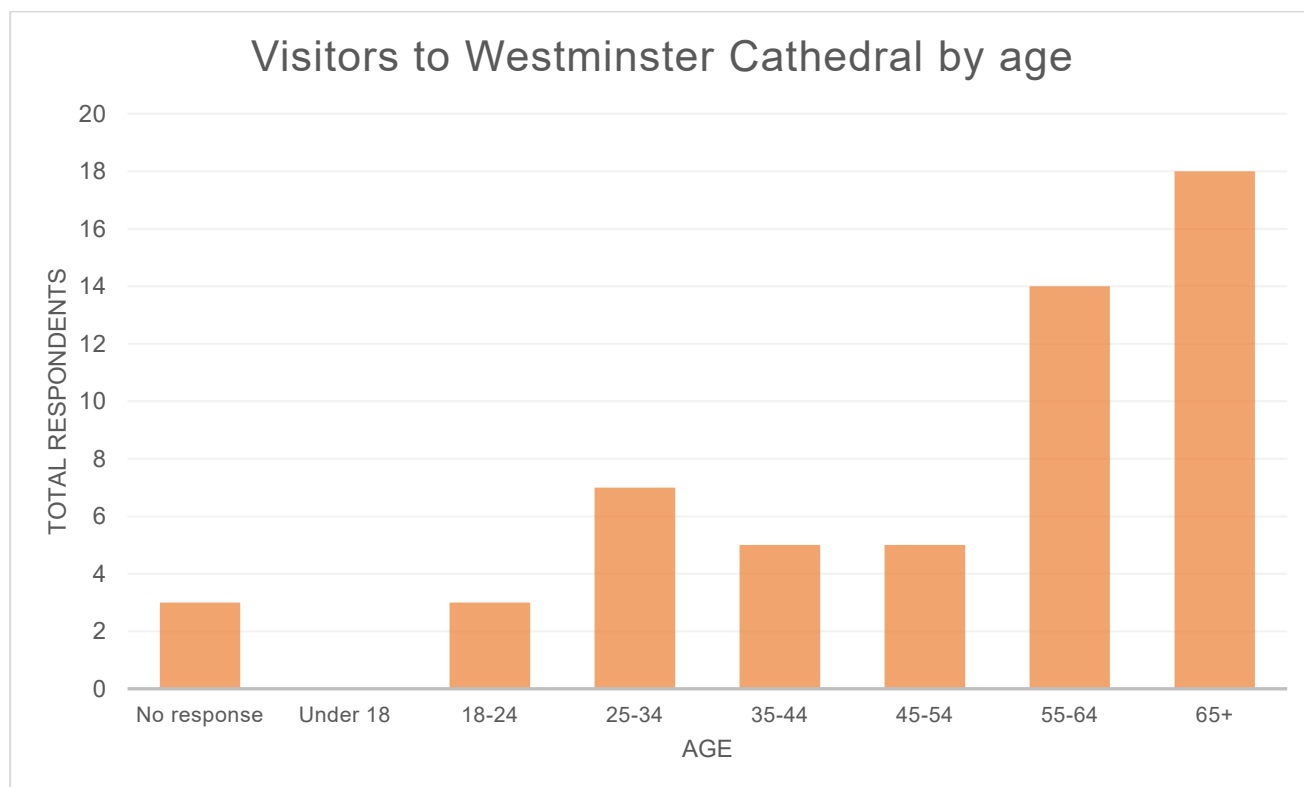


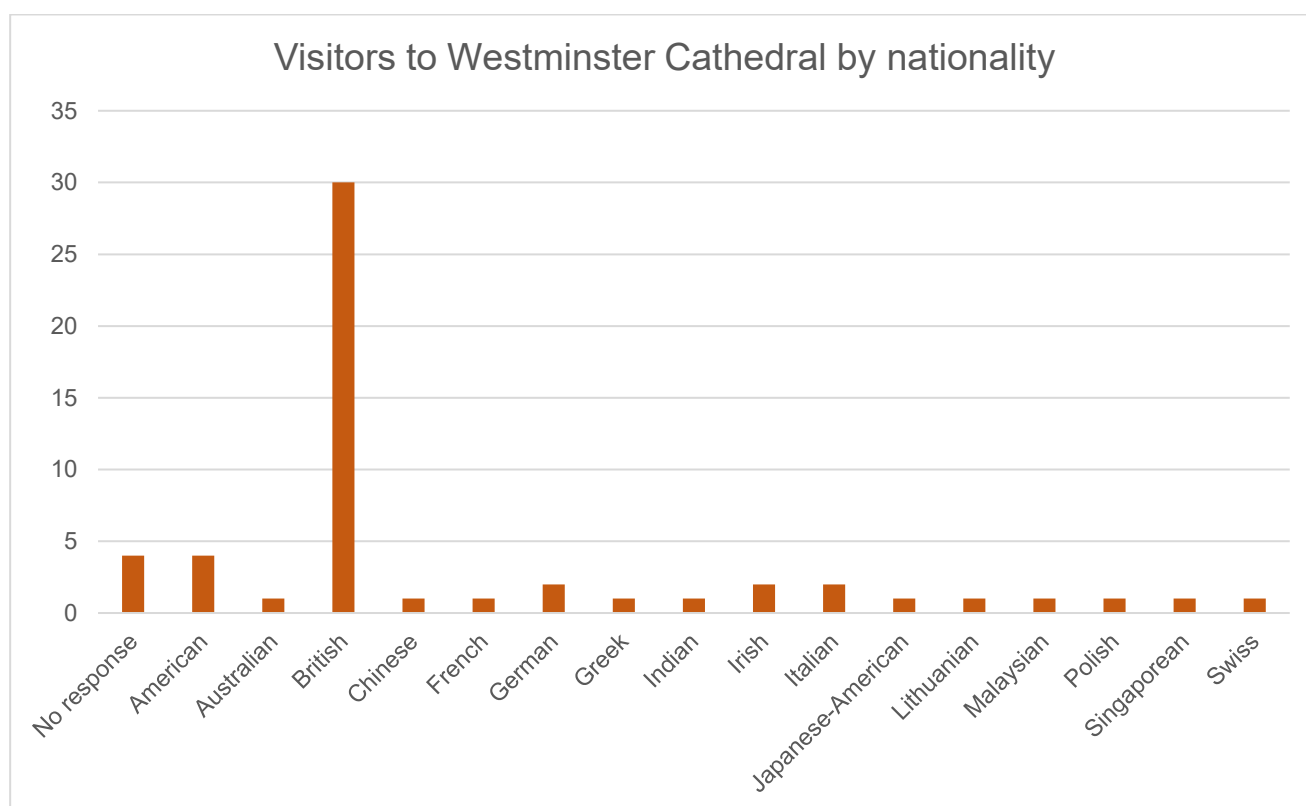
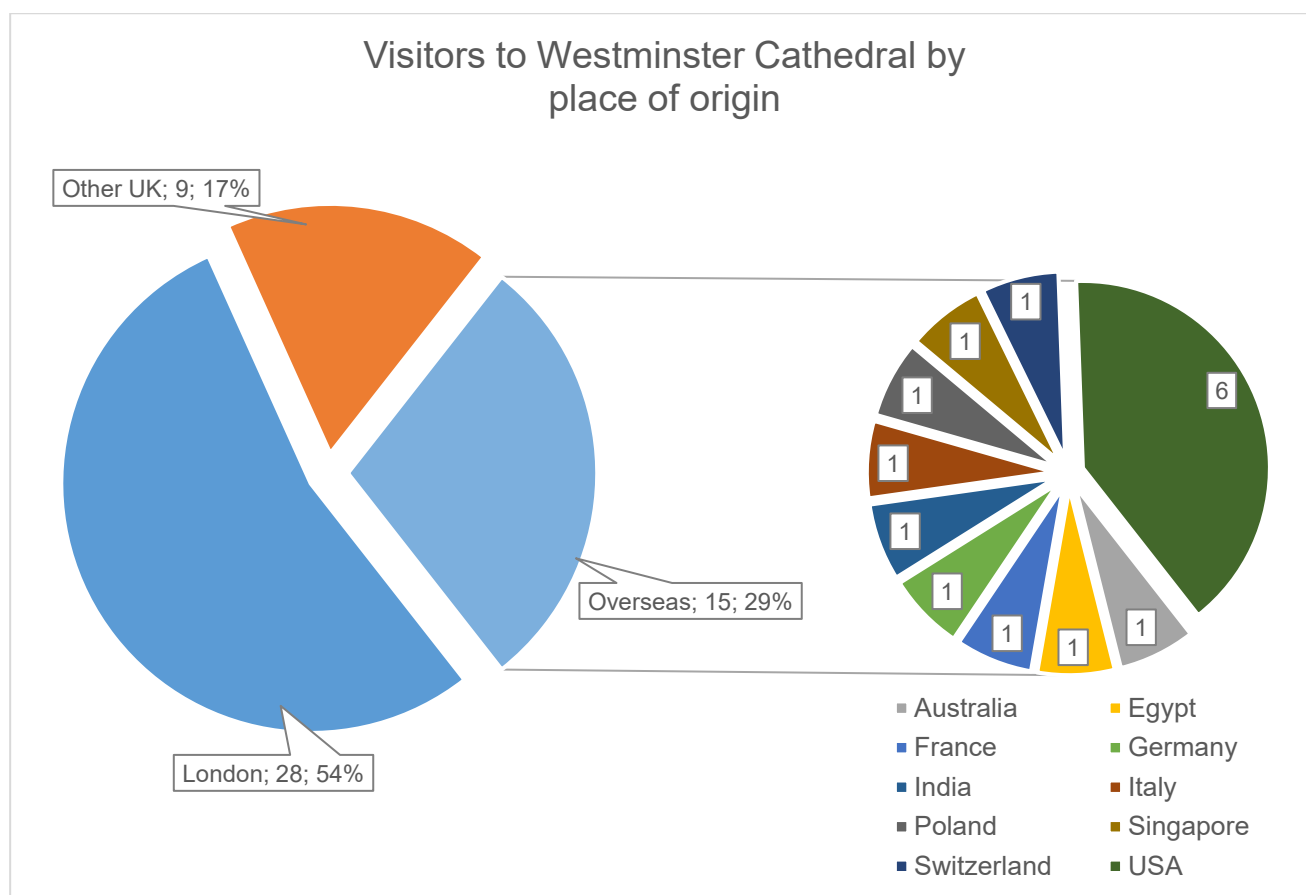
Q12 - Does your experience today match your expectations, if any?



Appendix 2: Westminster Cathedral demographic data overview

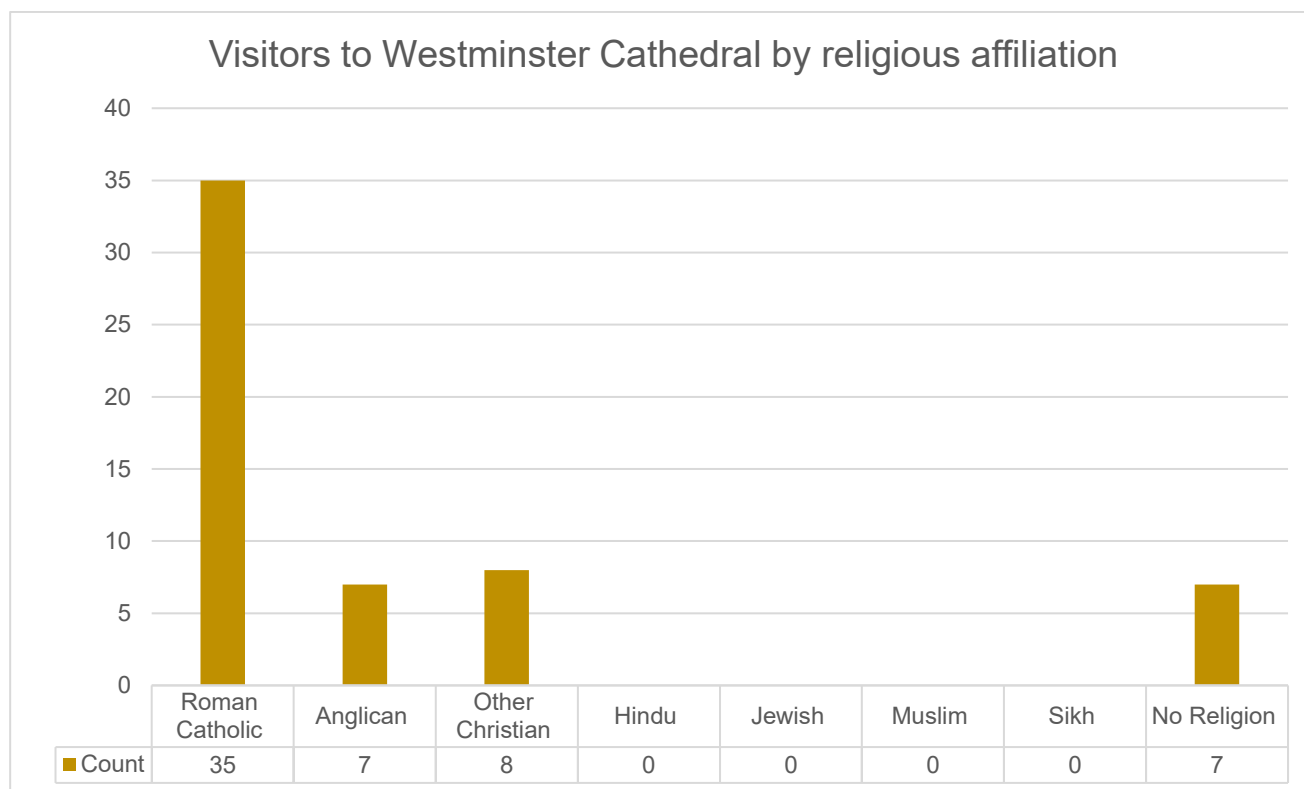
Total number of respondents: 55





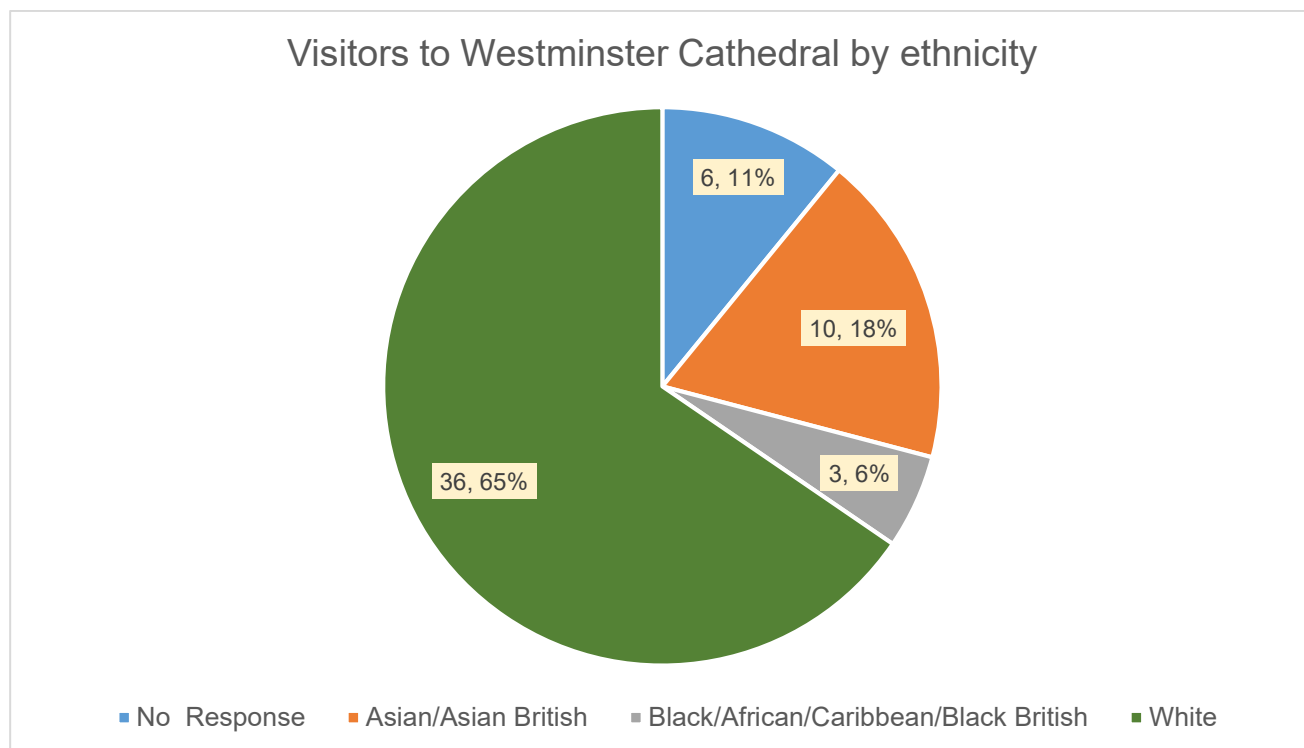
Note:

- 'English' (4 responses) and 'Scottish' (1 response) amalgamated under 'British'.



Notes:

- This question allows respondents to choose more than one answer – counts therefore total more than 55.
- Answers to 'Other Christian' were: 'Friends'; 'Methodist' (2); Orthodox (2); 'Presbyterian' and two non-related answers regarding respondents' 'No religion' status.



Appendix 3: Visitor data from Cathedral surveys 1977-1978

