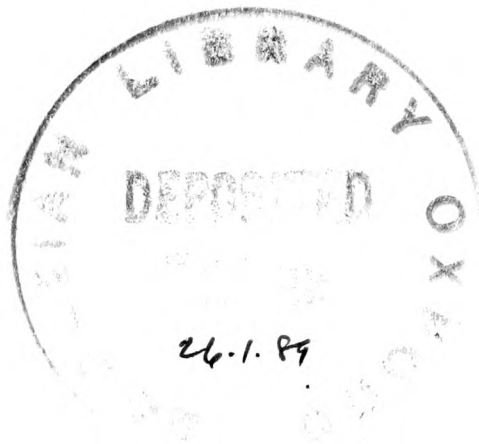


Alan Wilson

The authority of church and party
among London Anglo-Catholics,
1880-1914, with special reference to
the Church Crisis, 1898-1904.



A Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
the University of Oxford.

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MS Citations

Records of the SSC are cited by the month, year, and page number (if any) within the bound volumes of *Acta*.

Letters in Box 270 of the Hickleton Papers are not mounted and numbered, but where possible a number has been given to help locate them within the large packets (numbered chronologically in roman numerals).

Abbreviations

AA	and All Angels
Adm & Eccl	Admiralty and Ecclesiastical Divion
AFWI	A.F.Winnington-Ingram
AHC	<i>Annuaarium Historiæ Conciliorum</i>
ArchD	Archdeacon
BCP	Book of Common Prayer
BJES	<i>British Journal of Educational Studies</i>
Bp	Bishop
CA	Church Association
cap	Chapter
CBS	Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament
CC	Church Commissioners
CH	<i>Church History</i>
CQR	<i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
CTS	Catholic Truth Society
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
DR	<i>Downside Review</i>
ECE	Ecclesiastical Commisioners for England
ECU	English Church Union
EGW	E.G.Wood
FR	<i>Fortnightly Review</i>
FT	Frederick Temple
HC	House of Commons
HJ	<i>Historical Journal</i>
HL	House of Lords
HMPEC	<i>Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church [of the U.S.A.]</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
Ld	Lord
LSW	L.S.Wainright
NC	<i>Nineteenth Century</i>
ND, n.d.	No Date
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PBD	Protestant Defence Brigade
PC	Parliamentary Companion
PGA	<i>Public General Acts</i>
PL	Migne, <i>Patrologica Latina</i> .
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PrCl	Privy Council
PTS	Protestant Truth Society
Q/QQ	Question/ Questions
QBD	Queen's Bench Division
QR	<i>Quarterly Review</i>
RC	Roman Catholic
RCEC	Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, 1883.
RCED	Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline 1906.
SCH	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
SSC	Society of the Holy Cross
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
VS	<i>Victorian Studies</i>

Abstract

Alan Wilson
Balliol College

D.Phil.
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Anglo-Catholicism was the major occasion of strife within the Church of England, 1880-1914. Between 1898 and 1904 Protestant agitators made their last serious attempt to invent laws to put down ritualism. This thesis describes that church crisis, as London Anglo-Catholics experienced it. Particular attention is paid to the ways in which the authorities tried to establish control over ritualists, and to the different reactions to the crisis within the Catholic party .

Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology was not so much a dogmatic package as a theological method - the application of an organic church principle to all doctrine and practice. Anglo-Catholics used a distinctive hermeneutic, taken over from Pusey and Bishop Forbes, to neutralize offensive aspects of the thirty-nine articles and Prayer Book. Pressure from their bishops before and during the crisis stimulated distinctive doctrines of episcopacy and *magisterium* among them. Against all opposition, they continued to postulate a special affinity between the churches of England and Rome, secured by a particular concept of holiness.

Radical Anglo-Catholics who came to the fore in the church crisis turned the concept that the Church of England was but two provinces of the Catholic church from a passive assumption into the basis of a radical critique of other Anglican doctrine and practice.

They responded to being under pressure in two kinds of way. Some sought security in formally reactionary postures which they hoped would make their position impregnable. Others saw the crisis as an opportunity for all involved to re-think their perceptions of their own positions and of the nature of authority.

Although Anglo-Catholics did not always face up to the ecclesiological implications of their behaviour, they did manage to defend and define their approach between 1880 and 1914 well enough for it to make a major impact upon the twentieth century Church of England.

Long Abstract

Alan Wilson
Balliol College

D.Phil.
Trinity, 1988.

Anglo-Catholic practices were a major source of contention within the late Victorian Church of England. Behind the strife lay competing concepts of church and authority, held within an establishment which tended to define itself socially and culturally rather than dogmatically.

This thesis is mainly concerned with ritualism at its most popular levels. It draws on many unpublished sources, mainly from parochial and diocesan archives. These include one from St Augustine's Stepney, newly discovered, which contains several hundred letters between the most advanced Anglo-Catholics of the day, and others between St Augustine's clergy and Bishops Creighton and Winnington-Ingram. Use has also been made of the private records of Anglo-Catholic societies, especially the *Acta* of the Society of the Holy Cross.

This thesis describes in detail the Church Crisis which began in 1898, with Protestant attacks on London Anglo-Catholic Churches. The agitation was taken up by the leader of the opposition in the House of Commons, Sir William Harcourt. An account is given of his campaign, and of Anglo-Catholic responses. Two attempts were made to find principles to unite those who were being attacked, one by general submission to episcopal authority and the other by obedience to the Prayer Book. Both of these failed in their purpose, and extremists began to detach themselves from the rest of the party. The most radical group's distinctive ideology was defined at Holborn Town Hall in January 1899. This consisted of a theory of œcumenical uses which disallowed any unilateral or joint action by English bishops.

Meanwhile, the archbishops attempted to re-establish control by invoking the preface to the Prayer Book, and holding private hearings at Lambeth about the most controversial subjects – incense, portable lights, and reservation. The results of these hearings were unfavourable to the Anglo-Catholic cause, and attempts to enforce them further eroded discipline and spoiled relationships between bishops and clergy.

The Bishop of London attempted to induce all his clergy to limit their use of incense to processions before the liturgy. In the final stages of these negotiations, an unfortunate interview with three extreme clergy exposed the weakness of his position. In 1900 Archbishop Temple ruled against reservation, and thus increased the tension between bishops and ritualist clergy. Although many Anglo-Catholics remained loyal to partial compromises, these did nothing to conciliate Protestants and were a continual source of resentment to those who accepted them. A threat to allow the prosecution of recalcitrants over incense was only averted after months of difficult negotiation, at the end of which the Bishop of London died.

The new Bishop of London attempted to find a way of regulating incense and reservation which would be acceptable to all his clergy. After successful negotiations with all but one of them, his plan was rejected by a bishops' meeting. He was thus compelled to return to

the position taken by his predecessor. This soon crumbled, and with it all effective episcopal control of ritual in London. One decisive step on the way was the conversion to Roman Catholicism of most of the clergy and people of St Michael's Shoreditch in 1903. This thesis pays special attention to the various ways in which Bishop Winnington-Ingram was advised to deal with problems at St Michael's. They provide valuable evidence of the perceived state of authority in his diocese.

Parliamentary concern about ritual, having been deflected in 1900 by the South African War, was eventually channeled into a Royal Commission which sat from 1904-1906. It reported that the church's machinery for regulating ceremonial had broken down, its rules too narrow to satisfy legitimate contemporary aspirations. In spite of the election of a Liberal government in 1906, nothing was done legislatively about ritualism, mainly because there was nothing sensible to do. Individual churchmen worked out for themselves their own practical responses to this state of affairs.

Having described the church crisis, this thesis considers its underlying ecclesiological concerns. Anglo-Catholicism was a theological method rather than a consistent ideological package. Its essence was the application under Anglican conditions of an organic church principle. This began with a strong doctrine of the church's necessary visibility.

Opposition encouraged Anglo-Catholics to define precisely the limits of provincial and episcopal authority. Many used the œcumenical principle laid down at Holborn Town Hall. Others, however, preferred to see this unity in sacramental, even mystical terms, as a oneness with God created by baptism and grounded in the unity of godhead, rather than literally visible in the canons and constitution of the church. All Anglo-Catholic approaches shared a strong desire to transcend provincial self-sufficiency.

Applying these principles in the Church of England led to conflict in four different areas.

First, a special way of interpreting liturgy and formularies was required, to answer the accusation that the Anglican Church was a merely local phenomenon. Anglo-Catholics took two different approaches to liturgy, based on ancient English and modern Roman uses. Their inability to decide between these, in itself, called into question their commitment to Catholicism. In Tridentine terms a chop-and-change liturgy defined nothing but confusion. This anomaly was increased by Anglo-Catholics who mixed and matched between the two norms, on grounds of convenience or taste. Those who did this seldom grasped how paradoxical what they were doing was, in terms of the ecclesiology they had taken upon themselves. The church crisis encouraged such individualism, within and beyond the party. Increasingly, the Western use spread among extreme Anglo-Catholics, while enthusiasm for the English use became general among moderates and high church outsiders.

Second, Anglo-Catholics developed a special view of episcopacy. Nineteenth century Anglican patristic work, especially that of J.B.Lightfoot and E.W.Benson, defined the inherent powers of the episcopate. Anglo-Catholics shared with the high church party a respect for this authority, but added to it the requirement that it be exercised uniformly throughout the world. Some Anglo-Catholics made this theoretical entity the *locus* of infallibility in an

Ultramontane sense, but this principle proved all but impossible to apply. At its least, the principle of *unus episcopatus* required respect for the jurisdictions of other Catholic prelates. Anglo-Catholics disliked the tendency of Anglican Bishops to interpret their office in isolationist terms. Some believed bishops to have an inherent power over liturgy within their dioceses, but others feared that emphasizing *jus liturgicum* encouraged merely local concepts of the church. In practice, the best obedience that could often be rendered to Anglican bishops was to refuse their practical requests for the sake of their Catholic office. The chronic problem remained of making theory match up to the real attitudes and practices of Church of England bishops.

Third, Anglo-Catholics startlingly re-interpreted the relationship between the churches of England and Rome by suggesting that there was a special affinity between them. They believed the Roman Church in England to be schismatic, and conversions from among their number were a major irritant. Anglo-Catholics believed Rome to be the sole guarantor of Catholicity in continental Europe, however. Some held a high doctrine of Roman primacy, but this was interpreted in constitutional rather than absolute terms. In spite of the rejection of Anglican orders by Pope Leo XIII in 1896, Anglo-Catholics looked forward enthusiastically to the reunion of Western Christendom, and believed their liturgical and other behaviour to be important steps towards this end.

Fourth, Anglo-Catholics believed Catholicism to be a function of personal and corporate holiness. Respect for conventional morality was prized almost as highly as correct liturgical behaviour. There were also distinctive personal disciplines which defined Anglo-Catholic holiness - fasting communion, sacramental confession, and Catholic priestliness. This last aspiration was a matter of dress, personal bearing, and discipline over marriage. Pressure to make the SSC exclusively celibate simmered below the surface of the society, grew after the turn of the century, but failed to achieve its aim. Although many Anglo-Catholic appurtenances of holiness spread widely within the church in the twentieth century, few Anglo-Catholics managed to make their stress on personal discipline relate credibly to the party's almost complete disregard for corporate provincial discipline.

After describing the Anglo-Catholic ecclesiological agenda, this thesis considers the ways in which the church crisis affected it. Between 1898 and 1906 the ineffectiveness of parliamentary and episcopal coercion was decisively exposed. Neither bishops nor parliament could regulate the church on their own. This fact strengthened the confidence of those who located this function in wider Christendom. Starting from a Pauline and Augustinian concept of the church as the body of Christ, broadly acceptable to Anglicans in general, Anglo-Catholics made the whole church so defined the basis of a radical critique of conventional Anglican belief and practice.

The church crisis evoked two sorts of personal response from Anglo-Catholics. Some were fearful of future changes, church reform as well as possible Protestant repression. This fear inspired attempts to erect impregnable ideological defences. Other Anglo-Catholics saw the crisis as the last nail in the coffin of conventional Anglicanism, a means of redemption from mediocrity. They hoped that it might prove to be the threshold of a process of renewal,

founded on mutual discovery by those on both sides who cared about the issues which had been raised. An important part of this response was concern for a renewed and less juridical concept of episcopacy, which T.A.Lacey called "episcopality."

Within the party two ways of using the word "Catholic" emerged, in association with these reactions. One was as a description of the whole church. The other was in a focused sense, as a party or individual label. Behind this latter use lay a paradox - the only real short-term success of the most extreme Catholics was in building up close associational cells of a sectarian type. However much personal fulfilment doing this brought to individuals, it achieved little on a corporate level. Anglo-Catholics' concepts of Catholicism were more successful at convincing themselves than anyone else.

Anglo-Catholics emerged from the church crisis with their ecclesiology intact and radicalized. As they held their own within the Church of England, their party grew and became more influential. Thus they found themselves increasingly in the twentieth century in a strong position from which to move the whole Anglican church's centre of gravity away from its traditional Protestantism

I always wonder what horses think about a coachman. I imagine that they think him stupid, unjust, particular about unnecessary trifles, and always checking them needlessly. But his business is to get the coach along without upsetting it. He is on the box and he sees more than anybody else. He is not responsible for the obstacles in the road, and if he could regulate *all* the traffic, he could make things easy all round. But alas he is limited to the obscure and ignoble duty of steering his own vehicle to the best of his power.

Bishop Mandell Creighton to Henry Westall, 3 April 1900.
(L.Creighton, *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton*,
Volume II page 424.)

‘True, My Lord,’ Mr Westall might have replied, ‘but in a *fog* the coachman, from his box, sees no further than anyone else can, while the horses (poor un-reasoning beasts) can at least feel the solid ground under their feet, and sometimes their instinct will lead them safely home.’

W.Scott, “An ‘advanced’ view of the ‘Church Crisis’,”
Nineteenth Century, April 1901, p 692.

Introduction

Ritualism in context

This is a study of a church in turmoil over authority, and of the light that a particular period of strife throws upon its inner dynamics and sense of identity. Controversy about ritualism dominated Church of England affairs between 1880 and 1906, generating two Royal Commissions and twenty-two bills in parliament.¹ It is a subject which seemed vastly more important then than it does now. This consideration of the ritualist movement at the turn of the century is a case-study in the development of Anglican ecclesiology.

Various concepts of authority have been held within the Church of England. Anglicanism developed as something of a workshop religion, continually adapting the terms of its life and thought to its circumstances:

its ecclesiology was of a pragmatic character produced in response to particular crises - usually of church-state relations.²

Throughout the history of the Anglican synthesis, Anglicans have acknowledged the importance of scripture and tradition. Practically, however, these data of revelation have been handled according to different principles. The unitive force in the Church of England has often appeared to be no more than what one modern Anglican ecclesiologist has called "an inherited sense of cultural superiority."³

Resting on cultural rather than confessional foundations, Anglicanism has often displayed a pluriformity of outlook which has called into question the right of so un-cohesive a body to call itself the Church. This study examines one attempted solution to this problem. Its aim is to penetrate behind the terms of popular Anglo-Catholic controversy at the turn of the century, to reveal the ecclesiological implications of one party's defensive rhetoric.

Drawing on records of those who were most influential at a popular level, special attention will be paid to the principal birth-pain of modern parochial Anglo-Catholicism in London, the church crisis of 1898-1904. A description will be given of ecclesiological principles and con-

1 RCED, Appendix H, IV.81-2..

2 J.Pinnington, "The Debate on the Continental Churches: some late twentieth century reflections on a mid-nineteenth century Anglican crisis of identity." *Downside Review*, XLV, 1970, p 49.

3 S.W.Sykes, "Why Authority?" in S.W.Sykes (ed) *Authority in the Anglican Communion*, Toronto, 1987, p 14.

cerns within the ritualist movement during and in the immediate aftermath of that crisis. Finally, this account will be related back to major issues in ecclesiology, with an eye to future developments.

This study is concerned with the historical and theological rather than aesthetic or cultural aspects of ritualism, but because eye-gate was its threshold these cannot be ignored entirely. Anglo-Catholics, like other Victorians, could see the relatedness of outward and inward truth. Carlyle, the great prophet of Victorian popular culture elaborately connected ideas and the forms which clothed them.⁴ This approach to outward reality, transposed into an ecclesiastical key, is reflected in many contemporary reactions to Anglo-Catholicism. It may be seen, for example, in an account of Loughborough Pearson's new church in Auckland Road, Upper Norwood in the ECU's *Church Review* of April 1887:

Unless the Church of England, in whose spirit it has been conceived, were the true home of Catholicity, the weight of it would crush the feeble churchmanship expected to keep it alive. There is an end to the mild joke of Pugin, who said that he used to include Piscinas in his plans for Anglican buildings in preparation for the conversion of England. ... The only justification of a church magnificently adapted for Catholic worship is that it is meant to be used for Catholic worship.⁵

Although Ninian Comper disagreed when he visited the SSC. in 1897, the natural architecture of Anglo-Catholicism was probably Baroque rather than Gothic.⁶ There was a sympathetic resonance between late Victorian Catholic ritual and Baroque style, perceptible even to the untrained eye. In 1892 J.R.Sanderson

tried to point out the beauties of St Columba's Haggerston to working men. They could not realize them, but when they went to the Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell, they said 'we've seen a church now.'⁷

However, Gothic was the characteristic form of Church building in the nineteenth century, and that of almost all the major centres of Ritualism.

What was true of buildings was true of the uses to which they were put. Tractarians had insisted since the days of the Gorham and Denison cases that liturgical practice was ultimately a doctrinal issue. Ritualist practices were defended or attacked, above all, for their dogmatic implications.

This is a study of applied ecclesiology, the struggle to define and enforce new models of church authority in an age of upheaval. The term

4 T.Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, III.2 "Church Clothes," (1873 ed) pp 131-133.

5 *Church Review*, 30.iv.87, p 5.

6 SSC v.1897 pp 18-19.

7 SSC, ix.1893, p 19.

“ecclesiology” was used in early Victorian times for “the science of church building and decoration,” but has come to mean “the theology of the church.”⁸ It is always used here in its modern sense.

Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology

Ecclesiological questions were crucially important to Anglo-Catholics, not only for their intrinsic interest, but because they provided the key to contemporary controversy. The SSC synod of September 1892 considered what agenda Anglo-Catholics should set themselves if their movement was to endure and grow. Most important was the need to find a proper answer to two questions:

‘What do you mean by the Church?’ and ‘the authority of the Church?’⁹

The answer to the first question was easy enough in human terms. Since the days Augustine had refused to baptize returning Donatists, the church could be defined as

the aggregate of all who have been validly baptized¹⁰

The second question, that of authority, entailed what William Crouch called

the fight now on over jurisdiction and discipline; a battle of infinitely more importance than the battle for ceremonial.¹¹

There were two levels to this ecclesiology. On the surface, there was no such thing as Anglo-Catholic doctrine. Truth was the possession of the whole church, Catholic in the extended sense. All the baptized were Christians, recipients of sacramental grace. On a deeper level, however, the Church could be considered as an organized public body, what Cardinal Bellarmine had called a *cætus hominum*.¹² The more seriously the implications of this were taken, the less all-inclusive the church became. This picture of the Church was the starting point of Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology. Its implication was behaviour to which other members of the Church of England were startlingly unaccustomed.

The classic definitions and defences of the Catholicity of Anglicanism had been laid down in the seventeenth century. Like Cardinal Bellarmine, Jeremy Taylor began his case by quoting Lactantius’ observation that even heretical organizations call themselves Catholic. He went

8 OED III.30

9 SSC, ix.1892, p 20.

10 *Ibid.*

11 SSC, v.1892, p 14

12 A. Dulles, *Models of the Church*, Dublin, 1976, p 14.

on to claim that the Church of England displayed the most substantive essential Catholicity.¹³ Bellarmine reckoned no fewer than fifteen notes of the church on the Roman Catholic side; but these were either disputable, or common property. The Catholic line was an assertion of institutional integrity and right. Against this, Taylor stressed the corruption of recent Popes, and claimed a closer resonance with primitive antiquity.

At their most exalted, Anglican apologists tended towards a dispersed concept of Catholicity secured by a strong awareness of the inherent dignity of each bishop. The method was not dissimilar to that of autocephalous eastern churches.¹⁴ Seventeenth century controversy was largely concerned about whether any part of the Catholic church could exist outside the Roman pale. The Caroline divines defined and defended such a right, and grounded the true Catholicity of their Protestantism on the witness of antiquity.

Eighteenth century apologetic was not as relevant to ecclesiology. It has been suggested that the loss of the non-jurors turned attention towards rationalism and deism, and marginalized the Roman question.¹⁵ The principle of religious establishment implicit in the Clarendon code was compromised as early as 1707, when the crown effectively established the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The pragmatic sanction of *cuius regio, eius religio* was finally breached, however, by Catholic emancipation and the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts more than a century later.

The break-up of the *anciens régimes* of Europe, with the recognition of minority forms of religion in England, made ecclesiology a matter for private judgment in a new way. The claims of the Church of England were becoming less a matter of state, and more questions of individual choice. The new sort of voluntary Anglican required assurance that the church he had chosen had a right to claim his allegiance. Pluralism was begetting that horror of early Tractarians, Liberalism.

Tract LXXI put the question thus:

Every thoughtful mind must at times have been beset by the following doubt: 'How is it that the particular Christian body to which I belong happens to be the right one? I hear everyone around me saying his own society is alone right and others wrong: Is not anyone as much justified as I am? In other words, the truth is surely nowhere to be found pure, unadulterate and

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- 13 Jeremy Taylor, *A Dissuasive from Popery*, II bk i.1 (*Works*, ed R. Heber, X.377)
 - 14 See, e.g., J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology - Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, New York, 1983 edition, p 210.
 - 15 P.E.Moore, in P.E.Moore & F.L.Cross (ed), *Anglicanism*, London, 1962, p xix.

entire, but is shared throughout the world, each Christian body having a portion of it, none the whole of it.’¹⁶

Newman noted that “a certain Liberalism is commonly the fruit of this perplexity.” This might encourage enquirers to

gratify the pride of human nature, by standing aloof from all systems, forming a truth for themselves, and countenancing this or that denomination of Christians according as each maintains portions of that which they have already assumed to be the truth.

For Newman, such a process could not lead to the truth, because the individual was its final arbiter. Tract LXXI went on to point out that the authority of early church doctrine came from its universality. This raised new difficulties for national, merely local, churches like the Church of England.¹⁷

This perspective fortified Roman Catholic claims. Anglicans persisted in the Caroline idea that Roman Catholicism was defective because it had corrupted apostolicity. Roman Catholics countered by claiming that Anglicans had forsaken Catholicity. In his *Apologia*, Newman described such an argument:

The Anglican said to the Roman: ‘There is but One faith, and you have not kept to it’; the Roman retorted: ‘There is but one church, the Catholic, and you are out of it’.¹⁸

This left those who felt as Newman did with two options. They could stay within the Church of England, hoping that one day its inherent apostolicity would bear the fruit of renewed Catholicity, or they could become Roman Catholics, taking on board the traditions of men sanctified by the authority of a world-wide communion. Soon afterwards, Newman saw his ‘ghost’ - *securus judicat orbis terrarum*.¹⁹ This, for Newman, was crucial. Once he had sensed a disparity between Anglican formularies and the judgment of the “*orbis terrarum*,” there was no longer any place for him in the Church of England. His submission to Rome was the resolution of the pain and doubt this uncertainty had caused him, a step on the path his epitaph at Edgbaston described, “*Ex umbris et imaginibus in Veritatem*.”²⁰ Apostolicity was a function of Catholicity, not vice versa. The Anglican concept of free-standing Antiquity as the bench-mark of authority was an inadequate bulwark against Liberalism, no more than “standing on one leg.”²¹

16 Tract LXXI *On the Controversy with the Romanists*, Oxford, 1839 edition, p 27.

17 *Ibid.* pp 28-9.

18 J.H.Newman, *Apologia*, chapter 3; London, 1964 edition, p 109.

19 *Ibid.* ch 3 p 121

20 Quoted in *More Letters of Herbert Hensley Henson*, London, 1954, p 137.

21 J.H.Newman, *Op.Cit.*, ch 4, p 155.

Along this path and almost at the gates of Rome stood Tract XC. It became a resting-place for those who had followed a similar progression to Newman's, but stopped short of his final conclusion. They turned their backs on the Anglican apologetic tradition of the last four hundred years. The aim of their church doctrine was to establish exactly the opposite of the Caroline divines and the Anglican Newman. It was not to defend separation, but to establish identity. They saw themselves as Catholics in exactly the way European Catholics were, but with different legitimate pastors.

Of course laying claim to a right did not, in itself, establish its legitimacy. Without endorsement from Rome, or from its own bishops, the Anglo-Catholic position remained no more than one version of the Church of England. By the end of the nineteenth century it had developed as far as being implemented in certain parishes and societies. It is important not to be misled by its success on this level, into underestimating the extent to which it remained outside the mainstream of the Church of England.

There was nothing marginal about this position in the minds of its proponents, however. They believed they were renewing an essential characteristic which had been forgotten at the Reformation. The Oxford Movement had been the revivification of the dry bones of the Anglican Church.²²

This process of restoration took the form of experimental attempts to establish continental Catholic discipline and sacramental life within the Church of England. It is a particularly fruitful subject for ecclesiological study, as it begged questions of identity in the minds of all who were touched by it.

Having defined terms and perspectives, and given a preliminary account of its sources, this study describes the emergence of Anglo-Catholicism out of ritualism. It begins with the fact of party strife and goes on to examine the ecclesiological significance of what was going on. This entails a description of the church crisis which pressed the Catholic movement in the Church of England into its early twentieth century form. Final comment is offered about Anglo-Catholic contentions about the church which came to prominence during the crisis, and their corporate and future significance.

22 R.W.Burnie, SSC, ix.1912, p 9.

Who were the Anglo-Catholics?

Terms and definitions

It is more difficult than might be imagined to say exactly who was an Anglo-Catholic and what this meant to them. Names were bandied around with different meanings and intentions on all sides. Few terms were applied with anything like universal consistency, but this does not dissolve the need for working assumptions.

The label "high church" was often given to Anglo-Catholics by outsiders and detractors, but at no time in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century did they appropriate it with any enthusiasm for themselves. They did not want to be confused with those whose basic theological perspective was provincial. Consequently, this term has not been used here for Anglo-Catholics.

We might attempt to define the radicalism which separated Anglo-Catholics from high churchmen by examining their attitudes to the establishment.¹ One obvious superficial difference between mid-Victorian high churchmen and Anglo-Catholics was their attitude to this issue. High churchmen were attracted to the cause of "church defence," shoring up an establishment which Anglo-Catholics often scorned.

We must allow, however, for the variety there was of Anglo-Catholic concepts of establishment. On the whole they did not set great store by the link with the state, and none contended that it was in any sense necessary. The church must not be thought to depend on establishment, endowment, or even the use of historic church buildings. E.G.Wood concluded from the way in which the Church of the Province of South Africa had deserted its buildings to the Colensoites that

the state has a perfect right to turn our cathedrals into picture galleries.²

This was further than some of the most extreme Anglo-Catholics wished to go, however. C.R.Chase and T.J.Puckle could not contemplate disendowment without fearing the handicap it might impose upon the church's practical work.³

1 See, e.g., evidence of Anglo-Catholic distaste for such establishment-minded practices as Accession Day services, SSC vi.1887 p3, and C.F.G.Turner's critique of the methods and assumptions of the Church Defence Institution, SSC i.1897 p 7. For the other side, see M.J.D.Roberts, "Pressure Group Politics and the Church of England: The Church Defence Institution 1859-1896," JEH XXXV (1984) pp 560-582.

2 SSC. ix.1888 p12.

3 SSC v.1892 p 16.

Anglo-Catholic opposition to the establishment boiled highest, naturally, in times of persecution. J.Newton-Smith proposed a motion to the SSC at the height of the ritual imprisonments, that “disestablishment was a moral necessity of the present time.”⁴ As the threat of coercion receded, however, passions cooled and it became easier to live with the idea of establishment.

There was some doubt among Anglo-Catholics as to what benefits being established conferred upon the church. The Queen herself was resolutely Protestant, “very anxious as to the high church.”⁵ There was certainly no great advantage for the Anglo-Catholic party in the historic alliance with the Tory party while Disraeli was leader.⁶ Twenty years later, H.W.G.Kenrick pointed out that even for Lord Salisbury’s party, the church was something of a bartered bride:

The Conservative party and the radical party both feel certain that churchmen are conservative. The conservatives therefore disregard the church, and try to curry favour with the dissenters; while the radicals give up the church as impracticable, and do all they can against it to please the dissenters.⁷

Ritualists’ political orientations were various. Much has been made of Dolling’s Socialism, which led the Warden of Winchester College to sever his connection with St Agatha’s:

What with your ultra High-Church proclivities on the one hand, and your Socialist teaching on the other, no sober-minded and loyal citizen can be expected to support the mission...⁸

Johnny Roxburgh went to the Trinity College Mission in Stratford a Tory, but his clergy house was soon solidly Socialist, its ideological purity guarded by the young Frank Weston.⁹ Stewart Headlam served for two years at St Michael’s Shoreditch under H.D.Nihill. In 1881 E.G.Wood attempted, unsuccessfully, to prevent him from addressing the SSC, because he had shared a platform with Bradlaugh.¹⁰ Socialism was a contentious issue within the SSC of the early eighties - W.J.E.Bennett resigned from the Society because of Headlam’s address, while W.Crouch threatened to resign if it took an anti-Socialist stance.¹¹

Perceptions of Socialism were largely a question of generation. The proportion of Socialists among Anglo-Catholics grew as years

4 SSC, xii.1880 p 4, i.1881 p 3, v.1881, 17-21.

5 Victoria to Disraeli, *Letters of Queen Victoria 1862-1878*, ii.373.

6 James Bentley, *Ritualism and Politics in Victorian Britain*, Oxford, 1978 p 6-7.

7 SSC, ix.1900, p 9.

8 C.E.Osborne, *Life of Father Dolling*, London, 1903, pp 117-8.

9 H.Maynard Smith, *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar*, London, 1926, pp 17-19.

10 SSC ix.1881 pp 7-10, including a debate on Socialism.

11 SSC xii.1881 p 6.

passed.¹² The far pole from the Socialists was inhabited by men like Bennett and F.G.Lee, whose thought-world was very different to Headlam's, or that of Lacey, Green's pupil at Balliol.¹³ Lee had no time for Socialism, Idealism, or for that matter the whole modern world:

Throughout sixty-five years I have, I trust, by the Grace of God and the favour of the angels, always been a Christian and a Tory. The unclean, atheistic anti-Christian agitators of the last half century have left me where I was. Oxford, which I loved of old, is now so full of tramways, baby baskets, feeding bottles, and vulgar villas, that I never go near it. Greek philosophy and morals curse it. I rather prefer to remember it when Routh was a don, Newman its guide, and God its illumination.¹⁴

The most that can be said of Anglo-Catholics, then, was that from their several political viewpoints they tended to dislike an establishment within which they were nevertheless content to live.

Whatever the intrinsic worth of the Establishment, Anglo-Catholics believed it to be a dominant concern of the Bishops:

The Anglican bishops! Or rather the Ch[urch] of Eng[land] Bishops! Poor men! The trail of the serpent, that is the glamour of Establishment is over them all.¹⁵

This made the threat of Disestablishment a useful lever upon them:

We ought to take practical action in the matter, and even join the Liberationists in agitating... - frighten the Bishops¹⁶

This tactic was used during the church crisis enough to attract criticism from E.G.Wood:

It seems to me a great mistake to advocate Disestablishment as it were in a pet, just because we do not get our own way. Some have made use of it in this way as a kind of bogey to threaten the Bishops...¹⁷

Fervour for disestablishment was a better slogan than reality. The issue was complicated for Anglo-Catholics by contemplation of the sort of animal a disestablished church might turn out to be. Thus George Bayfield Roberts reminded the SSC that

The Church of England is dominated by High Churchmen,¹⁸ and this would be the dominant power in a Disestablished Church.¹⁹

12 See an extended discussion of the growth and principles of Socialism in SSC v.1908 pp 23ff.

13 I.Elliott, (ed)*Balliol College Register*, 2nd Edition, Oxford, 1934 p 71.

14 *Church Review*, 30.1.1902, p 72.

15 T.I.Ball to Ld Halifax, 16.12.1902. Hickleton Papers 270.4.1.

16 W.Scott, SSC v.1892 p 16.

17 SSC, v.1900 p 22.

18 In this context a perjorative term, the opposite of "Catholics".

19 *Ibid.*, p 24.

There were even Anglo-Catholics, like H.P.Denison, who thought that however desirable a free church might be, neither bishops nor the rest of the church were yet ready for it.²⁰

Years later, Gregory Dix was to endorse this practical view. A Church of England with its own effective means of defining worship and doctrine in the 1860's and 70's would almost certainly have resembled the Church of Ireland in its Protestant uniformity, and nipped any Catholic movement in the bud.²¹ Anglo-Catholics' relish for the prospect of disestablishment all depended on whether it was South Africa or Ireland they had in mind.²²

As for terminology, in the early 1880's, the designation "ritualist" was accepted among Anglo-Catholics as something of a badge of honour.²³ Later in the decade, and increasingly towards and after the turn of the century it became a derogatory term for high church ceremonialists.²⁴ Thus, at the height of the church crisis, a thorough Anglo-Catholic called willingness to settle for curtailed use of incense "the very soul of paltry ritualism."²⁵ Although it was a popular term of abuse it does little to denote the self-awareness of Anglo-Catholics.²⁶ Therefore it has been used sparingly in the present study.

An appropriate label which did emerge around the end of the century was the term "Catholic," occasionally "English Catholic"²⁷ and only rarely "Anglo-Catholic." The Tractarian editors of the Anglo-Catholic library of the Fathers had used the term to denote the entire Church of England, underlining its Catholic character. This use, which the OED calls "historic" became a dead letter later in the century, however, as the term became more of a party label.²⁸ The modern use was implicitly critical of the traditional stance of the Church of England towards the rest of Christendom. This term has been used presently more than any other.²⁹

20 H.P.Denison to Bp London, 9.1.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

21 Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2nd Ed. London, 1945, p 706.

22 Discussion of the Church of Ireland and its difficulties in SSC i.1880, pp 4-5, SSC v.1889 p 8, SSC ix.1890 p 24. See below, p 198.

23 For example T.O.Marshall in SSC xi.1881 p 3.

24 For example E.Heath in SSC v.1889 p 20, R.A.J.Suckling in SSC v.1892 p 16, C.R.Chase in SSC iii.1896 p 4.

25 T.H.P[assmore], *Incense*, St Mary Magdalene's [Paddington] Papers No 1, London, 1899, p 6.

26 R. T. Davidson took this line in RCED II.342 [q 12851]

27 This was Wilfred Knox's preferred term: P Fitzgerald, *The Knox Brothers*, London, 1977, p 97.

28 OED I.328.

29 The term was favoured, e.g. by T.A.Lacey, *The Anglo-Catholic Faith*, London, 1926, p 12.

To make sense of Anglo-Catholicism, it must be given some human content. After the death of Pusey there was no single authority for Anglo-Catholic church doctrine. The extent to which it is sensible to talk of Pusey as a party leader is, to put it mildly, questionable.³⁰ Leaders must be found among the company of those to whom heed was paid, clergy and laity in their parishes and societies.

It is important to remember that popular perceptions of extremism changed as the period progressed. Nobody stayed the same, and neither did the terms people used to describe themselves. It is not sufficient merely to lump together everybody accused of popery, and call the resulting group "Anglo-Catholic." Romanism in one context was moderation in another. Standards differed vastly between the dioceses of Chester and London or Exeter as they did within every diocese.

Clergy were tremendously important in setting these standards, because it was very largely they who were responsible for the doctrinal and liturgical stances of their churches. Behind the clergy stood those who appointed them. Parochial Anglo-Catholicism could only make its way because there were patrons who were at the least willing to countenance the ritualist practices of those they appointed.

Clergy were appointed by a great variety of patrons, from educational corporations to private families.³¹ Examining over two hundred Anglo-Catholic clergy who used incense in 1900, it appears that private and corporate patronage did not particularly discriminate for or against them.³² Sometimes it was alleged that ritualism would wither on the vine if only the Crown would refuse to consider ritualists for its appointments. A petition of 36,876 women of England was prepared in April 1897 suggesting this.³³ In fact, the Crown tended not to favour any who could be accused of Ritualism,³⁴ but there were plenty of other patrons who might be indifferent or ignorant about what they were letting themselves in for.

The great majority of Anglo-Catholic incumbents served parishes which had been created in the nineteenth century. This is not surprising, for it was inevitably easier to write an Anglo-Catholic story on a *tabula*

30 P.G.Cobb, "Leader of the Anglo-Catholics?" in P.Butler (ed) *Pusey Rediscovered*, London, 1983, pp 349-365.

31 General survey of private patronage by M.J.D.Roberts, "Private Patronage and the Church of England, 1800-1900," *JEH* XXXII (1981) pp 199-223.

32 J.E.B.Munson suggests that 47% of incumbents of churches using incense in 1900 were presented by lay patrons (not including colleges), "The Oxford Movement by the End of the Nineteenth Century: the Anglo-Catholic Clergy," *CH* XLIV (1975) p 390

33 *Guardian*, 9.2.1898 p 183.

34 For all aspects of Crown patronage, see W.O.Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, London, 1972 (2nd Ed) II.328-342.

rasa than to fight for something new amidst the competing vested interests of an ancient parish church. Sometimes, as with W.F.Crewe at St John's Balham, a popular young Anglo-Catholic curate ran his daughter church along more advanced lines than his incumbent, with or without the Vicar's connivance.³⁵

As the number of benefices expanded rapidly, this created new and varied patronage. Where an ancient parish was divided many times over, as was the case in Leeds, the incumbent of the mother church often retained great influence in appointments to surrounding new parishes. In Brighton this tendency, represented by the Wagner trustees, secured an overwhelmingly Tractarian style of churchmanship in the town. Sometimes, as in the foundations of Robert Brett and Richard Foster in east London, patronage was vested temporarily or permanently in trustees representing those who had made the original benefaction. A small but growing number of advowsons, mostly of new parishes, were administered by new corporations founded to promote the Oxford movement, such as Keble College.

Protestants sometimes alleged that the bishops' patronage favoured ritualists.³⁶ In 1899 the Church Association laid before the House of Commons evidence of 496 such appointments. Bearing in mind the total number of clergy and the slim grounds upon which this analysis dubbed candidates "ritualistic" (including the Eastward position and simple membership of the ECU), its case was, at best, not proven.³⁷

The power of patronage was limited in that it could only be exercised between incumbencies. In a church with no real provision for clerical retirement, incumbents often stayed for twenty years or more. That was quite long enough to build up a tradition which would have to be taken into account at the next presentation. Although a determined patron could, for example, restrain the use of incense,³⁸ men were far more likely to become more extreme under the influence of younger unbeneficed colleagues than patrons. This was part of what happened at St Michael's Shoreditch in 1903.³⁹

Another constraint on the power of patrons was their field of availability. Sometimes they were forced to appoint men with whom they were not entirely happy, knowing that patronage would revert to the bishop after six months. It was on these grounds that Richard Foster,

35 D.R.Young, *The Church on the High Road*, London, 1973 p 88.

36 See, e.g., J.Carvell Williams, HC, 11.4.1899. *Hansard* IV.69 cols 853-7.

37 [Anon], *Ritualistic Appointments of the Government and the Bishops*, London 1899. (Bodleian 11126.e.307.17)

38 For an example of a patron disallowing incense see, e.g., G.A.Cobbold to A.Riley, 16.11.1895, A.Riley MSS, Lambeth Palace.

39 See below p 160.

under protest, was finally constrained to countersign his fellow trustees' offer of St Michael's Shoreditch to Henry Ross in 1903.⁴⁰

As the period progressed, standards of clerical professionalism changed, and more came from theological colleges.⁴¹ Among the 321 London clergy who served the 16 churches studied most closely here, preferences among those who went to a theological college were Cuddesdon, Salisbury, and particularly Ely. In the late nineteenth century some Anglo-Catholics yearned for a clergy school along Roman seminary lines.⁴² This kind of training, "with no half-baked gentility" was eventually provided by the Society of the Sacred Mission at Kelham and the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield.⁴³

As well as encouraging professionalism, theological colleges were a meeting place for young and impressionable ordinands; sometimes links forged there were sustained in later life. At the height of the church crisis, Canon Newbolt and Canon Randolph attempted to trade on the Ely connexion to influence Harry Wilson.⁴⁴ In many ways theological colleges were more influential than patrons in defining and supporting Anglo-Catholicism.⁴⁵

The Victorian clerical profession contained large numbers of assistant curates. With proportionately fewer livings, a man could expect to be an assistant curate for several years. The staffs of large ritualist parishes like St Peter's London Docks and St Alban's Holborn were the seminaries of Anglo-Catholic clergy to a greater extent than any theological college. Here the culture and practice of Catholicism was assimilated and enforced from youth up. Most importantly, this was where clergy underwent their apprenticeship, the title assistant curacy.

It was junior clergy in major Anglo-Catholic parishes who sustained the least realistic versions of their faith. In 1897, for example, the Revd A.C.Heurtly wrote to Bishop Creighton to ask him to come down to St Peter's London Docks and give him a ceremonial tonsure, "ancient British rather than Roman in style," in fulfilment of a vow:

40 Pusey Hse, Croom MSS B48, B49, B51.

41 A.Russell, *The Clerical Profession*, London, 1980, p 46, C.K.F.Brown, *A History of the English Clergy, 1800-1900*, 1953, pp 240-249.

42 T.J.Puckle in SSC v.1892 p 14.

43 R.Towler & A.P.M.Coxon, *The Fate of the Anglican Clergy*, London, 1979, p 26.

44 See, e.g., W.C.E.Newbolt & B.M.Randolph to H.Wilson, 19.11.1900 (Stepney MSS 1900.38).

45 For an accusation that they were seminaries of Anglo-Catholicism see, e.g., Samuel Smith, HC 9.2.1899, *Hansard* IV.66 col 345.

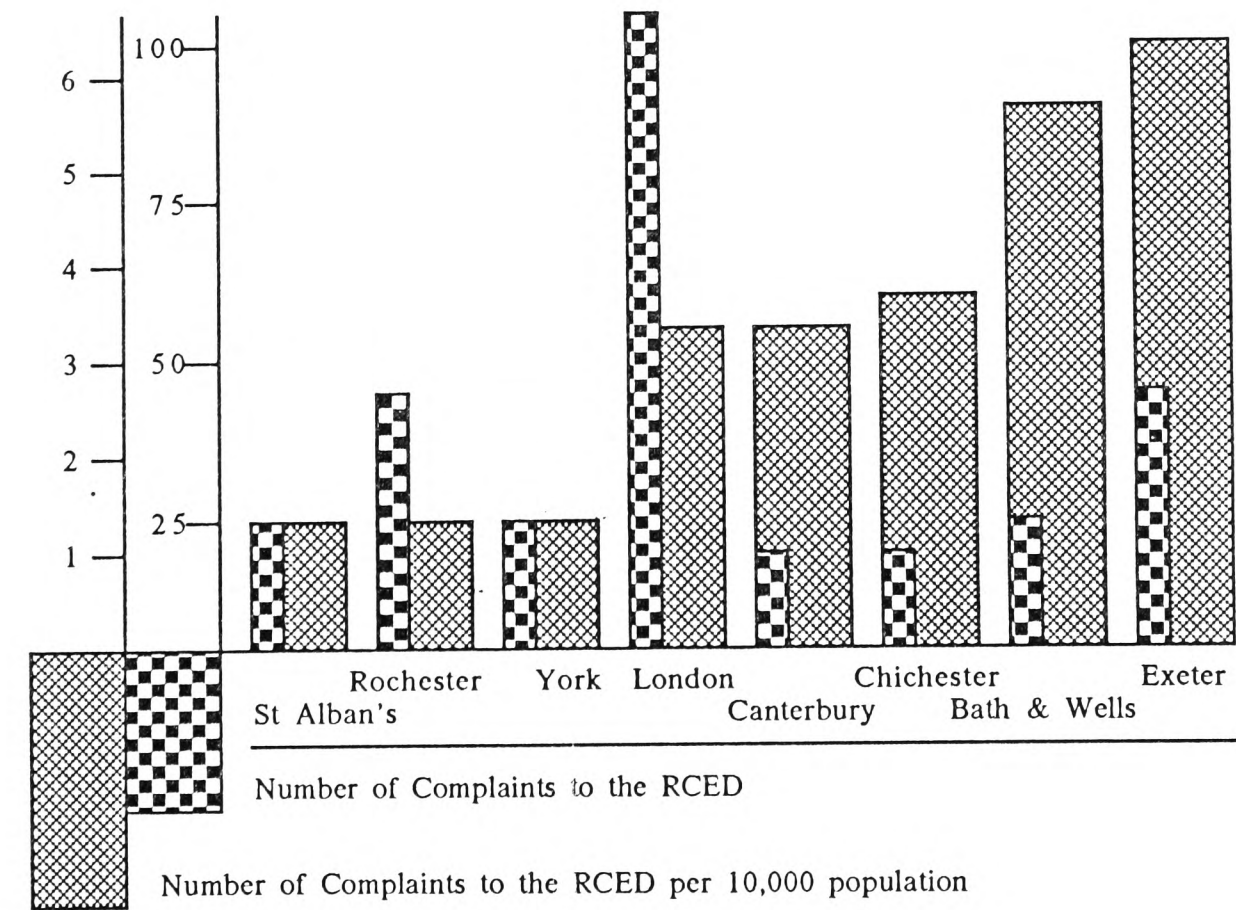
It would be to me a private joy to have it, and would I believe help me to consecrate my life still more to Him.⁴⁶

This strange request indicated a state of mind almost entirely divorced from reality about Creighton, and Anglican bishops, and contemporary practice. For Heurtly St Peter's was another planet, an Anglo-Catholic Disneyland. Within three years of his abortive attempt to secure a tonsure he had become a Roman Catholic, one of the group who left with C.R.Chase.⁴⁷ His predicament, trivial in itself, shows the sort of unrealistic expectation which could flourish in the citadels of Anglo-Catholicism.

This study concentrates on London because although the Anglo-Catholic network spread across the country, its nerve-centre was in the capital. The distribution of ritualism, and its comparative impact in different parts of the country, may be seen in the sources of complaints laid before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, analysed by diocese:⁴⁸

Distribution of Complaints about Ritual, 1906.

Sources: *Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, 1906*
 and *S. L. Ollard & G. Crosse Dictionary of English Church History, 1911*
 giving population by diocese (*Census of 1901*)



46 A.C.Heurtly to Bp London, n.d., but filed for Mar-Apr 1897. Fulham Papers box 60.
 47 SSC viii.1900 p 6.
 48 RCED, Index, IV.97-218.

The different profiles of dioceses where ritualism was perceived to be a problem may be tabulated thus:

<u>Incidence of Ritual Complaint, 1906.</u>		
Diocese	Complaints	per 10,000
Canterbury	20	3.31
Chichester	21	3.46
Lincoln	21	3.72
St Alban's	24	1.44
York	25	1.65
Bath & Wells	26	5.94
Rochester	39	1.52
Exeter	41	6.22
London	115	3.18

Although there were a few Anglo-Catholic parishes in the north, they were less proportionately significant. Thus the Bishop of Wakefield told the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline of Bishop Westcott's opinion that

With the exception of the clergy, the Oxford movement had nothing more than an academic hold at any time over the north of England⁴⁹

The inhabitants of the Diocese of Hereford were even less troubled by ritualism than northerners. There, no evidence was offered of ritual excess, only a single complaint of low church neglect. It is notable that the diocesan who pressed in bishops' meetings for the most stringent punitive measures against ritualists, more vehemently even than the Bishop of Liverpool, was Bishop Percival of Hereford.⁵⁰ Reading Percival's repeated and fervent appeals to his brethren on the bench to do something for distressed and betrayed Protestant layfolk, we must remember that the laity of the Diocese of Hereford, at any rate, did not feel enough distress or betrayal to generate a single complaint on this subject for the Royal Commission. It illustrates the growth of Anglo-Catholicism in unlikely places to recall that by 1917, even the diocese of Hereford had an ECU large and bold enough to campaign publicly against the appointment of Hensley Henson as its bishop.⁵¹

Although Anglo-Catholicism was growing and spreading in other areas, especially after the turn of the century, the greatest concentration of

49 RCED,III.75 [Q 17463].
50 See, e.g., Bishops Meeting Minutes, 24.5.1898 minute 16. Lambeth Palace MSS
51 Henson, *Retrospect of an Unimportant Life*, London, 1942, 1.234-7, W.O.Chadwick, *Hensley Henson: a study in the friction between Church and State*, Oxford, 1983, pp 135-145.

Anglo-Catholics between 1880 and 1914 remained in London and the south east.⁵² This was how Athelstan Riley remembered it in 1933:

The Evangelical movement has tended to concentrate its strength on the watering places inland - Bath, Cheltenham, Tunbridge Wells - while the High Churchmen of the nineteenth century seemed to make a special effort to establish themselves in the seaside towns, but the slums and the suburbs were not forgotten.⁵³

Specially prominent among the coastal towns were Brighton, Bournemouth, and Folkestone;⁵⁴ This produced jibes from opponents about the "London, Brighton and South Coast Religion."⁵⁵

As well as containing the largest concentration of Anglo-Catholics, London contained the most well-known parishes. "The general use of the London Churches" was used within the SSC as the bench-mark of acceptable ceremonial.⁵⁶ During the church crisis Anglo-Catholics in the provinces were kept informed by the CBS of "what line the London clergy" were taking.⁵⁷ Thus London incumbents took an important rôle in the leadership of the Anglo-Catholic movement.

Apart from the fact that London was where most Anglo-Catholics lived, there is additional interest in metropolitan Anglo-Catholicism because the capital was not so much a conglomerate city as a loosely gathered agglomeration of villages. A London study illuminates ritualism in a variety of social contexts, from prosperous middle class suburbs like Balham or Lewisham, to the massed populations of the east end

The work of London Anglo-Catholic clergy should be set in a broader context. The years from 1880 to 1914 form an interesting bridge between a religious order which went back to the Reformation and the modern period. It was still possible in 1880 to raise that staple part of English life over three hundred years, an anti-popery mob - but only just. In 1897 Bishop Ryle bewailed the decline in popular "aversion to Papistry."⁵⁸ By 1903 church brawling was the preserve of a few activists. By the end of the period it was almost everywhere no more than a memory, its cause soon to be marginalized and finally engulfed by the concerns of the first world war.

52 See J.E.B.Munson, *Op.Cit.*, pp 389-91.

53 Quoted in M. Donovan, *After the Tractarians*, London, 1933, p 57-8.

54 Nigel Yates, *Kentish Sources VII: Kent and the Oxford Movement*, Gloucester, 1983, pp 15-19.

55 Sir Henry Slessor, An RC Convert writing in 1948, quoted by J.E.B.Munson, *Op.Cit.*, p 390.

56 T.C.Elsdon, SSC vi.1894 p 5.

57 See, e.g., H.Wilson's CBS. circular of 17.6.1899. Stepney MSS 1899/1.

58 K.S.Inglis, *Churches and Working Classes in Victorian England*, London, 1963, p 141-2.

Cosmo Gordon Lang looked back on the years from 1890 to 1914 as the "Golden Age age of parochial work in the towns of England"⁵⁹; but this may be saying no more than that he never really adjusted to post-war conditions. His estimate, however, was echoed by other commentators. M.J.D.Roberts, having examined statistics of religious practice in the last quarter of the nineteenth century which indicate that the increase in Anglican membership actually exceeded that in the whole population,⁶⁰ concludes

the Church of England was becoming increasingly successful in attracting members by criteria of membership similar to those set by nonconformists themselves.⁶¹

With increased numbers came new self-confidence. During his final tour of Ireland in 1896 Archbishop Benson said he was convinced that

a cold shade of recent negative years is passing away from over many minds.⁶²

In those nearer the streets than Archbishop Benson, self-confidence could bubble over into absurdity:

A Unitarian minister met me in Birmingham streets one day and said: 'I say, Leach, how is it all these people wildly run after you? How do you manage to lay hold of them? Tell us how you do it. What is the secret of your success? I can't understand it. There is nothing special about you?'

I turned away, thankful that once in my life I had met a man who was not afraid to tell me the truth to my face...⁶³

Brash zeal was part of the spirit of the eighties and nineties and touched all forms of religious activity. Anglo-Catholic individualists and eccentrics like Father Ignatius of Llanthony were its obvious exemplars, but it touched more sedate sections of the religious public also:

Despite science and religion, Biblical criticism, urbanization, secularization, materialism, country churches declining, they believed into the nineties that they were part of a religious expansion. And the statistics modestly justified their belief. It was easier to count new buildings than the new occupants of those buildings, and so far as more bricks and mortar were evidence of more Christianity, the evidence was overwhelming.⁶⁴

What was true of people applied to buildings also. The years from 1880-1914 appear as the last great age of church building. Although the pace of the 1850's and 60's was barely maintained, some 2369

59 J.G.Lockhart, *Cosmo Gordon Lang*, London, 1949, p 155.

60 A.D.Gilbert, *The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales with special reference to the period before 1850: An historical interpretation of the statistics of religious practice*, Oxford University D.Phil, 1973, pp 73-4, 98.

61 M.J.D.Roberts, *The Rôle of the Laity in the Church of England, c. 1850-1885*, Oxford University D.Phil, 1974, p 329.

62 J.H.Bernard, *Archbishop Benson in Ireland*, London, 1897, p 54.

63 The Revd C.Leach, *How I reached the Masses*, Birmingham, 1887, p 2.

64 *The Victorian Church*, London, 1972 (2nd Ed) II.224.

churches and chapels were built between 1876 and 1916. Apart from a few examples of jerry-building, these were almost invariably more comely and commodious than similar structures would have been thirty years previously.⁶⁵

Examining the religious life of Reading in this period, Stephen Yeo has detected a powerful urge among all denominations to turn religious aspirations into bricks and mortar. Although the task of paying for and maintaining these buildings imposed heavy burdens upon religious and other voluntary organizations, new churches and chapels held out tangible evidence of progress.⁶⁶

Anglo-Catholic parishes took real advantage of this popular instinct. Although such feelings are almost impossible to quantify, they must have contributed greatly to their self-confidence. It was in this spirit, for example, that members of the congregation of St Cuthbert's Philbeach Gardens learnt carving and stonework so as to build and decorate much of their church for themselves. The contribution of this activity to party confidence and solidarity is reflected by the misericord at that church which portrays John Kensit, the Protestant controversialist, with asses' ears.⁶⁷

Not only were late nineteenth century high churchmen and Anglo-Catholics working in a climate which often felt positive for religious endeavour, but sometimes they felt that popular religious feeling held out a greater prospect of advance for them than for anybody else. This was what Viscount Cranbourne meant when he told the House of Commons that the "high church" was "the great movement of this age."⁶⁸ Popular definitions of decorum became more elaborate as taste developed and refined. This was a matter of architecture and clerical dress as well as greater care and professionalism about the conduct of worship. Owen Chadwick has put the matter thus:

We need only remember what happened to the furniture of the Victorian drawing-room to understand what happened to the interior of Victorian churches⁶⁹

This was a matter of more than æsthetics. T.I. Ball and George Bayfield Roberts reminded the SSC in 1909 what a great change had come over churchmen's attitudes in the last forty years. Anxiety about

65 Figures in R. Currie, A. Gilbert & L. Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers*, Oxford, 1977, p 213-5.

66 S. Yeo, *Religion and Voluntary Organizations in Crisis*, London, 1976.

67 Photograph in Dom A. Hughes, *The Rivers of the Flood*, 2nd Ed, London, 1963 p 31.

68 Viscount Cranbourne, HC 9.2.1899 .*Hansard* IV.66 col 364.

69 *The Victorian Church*, London, 1972 (2nd Ed) II.310.

particulars made it easy for Anglo-Catholics to forget how much they had achieved in general.

Roberts took comfort from the growing acceptance of Catholic ceremonial, a growing awareness of the eucharist, and the exposure of the ineffectiveness of state power within the church. Roberts mentioned also a new concern for foreign missions, the defence and extension of church schooling, and a new strictness among church people on divorce. None of these developments had gone far enough, but Roberts believed they were evidence that public consciousness was growing away from historic Protestantism and towards a form of Catholicism. A real leavening upward was discernible.⁷⁰

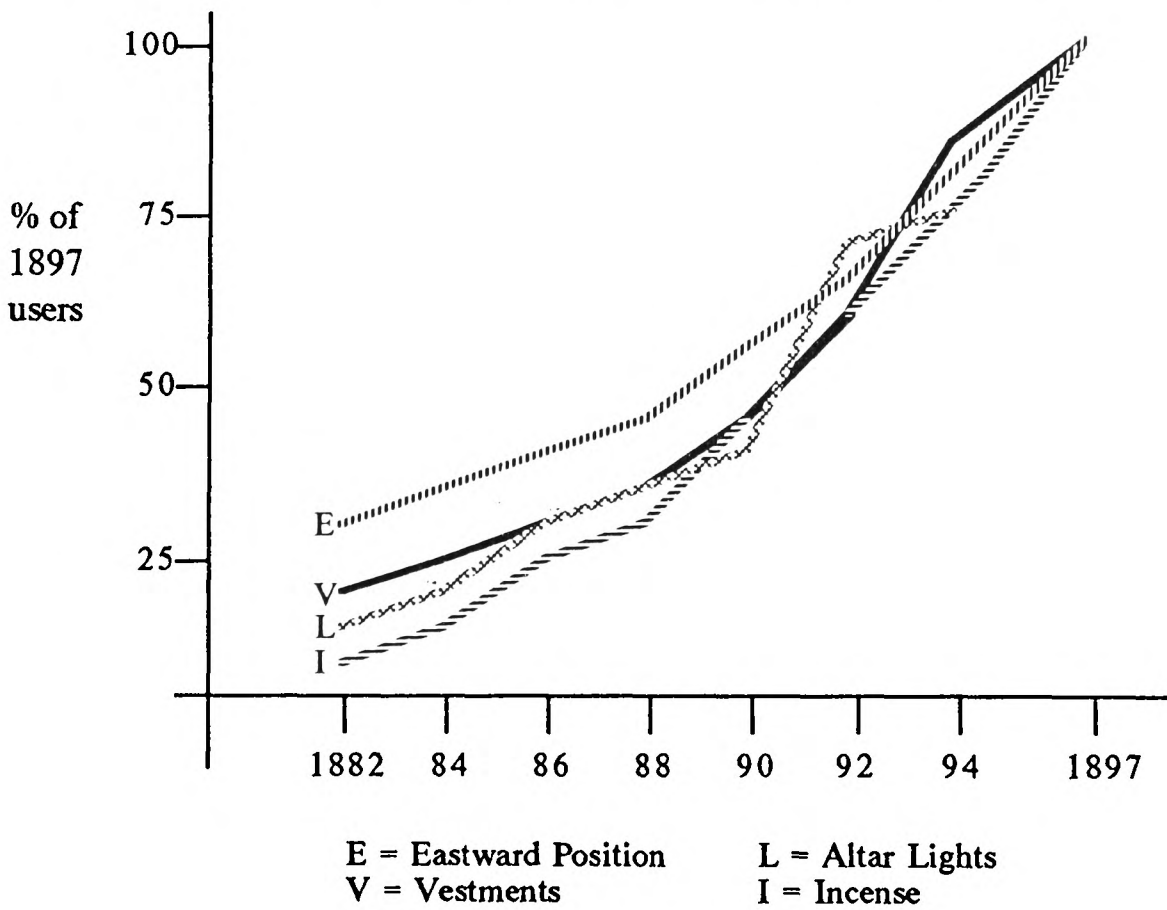
Anglo-Catholic practices became rapidly more prevalent in the years before 1897. Comparative rates of increase were very much the same for extreme uses like incense and moderate ones like the Eastward Position, although a steep increase in the use of lights may be seen to have followed the Lincoln judgment:⁷¹

Comparative Growth Rates for Ritualistic practices
1882-1897.

England & Wales

Source:

Tourist's Church Guide, 1882, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 97.



70 SSC vii.1909 5-7

71 *Guardian*, 18.5.1898 p 747.

<u>Use</u>	<u>1882</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1894</u>	<u>1897</u>
East. Position	1662	2433	3138	5037	5964
Altar Lights	581	968	1402	2707	3568
Vestments	336	509	797	1370	1632
Incense	9	66	135	250	307

Around the turn of the century, a more autumnal mood took the place of earlier triumphalism. Surveys by Booth, Masterman and Mudie-Smith reported much hard work by all denominations, but little penetration of the masses. The *Daily News*' census of 1902-3 compared unfavourably to the *British Weekly*'s of 1886. Anglican figures for London Sunday attendance had apparently declined by almost 140,000.⁷² G.C.Ommanney, a notable slum priest from Sheffield read the SSC a paper in October 1906 entitled "the failure of the church in great towns." It told of confirmation rates as low as 1 in 2000 in some northern industrial cities, where a rate of 1 in 100 was thought necessary for the church merely to hold its own.⁷³

In spite of any foreboding papers like Ommanney's may have caused, however, the Anglo-Catholic party's dominant $\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ between 1880 and 1914 remained buoyant optimism, as it grew in fat times and lean alike. Crises brought out real loyalties and sticking points. These came in 1880-1887 over the imprisonment of ritualistic clergy, in 1890-1892 over the Lincoln case, and in 1898-1903 over the archbishops' pronouncements on incense and reservation. Throughout the 1890's the incidence of Protestant agitation grew, as John Kensit's men organized themselves around the country. This stimulated further growth.

This effect is clearly reflected by figures the Bishop of London collected in 1901 showing the use of incense in his diocese:⁷⁴

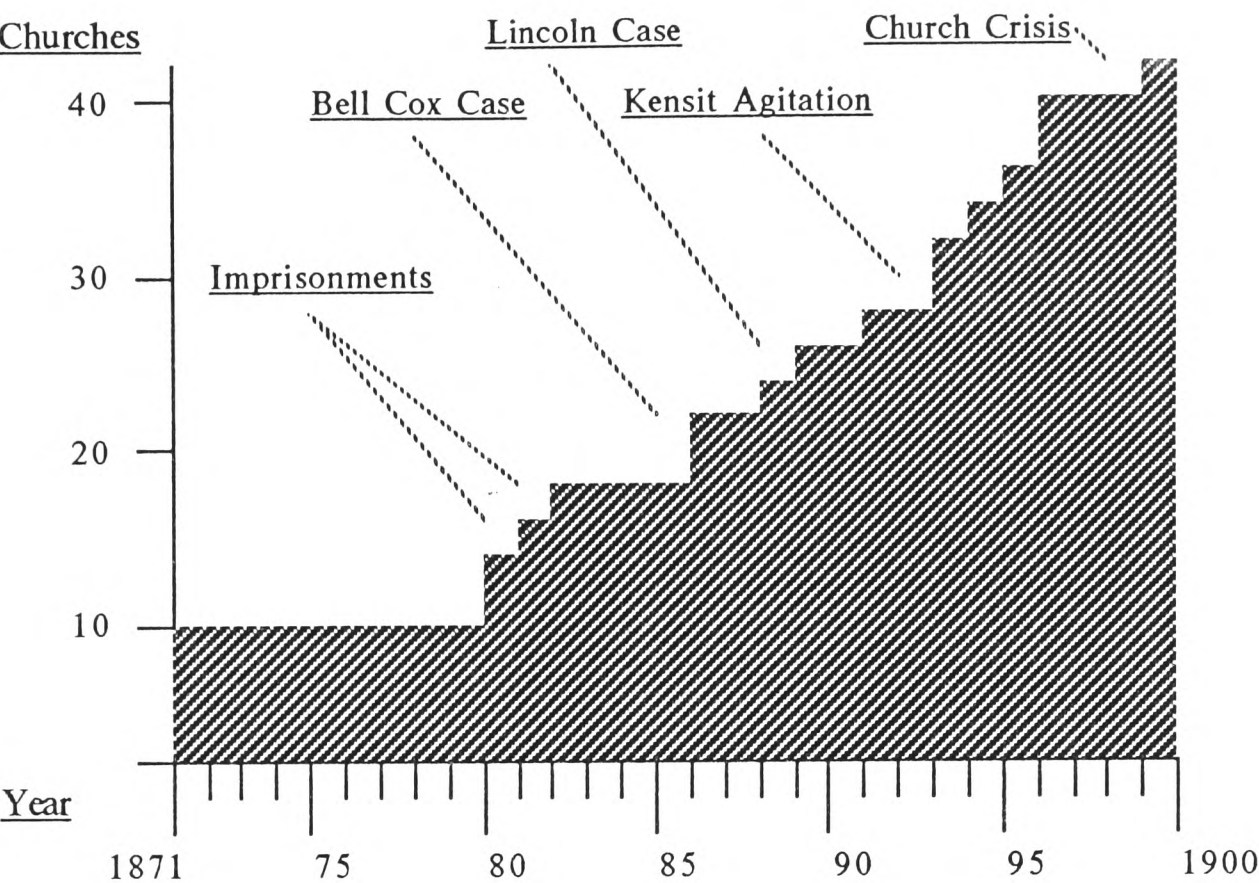
72 J.T.Stoddart, "The *Daily News* Census of 1902-3 Compared with the *British Weekly* Census of 1886" in R. Mudie-Smith (ed) *The Religious Life of London*, London, 1904, pp 280-293.

73 SSC x.1906 p 2-3.

74 Figures collected by Bp Winnington-Ingram in November 1901 Fulham Papers vol 113 box "Incense/Reservation 1901".

Use of Incense in the London Diocese, 1871-1900.

source: *Bishop of London's Inquiry, November 1901.*



Opposition put societies under stress, but leadership at such times remained effective afterwards. Their general effect was to strengthen the party. As practices were attacked many gave them up for a while; but more took them up, and there was always a minority who pressed on regardless, and so established a right to them.

Publications and Manuscripts

Ritualism generated an extensive secondary literature, almost all of which was dominated by the heat of controversy or the glow of hindsight. Partisan histories have tended to telescope everything into one neat whole. Peter Nockles has drawn attention to the way in which “Tractarian historiography” has tended to distort Anglican concepts of pre-Tractarian church life.⁷⁵ Whatever the limitations of their historical judgment, however, partisan secondary writings cannot be ignored. Handled with care, they often yield genuine recollections of fact and feeling.

Among the sources which reflect the views and practices of rank and file Anglo-Catholics special attention has been paid to records of dealings with bishops, and correspondence generated amongst themselves

75 P.B.Nockles, *Continuity and change in Anglican high churchmanship in Britain, 1792-1850*, Oxford University D.Phil, 1982, I.xxi ff.

by leaders of the movement. These are the richest sources of ecclesiological opinion.

Although Anglo-Catholics had plenty of explaining to do on every front, their most important reference points outside the party were their bishops. They were the nearest source of discipline and comment which could not be entirely ignored. Anglo-Catholics implicitly respected episcopacy, even if their respect was often obscured by practical disobedience. George Rundle Prynne told the May Synod of the Society of the Holy Cross in 1880:

In the first days of the Catholic revival ... it would have seemed almost impossible that we should have had to oppose our bishops, whose authority we had been so forward in asserting. It was only by degrees that we came to realize that we must witness for the truth even in spite of our bishops who allow themselves to be guided by the unconstitutional powers of the state.⁷⁶

By the height of the church crisis, Anglo-Catholics detected episcopal plotting in just about everything that impeded their progress. The reality of these allegations, and the whole state of relations between bishops and clergy, was tested by examination of relevant archives.

1. Lambeth Palace library contains records of archbishops of Canterbury throughout the period. The Benson papers, Temple papers, and Davidson papers reflect every aspect of these Archbishops' work. They include the papers connected with cases which went to the Archbishop on final appeal, as well as full details of Temple's rulings on incense and portable lights of 1899-1900. The same source includes the private minutes of biannual bishops' meetings, which all diocesans were expected to attend.
2. Lambeth Palace library also contains the Fulham Papers, correspondence and memoranda of Bishops Jackson, Temple, Creighton and Winnington-Ingram to 1908. The Guildhall Library has a file of miscellaneous information about every parish in London, including legal papers and official statistics. Some visitation returns and other records, especially of churches south of the river are kept in the Greater London Record Office. The Fulham papers give fuller details of bishops' dealings with London Anglo-Catholics, as well as reports, memorials and correspondence connected with parochial cases. It should be said that the papers from Winnington-Ingram's time are more scanty and worse organized than the others, because of the haphazard way in which that bishop maintained his correspondence. The scanty nature of documentation from his time in-

76 SSC v.1880 p 9.

creases the importance of such collections of his letters as have survived.

3. The man who came closest to being the leader of the Anglo-Catholic party was Lord Halifax, but he was more of an administrator, organizer and politician than patriarch. The Hickleton Papers are kept at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research in York, and include correspondence and memoranda of Lord Halifax.⁷⁷ He was in daily contact with most leaders of the ritual movement, and his papers include many valuable confidential statements of views and intentions. A smaller but similar collection which has been consulted is that of the papers of Athelstan Riley, kept in Lambeth Palace Library.⁷⁸
4. A collection of papers was unearthed in the course of research at St Augustine's Stepney. The church was destroyed by bombing in 1941, but a deed box of papers and memorabilia was rescued from it. Much of its contents were posters and fund-raising publications from the early years of the church, and marriage and curates' licences, but underneath these were several hundred letters from 1898-1911, mostly connected with Harry and Richard Wilson, vicars of St Augustine's during the church crisis. These included the unedited originals of many letters quoted in Bishop Creighton's *Life*. The collection also included letters of other leaders in the Ritualist movement to and from Wilson.
5. Another source of information was a box of papers in Pusey House, collected by F.G.Croom. He was a leading member of the Federation of Catholic Priests in the 1920's, and sometime vicar of St Michael's, Shoreditch. This collection threw light on the aftermath of the mass conversion of the priest and much of the congregation of St Michael's in 1903. It included correspondence about the handling of that crisis, and the incumbency of Fr Henry Ross from 1903-1911.

Church and local newspapers have been used critically and sparingly. The main organ of the church press at the time was the *Guardian*. The *Church Times* was a more partisan newspaper than it has since become. Although a pugnacious supporter of those imprisoned over ritual, some leading members of SSC thought it objectionably anti-Roman,⁷⁹ even

77 Borthwick Inst. A4 210-272.

78 Lambeth MS 2344-5, 2349, 2350, 2352-4.

79 E.G.Wood in SSC xi.1881 p 3.

dangerous.⁸⁰ In general, Anglo-Catholics did not think themselves well served by the press.⁸¹ In 1887 C.R.Chase denounced:

the wretched tone of the so-called Church press, which ... denounces Catholics as a tiny sect, and encourages the ritualistic Protestant as the representative of the movement in God's Church in England.⁸²

The Record was Protestant, and *The Rock* still more so. Among Ritualist clergy the church paper most widely read was the *Church Review*.⁸³ This was the precursor of the *Church Union Gazette*, which carried articles on parish work and architecture, along with correspondence from leading members of the ECU. Although it was not thought to be an entirely Catholic paper, its perspective was often less insular than the *Church Times*. The most important English Roman Catholic journal was *The Tablet*.

Books, articles, pamphlets, private papers and newspapers provide a plethora of sources. Surviving buildings and memorials give their own account of the movement, but must be interpreted with care. Some have been destroyed, many are now closed, and modern liturgical use has transformed those which remain. Some have their own archive collections. Visits paid to parishes fleshed out the picture received from official sources. Parish registers and magazines were consulted, supplemented by the local press and evidence laid before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline.

Parishes

The strength of the ritualist movement was in its parishes. Parish life was important because it gave a broad base to the movement, and because it was at the local level that there was freedom to experiment with and enforce a Catholic order of life and worship. Here theories of the church were turned into practices and devotions intended to express and enhance its holiness. Sometimes the Catholicism of a parish was mainly that of its incumbent; the Master of SSC thought that it was this which laid St Mark's Marylebone Road open to attack in June 1894.⁸⁴ In general, however, members of Anglo-Catholic churches enjoyed strong associational feeling among themselves. The style was almost non-conformist. In 1895 a bishop told James Dixon, Curate of St Mary Magdalene Paddington and secretary of the Confraternity of the Blessed

80 H.M.Bannister in SSC ii.1886 p 4.

81 See, e.g., T.P.Dale in SSC ix.1880 p 4.

82 SSC ix.1887 p 27.

83 Appeal for SSC brethren to support the *Church Review* as their organ by W. Crouch in SSC xi.1899 p 6.

84 SSC vi.1894 p 6.

Sacrament, that he objected to the way in which many Anglo-Catholic clergy:

allowed themselves to be unduly influenced by pressure from their laity: [he] felt they were assuming a Presbyterian or even Congregational position.⁸⁵

Parishes provided a comparatively free sphere of operation for Anglo-Catholic clergy. Theological teachers could be disciplined, as G.H.Bown was by the Board of management of St Stephen's House in 1913.⁸⁶ In parishes it was different. There were no statutory church councils in the 1880's. Once a man was instituted to a benefice, little could be done to constrain or remove him. The historic financial and ideological independence of the Anglican clergy brought with it a freedom from interference, either from financial supporters in the congregation or the church's higher authorities. The Clergy Discipline Act of 1892⁸⁷ introduced a crude system of control over the clergy, but it was restricted to those who led immoral lives. Apart from personal remonstrance, the only disciplinary weapons bishops had were to refuse confirmations or curates' licences. This tactic was sometimes used in the church crisis,⁸⁸ but reluctantly because of the effect it inevitably had on the relationship between bishop and incumbent.

Some Anglo-Catholic parishes were particularly influential. As public controversy centred on particular churches, they became prominent. In the 1860's this had happened to St George's in the East, in the 1870's St Alban's Holborn. Attention was naturally drawn to churches which had seen famous ritual cases - Holy Trinity, Folkestone (Ridsdale), St Bartholomew's, Brighton (Purchas), St John's Miles Platting, Manchester (S.F.Green) and St Margaret's, Liverpool (J. Bell Cox).

Some parishes came to great prominence for a short while then faded. At St James Hatcham Arthur Tooth's policies were completely reversed after his removal, and the church never became an established Anglo-Catholic centre. The particular chemistry that made an individual church the site of a ritual case or rioting could be as much to do with the strength of local Protestant feeling as the extremity of its priest's Anglo-Catholicism. There are publications about most famous ritualist churches. The reliability or otherwise of these accounts can only be established by studying the records behind them. Anyway, it is important to study more than just the famous parishes because what was really going on there can only be soundly evaluated by comparison with other places.

85 SSC ii.1895 p 5.

86 A.Hughes, *Op. Cit.*, pp 41-2.

87 55 & 56 Vict. cap 32.

88 See, e.g., Bp London to H.Wilson 16.10.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/1.

The Dioceses of London and Rochester contained 154 churches of which complaints were made to the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline of 1904-6.⁸⁹ As every parish generated thousands of records it was plainly outside the scope of the present study to examine more than twenty parishes. Therefore, a sample was taken of London Anglo-Catholic parishes. This had to be large enough to provide a fair range, and small enough to be manageable.

As a pilot study, St John's Upper Norwood was selected.⁹⁰ This church is well documented in Canterbury diocesan records. Preliminary study of this parish indicated the nature of the evidence and the number of sources, and suggested where they could be found.

The use of patronage to create and sustain party churchmanship was the *raison d'être* of Protestant bodies such as the Simeon trust, the Peache trust, and the Church Pastoral Aid Society. The effect of patronage was examined by including all the London parishes of one patron. There were nine churches in inner London whose patronage was at some time in the period in the hands of Keble College⁹¹ - St John the Divine Balham,⁹² St Stephen's Lewisham,⁹³ St Michael's Woolwich,⁹⁴ St Augustine's Stepney,⁹⁵ St Mary Magdalene's Paddington,⁹⁶ St Augustine's Queen's Gate,⁹⁷ The Ascension Lavender Hill,⁹⁸ St John the Baptist Holland Park,⁹⁹ and All Hallows Southwark.¹⁰⁰ Patronage was important in general terms, and occasionally was used to advance party interests. For example, Athelstan Riley tried to use Keble College to re-

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- 89 This figure indicates the number of parishes complained of, both ways, not the absolute number of Anglo-Catholic parishes. Some Anglo-Catholic churches (e.g. St John's Balham) were not complained about individually. The small number lacking, however, may be thought to balance the roughly equivalent number of low churches cited for neglect (e.g. St Paul's Onslow Square).
- 90 CC files 33997, 45843, Lambeth MSS *in loc.* cp H. W. Bateman, *A short history of the Church of St John the Evangelist Upper Norwood, 1871-1937*, London, 1937.
- 91 Attack on Keble College's patronage by Austin Taylor, HC 13.3.1903 (*Hansard* IV.119 col 739). See also W. E. Bowen, *The Patronage of Keble College*, London, 1903.
- 92 CC file 60556. See D.R. Young, *Op. Cit.*, pp 86-92.
- 93 CC files 27414, 27858, 29163, 34406. RCED Q 8336-8. See *Church Review*, 22.4.1865, p 4, [Anon] *Sixty Years at St Stephen's Lewisham*, London, 1925 (BM 4707.i.13), and D. Jackson, *A History of St Stephen's Lewisham, 1865-1965*, London 1965.
- 94 CC file 41915. RCED QQ 10315-41. See also *Church Times*, 21.2.1898 and H.R. Baker, *A Memorial of 32 years Mission Work in the Nation's Workshop*, London, 1898.
- 95 CC file 53438. RCED QQ 184-203, 376.
- 96 CC file 25294. RCED QQ 204, 383, 11980-12246, 12504.
- 97 CC file 33341. RCED Q4219. *Survey Of London*, vol. 38, London, 1975, pp 349-53 describes the early years of St Augustine's.
- 98 CC file 48829. RCED Q 6021.
- 99 CC file 36133. RCED QQ 518, 2224-5, 3297, 12471.
- 100 CC file 50017. RCED Q 415.

move an embarrassing incumbent from St Michael's Shoreditch in 1902.¹⁰¹

The Keble group included famous active centres of ritualism like St Mary Magdalene's Paddington, but also St Augustine's Queen's Gate, in which development was impeded by a single incumbent who ploughed his own furrow from 1866 to 1916. This patron's group of parishes was well mixed socially, including prosperous suburbs like Lewisham and well-to-do areas like Kensington, along with poorer districts like Woolwich, Southwark, Stepney and Paddington.

Another group of parishes was included in order to test two hypotheses about ritualism and the poor - that advanced ceremonial appealed to poorer people, and that consistency within a group of parishes increased the chance of genuine popular penetration. Such a group of Anglo-Catholic parishes existed in Brighton, created by the Wagner trustees. In London the best example was a network created in 1862 in Haggerston, Hoxton and Shoreditch.

These churches were paid for by Robert Brett and Richard Foster.¹⁰² The latter, a businessman, made donations for church building in at least fifty parishes amounting to over £100,000 - a staggering sum for the time. Brett provided the energy and organization for the project. He was a surgeon, co-founder of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament,¹⁰³ Churchwarden of St Matthias Stoke Newington, and the organizer of the Haggerston group.¹⁰⁴ The same architect, James Brooks, was engaged on all five churches. The patronage arrangements showed considerable faith in the future progress of Catholic revival. For the first forty years, St Michael's was to be in the gift of trustees, after which patronage was to revert to the bishop of London.¹⁰⁵ This group of parishes presented Charles Booth with

a crescendo of Ritualistic and Romish practices. Taken together they provide an excellent test of the results and value of the work of the high church, better in some ways than can be obtained from any single isolated parish.¹⁰⁶

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- 101 A.Riley to Bp London, 17.10.1901. Fulham Papers box 113. See below pp 145, 147.
102 Details of this benefaction in CC files 26126, 31251. also E. Hermitage Day, *Some London Churches*, London, 1911, p 46.
103 W. H. Hutchings, *Life and Letters of Thomas Thellusson Carter*, London, 1904, p 288.
104 DNB II. 1192-3, T.W.Belcher, *Robert Brett. In Memoriam*, London, 1874 and the same author's *Robert Brett: His Life and Work*, London, 1890.
105 CC file 27518, confirmed by Order in Council, 3.2.1866.
106 *Life and Labour of the London Poor*, series III, "Religious influences", London, 1902 vol II p 89.

The addition of this group brought into the sample St Michael's Shoreditch,¹⁰⁷ St Saviour's Hoxton,¹⁰⁸ and St Columba's,¹⁰⁹ St Augustine's¹¹⁰ and St Chad's, Haggerston.¹¹¹

Two of these churches became notorious; St Michael's Shoreditch and St Saviour's Hoxton. St Michael's was well equipped and commodious. Stewart Headlam served a curacy there from 1881-1884. From the mid eighties on, however it was beset by problems, and party polarization. There was much wrangling over the Roman Catholic conversion of some of the sisters of the poor who worked the parish.¹¹² The indigenous congregation fell away to virtually nothing, and it built up a largely eclectic following in the 1890's. Its notoriety was crowned by a famous incident in 1903, when its priest and a large proportion of its congregation became Roman Catholics together. For twenty years this church was the scene of disturbances, sometimes involving the abuse of eucharistic elements. It was not as well organized against attack as St Alban's Holborn, and was close enough to the City to save brawlers the inconvenience of a journey up the Great Cambridge Road.

St Saviour's Hoxton became notorious after 1907, when, under E.E.Kilburn, the Roman Missal came into regular use, and all Anglican appurtenances were cast overboard. Frank Weston visited the church in 1919. The morning after leading devotions before a relic which a young member of the congregation had brought back as a war souvenir from France, he was asked to celebrate the Eucharist:

He could not very well use Latin and, as English was taboo, he celebrated in the Suahili dialect...¹¹³

There was diversity within the Haggerston/Shoreditch group. St Michael's under H.M.M.Evans, for example, used Roman liturgy, whilst St Columba's used a Sarum confection.¹¹⁴ All the same, the parishes were perceived to hang together, and sisters worked in a coordinated way in all of them. The largest congregation was at St Columba's, Kingsland Road. This church built up a considerable following during the incumbency of J.A.LeCouteur (1894-1924).

107 CC files 25693, 26195, 27518. RCED QQ6035, 6914.

108 Supplementary CC file 27799.

109 Supplementary CC files 29714. RCED QQ167-180, 367, 3257-3268.

110 Supplementary CC file 30382.

111 CC file 29713. RCED QQ 6011-4. See also *East London Church Chronicle*, v.1, March 1893, pp 9-12 and J.D.Hebblethwaite, *St Chad's Haggerston, founded 1869*, London, (privately printed) 1969.

112 The Vicar's account is H. D. Nihill, *The Sisters of the Poor and their Work*, London, 1887, pp v-viii.

113 S.C.Carpenter, *Winnington-Ingram*, London, 1949, pp 173.

114 A. Hughes, *Op. Cit.*, p 34.

Parochial organization was strong, with classes, guilds, and social work of a high standard.

Apart from St Columba's, however, the Haggerston churches never gained large congregations. One parishioner of St Michael's wrote to Bishop Creighton in 1897 to draw to his attention the embarrassingly empty condition of all the Brett and Foster churches:

...it is painful to be present, the congregations being so small & consist[ing] principally of women, what few men there are coming chiefly from a distance.¹¹⁵

Almost no indigenous Catholic population seems to have been built up in fifty years of trying. Charles Booth said of the sisters who worked in St Augustine's,

From the strictly religious point of view, failure is frankly admitted. They work on 'in the hope that it will tell in the end.' There is certainly here no immediate cause for alarm on the part of the Protestant Alliance...¹¹⁶

The Brett and Foster parishes had plainly done little to reverse the atmosphere of deadness, or even the unpopularity of high ritual which Charles Dickens had noted when they were founded.¹¹⁷ The *Daily News* religious census came to similar conclusions:

The High Church - or at least the Ritualist section of the High Church - does not seem to have made the progress that everybody anticipated. Here and there an able, devoted man has built up a strong and flourishing church, but there are many instances of ineffectiveness and incapacity. So far as the working man is concerned, he seldom feels at home in a church with a highly ornate ritual, in which he takes little part. If he does attend, it is because he approves of the Socialist leanings of the parson and finds in him a real friend and brother. Even the women are not attracted to the extent that we were led to expect. The working classes prefer a simpler form of worship, not too elaborate or symbolic; the priestly ceremonial strikes them as lacking in sincerity, though this may not be the case in the slightest degree...¹¹⁸

Examination of these parishes' work does not suggest any special affinity between Anglo-Catholicism and the poor. This estimate was confirmed by these parishes' statistical returns, and also by the soberest private estimates of Anglo-Catholic slum clergy themselves. Behind the closed doors of the SSC, it was possible to discuss failure as well as success. Looking back in 1911 over forty years' mission work in such parishes, G.D.Nicholas summed up his experience by recalling an early

115 A. Main to Bp London, 27.3.1897. Fulham Papers box 62.

116 C.Booth, *Op.Cit.*, II.90.

117 C.Dickens, *The Uncommercial Traveller*, London, 1867, p 62.

118 R.Mudie-Smith, *Op. Cit.*, p 37.

effort at St Chad's Haggerston, the great Anglo-Catholic mission to London of 1869:¹¹⁹

There was no life in the parish before the mission, and no more (that I could see) after - I think one confession!¹²⁰

This was not just a question of particular efforts failing, for that was not always the case. The truth was that, as T.J.Puckle put it, "ritual did not teach uninstructed people."¹²¹ In 1889 T.O.Marshall laid before the SSC a depressing account of the failure of the Haggerston group:

It was notorious that in the east end of London, with one or two exceptions, the Ritualistic churches were nearly empty; the people were driven away by ritual they could not understand.¹²²

We may safely conclude that before 1914 the numerical and creative centre of London parochial Anglo-Catholicism remained well away from the east end, in a few eclectic congregations sited in the poorer quarters of Westminster, Pimlico, Kennington and Holborn. Anglo-Catholic churches did best where other churches did best - in the suburbs, where more parishioners were likely to have the skills and desire for voluntary organization.¹²³

One final church was included because it came to great prominence early in the church crisis. This was St Cuthbert's Philbeach Gardens,¹²⁴ where a Kensitite outrage in holy week 1898 triggered the parliamentary phase of the church crisis.

Many sources of information bear witness to the life of each of these parishes. The process of extracting valuable information from this plethora required a careful assessment of everything that was available, upon which to build a picture of parochial life in different London Anglo-Catholic churches. One starting point, along with service registers giving numbers of services and communicants, was official returns compiled annually by archdeacons. These quantified all aspects of parish organization. London returns included churchwardens' estimates of the sizes of choirs and guilds, as well as numbers of parish visitors and teachers.

119 There is a delightful description of this mission in C.M.Davies, *Orthodox London*, (2nd Ed), London, 1874 pp 267-282. See also A.J.Mason, *Memoir of George Howard Wilkinson*, London, 1909, 1.227-240, and J.Kent, *Holding the Fort: studies in Victorian Revivalism*, London, 1978, pp 258-271.

120 SSC ii.1911 p 4.

121 SSC v.1889 p 20.

122 *Ibid.*

123 Figures and analysis by J.E.B.Munson (following Charles Booth), *Op.Cit.*, 391-2.

124 CC file 62750. RCED QQ 115, 121-32, 523, 7214, 11147, 11289-91, 11347-81, 13441-66. Account of foundation in St Cuthbert's Magazines, 1897-1898, kept at the Church (1988).

The Ecclesiastical Commission and Queen Anne's Bounty kept files on every parish in England. The Commission helped to create new parishes, acting as the financial agent and laying schemes before the Queen in council. Also it financed augmentations, such as improvements to clergy houses. Appeals for help give some idea of the financial circumstances of parishes. Where churches were built on the Commissioners' own lands, a "local claim" was established, leading to more appeals for money. files on the five Haggerston parishes and St John's Upper Norwood, reflect "local claim."

These official records are useful for their nearly universal coverage of churches, and for being compiled in standard form. They enable comparison, indicating sources of financial support, and occasionally reporting on the current condition of the benefices. Additional sources of information about nine churches were the advowson files of Keble College, Oxford. Unfortunately these now contain little from before the first world war; they include maps and other basic information which could be used to confirm the findings of local research.

The picture in these records was fleshed out by study of Parliamentary papers. Between 1867 and 1906, three Royal Commissions inquired into subjects germane to Anglo-Catholicism. The Ritual Commission of 1867 investigated parochial practice as thoroughly as possible.¹²⁵ The Ecclesiastical Courts Commission of 1883 was more concerned with the working of legal machinery than with practical ritualism.¹²⁶ The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline of 1904-6 considered every aspect of Anglo-Catholic theory and practice.¹²⁷ Allowance must be made for the quaint way in which Protestant witnesses sometimes reported the contents of their notebooks, but it is usually possible to work out what was being complained about from this invaluable source of information.

The survey of Charles Booth contains maps and interviews with clergy in London. The *Daily News* census of religious worship in London of 1904 gives an additional indication from a relatively unbiased source of how well churches were supported. Searches were made of local libraries, and collections held at the churches themselves. St Augustine's Stepney, St Saviour's Hoxton and All Hallows Southwark were bombed in the second world war and no physical traces remain. St Columba's and St Augustine's Haggerston and St Michael's Shoreditch were no longer open as churches, although their buildings were standing in 1988. In all of these cases inquiries were made of local residents

125 PP 1867.XX.
126 PP 1883.XXIV.
127 PP 1906 XXXIII-IV.

and clergy. At St Augustine's Stepney this yielded a large collection of otherwise unpublished correspondence from the time of the church crisis, between its vicar, the bishop of London, and leaders of the Anglo-Catholic movement. Most other parishes had archives, containing cuttings of local and church newspapers, along with parish magazines.

Societies

Anglo-Catholics, like other churchmen of the age, were members of many societies. These were vital to the survival and progress of the movement, providing refuges in a church whose ethos was seldom sympathetic. They were a means of sharing intelligence and deepening knowledge of the Catholic faith, and of organizing its promotion and defence.

As well as missionary societies, of which the SPG and the UMCA. were most important for Anglo-Catholics, many organizations were devoted to single issues. The Guild of All Souls encouraged and facilitated requiems and the keeping of chantry books. The Association for Promoting the Union of Christendom fostered concern for reunion with Rome and the churches of the east. The galaxy of Anglo-Catholic guilds and societies catering for every concern from plainsong to prostitution was represented parochially according to individual enthusiasms and commitments.

Three national societies call for special attention. George Bayfield Roberts told the Society of the Holy Cross in July 1909 that "the Catholic army consisted of three divisions," the English Church Union, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and the SSC itself.¹²⁸

The English Church Union, founded in 1865, was the campaigning end of the movement.¹²⁹ It brought together all who shared a sympathy for the broad aims of Tractarianism, including many high churchmen along with Anglo-Catholics. Its legal committee advised on specific cases. The ECU defined the "six points" of ceremonial for which Anglican Catholics contended. It published a *Tourist's Church Guide*, which enabled those traveling in the country to select appropriate places of worship. Although never wealthy, it had greater resources to organize and help persecuted ritualists than any other body.

¹²⁸ SSC vii.1909 p 4.

¹²⁹ Review of its history and effectiveness in G.B.Roberts, *The History of the English Church Union 1859-1894*, London, 1895.

The ECU was not untouched by the atmosphere of religious boom in the eighties and nineties. In the view of Lord Halifax's biographer:

During the fifteen years which followed the trial of Bishop King, the English Church Union reached the zenith of its influence and numbers.¹³⁰

The same writer went on to compare the 40,000 membership at the turn of the century with that of 2,300 when Halifax joined in 1865. Breadth of membership brought its own perils for Anglo-Catholics, however, and the ECU became increasingly suspect to extreme clergy.¹³¹ Thus the Master of the SSC warned the September synod of 1906 that:

The English Church Union is too much given over to men whose grasp of Catholic principles is at least questionable.¹³²

It comprehended ultimately incompatible stand-points among its membership. Some wanted no more than the enforcement of Prayer Book rubrics. Others embraced thoroughly Continental concepts of Catholicity. Some were passionate advocates of the establishment and church defence, while others thought disestablishment a moral necessity.

By the end of the century, extreme Catholics were speaking of the ECU in a disparaging tone.¹³³ For the editor of the magazine of St Augustine's Haggerston, the Church Crisis exposed its ineffectuality, born of its members' former complacency:

The ECU is a strictly defensive body ... The present 'crisis' should teach us all the necessity of combination; if the ECU had been a hundred thousand strong at the commencement of the present year (and but for our foolish apathy we might have reached that figure long ago) we should have had no Protestant demonstrations, half the newspapers in the country would have been on our side in the ritual controversy, and politicians would have treated the Church with far greater respect than they have shown recently.¹³⁴

Records of the ECU which have been consulted include the Hickleton Papers in York, and the minute books of the Union now lodged in Lambeth Palace library.

Roberts' second division of the Catholic army was the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament. This sought to raise standards of eucharistic devotion. Its origins were the Denison trial of 1856; Pusey and sixteen others had issued a statement of eucharistic doctrine, using which T.T.Carter had founded a 'brotherhood for the revival of the truth about the Blessed Sacrament.' After an abortive start, the CBS was re-founded

130 J.G.Lockhart, *Charles Lindley, Viscount Halifax*, London, 1937, II.113.

131 See, e.g., O.P.Henly, SSC vii.1906 p 2.

132 SSC ix.1906 p 9.

133 See, e.g., T.C.Elsdon in SSC iii.1896 p 5.

134 St Augustine's Magazine, August 1899 (St Saviour's Priory Archive).

in 1862. By 1873 it numbered among its associates 3 bishops, 489 priests and over 5000 laity.¹³⁵

The CBS produced tracts and altar books to express and foster higher eucharistic doctrine. It was never a secret society, and grew rapidly. Its great contribution to the Catholic revival was mainly practical. From 1864 it made grants to parishes for altar linen, and after 1867 for vestments also. The CBS published an analysis of Communion wines according to their suitability for sacramental use, which was officially recommended for use by the SSC,¹³⁶ although brethren were warned that some members of the CBS, fired by zeal for temperance, had experimented with unfermented wines.¹³⁷ Although sounder than the ECU and better grounded in parishes than the SSC, the aims of the Confraternity were limited to devotional practice, and it never came to rival either organization in campaigning importance.

Sometimes Anglo-Catholics accused the CBS of over-organization which made it look good on paper, but vitiated its effectiveness.¹³⁸ The main complaint about it was that it was indefinite about fasting communion. Back in 1869 there had been a vigorous debate within the CBS on this subject. W.J.E.Bennett, Charles Lowder and A.H.Mackonochie wished fasting to be made a binding obligation on all associates. Carter, Pusey and others were unwilling to agree to this. The result was a compromise, that CBS would "promote" the practice. In 1888 a group of SSC brethren organized an attempt to make fasting part of the rule of CBS. Carter resented the way in which the SSC brethren had interfered with his confraternity, while they questioned whether a Catholic could be a member of a society which did not uphold the law of the church.¹³⁹ This disputation simmered on for almost ten years, over which the extremists' agitation brought about a modest tightening of standards, but no binding rule.¹⁴⁰ Carter's strictures about organized interference are soundly borne out by a minute of the SSC in March 1897 which said of the CBS:

certainly in the eastern district as long as the present officers remained in office, no priest would be admitted who was unsound about the fast before communion.¹⁴¹

All extremists could hope for was the growth of thorough Catholicism within the CBS by personal influence. Although its practical contribution

135 Good account in L.E.Ellsworth, *Charles Lowder and the Ritualist Movement*, London, 1982, pp 61-5.

136 SSC iii.1882 p 5

137 SSC vii.1881 p 4.

138 G.C.Ommanney, SSC x.1912 p 3.

139 T.T.Carter's letter in SSC xii.1888 p 3, Chase in SSC ii.1889 p 11-12.

140 SSC xi.1896 p 4.

141 SSC iii.1897 p 5.

was undoubted, suspicion remained among the most extreme that the CBS was not quite sound. The minute books of its council are kept at Lambeth Palace, and have been consulted.¹⁴²

The Society of the Holy Cross was of crucial importance to the ritualist movement. It thought of itself as an élite within the Catholic party, taking as its motto "No surrender, no desertion."¹⁴³ Its annual roll of members provided a private directory of committed Catholics. A.H.Mackonochie once called SSC "the society of societies, the church herself alone being excepted."¹⁴⁴ To A.H.Stanton its closeness and uncompromising stance were unique:

It was the only entirely Catholic society in the Church of England which clung to the old Catholic phraseology, and refused to surrender it.¹⁴⁵

The SSC was founded in 1855 by C.F.Lowder and four associates, inspired by St Vincent de Paul.¹⁴⁶ Vincent had taken up three weapons in his battle against worldliness - the preaching mission, an order of sisters of the poor, and the Lazarist order to inspire apostolic life among diocesan clergy. His *prêtres de la congrégation de la mission* renounced church preferment, and gave themselves to mission work.¹⁴⁷

Membership of the SSC was by invitation, secured by blackballing. All proceedings of the Society were secret. There were periodic lapses, for example, when brethren died and their executors were unwilling to give back papers and other society property.¹⁴⁸ In general, however, confidentiality remained secure from 1881 to 1897. In the latter year, Walter Walsh the Protestant controversialist appealed for recent intelligence:

So carefully are its papers kept, that I have been unable to get any reports of its Synods and Chapters dated later than 1881, with the important exception of a recent Roll of Brethren.¹⁴⁹

Printed *Acta* were circulated to all brethren, and these make up most of the records of the society. There were sometimes suggestions to reform the SSC, to involve more people or to make its functioning more efficient. In 1891 the method of electing the master was modified to en-

142 Lambeth MS 2894.

143 J.Embry, *The Catholic Movement and the Society of the Holy Cross*, London, 1931, p 4.

144 Quoted in *ibid.*, p 77.

145 SSC v.1880 p 6.

146 L.E.Ellsworth, *Op. Cit.*, pp 21-2.

147 Account by A.H.Mackonochie in SSC ix.1884 p 4.

148 See, e.g., action taken by Canon Hammond, executor of A.G.B.Stallard, reported in SSC xii.1902 p 4 and SSC iii.1903 p 2.

149 W.Walsh, *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, London, 1899 edition, p 55.

sure there were at least two candidates each time.¹⁵⁰ In 1906 and 1907 there was extended discussion of the constitution, arising from concern about the training of probationers and need to involve provincial brethren more actively.¹⁵¹ This discussion simmered on until April 1909, when the senior brother of the society, E.P.Williams, reviewed the Society's past, recommending no change to the statutes.¹⁵²

The SSC was run by a Master, four provincial vicars, a secretary and a treasurer. These were elected by annual secret ballot, with papers returned for the May Synod. Monthly chapters met, whose decisions required a quorum consisting of at least two thirds of the master's council, sixteen brethren.¹⁵³ Twice a year the society held a "synod," attendance at which was obligatory, failing a dispensation from the Master.

Lowder's society had three aims - the promotion of holiness among the clergy, home missions, and the publication of Catholic tracts "by a committee of clergy." In the 1880's some of these tracts gained great circulation - In 1884-5 the Tract Committee reported sales of 22,761.¹⁵⁴ This kind of success was not kept up in the 1890's, however. A later Master admitted this might have been because of over-censorship - there was something of a contradiction between the house style of a secret society and that of a mass publishing house.¹⁵⁵ The Society had almost been dissolved as the result of one of its early publications, *The Priest in Absolution*. C.R.Chase sometimes suggested in the 1890's that the Society should publish more popular tracts than hitherto, like those of the Catholic Truth Society.¹⁵⁶ In a fit of enthusiasm a whole series was planned for publication within a fortnight of 14 January 1896,¹⁵⁷ but it was never put out, due to the resignation of E.G.Wood as editor and the impossibility of finding another brother to take the work on.¹⁵⁸ The last series of publications by "a committee of clergy" came out in 1899. Soon afterwards the work of producing cheap tracts passed to the recently founded Church Literature Association.¹⁵⁹

At the May Synod of 1906 G.C.Ommanney pointed out from the Master's chair the practical benefits of belonging to the society:

first it forms a bond of union between brethren. The Brother who is working in some lonely country parish, or in some town where he is surrounded by

150 SSC ix.1891 pp 8-9.

151 See SSC ix.1906 pp 6, 12, SSC v.1907 p 6, 22-25.

152 SSC iv.1909 p 4.

153 SSC vii.1911 p 6 discussed the composition of the quorum and its uses.

154 SSC iv.1885 p 5.

155 SSC vii.1908 p 3.

156 SSC xii. 1890 p 9, SSC v.1892 p 14.

157 SSC i.1896 p 4.

158 SSC iv.1896 p 2.

159 SSC vii.1908 pp 2.

Protestants who are hostile, and High Churchmen who are worse than hostile, can feel that others are united with him, that they are interested in his work, and that he can when necessary turn to them for sympathy and help.

There was, Ommanney reminded his colleagues, power in the intercessions brethren were bound to offer daily for one another; “none can tell how great is the value of these prayers and masses,” a benefit which extended to departed brethren too. Thirdly, the SSC helped clergy gain knowledge. Fourthly it encouraged personal holiness. Lastly it provided

opportunities for consultation with each other about our own parochial difficulties, or when attacks are made on the Faith or practices of the Church. This is the very reason why - as I am informed is the case at the present time - those in authority who are opposed to the Faith are anxious to see the Society dissolved...¹⁶⁰

Although it provided a forum for discussion, the SSC was valued for its practical assistance. A later Master, A.M.Y.Baylay, reminded brethren that

SSC is not a clerical debating society, but a union of mutual support and intercession.¹⁶¹

The real strength of the SSC is apparent in the freedom with which its members were able to criticize their own positions. Some brethren detected in their colleagues attitudes and behaviour which could be quaint or even silly. During a strong exchange of views over the insertion of the *Ave Maria* in the SSC office book, H.D.Nihill as Master told brethren in May 1885:

I doubt whether we are not sometimes unconsciously led astray by the sound of big words that we have adopted, and the imposing appearance of some of our statutes. The more we grow familiar with such terms as synod, chapter, province and provincial, and the more we are drawn to throw the symbolism of outward dignity around our proceedings, the more perhaps we need to be reminded that we are, after all, only a voluntary association of English clergymen, with no corporate authority whatsoever. ... If we were to decide by a majority either (say) that the filioque was an unauthorized insertion into the Nicene creed, or that the XXXIX articles ought to be abolished, nothing very dreadful would happen, and the world would go on turning round just the same tomorrow.¹⁶²

Sometimes even the need for secrecy was questioned. This had been an integral aspect of the SSC in its early days, what H.D.Nihill called

The ‘first foot foremost’ upon which the SSC took its stand at the beginning.¹⁶³

160 SSC ix.1906 pp 5-10.

161 SSC ix.1912 p 5.

162 SSC v.1885 p 13.

163 SSC ix.1884 p 4.

At the May synod of 1884, C.S.Wallace put a motion that it should be permissible to mention proceedings of the society to "externs." In the course of this debate Charles Moor stated his belief that

it was most necessary to get rid of this stupid affectation of secrecy. it was altogether a farce. And, further, we are not the only Catholic priests in the Church, and others desire to know what we have said and decided about many important subjects.¹⁶⁴

J.W.Kempe thought, however, that any change would damage mutual confidence. Spurred on by the dreadful prospect of seeing their proceedings reported in the *Church Times*, brethren rejected Wallace's motion and the SSC remained a secret society.¹⁶⁵

This decision was fortunate for the student of Anglo-Catholicism. The records of the society provide glimpses of what was going on behind the party's façade. During the church crisis there were times when Anglo-Catholics admitted they had defended the indefensible rather than give succour to the Protestant foe.¹⁶⁶ In private, however, real feelings could be expressed. Within the SSC differences could be aired with no fear of being reported. Debates were conducted according to what Nihill called a "parliamentary procedure,"¹⁶⁷ and very fully recorded. Subjects ranged from points of theology to practicalities, from relations with Roman clergy¹⁶⁸ to the Assumption of the BVM.¹⁶⁹ The *Acta* are a fuller and more candid source than any other, and for this reason great use has been made of them presently. They remain in the care of the Society, and were consulted in 1980 and 1981 at St John's Church, Sevenoaks.

As well as the common rules of the society about confidentiality, subscriptions and attendance at synod, brethren were encouraged to take on an additional rule, green, red, or white. The white rule included an obligation to celibacy, daily mass, fasting, and restraint in speech and recreation. In fact very few brethren joined these higher rules; In May 1880 there were 162 ordinary brethren, 42 green, 3 red, and 1 white.¹⁷⁰ However the desirability of clerical celibacy, and certainly of forswearing marriage after ordination, was pressed by Masters more firmly in the 1890's and thereafter.¹⁷¹

164 SSC v.1884 p 14.

165 *Ibid.*, p 15.

166 See, e.g., A.Riley in *Church Times*, 13.2.1903 p 196.

167 SSC v.1885 p 13.

168 SSC viii.1887 pp 6-7.

169 SSC viii.1894 pp 2-6.

170 SSC v.1880 p 3.

171 See, e.g., SSC vii.1890 p 7, SSC ix.1893 p 7, SSC v.1894 pp 6-8, SSC ix.1898 p 7, SSC ix.1905 p 7.

An additional function of SSC was to advertise jobs for junior clergy in Catholic parishes. Appearance in the *Acta* guaranteed the Catholicism of both candidate and position. Occasionally the society was an agent for foreign work on behalf of those overwhelmed by the problems of Catholic life in the Church of England. For example, the *Acta* of November 1885 announced that:

The Rev R.H. Godwin of St James Umtata, Tembulan[d], South Africa, will gladly give six months board and lodging to any brother priest who requires change of scene ... Opening for mission work among the Pondos, hitherto untouched by mission effort. Full liberty of action and ritual would be allowed by the Bishop Coadjutor to any priest who would give himself up to work, and could support himself. The African native tribes are especially open to teaching conveyed through high ritual.¹⁷²

In 1880 a crisis which had almost destroyed the society still hung over it. This had been caused by the society's publication of *The Priest in Absolution*, a translation of two French manuals for confessors. The SSC, which was not served well in this affair by its secrecy, appeared to have circulated a book full of prurient questions.¹⁷³ One Protestant tract-writer of the time found in the book positive proof of

the debasing and demoralizing extent to which that body of Romanizers known as Ritualist priests are practising "sacramental auricular confession" ... and teaching, and preparing themselves, by the study of filthy and obscene literature, to pollute the purity of our wives, daughters, and little children, by questions and suggestions on the most indecent subjects.¹⁷⁴

One notorious passage suggested that confessors should ask children, have you played with other little boys or girls? was it in secret?¹⁷⁵

whilst another discussed those circumstances under which married women were "bound to render due benevolence" to their husbands.¹⁷⁶

For titillation, *The Priest in Absolution* presents no real competition to most late twentieth century daily newspapers, but in 1877, backed by other evidence that ritualism was subverting British family life, it was dynamite. The exposure of the book by Lord Redesdale in the House of Lords¹⁷⁷ brought upon the SSC a storm during which over 160 of the brethren resigned. The September synod of 1877 was even asked

¹⁷² SSC xi.1885 p 7.

¹⁷³ see R.T. Davidson & W. Benham, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait*, London, 1891, vol II pp 171-175, P.T. Marsh, *The Victorian Church in Decline*, London, 1969, pp 233-4 and L.E. Ellsworth, *Op. Cit.*, pp 138-150.

¹⁷⁴ Anon., *Extracts from a Ritualistic Publication entitled The Priest in Absolution* privately printed, 1877, p 1. Fulham Papers box 447 includes this tract, and a reply from SSC.

¹⁷⁵ [J.C. Chambers] *The Priest in Absolution*, London, 1870, privately printed, pt II, p 144.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p 159.

¹⁷⁷ HL 14.6.1877. *Hansard* III.234 cols 1741-5.

whether to disband the society, but the proposal was heavily defeated.¹⁷⁸

This controversy affected the fortunes of the society for over ten years; *The Priest in Absolution* was a recurring subject for discussion long after that.¹⁷⁹ Looking back on this scandal in 1880, however, T.O.Marshall was able to find some benefit from it for those who remained:

The feeling of brotherly fellowship had become a reality to him during the last three years, which he owned he never did feel when the Society was at its great numerical strength, before the attack came upon us. He could now say from his heart that the SSC was a bond beyond all other bonds.¹⁸⁰

The society's identity was protected by its constitution. It sought to recruit as many authentic Anglo-Catholics as possible.¹⁸¹ Increased numbers, however, brought with them a fear that the society's distinctive traditions might be diluted.¹⁸² There must, of course, have been a few men of Catholic convictions who did not join the SSC, or any society. It must also be remembered that a few brethren of the SSC may have thought its conventions silly and sat lightly to them.¹⁸³ All that said, it remained the most important forum for debate within the ritualist party. Through its ranks passed virtually all the most extreme clergy. It was represented at nearly every ritualistic church in London, by assistant clergy if not incumbents. Its blackballing system confined membership to those whose soundness commended itself to the judgment of their peers. Thus, although others cannot be entirely forgotten, those on the SSC roll must be thought of as not only the largest, but also the most distinctive self-constituted sample of extreme Anglo-Catholic clergy.

The size of the SSC varied considerably between 1880 and 1914. Before the crisis over *The Priest in Absolution*, it had reached a peak of over 300. More than 160 brethren resigned during the furore.¹⁸⁴ There were 176 brethren in 1880.¹⁸⁵ Numbers reached their lowest in 1887, when there were 153 brethren,¹⁸⁶ then built steadily to a post-1877

178 164 votes to 9: L.E.Ellsworth, *Op. Cit.*, p 146.

179 See, e.g., SSC ii.1881, p 4, SSC vi.1884, p 5, SSC ix.1886 p 9, SSC v.1904 p 21, SSC xi.1906 p 2, SSC vi.1910 p 7, SSC xii.1914 p 4.

180 SSC ix.1880 p 4-5.

181 See, e.g., an appeal by J.Newton Smith for brethren to recruit in order to strengthen the Society: SSC v.1885 p 11.

182 See, e.g., C.R.Chase (as Master), SSC v.1895 p 4.

183 See, e.g., an appeal to take the convention of secrecy seriously by T.Humphris Clark: SSC xii.1895 p 5.

184 L.E.Ellsworth, *Op. Cit.*, p 146.

185 SSC v.1880 p 2.

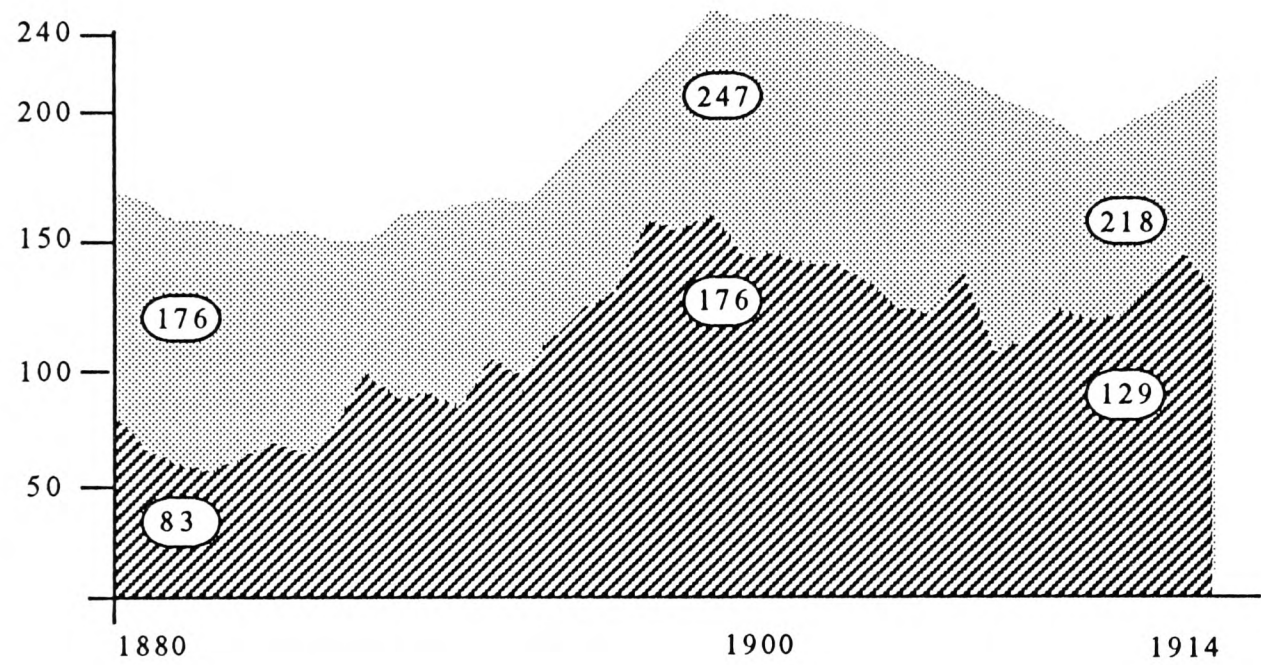
186 SSC v.1887 p 3.

peak of 247 in 1901.¹⁸⁷ Over the next ten years they dipped again, to a low point of 189 in 1910.¹⁸⁸ There were 209 brethren on the roll in 1914.¹⁸⁹

An idea of the varying general standard of commitment to the society among its members may be gained by observing the proportion who fulfilled their obligation to attend the May synod every year. This was highest at the time of the Lincoln trial (1890-2), at the height of the church crisis (1899, 1901), following the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1906), and around the time of Kikuyu (1914):

SSC Membership and May Synod Attendance, 1880-1915

Source: SSC May Synod Reports, 1880-1915.



It is a bonus for modern students that the records of the SSC reveal a great range and sophistication of outlook. The standard of debate within society was very high. Although ideas did not become party policy merely by appearing in the *Acta* of the SSC, its records do provide an accurate and effective barometer of party concerns and ideological currents between 1880 and 1914.

187 SSC v.1901 p 4.
188 SSC v.1910 p 3.
189 SSC v.1914 p 3.

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The Church Crisis

Background

The terms on which the Church of England attempted to contain and control ritualism in the last years of the nineteenth century were not set by the Public Worship Regulation Act,¹ but by the Lincoln judgment of 1890.² For Archbishop Benson's own high church party, this had achieved what it had set out to - toleration for moderate practices, and an end to unseemly prosecutions.³ For Protestants, other bishops, and the ritualists themselves the Lincoln case solved nothing.

It did not change the Protestant notion that ritualism was against the law. Up to 1871 they had called ritualists "rubricians," legalists who indulged in practices which, although technically mandatory, had fallen into desuetude years before.⁴ This was the implication of Sir Robert Phillimore's ruling in the Court of Arches in the *Purchas* case.⁵ When the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ruled otherwise on appeal,⁶ anti-ritualists changed tack. Their opponents became "law-breakers," undermining the authority of Her Majesty's judges. Only the bishop's veto was thought to stand between the ritualists and the law.⁷ Archbishop Benson's attempt to set himself up as a judge did not alter this perception.⁸

The reason Protestants did not bring new cases in the 1890's was that the Lincoln judgment was supported on appeal.⁹ The practices which had brought Bishop King to court would now have to be considered lost causes. This made it impossible to enforce what Protestants took to be the law in the courts. They did not turn to parliament during the church crisis because they necessarily thought it was the best place to resolve

1 56 & 57 Vict. cap. 54.

2 Full account of the judgment and its circumstances in E.S.Roscoe, *The Bishop of Lincoln's Case*, London, 1891.

3 See, e.g., *Church Times*, 17.7.1891 p 699 and reaction quoted in A.C.Benson, *The Life of Edward White Benson, Sometime Archbishop of Canterbury*, London, 1899, II.366-7.

4 Examples in OED VIII.860.

5 *Elphinstone v Purchas* 1869-71, 3 Adm. & Eccl. 66. R.Phillimore, *The Principal Ecclesiastical Judgments delivered in the Court of Arches, 1867 to 1875*, London, 1876, pp 158-199.

6 *Hebbert v Purchas*, 1871, 3 PrCl 605.

7 J.Bentley, *Op. Cit.*, pp 103-4.

8 See, e.g., W.V.Harcourt, *Lawlessness in the National Church*, London, 1899, pp 145-153.

9 *The Record*, 28.11.1890, quoted in A.C.Benson, *Op. Cit.*, II.369.

questions of ceremonial, but because it seemed to be the only place.¹⁰ When Sir William Harcourt's campaign had taken off, Protestants with less Erastian views attached themselves to his cause, not so much because of a positive low church ecclesiology (although one was implicit in their action), as out of frustration.

Believing it had been let down by the courts and parliament, the Church Association pursued individual bishops to try and make them do their Protestant duty. In its way stood the bishop's veto, his right to refuse further proceedings under the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874. This right was confirmed by the decision of judges in the St Paul's cathedral reredos case of 1888.¹¹

Some Protestants suspected they were being prevented from putting down ritualism by a conspiracy. The impression was only deepened when bishops refused to act as Protestant policemen, declining to withdraw curates' licences on the strength of their allegations.¹² As the 1890's wore on, Protestants became less inclined to respond to appeals to "trust the bishops;" indeed these only looked like another part of the conspiracy. Correspondingly the attraction of returning to parliament grew. Anything that would reverse the defeat of 1890 seemed attractive. By 1898, members of the Church Association were disillusioned, bitterly frustrated, and spoiling for a fight.

Ritualists were as disinclined as Protestants to moderate their views. The Bishop of Lincoln had been accused of nothing more extreme than would be found at the most moderate churches in the ECU's *Tourist's Church Guide* - lights, the *agnus dei*, and the mixed chalice. Benson's vindication of these practices offered little worth having to Anglo-Catholics.¹³ A similar judgment on incense, portable lights, reservation and the invocation of saints might have been more useful. E.G. Wood and his friends within the ECU and SSC thought it unauthoritative¹⁴ and impertinent.¹⁵ Wood believed that by tinkering with the courts Benson was laying claim to an authority which was not his, which might one day be used against those whose ritualism was more extreme than Bishop King's. He and his supporters had this in common with their

10 See, e.g., Earl of Portsmouth, HL, 16.7.1900 (*Hansard*, IV.86 cols 10-18).

11 *Regina v Bp of London*, 1888, 23 QBD 414. Judgment in *Law Times*, 29.3.1890, vol LXII (n.s.), pp 167-176. Summary in E.G.Sandford (ed) *Memoirs of Archbishop Temple*, London, 1906, II.112-117.

12 See, e.g., W.M.Brown to Bp London, 18.11.1887 and Temple's reply 18.11.1887 in Fulham Papers box 192.

13 SSC xii.1890 pp 3-9, SSC iii.1891 p 2.

14 SSC ii.1889 pp 11-13.

15 SSC vi.1890 p 2.

bitterest opponents, that for them the Lincoln judgment changed nothing and solved nothing.

The ritualist party thus became more radical as it grew in the 1890's. The SSC grew by a third between 1894 and 1897.¹⁶ There was now a pushy young party within the society. The Catholicity of the Church was established for them by appeals to the rest of Christendom rather than to the past. Their churches were marked by new private devotions like the rosary and exposition, along with new fittings, like shrines and confessional boxes. These were the new badges of Catholic devotion, along with the use of sections of the Roman liturgy and incense. Young men like H.M.M.Evans travelled to Belgium, liked what they saw, and introduced it back home.¹⁷

One man at the centre of the new extreme group was A.R.C.Cocks, Vicar of St Bartholomew's, Brighton. He was passed over for St Agnes Kennington in 1894 because Bishop King did not think him loyal enough to the Church of England.¹⁸ When news of an impending prosecution at the church he had served as a Brighton College missionary broke in 1899, he sent a telegram to the vicar:

So glad. It will do an immense amount of good. What about joint action?¹⁹

Men who took such an attitude to prosecution were unlikely to be deterred by parliament or the bishops. During the church crisis threats of prosecution revived memories of imprisonments over ritual twenty years before, and encouraged older and calmer men to align themselves with young extremists. As the uneasy peace which followed the Lincoln judgment fell apart, the influence of its young men grew within the Anglo-Catholic party.

There were various sorts of Anglo-Catholic. Cocks' friends looked abroad for inspiration more than older Tractarians who revered the Prayer Book. Some believed that bishops had special authority over liturgy,²⁰ some that the Bishops had come as far as could be expected for now in recognizing Anglo-Catholic practices.²¹ In 1899 James Dixon, Assistant Curate of St Mary Magdalene's Paddington, described his most anti-episcopal colleagues to the Bishop of London:

16 172 (1893), 233 (1898) [SSC Rolls, *in loc.*]

17 An accusation in [H.W.Pullen] *Bombastes Religioso or the Protestant Pope of 1899*, London, 1899, (Bodleian 11126.e.171.36) p 14.

18 SSC vii.1894 pp 4-5.

19 Cocks to H.Wilson, 1.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/3.

20 T.P.Dale in SSC vii.1894 p 5.

21 C.F.G.Turner in SSC xii.1895 p 4.

It seems to me that a small section of the very advanced party are but Presbyterians and reject Episcopacy by the rejection of the authority of their Bishops²²

Dixon's small section, Scott and Cocks and their friends, claimed to act on an authority which was higher than that of their bishops. At times the extremists' feelings boiled over. On one occasion in 1896 Scott proposed to the SSC "an offensive warfare against the Bishops."²³ The decade before the church crisis saw an increase in this extreme group. Bishops were increasingly treated as useful allies if they were on your side, and irrelevances if they were not.

At the same time, the young and immoderate embarked in the 1890's upon hitherto unprecedented adventures in liturgy. St Michael's Shoreditch, for example, began experimenting in 1897 with public rosary services and litanies to the saints.²⁴

The Oxford movement had always had its extreme wing. Back in the 1840's there had been "Romanizing party," which, in Newman's judgment, "cut into the original movement at an angle."²⁵ This included men from various colleges - Faber (University), with Oakeley and Ward (Balliol).²⁶ Leading early ritualists had distanced themselves from this group by remaining within the Church of England. As an undergraduate at Exeter College, C.F.Lowder, for example, was said to hold aloof from the Romanizing fellows of his college, Morris and Dalgairns.²⁷

During and after the 1880's, however, young ritualists increasingly identified with the position of the early "Romanizers." By the mid-1880's, men of Lowder's generation believed that the movement was changing gear in an alarming fashion. A.H.Mackonochie so objected to flippant Romanizing by young colleagues that in 1886 he resigned all office in the SSC, saying it had become more Roman than Catholic.²⁸ Another former master, H.D.Nihill, had resigned the year before, in protest against the behaviour of junior brethren during a debate over the inclusion of the *Ave Maria* in the Society's office book.²⁹

The number of young extremists increased absolutely and proportionately in the 1890's. In February 1895 James Dixon bewailed a problem brought to his attention as Secretary general of the CBS by

22 J.Dixon to Bp London, 19.1.1899. Fulham Papers box 61.

23 W.Scott (resolution of A.R.C.Cocks) in SSC iii.1896 p 4

24 Bp Stepney to Bp London, 24.3.1897 (two letters). Fulham Papers box 62.

25 Newman, *Op. Cit.*, p 170.

26 R.W.Church, *The Oxford Movement*, cap XII. (Ed. Geoffrey Best, Chicago, 1970, pp 162-165.)

27 S.L.Ollard, *The Oxford Movement: Four Lectures*, London, 1909, p 54.

28 SSC ii.1886 p 3.

29 SSC vii.1885 p 4.

frequent complaints of the attitude of junior clergy towards their seniors; curates endeavouring to push ceremonial, to instruct their vicars as if ignorant of the Catholic faith, and even criticizing them to the laity.³⁰

Such youthful attitudes annoyed more seasoned Tractarians.³¹ W.C.E.Newbolt told Bishop Creighton in 1896 how frustrating it was to live through times of unbridled liturgical experiment, Catholic and Protestant:

I think many of us (and I speak as a Vice-President of ECU, and with a certain knowledge therefore of *ritual* questions up to now & the changes, and of course with a large amount of sympathy with them) are perplexed at the hopeless tangle and mess in which things now are - the old Tractarians had an objective. The Prayer Book as it is, we have none. I have no conception as to what the modern Ritualist is aiming at, except it be in a curious sort of way, a Protestant Rome - I mean as much of Rome as he likes, he being himself the measure of all things. ... the whole tendency of modern thought is in the direction of great expansion of ritual and service. It is, as it seems to me, of the utmost importance that this should be directed, and by experts, who would cut away the ground from under the feet, on the one hand of the Papal Bishop³², and on the other of the 'Catholic-Tradition' Priest.³³

Newbolt believed that party discipline might be re-established by a "Council of Rites which both sides could trust."³⁴

Wrangling and confusion was increasing as fast among Anglo-Catholics as well as between them and Protestants. In 1897 the SSC was blighted by an outbreak of blackballing all round. The young rejected those less extreme than themselves, and the old rejected the others.³⁵ In the ensuing chaos no new brethren were being elected, and only a drastic written appeal by the master restored the SSC to a condition in which it was possible to join.³⁶

Not all the radicals were hot-headed curates. The eighties and nineties saw the growth of E.G.Wood's influence within the SSC. Wood was the leader of what was sometimes called the "canon law party" on the council of the ECU. Halifax's biographer called Wood

one of the most useful and at the same time one of the most refractory members of Halifax's Council.³⁷

30 SSC ii.1895 p 4.

31 See, e.g., the case of Donald Cameron and J.Cartmel Robinson (Holy Trinity Hoxton) in Bp Salisbury to Bp London, 6.1.1900. Fulham Papers box 63.

32 Not a Roman Catholic bishop, but, in context of this letter, a bishop who pretends to a papal style of jurisdiction over liturgy.

33 W.C.E.Newbolt to Bp Creighton 29.12.1896. Fulham Papers box 60.

34 *Ibid.* cp W.C.E.Newbolt to Bp Stepney 26.12.1896. Fulham Papers box 60.

35 SSC x.1897 p 6.

36 SSC xii.1897 pp 7-9.

37 J.G Lockhart, *Op. Cit.*, II.33.

Wood's interpretation of Anglican formularies was strict and uncompromising.³⁸ He believed that the church was a precisely regulated society, two provinces of a Catholic juridical machine.³⁹ Everything that could be justified from foreign or ancient custom was allowable, except those matters on which convocations acting within their powers had ruled. All English church courts had been "in abeyance" since the "fatal passing of the Church Discipline Act⁴⁰ in 1849[sic]."⁴¹

Wood's position might be thought to be harshly proscriptive, but in fact it was exactly the opposite. Just about anything could be found somewhere in the museum of English church law. Wood's belief that all church courts were in a form of limbo, combined with the limits he placed on the powers of provincial synods, legitimated almost anything except Protestantism.

The attraction of extra-episcopal authority grew as bishops apparently failed to behave as Catholic prelates. The problem of bishops who did not seem to know what they were went back a long way in the Tractarian story. The church had survived Bishop Hampden and Bishop Colenso; it still suffered Bishop Ryle. In the 1890's episcopal rejection hurt more, especially when the bishop concerned was one who might have been expected to be friendly. Bishop King of Lincoln, for example, refused to be censured at St Mary Magdalene's Paddington in 1898; and disclaimed all responsibility for the incense afterwards.⁴² Anglo-Catholics were reduced to surprising bishops with unexpected censures - Mandell Creighton was caught thus at St Augustine's Kilburn⁴³ on 25 May 1898.⁴⁴ The truth was that there was scarcely an Anglican bishop in the world willing *ex animo* to participate in Anglo-Catholic pontificals - no bishop, at any rate, nearer than Lebombo.⁴⁵

One important incident which inflamed Anglo-Catholic opinion about bishops was the altercation between Randall Davidson, Bishop of Winchester, and R.R.Dolling in 1895.⁴⁶ Davidson was known to be a

38 Set forth, e.g., in E.G.Wood, *The Regal Power of the Church or the Fundamentals of Canon Law*, Cambridge, 1888.

39 SSC ii.1888 p 10.

40 sic. probably a printer's error; the statute in question must be the Clergy Discipline Act 1840 (3-4 Vict cap. 86.).

41 SSC iii.1888 p 4.

42 Bp of Lincoln to J.C.Garfit 12.1.1899 in Fulham Papers box 61.

43 for his attitude to being caught thus see Bp London to H.Wilson, 21.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/41.

44 L.Creighton, *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton*, London, 1904, II.285 and *Guardian*, 1.6.1898 p 839 and 843.

45 W.E.Smyth was a brother of the SSC at this time, as was Bishop Richardson of Zanzibar. His successor, Frank Weston, was also a brother of the SSC.

46 good modern account in D. Bowen, *The Idea of the Victorian Church*, Montreal, 1968, pp 303-311.

long-standing visitor to Lambeth and Osborne, and this made his actions seem more official. In fact Dolling had been about to resign anyway,⁴⁷ but the story got about that he had been deliberately dismissed by Davidson.⁴⁸ The previous bishop, Thorold, was presented as a venerable Evangelical who tolerated ritualism out of love for the poor. Davidson seemed a cynical statesman, afraid of the Protestant mob and its influential leaders, unwilling to countenance in others a love of souls which was more than his job was worth.

Anglo-Catholic disgust increased when Dolling was inhibited by Bishop Westcott from preaching a mission in the diocese of Durham.⁴⁹ Dolling's failure to find other work until 1898 (when he was appointed to St Saviour's Poplar) deepened his supporters' perception that he was being victimized. In fact it was probably attributable to Dolling's temperament as much as to any episcopal conspiracy against him. Putting in a good word for Dolling in 1897, Scott Holland told Creighton of him:

he is not 'Roman': he does not desire to pose as a rebel - Only he is an *Irishman*: and you know what that means...⁵⁰

Passions aroused over Dolling were portrayed with great clarity in Compton Mackenzie's novel *The Altar Steps*. Mackenzie claimed that "the only portrait in this book is of one who is now dead."⁵¹ This was Dolling, "Father Rowley." Davidson was portrayed as Dr Cheeseman Bishop of Silchester; Landport was Chatsea, and St Agatha's, St Agnes'. Dr Cheeseman's behaviour at Chatsea induced in Mark, the young Anglo-Catholic hero, what Mackenzie called "a kind of mental chicken-pox:"

he had reason to condemn the Bishop for unchristian behaviour; but he preferred to condemn him for uncatholic behaviour. Dr Cheeseman and the many other Dr Cheesemans of whom the Anglican episcopate was at this period composed never succeeded in shaking his belief in Christ; they did succeed in shaking for a short time his belief in the Church of England.⁵²

By the late 1890's it was obvious that advanced ritualists were a long way ahead of any bishop, and that the bishops did not want to understand Anglo-Catholicism, as much as to control it. During the church crisis, appeals to recognize episcopal *jus liturgicum* fell on ears which were increasingly deaf the higher one went up the ritual scale.

The real rôle of bishops in the church crisis was more subtle than either Protestants or Catholics allowed. Both sides overestimated the ex-

47 C.E.Osborne, *The Life of Father Dolling*, London, 1903, p 178.

48 G.K.A.Bell, *Randall Davidson*, London, (3rd ed) 1952, I.263-80.

49 C.E.Osborne, *Op. Cit.*, pp 200-201.

50 H. Scott Holland to Bp London, 1.12.1897. Fulham Papers box 60.

51 Compton Mackenzie, *The Altar Steps*, London, 1922, frontispiece.

52 *Ibid.*, p 226.

tent to which bishops were active movers. Being a bishop in 1898 was far more a matter of reacting to pressure than taking initiatives. Both sides, however, found this hard to accept. The Catholic fantasy was that bishops were princes of the church, able to resist the pressure of Harcourt and the mob if only they wanted to.⁵³ The Protestant fantasy made them out to be officers of the law who could suppress any eccentricity at will, but were strangely reluctant to do so.⁵⁴ Thus was born the idea, so beloved of Sir William Harcourt and Lady Wimborne, that the bishops were in sinister league with the ritualists to subvert national Protestantism.⁵⁵

For this reason, there is a certain common paranoia perceptible in the rhetorical style of both sides. Brethren of the SSC saw the bishops as a Lambeth curia, "most anxious to smash up SSC,"⁵⁶ while Lady Wimborne wrote darkly about the "Ritualist Conspiracy."⁵⁷

There was some truth in the idea that bishops were organized for action, but not much. Regular bishops' meetings at Lambeth, which became established in the last quarter of the century, provided a rudimentary means of united action. Archbishop Temple was not the last former headmaster at Lambeth to see the church as his school, of which he was the headmaster. This made the bishops the assistant masters, and the clergy the prefects or even the boys.⁵⁸ Bishop Jacob of Newcastle called Temple, who occasionally used headmasterly sarcasm to bring bishops into line, "our chief."⁵⁹

The bishops, however, were far more than cyphers of Temple's will. Their range of churchmanship ran from the Bishop of Liverpool (Ryle) to the Bishop of Rochester (Talbot). The strength of feeling about ritualism varied with the size of the problem from diocese to diocese. Although the bishops met twice a year, most were influenced more immediately by the balance of pressure in their dioceses than by national considerations.

Within London and Rochester a roughly consistent policy was being applied by 1898. In the short-term, its aim was containment by negotiation. In the House of Lords in 1900 Randall Davidson was able to claim considerable success for this tactic over the last two years.⁶⁰ Once

53 See, e.g., G.C.Ommanney in SSC xii.1898 p 7.

54 See, e.g., W.V.Harcourt, *Op. Cit.*, pp 107-112.

55 See, e.g., *Ibid.*, pp 13-25.

56 C.K.Watkins, SSC vii.1906 p 3.

57 *Nineteenth Century*, October 1900, pp 531-544.

58 E.G.Sandford (ed), *Op.Cit.*, II.51 records the opinion that Temple treated his clergy as schoolboys.

59 Bp Newcastle to Bp London, 14.11.1901. Fulham Box 113.

60 HL, 16.7.1900 (*Hansard*, IV.86 cols 35-6).

complaints were received, immediate enquiries were made about *locus standi*. This eliminated most Protestant agitators at the first hurdle.⁶¹ In all cases however, the major aim was to avoid anything which might lead to imprisonment.⁶²

On the eve of the church crisis few bishops had studied ritualist practices point by point, but they were largely convinced that the future lay in church reform, which would invent a disciplinary system to command obedience all round.⁶³ By 1897 it was plain to anyone with eyes to see that neither the Lincoln judgment, nor a series of Lincoln judgments, would cool passions on either side.

Flashpoints: January to April 1898

Strife over ritualism began to come to a head in 1898. Randall Davidson dated the crisis from an incident involving John Kensit at St Cuthbert's Philbeach Gardens on Good Friday, 8 April.⁶⁴ This incident was inflammatory, however, because it represented the culmination of similar goings-on over the previous six months.

St Ethelburga's Bishopsgate was, according to the Archdeacon of London, a "superfluous parish of 158 souls." Its Rector since 1843 had been the Revd William Rodwell. He received over a thousand pounds a year from the benefice, out of which he paid a part-time assistant curate a hundred pounds. Rodwell's responsibility for what happened at St Ethelburga's was no more than permissive. He never attended services there, holding a non-residence certificate older than Archdeacon Sinclair. Since the early 1870's the church had been "much beloved by a small section of æsthetic, medieval, Romanizing young men." In the recent past a curate in charge had "made a little stir with incense and the usual things, but drank himself to death." The Revd Wilmot Phillips, that curate's successor, "went as far in the Romeward direction as anybody," unfettered by Rodwell, or the archdeacon, or the bishop.⁶⁵

St Ethelburga's might have continued in its Roman ceremonial and what Sinclair called "antediluvian" non-residence until Rodwell's death, had it not been for John Kensit. The Protestant bookseller, no doubt aware that many goings on at this church were indefensible to high

61 See, e.g., the way in which Creighton dealt with a complaint from John Kensit about St Columba's Haggerston, John Kensit to Bp London 27.5.97. Fulham Papers Box 60.

62 Stated to be policy by R.T.Davidson: HL, 9.2.1899 [*Hansard* IV.66 col 271]

63 G.K.A.Bell, *Op. Cit.*, I.333.

64 RCED 1906, *Report*, II.364 [q 12948].

65 W.Sinclair to Bp London, 29.4.97. Fulham Papers Box 60.

churchmen as well as Protestants, began to interrupt services there in the winter of 1897.⁶⁶ Bishop Creighton pointed out that he had no *locus standi*. Kensit responded by renting rooms within the tiny parish, and announcing his intention to communicate on 16 January 1898 at what had become his parish church. This forced Phillips into an embarrassing dilemma. He had to find some way of excommunicating Kensit, or face what might amount to the complete disruption of the service.

Irregularities at St Ethelburga's had been brought to Bishop Creighton's notice before,⁶⁷ and it happened that on the Thursday before Kensit's visit he had arranged to see Phillips anyway. Creighton pointed out that Kensit was only seeking publicity; if he were given communion he would go away and try somewhere else. A comprehensive rearrangement of the church's services could be delayed until the summer, so as to avoid the appearance of giving in to the mob. Excommunication was the prerogative of the bishop, not a curate in charge. Creighton could see no particular reason to use it now.⁶⁸

The next day Phillips wrote to the bishop to request that Kensit be excommunicated under the Canons of 1604 as a depraver of the Prayer Book in open contention with his neighbours. Kensit had presided over a communion service at a Baptist chapel in the Old Jamaica Road, and was well known to countenance violence in attaining his ends. Creighton was unmoved by this request.⁶⁹

On Saturday Kensit wrote again, confirming his intentions in writing. That evening Creighton's chaplain was sent to Phillips with a letter instructing him to give Kensit communion. For the while Phillips agreed, but before going to bed he changed his mind again. On Sunday morning the bishop's chaplain reappeared with a letter suspending Phillips from officiating at the church, and licensing the chaplain in his place. Kensit was given communion, and after a further brief altercation with his bishop, Phillips resigned.⁷⁰

Anglo-Catholics and high churchmen alike reacted swiftly to the St Ethelburga's incident. A memorial was drawn up whose signatories included Harry Wilson, the Anglo-Catholic vicar of St Augustine's Stepney, his former theological college tutor Canon Newbolt, and Dean Church of St Paul's. This was presented on 21 January.⁷¹ Another

66 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.287-291.

67 See, e.g., A.Tasker to Bp London 27.3.1897. Fulham Papers box 62.

68 Phillips' account in SSC ii.1898 pp 4-5.

69 Stepney MSS 1898.

70 SSC ii.1898 p 5, cp L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, p 288.

71 SSC ii.1898 p 3-4.

meeting prepared a lay address. Steps were taken to prepare a legal case against Kensit.

The tale took a new turn, however, when Dr W.F.Cobb, Assistant Secretary of the English Church Union, consented to officiate at the church in Phillips' place. Cobb's involvement turned the "St Ethelburga's scandal" from a demonstration of unity into a divisive shambles.⁷² As an officer of the Union, Cobb appeared to be lending its support to Creighton's action, and criticizing Phillips. In the storm which followed, Cobb offered to resign, but was persuaded by Lord Halifax to remain. Extremists felt that the ECU had let the Catholic party down.⁷³ Thus the St Ethelburga's incident demonstrated how the Anglo-Catholic party could split under pressure. On one side was Phillips and a small extreme group. In the middle were Anglo-Catholic friends who respected Phillips' scruples, but disliked his style.⁷⁴ On the other were older Tractarians and high churchmen, protesting their loyalty to the Church of England and its liturgy.

Predictably, John Kensit did not obtain satisfaction at St Ethelburga's. His increasingly abusive letters gained nothing from Bishop Creighton more substantial than the advice that he should attend services which suited him rather than those which did not.⁷⁵ On 2 March, the Bishop ended the correspondence.⁷⁶ This made Kensit more anxious to do the duty he thought Creighton had shirked. Accordingly, plans were laid for a Protestant campaign in holy week which would eclipse former efforts. This inaugurated the crisis for which the incident at St Ethelburga's had set the stage.

There was no closed season on ritualism, but there were two times of year when Protestants in search of "illegalities" could scarcely miss them. One was the season around All Souls' Day, and the other Holy Week. The outrageous possibilities of the latter were experienced by a friend of Lady Wimborne's, who saw, or thought she saw, a donkey being led around the streets of Croydon by ritualists on Palm Sunday, 1898. Immediately she wrote to the Rural Dean to complain, but his extensive enquiries failed to discover anyone else who had seen the offending beast.⁷⁷ Whether they were grounded in reality or an excitable

72 SSC iii.1898 pp 4-5.

73 SSC v.1898 pp 11-12.

74 H.E.Hall to Bp London, 22.2.1898. Fulham Papers box 60.

75 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.288.

76 *Ibid.*, II.291.

77 Summary in Guardian, 7.12.1898, p 1887.

mental state, these revelations provided an appropriate curtain-raiser to a week of bitter strife.⁷⁸

Kensit's new campaign was more directly interventionist than what he had done at St Ethelburga's. His snub there had showed him that there was little to be gained by negotiating with bishops. Brawling in church would establish him as a man who could not be ignored. The cumulative effect of surprise daily demonstrations in different places would be greater than the pressure he had been able to apply by fixing on one church.

Kensit's first attack was on Wednesday 6 April, disrupting *tenebræ* at St Mark's Marylebone Road.⁷⁹ This was a good church for brawling, for it had become particularly ritualistic in the last five years, and the supporters of extreme ritual were not as well organized there as at more famous churches.⁸⁰ The only drawback about St Mark's was its relative obscurity. It was not well known enough to ensure publicity on the scale Kensit craved. So it was to better known churches he turned for the second half of the week.

On Maundy Thursday he attempted to disrupt the service at St John the Divine Kennington, then in the diocese of Rochester, but this rather misfired. In the morning Kensit sent his son to the Bishop's residence, with a note announcing that he would intervene at St John's that evening if Bishop Talbot did not. A curt reply informed Kensit that the bishop could take no action against any of his clergy at the bidding of a non-parishioner. After lunch Kensit presented himself in person at the bishop's front door. He was told he could not be seen without an appointment, but he decided to stay anyway with a crowd of journalists. After spending time remonstrating with the bishop's staff, he was too late to reach St John's before the service had begun behind closed doors. Kensit was reduced to holding an impromptu Protestant demonstration outside.⁸¹

If the motive for Kensitite brawling was frustration, it can only have been exacerbated by such a fiasco. The next day Kensit decided to strike by surprise. Nobody was warned as he approached St Cuthbert's, Philbeach Gardens. Accompanied by a smaller and more manageable

78 Soon donkeys were appearing all over London, including St Alban's Holborn. Athelstan Riley recalled the apparition there in 1900 in his memoirs (Donovan, *Op. Cit.*, p 127). For a brief discussion of these donkey stories, and R.A.J.Suckling's riposte see G.I.T.Machin, "The last Victorian Anti-Ritualist Campaign, 1895-1906." VS XXV (1982) p 290.

79 *Guardian*, 13.4.1898, p 547.

80 SSC vi.1894 pp 4-5. See also Bp London to Revd M. Fuller, 17.4.1897, Fulham Papers box 496.

81 *Guardian*, 13.4.1898, p 547.

band of supporters, Kensit joined the line of worshippers to venerate the cross. The dim religious light of St Cuthbert's no doubt helped to prevent him being recognized until he had reached the front of the queue, seized the crucifix, and held it aloft, bellowing out a grand protest against "idolatry." In the ensuing scuffle he was ejected, and given into police custody. Addressing reporters from his police cell, Kensit proclaimed that he had inaugurated a new phase of Protestant struggle.⁸²

To demonstrate strength in depth, Kensit sent Frederick Moxon to St Cuthbert's on Easter day to renew the attack.⁸³ The uneasy peace between Catholics and Protestants which had lasted since 1892 was now shattered. On 10 May St Cuthbert's was mentioned in the House of Commons, when Samuel Smith called upon the government to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the growth of Romish practices within the church.⁸⁴

The bishops now faced opposition on two fronts. One faced the extreme ritualists, over whom some form of control had to be established as fast as possible. The other faced Parliament, whose confidence had to be won to prevent new ritual imprisonments under the Act of 1874, or, worse still, new legislation.

Meetings and demonstrations: May 1898

An important line of communication between the bishop of London and his advanced clergy was the Revd H.E.Hall, vicar of St Benet's and All Saints' Kentish Town. Hall was a moderate member of the SSC,⁸⁵ later a convert to Rome.⁸⁶ In the course of correspondence about the St Ethelburga's affair, Creighton suggested that Hall might care to bring some of his friends to a "conference on ceremonial questions" under the chairmanship of Canon Newbolt.⁸⁷ This took place on 30 April,⁸⁸ an exploratory encounter, without prejudice on either side. As an inducement to trade, Creighton implied that he might be able to offer per-

82 *Ibid.*

83 *Ibid.*

84 HC 10.5.1898 (*Hansard* IV.56 cols 848-9)

85 See e.g. H.E.Hall to Bp London, 28.5.1898 (Fulham Papers Box 60) where he disassociated himself from H.M.M.Evans and W.Scott.

86 Hall's resignation from SSC was reported in SSC iii.1901 p 1. For his RC writings see, e.g. H.E.Hall, *The Shadow of Peter*, London, 1914 and *Authority or Private Judgment*, CTS, London, 1917.

87 SSC iv.1898 p 4.

88 There is an account of the meeting in SSC v.1898 pp 18-13.

mission to replace the commandments and prayer for the Queen in the communion service with ninefold *kyries*.⁸⁹

Hall believed that there were three different views among Anglo-Catholics. There were men such as himself, W.B.Trevelyan, T.A.Lacey and W.H.H.Jervois who took a moderate line. They might well be willing to negotiate, and along with Tractarian Prayer Book loyalists they comprised the largest if not the loudest section. The second group included E.G.Wood and his followers, with their uncompromising devotion to what they called canon law. Finally there was a younger and more unstable element, led by W.Scott. This group consisted of men like A.R.C.Cocks, L.S.Wason, and Myddleton Evans - aggressively Roman, and unpredictable. It was the smallest but loudest section of Anglo-Catholics.⁹⁰

Hall also assured Bishop Creighton that, with all their differences of emphasis, his friends would welcome a meeting. They did not want a public pronouncement, but private guidance would clarify the situation:

Except for a small minority of irreconcilables there is a great longing for some agreement."⁹¹

By the date of the meeting, 30 April, the Holy Week incidents had occurred. Rather than conducting negotiations over liturgy, the Bishop announced principles upon which he proposed to act in the present crisis. In the first place, Creighton distinguished between services and practices which might be inferred from the ornaments rubric, and those which were foreign or post-reformation. Secondly, he announced that services which had not been referred to him in advance could under no circumstances be regarded as authorized. However desirable, they should not be used before they had been submitted for approval.

Hall gave a report of this meeting to the May synod of the SSC.⁹² He suggested that there were good reasons for going along with the bishop. If the Prayer Book were a valid mass, embellishments which suggested otherwise were suspect. The ornaments rubric was a part of the Prayer Book, and this plainly ordered the choice of ancient English rather than modern Roman liturgical accessories. If the Ornaments rubric referred not to ^{the} Prayer Book of 1549 but to the position immediately before it, it was a useful ally. Finally, Hall suggested that any Catholic bishop possessed an ancient *jus liturgicum*. To deny this was to call into question his orders and jurisdiction.⁹³ The concept of *jus liturgicum* was a con-

89 H.E.Hall to Bp London, 21.3.1898. Fulham Papers box 60.

90 *Ibid.*, p 2-3.

91 H.E.Hall to Bp London, 14.3.1898. Fulham Papers box 60.

92 SSC v.1898 p 18.

93 *Ibid.*, pp 18-19.

tribution of the church crisis to Anglo-Catholic vocabulary. Nobody had heard of it much before; indeed its theoretical basis was questionable.⁹⁴ This May synod of 1898 was the first at which it was used. Discussion of Hall's points led to the appointment of a committee of the society, drawn from all sections, to advise the September synod.⁹⁵

In fact what Creighton had arranged with Hall became irrelevant as the church crisis deepened. Hall had been mistakenly optimistic about Creighton's offers. He thought, for example, that Creighton was willing to countenance all 1549 uses, including incense. He looked forward to a new age of episcopal protection for those who were willing to limit their demands.⁹⁶ By September it did not matter what the SSC's special committee thought, because public sensitivities had been raised to a point at which no bishop could deliver what Hall believed Creighton had promised in the spring.

The Bishop of London laid down other guide-lines at his diocesan conference on 28 April. In his presidential address, Creighton set forth his duty as he saw it. He did not wish to coerce consciences, but to win them by discussion. No settlement would be possible without greater mutual understanding. He warned against a tendency to exaggerate the urgency and importance of the questions in dispute.⁹⁷

Creighton intended this speech to encourage his hearers to look beyond present troubles and seek a deeper meeting of hearts and minds. He probably underestimated the difficulty for ritualists of negotiating while there was a mob at the gates. Any concession might appear to make the criterion of Catholic truth its acceptability to the man in the street. Tractarians had always resisted any tendency to make the individual final arbiter of truth. R.A.Knox's reply to *Foundations* began with a sarcastic attack on the modern tendency to submit doctrine to the test, "how much will Jones swallow?"⁹⁸ The more unpopular Catholicism was, the more it seemed a vindication of truth against the subjectivism of the age. Anglo-Catholics increasingly came to interpret Creighton's lofty pronouncements as objectionable appeals not to upset the man in the street.

The ritualist party was affected as no bishop could have swayed it, by two meetings which took place in the summer of 1898. One was a small

94 See below, p 203-4.

95 SSC v.1898 p 20/23 names Nicholas, Chase, Suckling, Bayfield Roberts, Giraud, Scott, Baylay, Jervois, Evans, Denny, Cocks and Hall. see H.E.Hall to Bp London n.d. (filed between 30.4.1898 and 24.5.1898), Fulham Papers Box 60.

96 See, e.g., H.E.Hall to Bp London, 22.2.1898 Fulham Papers Box 60.

97 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.292.

98 R.A.Knox, *Some Loose Stones*, London, 1913, pp 1-19.

but influential meeting under the chairmanship of H.Montagu Villiers on 2 May. The other was a conference arranged by T.T.Carter, which took place at St Saviour's Hospital Osnaburgh Street three days later.

Villiers' meeting was attended by thirty-four clergy. There was a contingent of veteran Tractarians from St Paul's, Newbolt, Gregory, and Scott-Holland. From Oxford came V.S.S.Coles, the librarian of Pusey House, and F.E.Brightman of Magdalen, the liturgical scholar. They were joined by J.O.Johnston, the principal of Cuddesdon college, and Liddon's biographer. Charles Gore, Dean Lucock and George Body were present. Villiers had invited full-blooded ritualists to meet these worthies, but only the tamest came. T.A.Lacey, C.E.Brooke, Alfred Gurney, all moderates within the SSC. There was no representative of the "Brighton school," no Cocks, Chase, Suckling or Wainright. Neither E.G.Wood, nor W.Scott, nor J.W.Kempe were present, nor even H.E.Hall.

This meeting produced a manifesto, popularly known as the "Villiers declaration." It countered the charge of lawlessness by asserting a strong doctrine of episcopal authority. It sought to consolidate the Tractarian heritage, and lay down principles for the future. It declared that the final authority for doctrine was œcumenical, but expressions of doctrine could be regulated by provincial rules. These questions were declared to be the province of the bishops, jointly and severally. Although the ornaments rubric was mentioned, it was not claimed to justify ceremonial practices outlawed elsewhere in the book. The declaration's scope for deviation from the Prayer Book was the same as that of the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act of 1872.⁹⁹

The Villiers declaration was a long document.¹⁰⁰ It contained elements objectionable to extremists, for example apparent acceptance of the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act. Above all, Scott's party rejected its concept of provincial and Roman authority. This cut right to the heart of the new Anglo-Catholicism. The distinction between doctrine and expressions of doctrine sounded rather Protestant. The notion that bishops could regulate one without affecting the other would seem absurd to Wood or Scott. Although it brought high churchmen and moderates together over some very impressive signatures, the declaration did nothing to change diehard ritualists' attitudes.

Randall Davidson was impressed by the Villiers declaration. In his evidence before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, he

99 35-36 Vict. cap 35, sections 3 and 4.

100 V.S.S.Coles' copy is in Pusey House, Ollard Papers. Text and list of signatories in *Guardian*, 25.5.1898 p 828.

treated it as the characteristic contemporary statement of Tractarianism.¹⁰¹ It was hard to resist the appeal of heavyweight Oxford signatures. Had Davidson been willing to accept its distinction between regulation and suppression, it might have been more important for the whole church.

However well it expressed moderate aspirations, the Villiers declaration did little to help resolve the crisis. This was largely because it included none of those extremists whose compliance alone would have affected the issue. The real significance of the declaration was that a public formula had now been invented which high churchmen were willing to sign, but not advanced Anglo-Catholics. Rather than cement their union, it gave an ideological basis to the split which had opened earlier in the year over St Ethelburga's Bishopsgate.

The other important meeting of the early summer was convened on 5 May by Canon T.T. Carter of Clewer.¹⁰² Carter was in some ways Pusey's successor as the devotional leader of the Oxford movement. He had founded the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and was well known as a confessor and conductor of retreats. Carter's meeting was an attempt to present a united front, and to remove legitimate grounds of public distrust or party division. The chair was taken by Prebendary Beardmore Compton, another veteran Tractarian. The attendance was almost three times as large as at Villiers' meeting; the printed agenda lists 94 names. The extreme party's leaders, Chase, Wood and Wainright were invited, but did not come.¹⁰³

There were two propositions put to the meeting. No attempt was to be made to modify them on the day. The names on the motions finely balanced ancient and modern elements within the Tractarian movement. The first article joined A.R.C. Cocks of Brighton with Dean Randall of Chichester. It recognized the right of bishops to regulate services which were not laid down in the prayer book. Carter managed to combine Canon Bodington with G.C. Ommanney, Master of the SSC, in support of a second article, agreeing that bishops had a right to modify the way in which prayer book services were conducted.

The Osnaburgh Street meeting was a brave attempt to pull the party together. It joined representatives of the advanced party with high churchmen, and forced them to sign a common declaration of obedi-

101 RCED, 1906, II.373 [q. 12962].

102 W.H. Hutchings, *Life and Letters of Thomas Thellusson Carter*, London, 1904, p 278.

103 Agenda, list of names, standing orders, 5.5.1898. Fulham Papers box 496.

ence. Thus Carter hoped to pull the rug from under those who said Anglo-Catholics were lawless and jesuitical with the prayer book.

Unfortunately there was little behind the motions' broad façade. There was a crucial difference between admitting the existence of a general authority, and being willing to obey its particular demands.¹⁰⁴ Using the prayer book as the ground of union only re-stated differences of interpretation among Tractarians; it did nothing to resolve them. Like Villiers' document it backfired insofar as it had the effect of detaching advanced Anglo-Catholics from their more conventional colleagues.

Carter's motions belonged to the world of the eighteen sixties and seventies, that of Prayer Book ritualism. They said nothing, for example, about the status of foreign devotions or the growing "western use." They contained no more than the lowest common denominator of those at the meeting. Of course no prominent Anglican clergyman could have voted against either resolution, but they scarcely expressed the positive aspirations of modern ritualists. Moderates who did not attend the meeting, like Canon Knox-Little,¹⁰⁵ agreed with its extreme detractors,¹⁰⁶ that such exercises were not appropriate whilst Protestant outrages continued. For most non-Anglo-Catholics, the Osnaburgh Street declaration soon became irrelevant as it became clear that it placed no effective restraint upon the extremists, who carried on as ever.

The publication of Carter's declaration did nothing to allay Protestant fears. Those who disbelieved the signatories, an increasing number as ritualist practices carried on, found in it striking confirmation of the conspiracy theory. It lumped together all Tractarians, and showed how far they were willing to go in perjury to stay out of trouble. Now that these men had seemingly admitted episcopal authority over liturgy, it made every bishop who held back from prosecution appear to be harbouring some secret purpose. Those who believed in the declaration's good faith thought ritualists had now pledged loyalty to their bishops *tout simple*. When the game was up, and signatories who had been requested by their bishops to desist persisted in ritualism, they appeared to be insincere.

Both Villiers' and Carter's meetings were attempts to patch up a divided party. Villiers sought to do it by providing a common doctrinal statement. Whatever its intrinsic worth his formulation could not have aided unity because extremists were inadequately represented at the meeting. Carter's united front held a pistol to the ritualists' heads over

104 See, e.g., R.A.J. Suckling and others to the Bp London, in the *Guardian*, 25.5.1898 p 810.

105 *Guardian*, 8.6.1898 p 894.

106 Suckling, Westall, Wainright, Evans. (*Guardian*, 25.5.1898 p 810)

the prayer book, and so obtained an impressive list of signatures on a document it was very difficult not to sign. The cost of these signatures was a statement so bland and unrepresentative, that the SSC could not even be bothered to discuss it. It did not commit its signatories to any change of direction which would have placated Protestants in parliament.

As Catholics organized for the crisis, so did the other side. A major Protestant demonstration was held at the Queen's Hall on 3 May, timed to coincide with the traditional evangelical May meetings.¹⁰⁷ It was designed to demonstrate Protestant unity against the ritual menace. The chairman, Mr Denny, declared that "the temperature was rising."¹⁰⁸ Samuel Smith MP described the "gigantic conspiracy to Romanize England."¹⁰⁹ The climax of the evening was a speech from John Kensit. He was proud of his supporters, and satisfied with what they were achieving. His intervention at St Cuthbert's on Good Friday had made him feel "somewhat like Oliver Cromwell."¹¹⁰ The Bishop of London was mistaken; Protestants could not be muzzled with tea and cake, they were made of sterner stuff. This delightful mixed metaphor referred to an invitation to tea Creighton had given Kensit in 1897. Finally, Kensit ventured a threatening prophecy. There had been less activity since Easter, but shortly he would be taking his men to "a certain church." Next Monday morning's newspapers would contain hard evidence that Protestants were willing to do their duty.¹¹¹

The "certain church" was St Michael's Shoreditch, which Kensit and his men attended on 8 May. He did nothing himself, bound by a promise to the Church Association that he would not prejudice his appeal against conviction from Good Friday. His assistant Daniel Hone had made no such promise. He punched the thurifer, made a loud protest against "blasphemous tomfoolery," and was taken into police custody. In court the next day, Hone claimed that he was acting in self defence; he had been assaulted with water at the asperges.¹¹² The magistrate was not impressed, and fined him £5, a sentence which was not quashed on appeal.¹¹³

If any publicity was good publicity, Kensit's Protestant hooliganism was succeeding. Reporters knew that where he was there was likely to be a good story. With the religious public, however, less was achieved.

107 Printed record by the Protestant Alliance in Bodleian Library, 1307 e 31.6.
 108 *Ibid.*, p 4.
 109 *Ibid.*, p 11-12.
 110 *Ibid.*, p 24.
 111 *Ibid.*, p 25.
 112 *Guardian*, 11.5.1898, p 726. See also J.G.Lockhart, *Op. Cit.*, II.133-4.
 113 *Guardian*, 19.10.1898, p 1616.

He had begun as a man of principle, defending national Protestantism. The methods of John Knox and Jenny Geddes, however, did not appeal to the English. Every time Kensit appeared in a police court it was a badge of honour to his followers. For others it was further evidence that he was a bigoted loudmouth with a violent streak, in the words of one detractor, “readier for a board school than the school board.”¹¹⁴ Bishop Creighton was probably speaking for most thoughtful Englishmen when he told Lord Halifax “we are all agreed in regretting that there should be such a person as Mr Kensit.”¹¹⁵

On 10 May, Kensit gained a tangible success. In return for an undertaking not to brawl in church for two calendar months, the Bishop of London agreed to introduce a petition drafted by him in the upper house of Convocation. In addition, Kensit agreed to draw up a *catalogue raisonné* of practices he found objectionable.¹¹⁶ Further encouragement came on 8 July, when London county sessions quashed his conviction from Good Friday. The case turned on the evidence of the arresting officer. From his policeman’s notebook he described the fight in progress when he arrived as “six of one and half a dozen of the other.”¹¹⁷

The Bishop of London’s sponsorship of Kensit’s petition did not, of course, mean that Creighton was now a party Protestant. When Convocation met he also spoke of the Osnaburgh Street meeting, defending the integrity of those who had signed its declaration. He pointed out that Carter had arranged the meeting before the present round of disturbances, so it could not have been an attempt to curry favour with the public and bishops.¹¹⁸ Sir James Mowbray reported Carter’s meeting to the House of Commons on 16 June, portraying it as a demonstration of Tractarian loyalty.¹¹⁹

There was also the question of those who had not signed Carter’s resolutions. On 25 May a letter to Creighton from some of them was published, saying that they admitted Carter’s principles “in the abstract” but were unwilling to put their names to them in the face of hostile agitation.¹²⁰ Another letter was published on 8 June from Canon Knox Little, repudiating the unrepresentative composition of the meeting and

114 James Britten, *A Prominent Protestant*, CTS, London, 1899, p 12 (Bodleian 1307 e 31.1)
 115 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.290.
 116 *Ibid.*, II.294-5
 117 *Guardian*, 13.7.1898, p 1079.
 118 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II p 296.
 119 Sir J.Mowbray, HC, 16.6.1898 (*Hansard*, IV.59 col 481).
 120 *Guardian*, 25.5.1898, p 810.

denouncing it as an “ineffectual effort to ‘sit on a rail’”¹²¹ These two letters exposed the weakness of Carter’s method, and undermined the credibility of his resolutions. They had to be admitted theoretically, but they felt wrong to extremists. At the April chapter of the SSC, T.C.Elsdon had warned that although Carter deserved support as a fellow brother of the Society, it might be necessary to oppose the line his meeting would take.¹²² Other young extremists agreed. W.W.Hume of St Michael’s Shoreditch thought both Villiers’ and Carter’s statements self-important fudges, which smelt of surrender to the mob. The whole attempt to bolster episcopal authority he thought illogical and unnecessary:

I cannot for the life of me understand it except on the ultramontane Anglican position viz. of making each bishop a pope & a general council rolled into one - which seems to my poor intelligence to be Romanism rampant with an utter disregard to the East. It is curious to observe that the so called ‘lawless ones’ like Suckling & FrWainwright[sic] etc are the only people who seem prepared to stand out for obedience to the whole Church rather than to a bishop.¹²³

If the sham agreements of early May could not bring peace, ritualists would have to organize their own lines of defence. An attempt was made to secure unity among the most extreme by tightening up the party’s ideological consistency. E.G.Wood was invited to London on 24 May to lecture the SSC on canon law and the prayer book.¹²⁴ D.C.Lathbury, editor of the *Guardian*, attended this meeting. He reported a full attendance to Lord Halifax. He also detected a new militancy among extreme clergy:

Stanton is utterly self-willed, thinks that all our evils are the result of being established, and is wild to upset the cart.¹²⁵

If Lathbury was reading the party’s mood aright, peace was not just around the corner.

On 14 June Bishop Creighton sent all London incumbents a letter laying down principles for the conduct of services. He recognized that many parts of London were effectively mission fields. All the same, parishioners had a right to the services laid down in the prayer book. That was the basis of the promise to use prayer book liturgy “and no other” which every priest had made. The bishop requested four practical steps to be taken. Morning and evening prayer were to be said daily as directed. This was a rebuke to low churchmen who ignored daily

121 *Guardian*, 8.6.1898, p 894.

122 SSC iv.1898 p 6.

123 W.W.Hume to V.S.S. Coles, 3.6.1898. Pusey House, Ollard Papers.

124 H.E.Hall to Bp London, n.d., but filed between 30.4.98 and 24.5.98, Fulham Papers box 60.

125 D.C.Lathbury to Halifax, 27.5.1898, Hickleton Papers 270 2.29.

offices, along with a tiny minority of Catholics who substituted Roman alternatives. Secondly, Communion services were to be regular and audible, with no omissions or additions. This could be interpreted as criticism of some low churchmen's quarterly communions, but really it was aimed at those who interpolated sections of the Roman liturgy into their masses. Thirdly, additional services were to be advertised as extra devotions, and separated clearly from prayer book worship. Lastly, all such services were to be submitted in advance to the bishop for approval.¹²⁶

The immediate response to this letter was an address from eighty-nine advanced clergy, thanking the bishop for vindicating their character as gentlemen.¹²⁷ This was a reference to accusations of jesuitry and treason levelled against Tractarian clergy by some members of parliament.¹²⁸ This letter did not, however, signal any modification to Anglo-Catholic attitudes or behaviour.

There were two great weaknesses in Creighton's circular. It offered nothing to clergy who wished to conform, but were afraid to do so for fear of seeming to have surrendered to the mob. Secondly, and more importantly, it was so statesmanlike that both parties could interpret it as they pleased. Perhaps it was designed to put down low church omissions, perhaps Catholic additions. Creighton almost certainly meant to rebuke both. In practice each side could just apply his words to the other party and carry on as before. The Osnaburgh Street resolutions showed up the ambiguities in the prayer book which had caused trouble originally. Had it been as unequivocal as it was theoretically authoritative, the crisis would never have arisen in the first place. Creighton's attempts to use it as a basis for uniformity were similarly doomed to failure.

The crisis in parliament

Protestant and Catholic temperatures were further raised by a major parliamentary debate on ritualism, which took place in the House of Commons in the third week of June.¹²⁹ The subject on the order paper was a government measure, the Benefices (N^o 2) Bill. What was proposed was a moderate and sensible reform,

126 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.298-9.

127 Ibid., II.299-300. Originals with list of names (annotated by Creighton) in Fulham Papers box 496.

128 See, e.g., by S.Smith and H.S.Foster, HC, 16.6.1898. (*Hansard*, IV.59 cols 468-471)

129 HC, *Hansard*, IV.59 cols 775 ff.

to amend the law relating to the patronage of benefices and to their avoidance on sequestration and to amend the Pluralities Acts, 1838 and 1885.¹³⁰

It sought to extend the provisions of the Clergy Discipline Act to prospective as well as actual incumbents. It would prevent the presentation of a candidate who could have been removed as soon as he was instituted. At the same time, the bill proposed to tighten up the conditions attached to the buying and selling of advowsons. Some members thought that this provision was an invasion of private property rights,¹³¹ but apart from that there was no controversial matter in the bill.

It was opposed in the house because it was a government measure. The Liberals used the classic opposition technique of slowing down the debate as much as possible, hoping to embarrass the government. This was done by many attempts to add tests of ritual orthodoxy to other disqualifying criteria.

In a major speech, Samuel Smith exposed and denounced the ritualist conspiracy to undermine the national church.¹³² The Speaker held that this bill, like the act of 1892, was concerned with morality not orthodoxy, which was the province of the church courts and the bishops.¹³³ He failed, however, to stem a torrent of opposition speeches asserting that the popery of the clergy necessitated Welsh church disestablishment, and undermined the Irish union. These were liberally spiced with Kensitite horror stories.¹³⁴

The Benefices bill was so obviously sensible that it could not be delayed indefinitely. On 22 June it passed through the House of Commons by 246 votes to 128.¹³⁵ It received the royal assent on 12 August.¹³⁶ As well as stirring passions in the country, this debate's contribution to the crisis was to gather members of the house who were opposed to ritualism into a more effective fighting force. Also, it demonstrated to Sir William Harcourt the government's vulnerability to Protestant pressure. Perhaps the church element within the Tory party, normally a cohesive influence, would become a nuisance to the government if Irish unionists and other strong Protestants were peeled away from it. ritualism might well be a good stick with which to beat the government in the coming parliamentary session.

130 PGA p 244.

131 See, e.g., H.S.Foster, *Hansard*, IV.59 col 458.

132 S.Smith and W.V.Harcourt, *Speeches on the Benefices Bill*, London, 1898.

133 Speaker HC in *Hansard* IV.59 col 471.

134 *Ibid.*, cols 482-511.

135 *Hansard* IV.59 col 1246. Summary of passage in House of Lords in G.K.A.Bell, *Op. Cit.*, I.320-1 and E.G.Sandford, *Op. Cit.*, II. pp 352-3.

136 61 & 62 Vict. cap 48. PGA p 244.

As the House of Commons discussed ritualism and the Bishop of London's uneasy truce with Kensit drew to a close, two meetings of all the bishops were held. On 24-25 May, they discussed the growing practice of eucharistic reservation. Some bishops, notably Creighton, recognized its irregularity, but were prepared to sanction it where a pastoral need could be established, strictly for the purpose of extended communion. Archbishop Temple, with the majority, thought that reservation in any form and for any purpose was a clear departure from the spirit and teaching of the Prayer Book.¹³⁷ The involvement of all the bishops in the process of laying down guide-lines, including several who had never experienced reservation, was distinctly unhelpful to the bishops of London and Rochester. After this meeting, Creighton was forced to write to the bishop of Stepney, modifying the directions he had given so as to forbid all reservation.¹³⁸ This meeting did not prevent any clergy who were reserving the sacrament from doing so. It did severely restrict the bishop of London's room for manoeuvre; he had that much less to offer Anglo-Catholics in negotiation.

On 6 July the bishops discussed extra devotions. It was laid down at this meeting that

The rule to be followed in sanctioning prayers or ceremonies for use in church is their entire accordance with the language and spirit of the Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer.¹³⁹

This standard was that of the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act of 1872, which made what was taken to be Prayer Book doctrine the standard for experimental services. Like other attempts to use the Prayer Book in the crisis, all it did was draw attention to the contradictions inherent in the reformation settlement. High and low church parties, everybody except for a few of the most rabid Anglo-Catholics, still claimed to be obeying the Prayer Book, citing the ornaments rubric one way or the other. In practice this obedience required radically different behaviour at different ends of the church.

The result of this meeting was announced by Archbishop Temple at a Mansion House dinner two days later.¹⁴⁰ Loyalty to scripture and the Prayer Book was the criterion for endorsing for extra services. For their own reasons, extreme Erastians objected to this principle as vehemently as Catholics. Sir William Harcourt wrote a furious letter to the *Times* on

137 Lambeth MSS Bishops' Meetings Minutes, 25.5.1898 minute 5.

138 Original instructions, Bp London to Bp Stepney, 20.5.1898 (extract in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.310). Changes in Bp London to Bp Stepney, 25.5.1898. Fulham Papers box 113.

139 Bishops Meeting Minutes, 6.7.1898 (Special Meeting). Lambeth Palace MSS.

140 *Guardian*, 13.7.1898 p 1076.

18 July. As far as he was concerned there was nothing for bishops to regulate if only the clergy would do as they were bound by law and use nothing but the Prayer Book. There was no call for bishops to invent regulations, only to enforce them. Harcourt suggested that the Archbishop's pretensions made the liturgical standard clerical caprice rather than the law.¹⁴¹

A curious convergence of mentality may be noted between Harcourt's line of argument and that of E.G.Wood's canon law party.¹⁴² Both denied that bishops or provinces had any right to regulate ritualistic worship. The difference between the two was the final authority to which they appealed - Harcourt's the law and the constitution, and Wood's what he took to be the law and constitution of the church.

Harcourt's letter in the *Times* was the first of a long series which continued until March 1899. Coming as they did from the leader of the opposition in the House of Commons, they were hard to ignore. The first nineteen of the twenty-two letters were published under the title *Lawlessness in the National Church*.

The stage for this correspondence was set by another flutter in the press. The Mayfair Union was administered by a "blue lamp committee" comprising society clergymen like the Bishop of Marlborough and society matrons like Lady Wimborne. She had entered the lists already that year over the apparition of a ritualistic donkey to her friend in Croydon. The blue lamp committee administered a house for fallen women. Lady Wimborne believed that its inmates were being lured into auricular confession by an Anglo-Catholic chaplain.¹⁴³

The Bishop of Marlborough reminded the public of Lady Wimborne's "silly credulity."¹⁴⁴ A full investigation of the Mayfair Union failed to reveal any malpractice and Lady Wimborne resigned in high dudgeon, leaving her case in the hands of the public.¹⁴⁵ This included an article on "the ritualist conspiracy" in the October number of *The Nineteenth Century*.¹⁴⁶ Her revelations simmered in the background of Harcourt's campaign. Those who were inclined to agree with her believed her. Others thought her allegations were fatuous. As her Mayfair Union revelations burst on the world Lord Halifax reported to his wife that Lon-

141 Sir W.V.Harcourt, *Lawlessness in the National Church*, London, 1899, pp 1-6.

142 See, e.g., C.F.G.Turner's comments on the Bp of Chichester's treatment of E.F.P.Durnford in SSC viii.1898 p 2.

143 *Times*, 11.7.1898 p 9, *Ibid.*, 1.8.1898 p 10.

144 *Guardian*, 10.8.1898 p 1221.

145 *Times*, 15.8.1898 p 13.

146 *Nineteenth Century*, October 1898, pp.531-544.

don Anglo-Catholics were calling her “Kensitina,” “quite a nice name,”¹⁴⁷ and she swiftly became a figure of fun among them.

Sir William Harcourt was a more formidable opponent than Cornelia Wimborne. He was the leader of the opposition in the House of Commons, a politician of long standing. On Gladstone’s resignation in 1894 it was said of him that “he had well earned the reversion of the premiership.”¹⁴⁸ All that had prevented him from assuming the leadership of the Liberal party was his unsoundness on home rule; that and resistance to his overbearing personal manner in cabinet from John Morley and other Gladstonians. Queen Victoria had wished Gladstone’s mantle to fall on Spencer. Gladstone wanted Rosebery. Gladstone won, and Harcourt was forced to make do with the leadership of his party in the Commons, and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer.¹⁴⁹

Although very capable, Harcourt’s second tenure of this office was not happy. Various ructions occurred between him and his leader. Harcourt’s criticism of Rosebery went so far as to claim that the latter’s opposition to death duties was born of private financial interest. Another source of contention was imperial policy. Some believed that the shipwreck of Rosebery’s Anglo-Congolese Treaty in the summer of 1894 was almost as much attributable to Harcourt’s outbursts in Cabinet as to French and German opposition.¹⁵⁰

It was a sign of how politics were changing that by the late nineties Harcourt’s place in parliament was barely secure. His campaign in the election of 1895 was based on temperance. This lost him his seat, and it was only by the kindness of an elderly Welsh radical that Harcourt was in Parliament at all.¹⁵¹ In opposition, he led the Liberal party in the Commons. The weakness of Lord Kimberley, Liberal leader in the Lords after Rosebery’s resignation in 1896, further enhanced Harcourt’s stature as a party leader.¹⁵² In 1898 he was nearing the end of his career, Gladstone’s pall-bearer but not his successor. All the same, his experience and force of personality made him formidable.

When Harcourt took up cudgels against the government over ritualism, it looked to some Liberals like a bid for the leadership of his Party.¹⁵³ Breweries were plainly electoral suicide. Imperial policy was divisive. Harcourt realised that there was little popular support for ritu-

147 J.G.Lockhart, *Op. Cit.*, II.133.

148 A. L. Armstrong in DNB, (Compact Ed), Oxford, 1975, II.2680 col 1.

149 R.C.K.Ensor, *England 1870-1914*, Oxford, 1936, p 215.

150 R.Rhodes-James, *The British Revolution: British Politics 1880-1939*, London, 1978 ed, p 149.

151 DNB, II.2690 col 1.

152 R.C.K.Ensor, *Op. Cit.*, p 239.

153 See, e.g., W.L.Knox-Little in *Guardian*, 29.6.1898 p 1018.

alism.¹⁵⁴ He believed that Anglo-Catholic congregations were largely composed of queer aristocrats and cringing paupers, mostly women. In this vein, he once challenged ritualists to produce an Anglo-Catholic grocer.¹⁵⁵ Perhaps opposing papistry would open a way to the heart of the solid Protestant middle classes.¹⁵⁶

The ritualist issue had potential appeal to many elements within the Liberal party. It was anti-church, for the nonconformists. It was cheap, unlike the navy. It was anti-papist, and thus libertarian. It might even have detached some of its church supporters from the Conservative party.

The attractiveness of the ritual issue to Harcourt was all the greater for his experience of past church debates. His parliamentary heyday had been the sixties and seventies, when religious questions played a major rôle in politics - Irish church disestablishment in 1869, and Disraeli's campaign over public worship in the seventies. Then Gladstone's sympathy for Tractarianism had let him down badly. It is easy to account for the attractiveness of the ritual question to Sir William Harcourt in the autumn of 1898. If any Liberal unionist could reanimate Church controversy and turn it to good account, it was he.

His campaign ran for eight months from July 1898. On 8 December, Harcourt unexpectedly resigned his office within the Liberal party. The reason he gave John Morley was irritation at internal dissension among his colleagues. Behind it lay a general feeling that he was a Gladstonian back-number in a party which was now dominated by imperialists and the Rosebery faction.¹⁵⁷

Harcourt's opponents interpreted his Protestant campaign as a bid for the sole leadership that backfired. The debate on the benefices bill had shown Harcourt the potential usefulness of the issue. On 16 August, G.W.E. Russell wrote to Lord Halifax of Harcourt's latest letter in the *Times*, which he took to be a

sign that he means to keep on at his anti-ritualist game. I have heard privately that he thinks it an excellent move, and that he can rally the whole

154 QR CLXXXIX (1899) p 562 argued that although Orange politics were a minority interest, the British retained a strong cultural resistance to Roman Catholicism.

155 Quoted by Charles Masterman in R. Mudie-Smith (ed), *Op. Cit.*, p 205.

156 For letters of support to Harcourt during this campaign see Bodleian Library, Harcourt MSS boxes 235-240.

157 A.G. Gardiner, *The Life of Sir William Harcourt*, London, 1923, II.466-479. For contemporary reactions see the *Times*, 15.12.1898 p 6, 16.12.1898 p 9, 17.12.1898 p 7, 20.12.1898 p 4.

Liberal party to his side. My notion is that we should play off Mr Gladstone against him...¹⁵⁸

The Prime Minister wondered aloud on 16 December whether anybody would hear of John Kensit again, now that his parliamentary patron had abandoned the hope of leading his party.¹⁵⁹ Further parliamentary discussions in 1898 and, especially, the debate of 9 February 1899¹⁶⁰ showed that ritualism was less useful than might have appeared at first sight. Ultimately, Harcourt's campaign was a *blitzkrieg*, and its failure to secure its object, whether that object was legislation or the leadership of the Liberal party, destroyed it politically.

Harcourt's ecclesiology, if that is not a contradiction in terms, was expounded in great detail in his letters to the *Times*. It is hard to represent his views without lapsing into rant. Their main point was that the church had been established at the reformation by the authority of parliament.¹⁶¹ Bishops were not the rulers of the church, but servants of the constitution. They held a position of trust under the Act of Uniformity.¹⁶² Any powers they had been given by Parliament subsequently depended upon this fact.

It followed that standards of loyalty to the Prayer Book were not for bishops to judge, any more than policemen could expound the law. This was a task for the laity, represented by the high court of Parliament.¹⁶³ The sole duty of bishops was to enforce the will of Parliament. Because this was a religious question, the notion had grown up that there was some difference between a ritualist and any other kind of law-breaker, like a burglar.¹⁶⁴ The British people knew better, and a great rising among them would soon bring the bishops and clergy to heel:

Some measure or other, and that without delay, must be taken to rid the Church of such men, or the Bishops will soon find that the people will get rid of the Church.¹⁶⁵

As far as present details went, any service which was not exactly identical to the Prayer Book was illegal. If clergy wished to modify services they could apply to Parliament for relief, as had been done in 1872.¹⁶⁶ In fact they knew that permission for the Romanizing activities

158 G.W.E.Russell to Ld Halifax, 16.8.1898, Hickleton Papers 270.3.II.89. Soon afterwards the ECU issued a *catena* of Gladstone's writings, demonstrating his Tractarian sympathies - [Anon] *Mr Gladstone's Testimony to the Catholic Faith*, London, 1898.

159 *Guardian*, 21.12.1898 p 1993.

160 See below, pp 82-3.

161 W.V.Harcourt, *Op. Cit.*, pp 110-1 (*Times*, 14.1.1899 p 10).

162 *Ibid.*, p 2 (*Times*, 18.7.1898 p 10).

163 *Ibid.*, p 13-24 (*Times*, 21.10.1898 p 6).

164 *Ibid.*, p 128 (*Times*, 23.1.1899 p 12).

165 *Ibid.*, p 105 (*Times*, 5.1.1899 p 8).

166 *Ibid.*, pp 7-13 (*Times*, 15.8.1898 p 6).

of the ritualists would never come from a British House of Commons. It was to circumvent the rightful authority of Parliament that the bishops had been exercising their veto under the Act of 1874,¹⁶⁷ and today were banded together with their clergy in a gigantic conspiracy to deceive Parliament.¹⁶⁸ It would all end, according to Harcourt's apocalyptic, in disestablishment. And when that came, clergy who had been turned out of the church for lawlessness must not expect generous treatment.¹⁶⁹

Unlike those of the anti-episcopal party in 1928, Harcourt's views were more Erastian than Protestant. There was no time or need, he declared, for discussion of the theoretical principles of church authority.¹⁷⁰ He was quite ignorant of the minutiae of ecclesiastical debate. he did not know, for example, that there was any difference between All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day. Observance of both he thought to be illegal.¹⁷¹ Harcourt did not shrink from the accusation of Erastianism. In one of his letters he declared that

Every established church is *ex vi termini*, Erastian.¹⁷²

Anyone who disagreed should take themselves off to the Roman Catholic church, or found their own ritualist denomination.¹⁷³ This was Harcourt's aim for the ritualists. Nothing Parliament could do would turn their hearts, but it could force them out of the Church of England and into the Church of Rome, where, in Harcourt's tidy scheme of things, they belonged. Thus, the day after an Anti-Ritualist motion had been passed by the House of Commons¹⁷⁴ he wrote to his wife:

I think I see my way clear to a good secession of these gentlemen, which is what I have always worked for.¹⁷⁵

Around a core of leaden Anglo-Saxon earnestness, the surface of Harcourt's campaign scintillated with aspersions which bullied, chided, or threatened the bishops. His manner and his ignorance about religion in general earned him scorn from even anti-ritualist churchmen, one of whom named him "*Bombastes Furioso*, or the Protestant pope of 1899."¹⁷⁶

Harcourt's views contributed nothing theologically, but his intervention brought the whole crisis to life. Whatever he was trying to achieve

167 *Ibid.*, pp 112-122 (*Times*, 19.1.1899 p 10).

168 *Ibid.*, pp 145-154 (*Times*, 4.2.1899 p 13).

169 *Ibid.*, p 155 (*Times*, 4.2.1899 p 13).

170 *Ibid.*, p 128 (*Times*, 23.1.1898 p 12).

171 *Times*, 11.11.1898 p 6. cp W.H.Pullen, *Op. Cit.*, p 15.

172 W.V.Harcourt, *Op. Cit.*, p 114 (*Times*, 19.1.1899 p 10).

173 *Ibid.*, p 118ff.

174 HC, 11.4.1899, Hansard IV.69 COL 870. See below p 84.

175 Sir W.V.Harcourt to Lady Harcourt, 12.4.1899, Bodleian Library Harcourt MSS box 640.

176 H.W.Pullen, *Op. Cit.*, *passim*.

in Parliament or his party, his campaign kept the ritual question firmly in the public eye, and inflamed passions all round. It dignified John Kensit's activities with a serious purpose. Now that the ritualist problem had been taken up by a national politician, its solution looked less like a matter of local arrangements between bishops and clergy, and more like a task for the national parliament.

Outside parliament: July - December 1898

By the second half of 1899 there were three discernible Anglo-Catholic reactions to the crisis. Most believed that for as long as Harcourt and Kensit were at large, negotiation was impossible.¹⁷⁷ Others felt that the cutting edge of the Oxford movement had always been individuals who dared to forge ahead of the pack. Today's generalities were yesterday's individualisms. That was how the use of lights, vestments, and the eastward position had been secured. It was idle to expect that incense and reservation would come in any other way. Blanket submission to diocesan or national regulations was disloyal to churches whose practices might later become the norm.¹⁷⁸ A third group, including Lord Halifax, wanted a cooling off period during which no changes would be required on either side. This could be followed by a general conference to thrash out answers to the questions at issue.¹⁷⁹

None of these reactions made for peace, as the practical upshot of all three was for Anglo-Catholics to dig in. If Protestants had resorted to Kensit's methods out of frustration, this was not likely to abate as long as ritualists lay low and changed nothing. Protestant confidence in bishops, especially that of members of parliament, could only be won by visible ritualist retreats.¹⁸⁰

It had become obvious during 1898 that the Prayer Book contained no solution. The Villiers and Osnaburgh Street declarations had only divided the party. Unfortunately for those who wanted peace, the detached body of extremists was now much larger, or at any rate more vocal, than had hitherto been thought possible by more conventional Tractarians.¹⁸¹

177 See, e.g., R.A.J.Suckling to Bp London, 7.11.1898. Fulham Papers Box 61.

178 See, e.g., A.M.Y.Baylay in SSC v.1898 p 22.

179 Ld Halifax to Abp Canterbury, 29.9.1898 Fulham Papers Box 61.

180 Viscount Cranbourne to Bp London, n.d., filed for 1899, Fulham Papers box 61.

181 See, e.g., Revd R.S.Hassard to Bp London, 21.11.1898. Fulham Papers box 60.

The Prayer Book, in itself, was as useless a weapon for the Bishop of London as it had been for Villiers and Carter. The reception of Creighton's circular showed that quoting it at people only brought out the fundamental differences of opinion which had caused trouble in the first place.

The idea of a breathing space followed by a round table conference appealed to Halifax, and a few moderates.¹⁸² Although he was later to change his mind, Creighton still believed in October 1898 that fundamental ecclesiological questions must be faced before there was any point in such exercises:

they will settle nothing, & will not allay the present feeling. The state of affairs seems to me to be thus - the people of England (a body which I always regard as entirely apart from parties & expressing common sense) is uneasy because it cannot get an answer to the question 'what is the Church of England?' - & its clergy claim that they may teach & do whatever they like, provided they can prove that other people did it at some period or other...

What would happen to a Roman who introduced the Eastern Use because it was more 'Catholic'? Each Anglican is suffered to introduce anything [he] likes & call it 'Catholic'. He must answer this particular charge.¹⁸³

Anyway, neither extreme party believed they had anything to give, and this problem dogged all attempts to solve the crisis by negotiation. Everyone believed that the initiative lay with the others. Bishops and Protestants believed that ritualists could stop the crisis by desisting from extreme behaviour. Ritualists thought the bishops could stop the crisis by standing up to Kensit. Protestants believed that the bishops could stop the crisis by ending the veto on prosecutions. All of these perceptions piled impossible burdens of responsibility upon someone else, and did little to change the minds of those who espoused them. They made for a deepening state of deadlock all round.

A small measure of temporary relief came in August, when Kensit extended his truce for another three months.¹⁸⁴ Minor outrages continued, however, throughout this period. On 24 July there was another incident at St Michael's Shoreditch, this time involving Kensit's daughters,¹⁸⁵ and a week later it was announced that asperges would be temporarily suspended there. H.M.M.Evans also included the shorter exhortation in the service, and arranged for three communicants. In the judgment of the *Church Times*

182 Presentation of this idea to the Anglo-Catholic party, and generally negative comment on it in SSC x.1898 pp 5-7.

183 Bp London to Ld Halifax, 8.10.1898, Hickleton Papers 270.2.18.

184 *Guardian*, 10.8.1898, p 1229.

185 *Guardian*, 27.7.1898, p 1160.

By thus yielding to the supreme authority in the diocese the vicar places himself in an impregnable position.¹⁸⁶

This was a rare piece of reining-in by Evans; it was his last surrender until 1903.

There was Protestant agitation in the provinces, too. The autumn of 1898 saw more activity, as isolated Protestant activists took the law into their own hands. On 21 August, there was a violent incident at St James the Less, Liverpool.¹⁸⁷ This incident brought to Lord Halifax's attention the weakness of the ECU organization in the north-west,¹⁸⁸ an impression confirmed by large Protestant meetings that autumn at West Derby¹⁸⁹ and St George's Hall.¹⁹⁰ On 2 October, Colonel Whale interrupted a service at All Saints' Clevedon.¹⁹¹

Another large Protestant demonstration was held in London on 25 October, organized along similar lines to the May meeting, but at the Exeter Hall. As well as predictable speeches from Protestant luminaries, a letter was read from Bishop Creighton, begging Protestants to reflect on the deeper issues at stake.¹⁹²

Whether it was the Protestants at the Exeter Hall, or the Catholics at St Alban's Holborn, it was difficult to make any real progress while most men in both camps believed there was nothing to talk about except the suppression of the other side. By November, one overseas bishop believed the Church had sunk into what amounted to a state of permanent crisis - The Protestants had resorted to mobs, and the "over advanced" in the Catholic party had given enough substance to their allegations to make a solution impossible.¹⁹³

Within his diocese, there was nothing for Bishop Creighton to do but negotiate with each church on its own. As autumn turned to winter, he felt able once again to offer ritualists protection in return for modest concessions. After long negotiations,¹⁹⁴ a modification in the use of incense and holy water at St Alban's Holborn was announced on 17 December.¹⁹⁵ The vicar explained to the January chapter of the SSC that

186 *Church Times*, 5.8.1898, p 182.

187 *Guardian*, 24.8.1898, pp 1281, 1294.

188 Douglas Horsfall to Ld Halifax, 24.8.1898. Hickleton Papers 270.3.II.91

189 *Guardian*, 3.8.1898 p 1198.

190 *Guardian*, 19.10.1898 p 1616.

191 *Guardian*, 26.10.1898 p 1656.

192 Printed in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.313-4.

193 Bp Fond du Lac (C.C.Grafton) - Ld Halifax, 15.10.1898, Hickleton Papers 270, odd packet.

194 G.W.E.Russell, *St Alban the Martyr, Holborn*, London, 1913, pp 228 ff, L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.* II.304, R.A.J.Suckling to Ld Halifax, 16.11.1898, 21.11.1898, 28.11.1898, 29.11.1898, Hickleton Papers 270.2.20, 21, 23, 24.

195 Creighton's copy in Fulham Papers box 113.

he had made a major sacrifice for peace and saved his principles by still having incense before the service.¹⁹⁶ For Creighton this was a major coup, as other Anglo-Catholic clergy followed Suckling's lead. H.E.Hall found doing this surprisingly acceptable to his congregation in Kentish Town:

not nearly so much trouble was caused by the abandonment of incense during the service as I had feared.¹⁹⁷

For the Protestant party, such a paltry concession was almost worthless as long as Suckling continued with the other five points.¹⁹⁸ However painstaking the negotiations that produced it, such change achieved little. It offended Anglo-Catholics, and fell far short of Protestants' aspiration that their enemies should instantly be converted to Protestantism.

One blow to the growth of mutual confidence between Anglo-Catholics and bishops at this time was the Archbishop of York's advent pastoral letter.¹⁹⁹ Archbishop Maclagan was no party Protestant. He claimed to believe in the real presence, and rejected Gorhamite views on baptism.²⁰⁰ His pastoral was awaited with foreboding by the Master of the SSC, as an indication of the bishops' policy for handling the crisis after their latest meeting.²⁰¹

In it, the Archbishop attempted to lay down the limits of acceptable conformity to the prayer book. Under the motto "To obey is better than sacrifice," Maclagan's letter bristled with ideas offensive to Anglo-Catholics. Corpus Christi, incense, and holy water were all to be discontinued, as they could not be found in the prayer book.²⁰² Confession, although acknowledged to be a part of the prayer book system, was to be the exception not the rule.²⁰³ In principle only incumbents should hear confessions. Finally, the letter reminded the clergy that ambiguities were not unfathomable mysteries, but matters which should be referred to the bishop for adjudication. Words of resistance to episcopal authority were contrary to the spirit of Christ, who did not assert his will on matters of secondary importance.²⁰⁴

This letter caused great offence to Anglo-Catholics because it came at a time they thought they were being singled out for persecution. The

196 SSC i.1899 p 5.

197 H.E.Hall to Bp London, 4.12.[1899], Fulham Papers box 61.

198 See, e.g., W.V.Harcourt, *Op. Cit.*, p 95 (*Times*, 29.12.1898 p 8).

199 W.D.Maclagan, *The Present Distress*, London, 1898.

200 *Ibid.*, p 32.

201 SSC xii.1898 p 7.

202 W.D.Maclagan, *Op. Cit.*, p 13 ff.

203 *Ibid.*, pp 30-2.

204 *Ibid.*, p 34.

Bishop of Worcester, who tolerated liberals like C.E.Beeby, was trying to suppress Anglo-Catholic practices in Evesham.²⁰⁵ As news from York was compared with news from Worcester, the December chapter of the SSC smelt an episcopal plot. The Master rejected Maclagan's request that churches should limit themselves to the minimum laid down, and suggested that bishops were motivated by fear of the mob:

The bishops have listened to a few agitators, and have paid no attention to Catholic piety.²⁰⁶

In fact, Maclagan's letter represented an attempt to implement a decision of the 1897 Lambeth conference.²⁰⁷ This conference had asserted that the Acts of Uniformity had not taken away the Bishops' *jus liturgicum*, including the right to set forth local services.²⁰⁸ The preface to the Prayer Book itself ordered that uncertain matters should be referred to the ordinary. If he were unsure, direction should be sought from the archbishop.²⁰⁹ Faced by such a request, an archbishop should collect evidence, and then make a ruling to be passed back down the line. Such proceedings would not be trials - they had no defendants or prosecutors. They were more inquisitorial in nature, intended to provide guidance over ambiguities.

This was almost what Archbishop Benson had done in the Lincoln case, but he had called his hearing a court. The formal procedure in the Prayer Book had not been tried in modern times, and it was uncertain how or whether it would work. Nobody knew, for example, whether ritualists would be willing to brief counsel for such cases. Harcourt did not accept that bishops' had authority to do any more than enforce his version of the law, even if they were following lines laid down in the Prayer Book. All the same, Temple, Davidson and Maclagan thought this procedure to be worth trying. The first bishops' meeting of 1899, on 17 January, agreed in principle to send cases up to the archbishops for adjudication.²¹⁰ This results of this decision, which was announced to the public on 21 January,²¹¹ dominated the next phase of the church crisis.

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- 205 SSC, xii 1898 pp 4 ff. There is a printed bundle of correspondence (21.12.1898-2.2.1899) and an explanation of the Bp's actions by his son (A. Perowne to Ld Halifax, 11.3.1899) in Hickleton Papers, 270.3.1.
 - 206 SSC. xii.1898 p 7.
 - 207 *Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports*, London, 1897, p 45 (Resolution 50).
 - 208 *Ibid.*, p 148 (Report IX).
 - 209 *Book of Common Prayer*, Cambridge, 1968 ed, preface "Concerning the Service of the Church", p x.
 - 210 Lambeth MSS Bishops' Meetings Minutes, 17.1.1898, Minute 1.
 - 211 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.357-8.

Holborn and Westminster: Spring 1899.

Sir William Harcourt's efforts in the press reached their climax early in the new year.²¹² The spring and early summer of 1899 marked the high-water mark of public anxiety over ritual. By-elections on 8 March²¹³ and 30 May²¹⁴ both returned Liberal Unionists after vigorous anti-Ritualist campaigns, although elections later in the year failed to confirm the trend.²¹⁵ Public support did nothing to mollify Harcourt or Kensit's views. His "Protestant Defence Brigades" toured cities and suburbs well into the twentieth century.²¹⁶ In addition, Kensit recruited bands of "Wyckliffe preachers," who toured the countryside with tracts.²¹⁷

However hard they worked, what told most heavily against these groups' influence was their tendency to sink into childish factionalism. In December 1897 Bishop Creighton received a furious phillippic from J.F. Edwards, leader of an alternative faction of Protestant Defence Brigades. This denounced the Bishop for giving Kensit tea. Did he not know that Edwards' group had been affiliated to the Protestant Alliance before Kensit's? In addition, Edwards warned the Bishop against trusting Kensit, whose influence was fanatical and despotic.²¹⁸ The letter strongly suggested that neither Kensit nor Edwards were "*hommes sérieux*."

Usually churches ritualistic enough to merit a visit from Kensit's men were well enough organized to cope with the situation. The brawling fraternity, having ignited the crisis in 1898, became far less important once Sir William Harcourt had taken up cudgels on their behalf. Now that they had a spokesman in parliament, respectable Protestants increasingly disassociated themselves from violence in church. Attention

212 *Times*, 2.1.1898, p 7.

213 Yorkshire, West Riding, Elland Division. C.P. Trevelyan defeated P.S. Foster. J. Vincent & M. Stenton (ed) *McCalmont's Parliamentary Poll Book*, 8th edition, London, 1971, §2 *in loc*. For contemporary reports and comment see the *Times*, 9.3.1899 p 13, 10.3.1899 p 10.

214 Lancashire, Southport Division. G.A. Pilkington defeated Capt. C.B. Balfour. J. Vincent & M. Stenton (ed) *Op. Cit.*, §2 *in loc*. For contemporary reports and comment see the *Times*, 31.5.1899 p 6, 1.6.1899 p 10.

215 See G.I.T. Machin, *Op. Cit.*, p 295. See below p 124.

216 There is a delightful description of an encounter with PDB men at St Alban's Upper Norwood in W.F.L. Bateman, *Memories Grave and Gay*, London, 1927. pp 79-81.

217 The country appears to have been engulfed by a deluge of Protestant tracts. In 1902-3, 30 bands of "Wyckliffe preachers" visited 441 towns, held 2,561 meetings, and distributed over 200,000 pamphlets. At the same time CA "Evangelistic Vans" claimed to have visited 1,235 villages and distributed 189,875 tracts. (Munson, *Op. Cit.*, p 385).

218 J.F. Edwards to Bp London, 7.8.1897. Fulham Papers box 60.

turned to the struggle between bishops and parliament and between Anglo-Catholics and their bishops.

By the beginning of 1899 there were Anglo-Catholics who had had enough. On 11 January, H.E.Hall wrote to another brother of the SSC bemoaning the way the society was being taken over by a “spirit of aggressive and insolent controversy.”²¹⁹ A similar sense of depression in Lord Halifax led to a letter to Athelstan Riley on 7 January, proposing to dissolve the ECU as “a tub to the whale,” in return for permission to use the 1549 prayer book.²²⁰

This was not really a practical suggestion. The dissolution of the ECU would have delighted militant Protestants, and further fragmented Catholics. The idea of seeking permission to use the first Edwardine book was not new,²²¹ and had been mooted within the SSC in the mid eighties.²²² By the end of the century most advanced men were not interested in it. E.G.Wood and his canon law party were unhappier about the 1549 book than the 1662 one.²²³ They thought that authorizing it would imply that its uses were those referred to in the ornaments rubric.²²⁴ J.Binney pointed out in 1901 that as the second regnal year of Edward had expired before the book was published, the 1662 book authorized any pre-reformation use and even “allowed him to insert the Roman Canon.”²²⁵

Anyway no bishop could have authorized the 1549 book with Harcourt sounding off weekly in the press. All that Halifax’s suggestion shows is how frustrating it was to be President of the ECU at this time. On the one side George Bayfield Roberts and E.G.Wood were pushing for what they took to be pure Catholicism; on the other the moderates who had signed the Villiers declaration were increasingly anxious to proclaim their loyalty to the Prayer Book, and to disassociate themselves from the extreme minority. The Bishop of Rochester described this double pressure on Lord Halifax as being “pressed between the upper and nether millstones.”²²⁶ It was a feeling shared by some junior clergy as well.²²⁷

219 H.E.Hall to [T.O.Marshall?], 11.1.1899, Fulham Papers, box 61.

220 Ld Halifax to A.Riley, 7.1.1898, Hickleton Papers 215.

221 See, e.g., J.R.West, *A Plea for the use of the First Reformed Liturgy*, London, 1883.

222 Charles Worlledge in SSC i.1885 p 5.

223 W.J.Jillings in SSC iii.1901 p 2.

224 SSC xii.1900 p 6.

225 SSC iii.1901 p 2.

226 Bp Rochester to Ld Halifax, 8.3.1899, Hickleton papers 270.3.1.74.

227 See, e.g., M.S.Bryan to Ld Halifax, 10.1.1899. Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.34.

What the militant party needed most was an authoritative basis on which to resist bishops' demands. To W.B.Trevelyan's mind, this would come from a clarification of "what we mean by canonical obedience & Constitutional principles"²²⁸ This was provided, more than anything else, by a meeting at Holborn Town Hall on 13 January. It was a private gathering, and the intention was to use whatever formulæ were invented solely for private correspondence with bishops. 220 incumbents attended, and produced three articles on episcopal and œcumenical authority.²²⁹

The inspiration behind the Holborn Town Hall resolutions was E.G.Wood. They set forth principles to counterbalance what E.G.Wood took to be exaggerated views of episcopal authority when he told Lord Halifax:

There is such a thing as *Prelacy* which the Puritans were quite right in opposing.²³⁰

Although framed as assertions of episcopal authority, their effect was as restrictive of the bishops' powers as Sir William Harcourt's views. The first resolution declared that the limit of episcopal power was the enforcement of "the law, usages, customs, and rites of the church which have canonical authority." The second resolution placed a duty on the clergy to resist any attempts to curtail "œcumenical" usages. Thirdly, incense and reservation were described as "laudable practices of the whole church" - by implication "œcumenical customs." Therefore, no bishop could require their suppression without acting *ultra vires*. Finally, those who attended the meeting were invited to a course of weekly lectures by Wood on "Prominent theological and canonical principles in relation to the present agitation." These private lectures were not to be reported in the press, and invitations could be secured, for half-a-crown, through Harry Wilson of St Augustine's Stepney.²³¹

The bishop to whom these resolutions were addressed in the first instance was the Bishop of London. Montagu Villiers, one of Creighton's closest Anglo-Catholic contacts, sent him a copy.²³² In reply, Creighton wondered how anyone whose name had been connected with the resolutions of May 1898 could now put his name to Wood's propositions. The public were sure to think the Holborn resolutions anti-episcopal and defiant. If a large body of clergymen announced publicly that they preferred an opaque system of authority of their own devising to the

228 W.B.Trevelyan to Ld Halifax, 22.1.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.31.

229 Printed in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.352-3.

230 See, e.g., Wood to Ld Halifax, 27.2.1899. Hickleton Papers 270.3.II.112.

231 Handbill in Hickleton Papers 270.3.I.30.

232 Fulham Papers box 496.

rules of the Church of England,²³³ what hope was there of resisting demands for parliamentary action? Above all, Creighton rejected the Holborn Town Hall principles because they implied that it was up to every individual clergyman to decide what was Catholic and what was not. The bishop called this idea “subversive of all unity and government.”²³⁴

Creighton told Villiers that he thought the Holborn Town Hall resolutions were very strong on what could not be done and who could not be obeyed, but strangely vague about who could. What existing authority would secure the obedience of those who had signed them?²³⁵ This question about ritualism hung in the air long after the church crisis.

It would not be right, however, to leave the last word on this meeting to Bishop Creighton. Villiers attempted to vindicate his consistency in taking the chair at both the Holborn Town Hall and Osnaburgh Street meetings²³⁶. W.B.Trevelyan wrote also. He told Creighton that he had not intended to detract from the authority of any individual bishop by signing Wood’s resolutions, but only to reassert Catholic principles which applied to all clergy, including bishops. These principles not only justified reservation and incense, but also the use of mitres like the one Creighton had worn to Russia in 1896,²³⁷ and Archbishop’s staffs like the one Benson used to bear. Bishops who failed to support one kind of ornament must not expect the man in the street to allow them another. Authority for all these things did not come from the state or the man in the street, but from the whole church.²³⁸

Trevelyan also attempted to answer Creighton’s question about who would be obeyed, saying he would respect any scheme of regulation for incense and reservation the bishop might propose. The question of legality might be shelved for the moment. Given the present crisis, Trevelyan admitted that such regulation might amount to drastic curtailment, but would accept it so long as it touched only the mode, and not the principle of the thing.²³⁹

Perhaps Trevelyan’s letter was naïve. Obviously he had no idea of what had happened at bishops’ meetings in 1898, and how this had tied Creighton’s hands. It was quite unrealistic to think that the bishop could protect his clergy from action in parliament if only he wished to. All the

233 Bp London to H.M.Villiers, 17.1.1899 in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.353.

234 Bp London to H.M.Villiers, 20.1.1899 in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.354.

235 Bp London to H.M.Villiers, 24.1.1899 in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.355.

236 H.M.Villiers to Bp London, 18.1.1899. Fulham Papers box 496.

237 Furious Protestant denunciation of Creighton’s use of the mitre in Russia in *The Churchman’s Magazine*, February 1897, p 36.

238 W.B.Trevelyan to Bp London, 27.1.1899. Fulham Papers box 496.

239 *Ibid.*, pp 2-3.

same, his letter does help explain what moderates like him and Villiers thought they were doing when they signed at Holborn Town Hall.

Originally the resolutions had been intended to remain private.²⁴⁰ It was hoped that they would stiffen resistance by injecting a common language into private letters between Anglo-Catholic incumbents and their bishops.

In the columns of the press, however, the Holborn Town Hall resolutions were ammunition against the ritualists. The appearance of Villiers' name on the declaration was particularly disastrous.²⁴¹ It implied that the whole moderate party which had sworn its loyalty to the prayer book the previous May, had now collapsed into extremism. Sir William Harcourt called them a declaration of open war. The bishops had promised Harcourt they had the will and the power to put down ritualism, and that legislation was unnecessary. If this were true, the Holborn Town Hall resolutions were an opportunity for them to demonstrate their powers, if they could.²⁴²

For the progress of the crisis in general, the Osnaburgh Street resolutions were unrealistically pro-episcopal, and the Holborn Town Hall ones disastrously anti-episcopal. Those who feared that the church was out of control were not reassured.

W.B.Trevelyan told Lord Halifax on 22 January that the meeting had "encouraged many men greatly" in London.²⁴³ For moderates the Holborn meeting was an encouragement to be moderate and so prove that, even though they had signed Wood's resolutions, they were still loyal.²⁴⁴ For Wood's men, 221 signatures did represent a real *coup*. The meeting helped to enhance the authority of the canon law faction within their party. In this respect the Holborn Town Hall meeting worked for its perpetrators in exactly the opposite way to Carter's gathering the previous year. For the waning conventional Tractarian group to attach extremists to itself only saddled it with embarrassment. For the rising extreme party to attach moderates like Villiers was a pledge of strength and future success. Diehards now had over two hundred signatures to convince themselves they were not alone.²⁴⁵

240 Harry Wilson's printed copy in the Stepney MSS is marked "PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL".

241 See Villiers' public defence of his position in the *Times*, 24.1.1899 p 7 and 31.1.1899 p 6.

242 W.V.Harcourt, *Op Cit.*, pp 122-128 (*Times*, 23.1.1899 p 12).

243 W.B.Trevelyan to Ld Halifax, 22.1.1899. Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.31.

244 See, e.g., M.M^cColl to Ld Halifax, 24.1.1899. Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.81.

245 See, e.g., W.Scott in SSC ii.1899 p 7.

In the long term, getting high churchmen to sign Anglo-Catholic declarations was as ineffective a solution to the crisis as getting Anglo-Catholics to sign high church ones had been the previous May. On both occasions men on both sides signed and carried on regardless.

On 27 January H Westall of St Cuthbert's Philbeach Gardens decided to allow his use of incense to be referred to Archbishop Temple.²⁴⁶ E.G.Wood had commended Westall to the advice of Halifax and the wisest of his friends, and suggested that Temple's procedure was allowable, as long as it was interpreted to be the bishop appealing against Westall rather than the other way round.²⁴⁷ The Master of the SSC understood the previous December's York Pastoral to have been a sop to the crowd, rather than a serious statement of policy.²⁴⁸ After a personal appeal by Lord Halifax to the SSC, it agreed to endorse what Westall had done. This acceptance was hedged about by the strict condition that the process at Lambeth was understood to be merely advisory.²⁴⁹

One question remains. Why should anybody who had signed the Holborn Town Hall resolutions be willing to submit an œcumenical use to the Archbishops at Lambeth? On the face of it, there was little point in asking an archbishop to rule on questions which were beyond his powers.

Westall had three reasons for agreeing to plead. The first was the unacceptability of the alternative. Refusing to show cause for the use of incense would apparently substantiate the Protestant contention that incense was a personal fad, not the law of the church.²⁵⁰

Westall's second reason was that he did not believe the hearings to have any legal significance. He had no doubt as to the lawfulness of the practice, which, to his way of thinking, was secured by the practice of the Catholic church. Temple's process was so far from a tribunal in his mind that at first he thought the use of counsel inappropriate. What was going on was no more than a private historical enquiry for the bishops' benefit, and he saw no reason to refuse co-operation.²⁵¹

Thirdly, Westall had known Temple as bishop of London, and had every reason to suppose that he would be a fair judge. In 1889 the consecration of St Cuthbert's had been taken place under a hail of protest

246 H.Westall to Bp London, 27.1.1899 (copy). Hickleton Papers 270.3.I.80.

247 See, e.g., Wood to Ld Halifax, 28.1.1899. Hickleton Papers 270.3.I.79.

248 SSC ii.1899 pp 5-6.

249 SSC iii.1899 pp 5-7.

250 Thus H.Westall to Ld Halifax, 4.2.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.II.104.

251 Thus H.Westall to Ld Halifax, 27.1.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.I.80.

from the Church Association.²⁵² On that occasion Temple had gone to great lengths to be fair, and had eventually rejected the Protestant petitions and agreed to consecrate the church.²⁵³

The effect of Westall's decision to plead, to which was added in March that of E.Ram from the diocese of Norwich,²⁵⁴ was to put relations between bishops and ritualists into a state of suspension pending the start of proceedings in May. As pressure on the bishops from their clergy eased fractionally, the threat of parliamentary coercion intensified.

Early in February, an attempt was made to include the promise of legislation against the ritualists in the Queen's speech.²⁵⁵ This debate showed up some of the problems of ritual as a subject for law.

A.J.Balfour defended the government's record and policy by exploiting the divisions among anti-ritualists.²⁵⁶ He pointed out the unsuitability of the House of Commons as a forum for religious discussion. Luther himself would not be a "Protestant" by Harcourt's criteria. Liberals were trying to win Irish support and patch up their side by distinguishing between popery in the Church of England and popery. Such a distinction was ridiculous. If Harcourt really believed that there was nothing wrong with popery, why did he mind a section of Anglicans avowing it?

Finally, Balfour argued that what the movers of the amendment wanted were so diverse that the only possible explanation of their ganging up together was desire to discredit the government. It was reprehensible to use conscience or religion as a political lever.

Although the government continued to find the ritualist question embarrassing, this debate revealed how disparate the anti-ritualist lobby was. It was an uphill grind enlisting Irish Catholics in a crusade against popery, even popery in the Church of England. At the end of the day, Harcourt was a unionist, and Irish Catholic opposition to the union was greater than concern about anything that went on in Anglican churches. A vote for Harcourt today might strengthen the hand of Sir Edward Carson tomorrow. Denunciations of auricular confession as character weakening, although commonplace in Orange Lodges, stuck in the Irish

252 see e.g. Bp London to W.M.Brown, 18.11.1887, H.Westall to Bp London 20.12.87, and a lengthy correspondence with Captain Cobham, 1.12.87 and ff in Fulham Papers box 192.

253 A debt acknowledged by H.Williams in SSC vi.1894 p 6.

254 E.Ram to Ld Halifax, 24.3.99. Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.66.

255 HC, 8-9.2.1899, *Hansard* IV.66 cols 246 ff.

256 *Ibid.*, cols 445 ff.

Roman Catholic gullet.²⁵⁷ Welsh nonconformists were prepared to speak in any cause which weakened the Church of England. In the final analysis, however, the regulation of any religious body by the state was inconsistent with the principles of the Liberation Society,²⁵⁸ as its president since 1877²⁵⁹ pointed out to the house on 9 February.²⁶⁰ Indeed, if the ritualists were driving the English establishment onto the rocks, perhaps they ought to be encouraged in spite of their papistry.

Turning ritual into a question of the government's credibility stirred party loyalty.²⁶¹ Backed by the votes of Catholics, and Liberals who felt there were better places to discuss religious convictions than Parliament,²⁶² the amendment was lost by 221 votes to 89. For the present the government's policy had been vindicated in the House of Commons.

The first part of the debate on 9 February was poorly attended, not so much out of lack of interest, as because many members were in the House of Lords.²⁶³ There the Bishops defended themselves against Harcourt's accusation of doing nothing, which had been repeated by Lord Kinnaird at a Protestant demonstration in the Albert Hall on 31 January.²⁶⁴

Randall Davidson tabled a motion expressing confidence in the bishops' handling of the crisis. To a crowded house, he exposed the fallacy of believing that the bishops' veto denied Protestants their rights at law. It had been formally used on only three occasions since 1874, and not at all since 1888. Davidson reminded the house that attacking ritualists with the law inevitably led to imprisonments. The effect of the last of these, Bell Cox in 1887, had been especially counter-productive for the Protestant cause. All were agreed that it was to be avoided again. What kept cases out of court was not a conspiracy of bishops, but the reluctance of men of all shades of opinion to use law against conscience. The only effective weapon was personal influence.²⁶⁵

Davidson's speech was supported by the Bishop of London, who announced to the house his recent success in negotiating with St Alban's

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- 257 See, e.g., William Redmond, HC, 9.2.1899, *Hansard* IV.66 col 418.
 - 258 See Augustine Birrell, HC, 9.2.1899, *Hansard* IV. cols 387-93.
 - 259 Dod's PC, 1899, p 379.
 - 260 See, e.g., J.Carvell Williams, HC, 9.2.1899, *Hansard*, IV.66 col 405.
 - 261 See e.g. Col. Saunderson and Lucas Shadwell, HC, 9.2.1899, *Hansard* IV.66 cols 396 & 411.
 - 262 See, e.g., C.A.Cripps, HC, 9.2.1899, *Hansard* IV.66 col 426.
 - 263 HL, 9.2.1899, *Hansard* IV.66 cols 265-309.
 - 264 *Guardian*, 1.2.1899 p 140. For a report of meeting and suggestion of counter measures see T.W.Belcher to Ld Halifax, 3.2.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.33.
 - 265 Bp Winchester, HL, 9.2.1899, *Hansard* IV.66 cols 265 ff.

Holborn.²⁶⁶ Davidson's biographer thought his speech a courageous vindication of the bishops' actions, which pre-empted further parliamentary sallies that session.²⁶⁷ Certainly, ritualism was not debated again in the Lords that year, apart from a question about confessional boxes.²⁶⁸ Unfortunately the real sceptics were not in the Lords, with its natural Tory majority. They were Harcourt's party in the Commons, and nothing the bishops had said made them think again.²⁶⁹ On the two further occasions when ritualism was discussed in the Commons that session, the results were less favourable to the government.

On 11 April a motion was put forward by Sidney Gedge, the member for Walsall, calling upon the government to deny promotion in the church to any who did not obey the prayer book and the bishops.²⁷⁰ This motion was dangerous because it came from a Conservative member and a friend of the Church.²⁷¹ It aroused real apprehension in moderate Tractarians who understood its dangers, like Bishop Talbot of Rochester.²⁷² Gedge carefully formulated and re-formulated his proposal to include as many moderates as possible in the condemnation of ritualism.²⁷³ In debate a rider was added, stating that as well as bishops and the prayer book, men must promise to obey "competent ecclesiastical courts." Only the rump of those whose personal sympathies were Anglo-Catholic could vote against such a motion, and it was carried by 200 votes to 14.²⁷⁴ Harcourt took it for "a denunciation of Halifax and all his works".²⁷⁵ Once the ritual question was separated from that of confidence in the government, this vote made it plain how few friends the ritualists had in the House of Commons.

The last debate of the session was on a private member's "Church Discipline Bill." This was given its second reading on 10 May, sponsored by Charles McArthur, a Liberal Unionist from Liverpool.²⁷⁶ Its intent was "the better enforcing of discipline in the church."²⁷⁷ The bill proposed to create a new court, with no bishops' veto or powers of imprisonment. Instead those who fell foul of the law would be deprived of their livings. Around this legislative core, the bill stacked minor safe-

266 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.361-3.

267 G.K.A.Bell, *Op. Cit.*, 336-8.

268 HL, 15.6.1899, *Hansard* IV.72 col 1167.

269 See, e.g., C.McArthur, HC, 19.5.1899, *Hansard* IV.71 col 236.

270 HC, 11.4.1899, *Hansard* IV.69 cols 787-805.

271 Dod's PC 1899 p 256. E.G.Sandford, (*Op.Cit.*, II.39) names Gedge as one of the first admitted to the revived office of lay reader in London.

272 Bp Rochester to Ld Halifax, 8.4.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.I.59.

273 See D.C.Lathbury to Ld Halifax, 2.4.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.I.61.

274 *Hansard*, IV.69 col 870.

275 Sir W.Harcourt to Lady Harcourt, 12.4.1899, Bodleian Library Harcourt MSS box 640.

276 Dod's PC, 1899 pp 303-4.

277 HC 10.2.1899, *Hansard* IV.66 col 482.

guards for Protestantism, including a clause which proposed to make it a criminal offence for Anglican clergy to use the word “mass” for an Anglican service.

This debate was largely a second rehearsal of what had been said in February. The old arguments were supplemented by horror stories about children’s masses and the confessional, some of them drawn from Walter Walsh’s *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*.²⁷⁸ This inflammatory farrago had been reissued during the spring of 1899 in a new cheap edition

at the urgent request of a large number of friends of the Protestant cause, who are anxious to bring the book within reach of the working classes. It is hoped that many of those to whom God has given wealth will purchase large quantities for free distribution ... In view of the forthcoming General Election it is most important that the working men voters may clearly understand the importance of the issues with which they will have to deal, and the serious evils to Church and State which would follow the triumph of priestcraft in the Church of England.²⁷⁹

After an afternoon’s rehearsal of positions on both sides, with the government supporting the bishops, Sir Richard Webster, the Attorney General, moved an amendment which killed the bill:

While not prepared to accept a measure which creates fresh offences and ignores the authority of the bishops in maintaining the discipline of the Church, [the house] is of the opinion that, if the efforts now being made by the archbishops and bishops to secure due obedience of the clergy are not speedily effectual, further legislation will be required to maintain the observance of the existing laws of Church and Realm.²⁸⁰

The house accepted this amendment, and McArthur’s bill was lost by 156 votes to 310.²⁸¹ This not only protected the Government’s policy of trusting the bishops, but came closer than McArthur’s bill to the libertarian aspirations of prominent Liberals such as Herbert Gladstone and Asquith.²⁸² Thus the threat of parliamentary action receded for the moment, but with the sinister prospect of further legislation if the Lambeth hearings failed to suppress ritualism.

Harcourt’s last letter to the *Times* for the present appeared on 9 March.²⁸³ It was followed for several weeks by scandalized communications about the Cavalier case. The passions aroused by this incident were to be portrayed with tremendous clarity by Compton Mackenzie in

278 *Hansard* IV.71 cols 231-243.

279 W. Walsh, *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, London, 1899 ed, p iii.

280 *Hansard*, IV.71 col 299.

281 *Ibid.*, col 293.

282 Thus M.M^cColl to Ld Halifax, 10.5.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.II.87.

283 *Times*, 9.3.1899, p 8.

The Altar Steps. Here the Revd A.R.Cavalier appeared as the Revd Eustace Pomeroy, victim of

One of the most daring plots to subvert home and family life in the interests of priestcraft that has ever been discovered.²⁸⁴

Cavalier was an old-fashioned low church clergyman, recently returned from the mission field. He believed that his son had been induced to run away from home by a ritualistic clergyman²⁸⁵ after secretly attending St Cuthbert's Philbeach Gardens.²⁸⁶ In fact, the young Cavalier was influenced as much by his friend George Chambers as by the clergy.²⁸⁷ The case's real style and significance is obvious in letters between the Cavalier and Chambers boys:

My mater calls me a 'dirty rit' so we've got a rit in the house &c &c, and has actually turned all my music out of the drawing room because I am a rit!! She has also taken upon her to unlock all my locked drawers wherein were *Fabiola*,²⁸⁸ the Church guide, & she has however left alone the desk not having a key that will fit.

...I do wish you would get Father Bridge to call round here in cassock & biretta. It would be ripping!²⁸⁹

Doubtless this juvenile domestic melodrama reflected happenings in other Protestant drawing rooms around the country at this time, and it ran for weeks in the yellow press. It is hard to see why, except that it fuelled the Protestant appetite for evidence that priestcraft was poisoning British family life.

After intervention by the Bishop of London, the boy was persuaded to return to his father.²⁹⁰ To remove his son from the lures of ritualism, Cavalier took him to Australia. Revelations in the press were timed to begin when both were on the high seas. This meant that it was anybody's guess whether the Cavalier boy had been bullied into flight by his overbearing father, or seduced into it by a weaselly Anglo-Catholic curate, or both.²⁹¹ Speculation led to celebrity as the story bobbed up again and again in the Sunday papers and the *Times* in the spring and early summer of 1899. Protestants assumed the worst, giving the affair

284 Compton Mackenzie, *Op. Cit.*, p 117.

285 The Revd A.C.Bridge, assistant curate of H.P.Denison at St Michael's North Kensington (incorrectly called "St Martin's" by Cavalier in the *Times*, 17.3.1899, p 9).

286 *Times*, 17.3.1899, p 9.

287 Thus A.R.Cavalier to G.B.Chambers, enclosed in E.M.Chambers to Bp London, 21.3.1899, Fulham Papers box 63.

288 N.P.S.Wiseman, *Fabiola: or, the Church of the Catacombs*, London, 1854.

289 A.Cavalier to G.B.Chambers, 3.1.1899, Fulham Papers box 63.

290 Memo summarizing the case by Bp Creighton in Fulham Papers box 63. For evidence that the matter was resolved domestically see H.P.Denison to Bp London, 10.3.[1899], Fulham Papers box 63.

291 allegation that Cavalier had deliberately timed his revelations for purposes of publicity in M. McColl to Bp London, 21.3.1899, Fulham Papers box 63.

a far greater public importance than its trivial circumstances would otherwise have warranted.

The Lambeth hearings

For most London Anglo-Catholic parishes, the months before the Lambeth hearings provided something of a breathing space. Protestant campaigning did nothing to deter and everything to stimulate growth in the membership of the ECU. It reported that in the year before 31 May 1899 it had recruited an unprecedented 7,538 new members, 5,145 in the four months since January.²⁹² The Bishop of Rochester replied to Lord Halifax's criticism of his and Bishop Creighton's day-to-day handling of the crisis. He hoped that it had been helpful to all but the most sectarian party of Anglo-Catholics:

Thanks for [the] knock - but B[isho]ps might knock back that your friends are preventing [the] Catholicising of the Ch[urch] of England!

As to the Bishops, Contemptible is a little strong isn't it for a Bishop like London who has borne himself as he has & faced what he has, & won his own clergy as he has...

Remember about a Bishop that his position *forces* upon him what lies morally as a duty upon all Churchmen, the need of trying to take account of all, & of doing what can be done, without loss of principle, to harmonize, & for that sake to control (& to dissatisfy?) the eagerness of the different parts or parties.²⁹³

Surrounded by a hostile public, the Bishop of London had steered a careful middle course. His liberal and progressive instincts were offended by attempts to enlist him on either side. He had begun his episcopate by telling the London diocesan conference of 1897:

I rejoice in the breadth and width of the Church of England as it is ... I think it my duty, as bishop of this diocese to show my sympathy with all forms of service and all forms of religious zeal which are loyally in accordance with the principles of the Church of England.²⁹⁴

The Anglo-Catholic aim of accustoming Anglicans to Roman Catholicism, perhaps the most reactionary force in the world, was repellent to Bishop Creighton personally.²⁹⁵ This did not, however, prevent him from feeling for a persecuted minority. Whatever they believed, cracking down on Anglo-Catholics was inconsistent with the demands of fairness. Creighton wished to rule his diocese in the spirit of

292 *ECU Gazette*, 5.7.1899, p 229.

293 Bp Rochester to Ld Halifax, 25.3.1899, Hickleton Papers box 270.3.1.65.

294 address reprinted in M.Creighton, *The Church and the Nation*, London, 1901 pp 287-8.

295 see e.g., Bp London to Canon M^cCormick, 6.8.1898 and Bp London to H.S.Harrison, 10.12.1898, in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II. 302 and 349.

Gamaliel,²⁹⁶ not that of Caiaphas²⁹⁷. In this spirit he once told Sir William Harcourt,

I rank you with Lord Halifax. He is pursuing a revival of old methods of religious thought; you are for reviving the old means of persecuting him. I am so far modern that I do not believe in the vitality of his ideas, or in your mode of suppressing him. I want to drag him into the light and slay him in the open.²⁹⁸

Creighton's liberalism was not ecclesiologically naïve. He believed that the current controversy was a question not of the church's house style, but of its very existence:

The practical question is one of tolerance, as you say. But tolerance is only a moral virtue, it must have an intellectual basis. The question is, How much can be comprehended in the system of the Church of England? I remember a remark of a Frenchman, talking about modern Liberalism: 'Ils confondent le droit de l'individu d'être libre avec la nécessité de l'institution d'être quelque chose.' The Church of England may be tolerant, but it must be *something*. I think that the present crisis is more serious than previous ones because it raises that point.²⁹⁹

The bishop's London Diocesan Conference address on 13 April invited his clergy to see the crisis in this light.³⁰⁰ He wished that people would stop talking excitedly about ceremonial details as though the whole Catholicity of the church hung upon them. He pleaded for the rights of ordinary layfolk, caught in the crossfire between experts on both sides, and sometimes deprived of proper spiritual provision as a result. People naturally believed the bishops to be in charge of the church, and it was a special part of a bishop's ministry to superintend the incorporation of experiments into the life of the whole. This could only be done by persuasion, not coercion. His speech ended with a measured appeal to controversialists on both sides:

I wish to induce people to see themselves as others see them; to regard what they are doing in reference to its far-off effects on the conscience of others; to cultivate a true sense of the proportion of things; to deal more with ideas than with the clothing of ideas; to pay more attention to the reason of a thing than to its antiquity; to remember that the chief danger which besets those who are pursuing a high object is to confuse means with ends; to examine themselves very fully lest they confuse Christian zeal with the desire to have their own way.³⁰¹ ..

Anglo-Catholic attention in the spring of 1899 was naturally focused on the impending Lambeth hearings. They were not sure exactly what status to accord Temple's proceedings. The Archbishop believed that, as

- 296 "I always regard Gamaliel as the first exponent of liberal opinions." - Bp London to Sir W.V.Harcourt, 24.8.1900, in A.G.Gardiner, *Op. Cit.*, II.486.
297 Creighton defined and defended his attitude at length in his Hulsean lectures for 1893-4. See M.Creighton, *Persecution and Tolerance*, London, 1895.
298 Bp London to W.V.Harcourt, 13.9.1900, in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.450.
299 Bp London to W.F.Cobb, 22.8.1899, in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.375-6.
300 M.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, pp 231-247.
301 *Ibid.*, p 245.

an inquiry into the state of the law, these were legal proceedings. It did not matter that there was no defendant or prosecutor, or that the tribunal had no coercive power. The procedure was duly constituted by authority of the prayer book.³⁰² Anglo-Catholics, however, set great store by the belief the hearings were merely informal.³⁰³ The editor of the *Guardian* agreed.³⁰⁴ Seven days into the reservation hearing, counsel for the bishops of Peterborough and St Alban's was unsure of the status of the body he was addressing. In passing, he said it was not a prayer book tribunal. Temple cut in immediately to correct him.³⁰⁵ Ambiguity over their status bedeviled the hearings, and provided Anglo-Catholics with a way out of having to take their results too seriously.

On the second day of the SSC synod, 5 May, standing orders were suspended for a special emergency debate on the impending hearings. Extremists agreed that if Temple declared against incense and reservation, their introduction would become a positive duty. It would be the only way of showing faith in the supremacy of œcumenical over provincial authority.³⁰⁶ The master appealed for unity in the attacks that lay ahead, and talked of the spiritual value of suffering for the right.³⁰⁷

There were other, more moderate, voices at the 1899 May synod. W.B.Trevelyan acknowledged "the entire wish of the bishops to be fair," and reminded the brethren that it was the meek who would inherit the earth³⁰⁸ T.C.Elsdon warned brethren against thinking that the result was a foregone conclusion:

We must have more confidence in the bishops.³⁰⁹

T.A.Lacey suggested that it might be better to surrender incense for the present, than run the risk that convocation would meet and formally condemn it.

Priests should give up the practice in order to avoid the question being brought up.³¹⁰

Other brethren took William Crouch's more pragmatic point of view. He pointed out that doubts over the status of the court had been useful to Catholics in the Lincoln case. They had been able to accept the advantage of all that Benson's judgment allowed, whilst ignoring those parts of it which were less congenial. Looked at thus, the present hear-

302 E.G.Sandford (ed), *Op. Cit.*, II.296.

303 Thus SSC iii.1899 pp 5-7, *passim*.

304 *Guardian*, 10.5.1899 p 637.

305 *Guardian*, 26.7.1899, p 1026.

306 George Bayfield Roberts and L.S.Wason, SSC v.1899 p 27.

307 SSC v.1899 p 8.

308 *Ibid.*, p 27.

309 *Ibid.*

310 *Ibid.*, p 28.

ings might turn out for the best. Favourable parts of the judgment would modify the law and soften the opposition, and contrary elements could be ignored.³¹¹

The laity of St Cuthbert's Philbeach Gardens drafted petitions to bishop and archbishop, asking for a favourable decision. Only habitual adult attenders were allowed to sign, 678 in all.³¹² They claimed incense as a right at law, but rather muddled the contention by pleading for toleration on account of the size and success of the congregation. Bishop Creighton received this petition on 19 April. The bishop pleased the petitioners with his courtesy, and by saying that

“there was not a single word in the address to which anyone could object.”³¹³

Ten days later a similar address was presented at Lambeth palace, whose occupant was gruffer than Creighton, but promised to consider the question fairly and fully.³¹⁴

Two days later, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York received another address sponsored by the Duke of Rutland. It expressed confidence in the way they were handling the crisis, and a hope that the hearings would secure the obedience of the clergy. Over five hundred prominent laymen signed this petition, and almost ten thousand churchwardens and sidesmen. The petition was taken to Lambeth by a party including Lords Selbourne, Cross, Cranbourne and Aldenham, along with most of the church party in the House of Commons, including J.G.Talbot, and Samuel Hoare. Temple thanked them for their confidence and support. The Archbishop of York was also present. He explained that he was sitting with Temple to prevent the need to reduplicate the hearings in the northern province. He announced that both Archbishops' purpose was to ascertain the present state of the law, not to change it.³¹⁵

Exactly a week afterwards, on 8 May, the Lambeth hearings on incense and portable lights began.³¹⁶ On the first day, evidence was presented in favour of the use of incense, and a 732 page submission from St Cuthbert's was distributed. Witnesses were cross-examined by either or both archbishops, according to the conventions for chairmen of Royal Commissions. The second day saw more expert evidence in

311 *Ibid.*

312 *MS Statement* (for RCED). R. Bickersteth's copy kept (1980) in parish archive, St Cuthbert Philbeach Gardens, p 9.

313 R.Bickersteth to Ld Halifax, 22.4.1899, Hickleton papers 270.3.1.62.

314 R.Bickersteth, *MS Statement*, p 6. Copy in Fulham Papers box 113.

315 *Guardian*, 3.5.1899, pp 581 and 589.

316 *Guardian*, 10.5.1899, p 637-9. G.K.A.Bell, (*Op. Cit.*, I.340) gives the date (incorrectly) as 6.5.1899.

favour of incense. It was enlivened by the unscheduled appearance of John Kensit. At first it looked as though he would be allowed to read a statement from the public benches. After twice ignoring Temple's direction and calling the hearing a "Court," he was silenced, and the proceedings were adjourned for luncheon.³¹⁷

The argument for incense rested upon the ornaments rubric, which, as part of the schedule of the Act of Uniformity, had the force of law.³¹⁸ As the proscriptive schedule to a statute, the rubric required strict and minimal interpretation. Thus no ornament which was in use at the beginning of the second year of Edward VI could be unlawful.

This consideration could not, however, in itself justify the ceremonial use of incense. Ceremonies which were not required by the Prayer Book were outlawed by the Act of which the rubric was schedule. To make it legal, incense must be regarded as an ornament, not a ceremony. This contention was supported by numerous post-reformation instances of its use in Anglican churches.³¹⁹

The argument against incense disagreed with the other party's definition of "the second year of Edward VI." This had been assumed to be the regnal year, which ended before the promulgation of the prayer book of 1549. Sir Lewis Dibdin argued that in fact there were numerous instances before the time of George III of statute years beginning at the start of their parliamentary session.³²⁰ Incense, it was argued, was an additional ceremony, not an ornament. Anything but its use for fumigation was ceremonial. The precedents offered by the other side were dismissed as no more than examples of laxity, disobedience, or misunderstanding. The anti-incense counsel covered themselves against any attempt to argue that anything primitive was by that fact lawful in the Church of England by giving evidence of the lateness of its introduction.³²¹

317 *Ibid.*, p 693.

318 For counsel's belief that any other ground would alienate Temple, see E.W.Hansell to Ld Halifax, 11.4.1898, Hickleton Papers 270.3.I.

319 *Ibid.*, p 694.

320 H.Scott Holland and some other Anglo-Catholics found Wood's contention about the date of the Ornaments Rubric absurd, and were glad to see it demolished by Dibdin at the hearing. (H.Scott Holland to H.Wilson, n.d., Stepney MSS ND/5 p 2.) On the other hand Dibdin's methods if not his conclusion were disputed vigorously by M. McColl, *The Royal Commission and the Ornaments Rubric*, London, 1906, pp 120-129.

321 *Ibid.*, p 695.

Consideration of processional lights was held over for another hearing on 6 June. This followed almost identical lines of argument to the first one, and took no more than a day.³²²

Anglo-Catholic observers were divided as to how well the hearings had gone for them. W.B.Trevelyan detected a new spirit of helpfulness in some of the things the archbishops had said. He also thought he could detect a more compliant spirit within the Anglo-Catholic party. If the outcome was moderate permission in return for loyalty all round, matters would turn out for the best. Trevelyan knew, however, that this estimate was not shared by Montagu Villiers, for whom the case looked hopeless and incense “likely to be *entirely* refused.”³²³

Awaiting the result of the hearings, the SSC decided to say as little as possible and lie low. Any statements now might commit the party later. The theoretical standing of the hearings might be defective, but they offered a prospect of modest gain. This very defect would be useful in the event of an unsatisfactory decision.³²⁴ For now, Anglo-Catholics were nervous but quiescent, following a policy of “wait and see” worthy of Mr Asquith.

E.G.Wood ignored the hearings entirely. He disputed their right to be held, so their outcome was of little interest to him. The best way of using them was to spread awareness of œcumenical principles within the ECU. He hoped that distaste at Temple’s hearings would persuade other members of the union that no discussion of the question was possible until Christendom were reunited. Confusion would be worse confounded by any ruling from convocation. The worst outcome for the hearings would be if the canonical authority in the Church of England claimed powers which were *ultra vires*:

A Provincial Synod can no more forbid the ceremonial use of incense or the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament than a County Council can repeal an Act of Parliament.³²⁵

More important for the development of the crisis than the fortieth anniversary of the ECU on 15 June,³²⁶ was a private meeting held the night before at Lord Halifax’s London house. This meeting addressed the practical question of what to do about a contrary judgment. Prominent laymen met twenty-five London incumbents. Harry Wilson acted as secretary, and sent out a report of the meeting to provincial incumbents

322 *Guardian*, 7.6.1899, p 780.

323 W.B.Trevelyan to Ld Halifax, 15.5.1899. Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.52.

324 SSC vii.1899, p 2.

325 See, e.g., Wood to Ld Halifax, 17.5.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.53.

326 *Guardian*, 21.6.1899 p 865.

who would like to know what line the London clergy are taking.³²⁷

The meeting thought

it would be particularly undesirable to state beforehand that we intended to conform to his opinion whatever that might be.³²⁸

Equally undesirable was the prospect of a split party, with hostile camps of conformist cowards and extreme law-breakers. Although Temple's most recent charge had suggested that incense and elevation of the host were unlawful,³²⁹ a simple negative decision was thought unlikely, from the way the hearings had gone. It was pointed out that each diocesan bishop had the right to decide how he wished to implement Temple's decision. This being so, the meeting decided incumbents should lie low and say nothing until they had received a letter from their own bishops. Replies to such letters should resist the enforcement by right of any adverse decision, but offer submission to schemes of regulation.³³⁰

The Lambeth hearing on eucharistic reservation took place between 17 and 20 July 1899.³³¹ Cases were argued from the dioceses of York, Peterborough and St Alban's, although the priest from St Alban's did not appear.³³² No decision had yet been given on the former matters. Both sides took different lines to before. The ornaments rubric was nothing to do with reservation. So far as the Prayer Book had anything to say on the subject, it ordered the consumption of the elements at the end of its communion office.

The need to dispose of this provision complicated the case for reservation. The grand principle of the Church of England at the reformation had been to revive the life of the early church. From this it was alleged that any primitive practice which had not been specifically forbidden was permitted. But there remained the difficulty of the alternative provision for the sick made by the prayer book, celebration in the sick room, or, in case of emergency, what was called "spiritual communion." Article XXVIII taught that the sacrament was not ordained to be "reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped." Counsel for reservation argued that this must not be interpreted in such a way as to deprive a man of his ancient right in common law to be given the sacrament.

327 Harry Wilson's CBS Circular, 17.6.1899, in Stepney MSS 1899/1.

328 *Ibid.*

329 *A Charge delivered at his First Visitation*, London, 1898, p 27.

330 Stepney MSS 1899/1.

331 *Guardian*, 13.8.1899, pp 993-4.

332 Claiming it was the bishop not he who had referred the matter: T.E.Hill to Ld Halifax, 3.3.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.51.

The Prayer Book prohibition was disposed of by an ingenious hermeneutical principle - rubrics were to be read directly not prescriptively. "Here shall follow the sermon," for example, did not mean that there always had to be a sermon. Indeed practice and the provision of homilies showed that often there was none. All the rubric required was that if there was going to be a sermon, this is where it should be preached. By analogy to the matter in hand the book was not outlawing reservation, but merely saying that if the elements were going to be consumed, this is where it should be done.

Additionally it was argued that the rubric referred not to any consecrated bread and wine, but only to eucharistic species not required for purposes of communion. The sacrament for the sick was used to communicate them, and this brought it within the scope of the rubric.

Finally, the rubric must be read in terms of its intention. This was to prevent superstitious use, not to deprive the laity, in effect, of their ancient right to communion. Ingenious use was made of the way in which legal status had been given to lay baptism. A statute of Henry VIII³³³ secured the right of someone who had been baptized by a layman to be buried in consecrated ground. Thus the law of England had signified its intention to interpret sacramental questions according to the principles of ancient canon law rather than ideal practice. Nothing more radical was being urged in support of reservation.

This complex argument was supported by testimony from medical men and clergy, to establish the pastoral necessity of reservation in large modern town parishes and scattered rural communities. It was the only way of securing the common law rights of the laity under modern conditions.³³⁴

The case against reservation began on 18 July.³³⁵ Counsel drew attention to inadequacies in the arguments of the day before. The prayer book did not ignore the rights of the laity to communion; it provided for them in other ways. Nor did the practices of those who reserved suggest that their prime motive was that suggested by their counsel. A description of eucharistic adoration at Christ Church, Doncaster was compared to Article XXVIII.

The tortuous argument about lay baptism was easily disposed of. Henry's statute did not make lay baptism a lawful alternative to its clerical counterpart. It merely asserted its efficacy in the eyes of the law for purposes of burial. Counsel against reservation did not wish to establish

333 25 Henry VIII cap. 19 sec. 7 quoted in *Ibid.*, p 995.

334 *Ibid.*, p 996.

335 *Guardian*, 26.7.1899, pp 1026-7.

that the reserved sacrament was inefficacious, but unlawful. No attempt was made to contradict the medical or pastoral evidence. If the argument had followed thus far, all it could possibly have established was the desirability of changing the law.

After cross-examination all round, Archbishop Temple closed the proceedings by thanking counsel on both sides. He warned that the large amount of evidence made it unlikely that a decision could be reached for some time.³³⁶ His opinion on incense and lights was delivered on 31 July 1899,³³⁷ and the ruling on reservation on 1 May 1900.³³⁸

The opinion on incense was largely Temple's own work.³³⁹ Its logic was straightforward. Ornaments were not lawful or unlawful in themselves; their meaning was to be inferred from their ceremonial purpose. Therefore only those ornaments which were ceremonially used for ministrations laid down in the book could be regarded as falling within the terms of the rubric. This was the meaning of the phrase "at all times of their ministration." Ornaments not required for such use were not covered by the rubric any more than those which had not been in use in King Edward's second year.³⁴⁰

Making the ornament depend upon the ceremony destroyed the central assertion of counsel for incense, who had distinguished between the two. For Temple, making the ceremony hang on the ornament was allowing the tail to wag the dog. Incense could not therefore be used without further order being taken under the Act of Uniformity. Temple did not exclude the possibility of its use, say, on a great state occasion. This would require a separate order by the Crown.³⁴¹ Its use for the regular services of the Church was unlawful except for purposes of fumigation. This could only be performed before or after the service.³⁴²

Those who had met at Halifax's house on 14 June could hardly have feared a less favourable result. Its content was offensive and it was sure to be ignored by some, but the *Guardian* pointed out how difficult it would be to justify doing this. The old objection to unspiritual jurisdiction could hardly apply to what was not a court. And given that they did not claim the sort of legal status that Benson had in 1892, there was no more spiritual body than the archbishops. Referring the question to the other bishops could only produce a disastrous reiteration of what

336 *Ibid.*, p 1030.

337 *Guardian*, 2.8.1899, p 1054.

338 *Guardian*, 2.5.1900, p 616.

339 E.G.Sandford, *Op. Cit.*, II.295.

340 *Ibid.*, p 296.

341 *Ibid.*, pp 301-2.

342 *Ibid.*, p 302.

Temple had said.³⁴³ E.G.Wood might call the decision *ultra vires*,³⁴⁴ but its procedure could not be contested from the Prayer Book. Failure to heed the opinion would certainly be viewed by the public in a dimmer light than resistance to a secular court for conscience' sake.³⁴⁵

Within the parishes whose cases had been discussed at Lambeth, the decision caused dismay. A furious congregational meeting was held at St Cuthbert's.³⁴⁶ The only motive one of its prominent layman could impute to the Archbishops was fear of the Protestant mob. He wrote straight to Lord Halifax that

if services ... are to be altered and spoilt to please Protestant fanatics, I personally shall be a far more frequent attender at Roman than Anglican churches.³⁴⁷

In fairness to Temple, it is hard to see what had led Anglo-Catholics to expect him to base his opinion on anything but the Act of Uniformity. Their counsel had argued on these grounds, and the Archbishop had never pretended to consider others. Perhaps it was the precedent of the Lincoln case, where Benson had considered the practices in all their aspects. But this was not another Lincoln case; indeed it had been to get Anglo-Catholics to plead that the terms of reference of the tribunal had been altered from Benson's. The scope of the inquiry had always been limited to present formularies.

The Lambeth opinions were a gift to extremists within the Anglo-Catholic party, whose star was rising anyway. Although a numerical minority, their increasingly strident voice was beginning to predominate. This was what Dr Cobb meant when he told Bishop Creighton on 21 August:

the fact is that the main body is reasonable, but has been led by their tail & are [sic] still so led.³⁴⁸

News of the first Lambeth opinion caused little dismay to extremists. In G.W.E.Russell's judgment, it was "only a little worse that I expected," and useful insofar as it released clergy from any moral obligation of obedience.³⁴⁹ In contrast to the SSC May synod, the September one boiled with indignation. The Master opened the meeting with a fighting speech making it clear that real Catholics would sooner suffer the consequences of their actions than give in:

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- 343 A fear raised by R.Bickersteth to H.Westall, 14.8.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.38.
344 See, e.g., E.G.Wood to Ld Halifax, 1.8.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.47.
345 *Guardian*, 2.8.1899, p 1054.
346 Robert Bickersteth, RCED II.245-6 [QQ 11155-11159].
347 R. Bickersteth to Ld Halifax, Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.39.
348 W.F.Cobb to Bp London, 21.8.1899, Fulham Papers box 61.
349 G.W.E.Russell to Ld Halifax, 31.7.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.48

Suffering is what the Church of England wants - suffering is cleansing - suffering is power - suffering is victory.³⁵⁰

Moderates received short shrift at this meeting. T.A.Lacey tried to suggest principles for compromise with particular bishops, but his speech was omitted from the printed *Acta*. Wood, whose contribution was fully reported, called it “a gospel of scepticism.”³⁵¹ The Master and A.R.C.Cocks drew parallels between the present crisis and the period of ritual imprisonments twenty years before.³⁵² R.A.J.Suckling suggested that Westall and Ram had been brought before the archbishops “by very questionable means” and slain by trickery.³⁵³ The only whimper of moderation that was allowed to stand in the minutes was W.B.Trevelyan’s admission of Temple’s personal sincerity. He went on to say that a slight modification of the use of incense might be possible, as long as it was made plain that these were personal favours not an acknowledgement of right.³⁵⁴ Feeling had crystalized around the first Lambeth opinion, bringing about a sharp turn towards confrontation. For anyone to discontinue the use of incense now would not only defy Wood’s œcumenical principle, but betray brethren who stood firm.³⁵⁵

Lord Halifax advised the cautious policy of lying low which had been agreed on 14 June. The Protestant agitation would burn itself out as long as nothing were done to feed it. He told A.R.C.Cocks

Sir W. Harcourt is the greatest friend we have got, and if at this moment we can *all* say and *do nothing* & leave our enemies in the possession of the press they will hang themselves without fail & drive all the *moderate* men into our camp ... We must not have anything like a repetition of what happened in consequence of the Holborn meeting. Any action wh[ich] enabled the *public* to say we were organizing resistance could be disastrous. We ought to be organized *privately* & on the lines that different methods of action will be best in different places. ... The archbishops have made a prodigious blunder, & if we are wise we shall reap the fruit of it, but it requires the gift of prudence just now to secure this.³⁵⁶

This approach to Cocks and the extremists commended itself to R.A.J.Suckling also.³⁵⁷ W.Scott, an advanced Anglo-Catholic, gave Lord Halifax good reason to suppose that he was right about the opinions enlisting outside support. Scott had discussed them with his rural dean (“Coloured stoles, 2 lights at 8 a.m. only”) who ventured what Scott found a remarkable opinion:

350 SSC ix.1899 p 7.

351 *Ibid.*, p 9.

352 *Ibid.*, pp 5 and 11.

353 *Ibid.*, p 8.

354 *Ibid.*, p 10.

355 thus A.R.C.Cocks in *Ibid.*, p 11.

356 Ld Halifax to A.R.C.Cocks, 11.8.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.I.40.

357 R.A.J.Suckling to Ld Halifax, 22.8.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.I.36.

Of course you'll take no notice. the men who make me most angry are those idiots (sic) who 'give up' things on their own motion without waiting even for any directions from their bishops.

If this was how the high church party felt, Scott was sure that Halifax could "carry the ECU 'solid' on a policy of passive resistance."³⁵⁸

The ECU's public reaction was a letter by Lord Halifax to its laymen, combining fighting talk with the recommendation of a low public profile. It reminded members that Temple's hearing had no canonical status. Some might fear the sort of change in their parishes that Scott's rural dean despised. They should remember that if the Act of Uniformity were as enforceable as the Protestant press were suggesting, shilling fines would still be levied for non-attendance at church. Halifax expressed regret that the growing spirit of cooperation between bishops and clergy should have been imperilled, and advised lay members of the union to stand loyally by their clergy, whatever was decided in each parish. The laity must ensure they were not fobbed off with anything less than the use of incense before the start of the liturgy.³⁵⁹

Implementation

Six tense weeks separated the Lambeth opinion on incense from the Bishop of London's first attempt to enforce it. Most members of the SSC thought that Creighton would apply the opinion selectively, having regard for local traditions. They were encouraged to think that the bishop had not turned entirely against them by his appointment of Anglo-Catholics at this time to St Gabriel's Bounds Green³⁶⁰ and St Philip's Clerkenwell.³⁶¹

A circular was sent through rural deans in early September to every London incumbent in whose church it was thought possible that incense or portable lights were used. The discontinuance of both was requested.³⁶² The recipients held two meetings to work out their reply, a "caucus" at George Russell's house on 7 September,³⁶³ and a larger meeting at St Alban's Holborn six days later for all who used incense. The purpose of this last meeting was to lay down lines for "common

358 W.Scott to Ld Halifax, 21.8.[1899], Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.37.

359 Copy in Stepney MSS 1899/2.

360 W.Mirrielees (St Thomas' Regent Street).

361 T.C.Elsdon, secretary of the SSC. See R.A.J.Suckling to Ld Halifax, 22.8.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.36.

362 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II, pp 376-7. Although written in late August, H.Wilson was sent the copy for St Augustine's Stepney on 2 September. (A.E.Dalton to H.Wilson, 2.9.1899, and enclosure, Stepney MSS 1899/4)

363 G.W.E.Russell to H.Wilson, 5.9.[1899]. Stepney MSS ND/1.

and united action.”³⁶⁴ The SSC recommended men to follow St Alban’s and St Peter’s London Docks,³⁶⁵ remembering that St Cuthbert’s might have compromised itself into compliance by allowing its case to go to Lambeth. It had no way of knowing that St Alban’s and St Peter’s were about to take completely different lines of action to one another.

St Peter’s London Docks simply adhered to the Holborn Town Hall resolutions. L.S.Wainright could see no reason for not following them for the present at least.³⁶⁶ No arrangement had hitherto been agreed with the bishop, and along with a number of other parishes, Wainright and others refused to compromise.³⁶⁷

To encourage such resistance, on the day of the St Alban’s hall meeting Wood wrote and sent all sympathetic clergy a private *Statement of Reasons why an Episcopal Injunction (founded upon the Archbishop’s Opinion) to abandon ceremonial use of incense cannot canonically be obeyed*.³⁶⁸ The only authority which could curtail the use of incense was the whole church. This statement described the ideological position those who resisted compromise. Its message was reinforced by frequent trips to Cambridge for Wood’s counsel and encouragement.³⁶⁹ They took the view that the abolition of incense was beyond the powers of any provincial authority, and this left them nothing to offer the bishop by way of concession.

It must not be thought, however, that Wood’s Holborn Town Hall position was the only Anglo-Catholic position. Those who opposed it did so, above all, from a feeling that Wood’s whole concept of the church was too unreal and legalistic. Henry Scott Holland put his objections thus:

There is the temper against which every fibre in my body protests - the temper of the *lawyer* who throws history into a strait-jacket - the temper that has no touch on living breathing facts of flesh and blood, but is pedantic, artificial, inhuman.

Yet God is a God of *History*, of Facts - not a God of jurisprudence.

It is funny enough to jump from S. Paul’s “We have no such custom” to the conclusion “if there ever was a custom that was general, you cannot get rid of it for you have lost the proper machinery for undoing it.” S. Paul dealt always with the facts in front of him, & would never ignore immense changes of situation. That is his note of sanity.

364 G.B.Roberts to H.Wilson, 31.8.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/3. see R.A.J.Suckling to Ld Halifax, 22.8.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.36.

365 F.L.Ware in SSC ix.1899 p 9.

366 For an explanation of Wainright’s attitude to incense at St Peter’s see L.Menzies, *Father Wainright: a Record*, London, 1947, pp 32-33.

367 See H.Wilson to A. E. Dalton, 6.9.1899, Stepney Papers 1899/4.3

368 13.9.1899. Copy in Stepney MSS 1899/6.

369 See, e.g., E.G.Wood to Harry Wilson, 28.10.[1899], Stepney Papers 1899/8 and others.

But where is the value of Wood's constant parallel of the Town Council, or the Parliament, when the sole question at issue for us lies in the fact that our "Town Council" has had no "Parliament" for 300 years, and has not got one now...

The answer is difficult enough: but it will most certainly be got, not by considering the Church as a complete system of jurisprudence, but by recognizing it as an Organic Life, a living Creature, of which any component part is alive, & can still live united to the One Head, in the unity of the unbroken Spirit.

Where, again, do we learn that the "quod ubique" can be isolated from the "quod semper?"

...This is not a hopeful way of providing us with a "living voice."³⁷⁰

The practical implication of rejecting Wood's position was willingness to limit the use of incense to processions before services, as the ECU had suggested might be necessary.³⁷¹ The day after the meeting of 14 September, R.A.J.Suckling announced such a temporary measure at St Alban's Holborn. Thirty-seven other London churches followed suit, including St Cuthbert's Philbeach Gardens.³⁷²

These churches collaborated on a joint reply to the bishop, drawing a parallel with the Lincoln judgment. This had allowed the mixed chalice, as long as it was not ceremonially mixed during the service. A similar line was to be taken over incense. Although Wood disagreed,³⁷³ the first group hoped that its use in processions outside the liturgy would establish its ultimate status as an "universal duty." They hoped that their restraint would satisfy the bishop for now. The letter ended by reminding the bishop of the confused state of the church courts, and begged him to lay no unnecessary burdens on tender consciences.³⁷⁴ By 21 September the Vicar of St John's Kennington reckoned that a similar arrangement was imminent throughout the diocese of Rochester.³⁷⁵

This accommodation was initially refused by twenty-one London churches. These included St Augustine's Kilburn, St Mary Magdalene's Munster Square, and St Matthew's Westminster, along with the Haggerston churches. Sixteen clergy from these parishes, led by A.W.Hanbury-Tracy and W.B.Trevelyan, met Bishop Creighton on 16 October.³⁷⁶ The bishop warned that the Archbishop had made it impossible for him to sanction the use of incense during services, but he did

370 H. Scott Holland to H.Wilson, n.d., Stepney MSS ND/5.

371 G.W.E.Russell, *Op. Cit.*, p 237. see H. Longdon (Churchwarden) to Bp London, 11.10.1899 in Fulham Papers box 496.

372 Creighton's thanks to Westall in Bp London to H. Westall 3.10.1899 [copy], Hickleton Papers 270.3.II 97.

373 See, e.g., Wood, *Statement.*, § 8, p 4.

374 Incumbents' letter, 11.9.1899, in Stepney MSS 1899/5.

375 Thus C.E.Brooke to Ld Halifax, 20.9.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.I.47.

376 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.380-1.

appear to understand his visitors' dilemma. The bishop's personal sympathy and his willingness to explain his own difficulties led eighteen of the twenty-one to agree to forego incense during the liturgy for the present.³⁷⁷ Effectively, they had come in with the St Alban's arrangement - moderation in return for protection.³⁷⁸

We must not underestimate the fragility of this agreement. When rumours in the church press suggested that the Archbishop of York was willing to countenance prosecutions to support the Lambeth opinions,³⁷⁹ the eighteen wrote to Creighton to tell him that they could not be bound if such action were contemplated in London.³⁸⁰

True, the compliance Creighton had now been offered was imperfect. The Bishop of Marlborough was particularly anxious lest Creighton take it for honest submission:

This sort of personal and particular treatment is neither dignified nor efficacious. These individuals are really a Body and each one reports to the other members all the Bishop says or does. And on the face of it, the so-called falling into line is not intended for a final settlement nor can it be received as *Obedience* to the Bishop. It is conditional obedience which is not obedience - the mind of bargaining not of submission...³⁸¹

For all their reservations, Trevelyan's group represented a considerable catch for the Bishop of London. It appeared that the majority of those who had signed the Osnaburgh Street resolutions and then swung over to the uncompromising position adopted at Holborn Town Hall were now ready to accept regulation. Canon Scott Holland advised Bishop Creighton to be content with what he had achieved, rather than risking it in an attempt to secure total compliance.³⁸²

W.H.Bleaden of St Mary Magdalene, Paddington, was the last of the eighteen to signal his compliance. E.G.Wood tried hard, but in vain, to prevent it.³⁸³ This left him three "stalwarts," L.S.Wainright (St Peter's London Docks), Harry Wilson (St Augustine's Stepney), and H.M.M.Evans (St Michael's Shoreditch). Clergy throughout the land

377 W.B.Trevelyan's account in a memo, 16.10.1899, encl in W.B.Trevelyan to Bp London (AFWI), 6.7.1901, Fulham Papers 113.

378 Offered, e.g. to St Matthew's Westminster and St Clement's city road at this time. W.B.Trevelyan to Bp London (AFWI), 6.7.1901, Fulham Papers box 113.

379 *Guardian*, 1.11.1899, p 1541.

380 J.N.Burrows and others to Bp London, [(after) 1.]11.1899, Fulham Papers box 113.

381 Bp Marlborough to Bp London, n.d. [1899], Fulham Papers box 61.

382 H. Scott Holland to Bp London, 10.11.1899, Fulham Papers box 61.

383 See, e.g., Wood to H.Wilson, 28.10.[1899], Stepney MSS 1899/8 describes EGW's apparently successful attempts to detach him from the other seventeen Bleaden's eventual compliance is indicated by his not being one of the recalcitrants summoned to London House on 6 November, but see below, note 421.

who refused to give up incense during the liturgy formed themselves into a “vigilance committee,” organized by the secretary of the SSC, William Crouch of Gamlingay. This committee had eleven members, including the Master (G.C.Ommanney), C.R.Chase of All Saints’ Plymouth, and A.R.C.Cocks of Brighton. There were no London or Rochester clergy except Wilson, Wainright and Evans.³⁸⁴

One source of pressure on this rump was their colleagues who had compromised. They had undertaken with Bishop Creighton to use their good offices in this way.³⁸⁵ Thus W.B.Trevelyan wrote to Harry Wilson on 3 November, arguing that the only barrier to a solution was the vagueness of the term “ceremonial use.”³⁸⁶

Creighton interviewed the three on 6 November.³⁸⁷ There was precious little goodwill or mutual confidence at this meeting, although Harry Wilson described Creighton’s personal manner throughout as “kind and courteous.”³⁸⁸ Evans arrived first:

It struck me after I left you that you & W[ainright] must have thought it rather odd finding me already in the lion’s den; the fact was I had accidentally met Mr Birkbeck³⁸⁹ on my way to London House, & he told me that he had just left a note there for me putting me up to one or two tips in case the B[ishop] said certain things, but that plainly if Mandell saw his letter he would be fox enough to prevent my getting it till after the interview, and sure enough the moment I arrived I was almost beaten by that old butler into the Episcopal presence, and there I had to sit until you two arrived while the Bishop was interviewing other people. I need hardly say that I took precious good care not to commit myself or the cause to anything.³⁹⁰

The interview began somewhat nervously on all sides:

The bishop asked us what we had got to say, and we replied that we had not called this meeting & had nothing to say to him; but of course we were willing to listen and consider anything that he might say to us. This attitude was maintained throughout. No attempt was made to meet his arguments.³⁹¹

During the course of what sounds like an embarrassing monologue, the bishop was understood to have threatened the three with legal action. At first, Creighton was thought to have acknowledged the canonical invalidity of the Church Discipline Act, 1840. Towards the end he seemed to contradict this, giving the impression that it was his only weapon,

384 List in W.Crouch to H.Wilson, Stepney MSS 1899/9.

385 W.B.Trevelyan, memo, 16.10.1899, encl in W.B.Trevelyan to Bp London (AFWI), 6.7.1901, Fulham Papers 113.

386 W.B.Trevelyan to H.Wilson, 3.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/10.

387 Official account in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.382. The present narrative follows the memo of the incident prepared by Harry Wilson in Stepney MSS 1899/12.

388 H.Wilson, Memo, 6.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/12 p 1.

389 W.J.Birkbeck.

390 H.M.M.Evans to H.Wilson, 7.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/17.

391 H.Wilson, Memo, 6.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/12 p 1.

and he would have to use it. It is hard to interpret this as anything but bluff, for Creighton must have known by then that prosecution was out of the question. The mere threat of it would shipwreck his precarious agreement with the eighteen.³⁹²

In an attempt to lighten the atmosphere, or perhaps from irritation or embarrassment, Creighton then committed one of the only major diplomatic blunders of his episcopate - a joke which backfired. The bishop answered L.S.Wainright's protestation of the harm it would do to souls to give up incense by saying that he seemed to believe that souls, like herrings, could only be cured with smoke.³⁹³ At that time, in that place, it is impossible to over-emphasize how radically un-funny this comment was. Wainright answered with "an earnest protest."³⁹⁴ The magnitude of the *gaffe* was not lost on Louise Creighton:

when he told me of it, and I said, 'you ought not to have said that,' he answered, 'Yes, I know I ought not, but it was irresistible.'³⁹⁵

The unhelpful effect of the joke was reinforced by a threat which seemingly subverted the bishop's position. Harry Wilson understood Creighton to say

that it was a free country, and we could attach ourselves to that form of religion which suited us best³⁹⁶

Wilson took this for "a deliberate attempt to drive us over to Rome." However it was intended, this was how it was taken and, as such, it made Creighton's public protestations of tolerance ring hollow.

This unconstructive impression was made worse by the joke, which gave an appearance of not taking the issue seriously. The story began its progress into Anglo-Catholic mythology³⁹⁷ as Harry Wilson took the next train to Cambridge and reported the bishop's blunders to E.G.Wood and the vigilance committee.³⁹⁸ From there they were relayed throughout the land on cyclostyled sheets.

Wilson returned from Cambridge and sent the bishop a letter Wood had drafted, asking him to confirm in writing which court he intended to use to prosecute them.³⁹⁹ Calling the bishop's bluff seemed to work

392 *Ibid*, p 2. He would have known of the probable effect of prosecution on the others from J.N.Burrows and others to Bp London, [(after) 1.]11.1899, Fulham Papers box 113.

393 *Ibid*.

394 *Ibid.*, marginal note in LSW's hand.

395 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.382.

396 Wilson, memo, p 2.

397 For a recent and slightly garbled version see, e.g., Richard Holloway in the *Church Times*, 18.12.1987, p 11.

398 Memo, p 1 and E.G.Wood to H.Wilson, 6.11.1899, (inviting Wilson to Cambridge) Stepney MSS 1899/14.

399 H.Wilson to Bp London, 6.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/15.

admirably. Creighton had no answer except the one he had given at the meeting.⁴⁰⁰ The Act of 1892, the basis of which Wood rejected anyway, related only to money and morals. There was no legal weapon except the Act of 1840, which went on final appeal to the Privy Council. If Creighton had intended the threat of legal action to move matters along, he had failed.

Worse still, the Anglo-Catholic bush telegraph was now humming with stories of impending prosecution under an act which had proved impossible to enforce in the last forty years, a statute which any ECU member knew how to contest.⁴⁰¹ The Duke of Newcastle told Wilson he found the bishop's attitude "perfectly amazing."⁴⁰² Lord Halifax reassured Wilson that if the bishop meant what he had said

our line is perfectly clear; an absolute Non Possumus, no pleading, nothing but a dogged resistance.

Unless indeed he offers such terms as practically leave the Victory in our hands.⁴⁰³

As the circulation of Wilson's account of the interview on 6 November diminished Creighton's stature among Anglo-Catholics in general, so his comments inspired little anxiety among the three to whom he had originally addressed them. The day after, Evans wrote to Wilson:

I shall be very interested to see whether it wasn't all bluff on his part after all; I know he was dying to be able to report progress to the B[isho]ps meeting on the 14th.⁴⁰⁴

The eighteen incumbents who had compromised with the Bishop were shaken by the contents of Wilson's memo.⁴⁰⁵ On 10 November W.B.Trevelyan wrote to Wilson in an entirely different spirit to his letter of the week before:

It of course changes the whole situation - if the B[isho]ps prosecute - and we shall all have to stand by you people.⁴⁰⁶

By the time reports of the meeting were filtering into the press,⁴⁰⁷ Wood felt able to reassure Wilson that the three had their bishop on the run:

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- 400 Bp London to H.Wilson, 7.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/16.
401 Thus R. W. Burnie to H.Wilson, 7.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/18.
402 Duke of Newcastle to H.Wilson, 8.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/19.
403 Ld Halifax to H.Wilson, 9.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/21.
404 H.M.M.Evans to H.Wilson, 7.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/17.
405 A threat reported by F.L.Ware to the SSC (SSC xii.1899 p 2)
406 W.B.Trevelyan to H.Wilson, 10.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/24.
407 See, e.g., *Daily Mail*, 11.11.1899, and *Daily Chronicle*, 11.11.1899, enclosed in Alfred Berlyn [journalist] to Bp London, 11.11.1899, Fulham Papers box 61 and comments in the *Standard*qv in E.G.Wood to H.Wilson, 11.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/26 and *Times*, 13.11.1899 in Stepney MSS 1899/34.

He is very uncomfortable - he is almost crying out to you to be merciful to him! Clearly I think he was "trying it on" in his interview with you & is now trying to "hedge" a bit."⁴⁰⁸

In this letter Wood went on to suggest that anything Creighton did now to extricate himself from the hole into which he had fallen would "activate hosts of censers" throughout the land.⁴⁰⁹ The bishop's attempt to bring Wilson Wainright and Evans into line was as embarrassing a failure as his earlier negotiations with Trevelyan's eighteen incumbents had been a success. Scott Holland had been quite right in advising Creighton to leave well alone, advice reiterated in a letter of 13 November:

Must there not always be a residue of geese everywhere? And when it is their conscience that cackles it is obviously provoking.

But then life is spent in preventing the few impossibles from pulling the house down [around] our ears and the aim of life is to isolate them from companions and resources...

We know what the government does with a Board of Guardians that doesn't vaccinate. It talks: scolds: threatens: boycotts: but it sets its wits to avoid sending them to prison. That would be the one fatal conclusion...⁴¹⁰

Bishop Talbot of Rochester offered Creighton similar counsel at this time.⁴¹¹

When he had been Bishop of London, Temple had told those who complained about ritual that it was better to do nothing than to attempt to exercise powers he had not got. Such a course could only undermine his whole authority, in ritual and other matters.⁴¹² Now, for the first time in his episcopate, this was happening to Creighton. What Wood called "trying it on" produced nothing but contempt.

The Bishop of London had now lost the initiative. When, on 13 November, he requested another meeting with the three to "begin again at the beginning" after the misunderstandings of 6 November,⁴¹³ Wilson deferred a full reply while seeking Wood's advice,⁴¹⁴ and eventually refused.⁴¹⁵ Matters seemed to have reached a dead end. Temple's opinion precluded Creighton from sanctioning any use of incense. Thus deprived of carrots, the only stick to hand was the flimsy antique of 1840, which had not budged a mule in fifty years. All that remained was

408 See, e.g., Wood to H. Wilson, 12.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/31.

409 *Ibid.*, p 2.

410 H. Scott Holland to Bp London, 13.11.1899, Fulham Papers box 61.

411 Bp Rochester to Bp London, 13.11.1899, Fulham Papers box 61.

412 See, e.g., Bp London (FT) to W. M. Brown, 18.11.1887, Fulham Papers box 192.

413 Bp London to H. Wilson, 13.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/33.

414 H. Wilson to Bp London, 14.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/36. Letter written for him by E.G. Wood in Stepney MSS 1899/37-8.

415 H. Wilson to Bp London, n.d., Stepney MSS 1899/39.

personal entreaty. He met Wilson's letter declining a further interview with hurt dignity:

I could not conceive that any clergyman could be satisfied by answering a request from his bishop by the simple statement that he did not propose to pay any attention to it. I still do not believe that you wish the matter to rest there.⁴¹⁶

On 9 December Creighton asked for another meeting,⁴¹⁷ and was again refused, with a pompous riposte, drafted mainly by E.G.Wood, asking him to define "ceremonial use."⁴¹⁸

Creighton's last letter for the present tried to summarize the position, with an uncharacteristically dark threat that excessive individualism might require repressive measures.⁴¹⁹ This letter reflected a decision by a Bishops' meeting the day before. There it was claimed that all but 33 out of 320 users of incense in England had complied with the opinion. The Bishops decided that contumacious clergy should be refused confirmations and curates' licences and boycotted by bishops

But it was agreed that anything like prosecution should be avoided⁴²⁰

Before the meeting, the Bishop of Rochester had warned Creighton of the desperate loss of credibility that would follow any prosecution:

to prosecute is to acknowledge we have failed, & to call in a new manner of proceeding. ... we ought not to let ⁴²¹ self-willed men govern the situation, & spoil a result which has been gained by so much pains & effort, by such conscientious sacrifice, on one side & the other.⁴²²

In these terms, Creighton had lost the first round of the battle for enforcement, in spite of the fragile compliance of the first fifty-five incumbents.

One final incident of 1899 showed the strain which the church crisis was putting on loyalties within the ECU. Anglo-Catholics did not think the *Guardian* a Catholic paper like the *Church Review*. All the same it was generally held to be the most authoritative church newspaper. The *Guardian's* editor, D.C.Lathbury, was personally sympathetic to Anglo-Catholicism, which he thought to be the faith of the future. He had also built up an impressive range of contacts within the ECU

416 Bp London to H.Wilson, 22.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/40.

417 Bp London to H.Wilson, 9.12.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/43.

418 H.Wilson to Bp London, 8.12.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/42. [in EGW's hand] and 1899/44 (as sent).

419 Bp London to H.Wilson, 15.1.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/45.

420 Bishops Meeting 14.12.1899 minute 3. (Lambeth Palace MSS)

421 Implying that Bleaden was still implicated with Wilson, Wainright and Evans in Talbot's mind. Nothing in the surviving correspondence of the three confirms this as late as 13.11.1899.

422 Bp Rochester to Bp London, 13.11.1899, Fulham Papers box 61.

Lathbury's proprietors did not agree with their editor about the whole attitude he had taken to the Lambeth hearings. Matters came to a head over an editorial on "Mr Balfour and the Ritualists," published on 22 November. Balfour, leader of the government in the Commons, had suggested that the real answer to church troubles would come when the moderate majority on both sides united. Lathbury thought that this underestimated entirely the true meaning and depth of division:

The so-called moderate men on each side are more in sympathy with the extremists of their own party than with the moderate men on the other side. ... If there is a "moderate party," it will consist, not of moderate Evangelicals or moderate High Churchmen, but of the indifferent.⁴²³

The article went on to criticize Protestant misgivings about church reform. A hostile reader could detect disloyalty to the existing machinery of the church in this enthusiasm for reform. Lathbury was summoned by his proprietors and summarily dismissed.⁴²⁴

The proprietors' misgivings about Lathbury were shared by other *Guardian* readers. On 26 February 1900, Hensley Henson, nearing the end of his time at the Ilford hospital, wrote to the paper's new editor, The Revd W. Hobhouse:

the church cannot afford to lose the *Guardian*, or, what is the same thing, to have the *Guardian* dwarfed and distorted into the service of a faction. I regret the necessity of Lathbury's retirement, but I have no doubt at all as to its necessity...⁴²⁵

In the same letter Henson offered three guiding principles for the *Guardian's* new editor:

1. He will back the bishops against the priests; it is the issue of the Catholic Church against Congregationalism.
2. He will back the new criticism against the medievalists. It is the issue of intellectual self-respect against traditionalism.
3. He will uniformly discourage associations within the Church. ... these associations are incompatible with episcopal government on the one hand, and personal liberty on the other.⁴²⁶

Bishop Talbot of Rochester thought Lathbury's demise "a disaster."⁴²⁷ It seemed to be a deliberate move to isolate Anglo-Catholics from high churchmen. This was how Lathbury understood it, when he told Lord Halifax he had been sacrificed to his employers' fear of extremism:

423 *Guardian*, 22.11.1899 p 1637.

424 D.C.Lathbury to Ld Halifax, 29.11.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.II.117

425 E.F.Braley (ed), *Letters of H. H. Henson*, London, 1951, p 4.

426 *Ibid.*

427 Bp Rochester to Ld Halifax, 16.12.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.II.115.

The part of the proprietors is evidently to build the sepulchre of the prophets, while mine is to be 'slain between the porch and the altar.'⁴²⁸

For Charles Gore, circulating among Anglo-Catholics and two years away from the episcopate, Lathbury's removal was bad news. It denied the Catholic movement an important support:

The Guardian has changed its principles. ... whatever it may profess now, it will go squish as soon as any pressure comes.⁴²⁹

Between opinions - enforcement and conversions

The last year of the nineteenth century began with bitter frustration all round. The two years of crisis since the St Ethelburga's scandal had provided no real satisfaction to Protestants in parliament. The only reason they had not been more active of late was the crisis in South Africa, which reached its nadir in the public mind in December 1899.⁴³⁰ This was the "black week" beginning on the 10th which included the defeats of Magersfontein,⁴³¹ Stormberg⁴³² and Colenso.⁴³³ Along with casualty lists on a scale which had not been seen for forty years,⁴³⁴ the week brought about the removal of Sir Redvers Buller, and his replacement by Roberts and Kitchener.⁴³⁵ Matters did not improve immediately in the new year. Although bad news stimulated recruiting, recruits and their families cannot have been heartened by the loss of 1,500 men at Spion Kop on 24-5 January 1900.⁴³⁶ From now until the relief of Mafeking on 17 May everything seemed to hang in the balance. Public and parliamentary attention was devoted in the main to a subject which seemed more immediate and critical than church ritual.⁴³⁷

Since the first Lambeth opinion, Anglo-Catholics had resorted to Boer tactics in the face of superior strength. The majority of those who used incense had run to earth, but resistance had hardened in the SSC laager, Crouch's vigilance committee. The successful skirmish of Wilson, Wainright and Evans had crowned the "stalwarts" with success. The

428 D.C.Lathbury to Ld Halifax, 21.12.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.II.114.

429 Quoted by D.C.Lathbury from private conversation in D.C.Lathbury to Ld Halifax, 31.12.1899, Hickleton Papers, 270.3.I.42.

430 R.C.K.Ensor, *Op. Cit.*, 253.

431 Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War*, London, 1982 edition, pp 201-6, 215.

432 *Ibid.*, pp 214-5.

433 *Ibid.*, pp 224-41, 324.

434 F.Maurice and M.H.Grant, *Official History of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902*, London, 1906, I.462-70.

435 T. Pakenham, *Op.Cit.*, p 244-9.

436 *Ibid.*, pp 288-307.

437 Annual Register, 1900, I.93.

majority who had compromised wondered now whether they had done the right thing.

Dark rumours about bishops preoccupied the first three monthly chapters of the SSC in 1900. Evidence that they were acting in concert was drawn from York,⁴³⁸ Plymouth⁴³⁹ and Bristol.⁴⁴⁰ The January chapter recommended the *Church Review* to brethren,⁴⁴¹ probably in response to Lathbury's demise at the *Guardian*. It was suggested that Wood and Crouch would strengthen their credibility if, for the first time in their lives, they began to use incense;⁴⁴² this they duly did.⁴⁴³

By March some of the men who had compromised with Creighton began to back-pedal, asking the bishop if they might use incense for Easter. Creighton replied that it was not worth disturbing matters, comparing himself to a coachman whose responsibility it was to steer the coach without overturning it.⁴⁴⁴ He appealed to Westall not to give any appearance that the undertaking that had been given was not *ex animo*.⁴⁴⁵ W.Scott suggested a clever riposte to the bishop's remark about coachmen

'True, My Lord,' Mr Westall might have replied, 'but in a *fog* the coachman, from his box, sees no further than anyone else can, while the horses (poor unreasoning beasts) can at least feel the solid ground under their feet, and sometimes their instinct will lead them safely home.'⁴⁴⁶

Moves were afoot in the public arena. On 19 January the Duke of Newcastle led a deputation to Lambeth to protest against Temple's opinion.⁴⁴⁷ A petition from 13,794 lay communicants was presented. It rejected the grounds of the opinion, and warned that any attempts to enforce it would lead to disestablishment. Its tone was strident, denouncing the archbishop's attempt to "foist upon the church" an act of state, a survival from the age of Tudor autocracy. The petition reflected the sense of betrayal there had been at St Cuthbert's, where people were

The more aggrieved because we were led to suppose that your Grace had intended to investigate the questions upon the principles of Catholic law and

438 SSC, i.1900 p 5.

439 SSC, ii.1900 p 9, SSC iii.1900 p 4.

440 SSC, ii.1900 pp 7 and 9.

441 SSC, i.1900 p 6.

442 Call to do so by F.F.Irving, SSC ii.1900 p 9.

443 SSC iii.1900 p 6.

444 Bp London to H. Westall, 3.4.1900 in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.424.

445 Bp London to H. Westall, 31.3.1900, *Ibid.*, p 423.

446 W.Scott, "An 'advanced' view of the 'Church Crisis'," NC, April 1901, p 692.

447 Quoted by the Earl of Portsmouth in a hostile sense in HL 16.7.1900, *Hansard*, IV.86 col 16.

custom and liturgical science, and not upon the construction of the alleged law of the state.⁴⁴⁸

Replying, Temple gave as good as he got. He pointed out that the "law of the state" which had caused such offence was actually part of the Prayer Book, the canonical authority was secured by canon XXXVI of 1604. Nobody could pretend that incense had been used "always." No practice which failed to meet this Vincentian requirement could be simply "œcumenical."⁴⁴⁹ An interesting parallel may be drawn to a statement of the Bishop of Salisbury earlier in the year. He told J.R.Sanderson that if the Church of England banned it, reservation would, *ipso facto*, cease to be an œcumenical custom, if it ever had been.⁴⁵⁰

Temple went on to tell the deputation that he found the tone of its address difficult to reconcile with an elementary grasp of Catholic principles of authority. He regretted the necessarily one-sided appearance of his decision, but thought it absurd to call a tribunal with no coercive power an organ of autocracy. The hearing had dealt with Catholic addition more than low church subtraction because

those who break the law by omission ... do not claim that the Church Catholic commands them to do so.

Finally, Temple warned those who were threatening disestablishment that they might fare rather worse in a free church with an enforceable system of discipline.⁴⁵¹ This interview, frank as it was on both sides, did little to promote mutual sympathy. Relations between Anglo-Catholics and the Anglican *magisterium*, as represented by Temple, had now effectively broken down.

Men who were far from being rabid Anglo-Catholics felt disquiet at the limited scope and authoritarian tone of Temple's opinion. William Sanday, for example, was sorry that the Archbishops had limited themselves to clarifying present law, rather than assessing the issues in themselves. By so doing

the Archbishop's decision thus brings into relief the possibility that there may be some practices which, though Catholic in themselves, are not consistent with the Laws of the Church of England.⁴⁵²

This thought was, in Sanday's judgment, inherently distasteful. Hiding behind past formularies seemed to him a failure of leadership in an

448 *Guardian*, 24.1.1900, p 141.

449 A line taken also by F.G.C.F.Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship*, (Alcuin Club) London, 1909, p 372.

450 SSC v.1899 p 11. This is exactly the sort of Provincialism that most annoyed Anglo-Catholics.

451 Temple's reply summarized in E.G.Sandford, *Op. Cit.*, II.302-4.

452 W.Sanday, *The Catholic Movement and the Archbishop's Decision*, London, 1899, p 7.

age of ecclesiastical expansion. Temple's course was retrograde, insofar as it represented a bar to those better relations with the great communions of the church which Sanday believed lay inevitably in the future.⁴⁵³

Temple's opinions, welcomed by most of the bishops, had cut the ground from bishop Creighton's negotiating position, by depriving him of anything to offer. Hall was out of it; Trevelyan, Suckling and Villiers were out of it. Now the bishop faced Wilson, Wainright and Evans. Throughout the party, the earlier spirit of cooperation had subsided into chilly and uncertain silence. The threat of another Lambeth opinion, this time on reservation, hung in the air. Rumours about the date and contents of this judgment further poisoned relationships. The Bishop of London would enter the next struggle with his weakness exposed by the three, and circulated among all their friends on duplicated sheets.

Bishop Creighton could do little to restore his position with ritualists to what it had been before the previous November. A reputation for worldliness was depressing his stock with advanced Anglo-Catholics. H.W.G.Kenrick, J.B.Croft and W.Scott reported to the SSC in March the bishop's personal laxity about the eucharistic fast.⁴⁵⁴ In January, he was seen out dancing with his wife; D.C.Lathbury wondered whether Lord Halifax knew

what does the Bishop of London do with his pectoral cross when he is dancing[?] ... I assumed that he handed it to his Chaplain to hold, but I am told that the Chaplain himself dances every dance⁴⁵⁵

On 21 February, Creighton delivered a visitation charge in St Paul's Cathedral.⁴⁵⁶ The bishop did not intend to single out ritualists. As usual, he wished to promote a conception of the church's high calling which transcended party considerations. If pressure groups claimed their "privileges" regardless of the unitive mission of the whole church, they lost touch with reality far more dangerously than they would do by failing to observe supposedly "œcumenical" customs. Liturgies were not expressions of solidarity with foreign Catholicism, but means of training in godliness. The real mission of the church was to christianize the whole nation:⁴⁵⁷

453 *Ibid.*, p 15.

454 SSC iii.1900 p 5.

455 D.C.Lathbury to Ld Halifax, 14.1.1900, Hickleton Papers 270.3.III.125.

456 M. Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, 287-323.

457 A precise definition of this concept as Creighton held it, modelled on what he saw as a Biblical sense of history, may be found in Sermon XVII in M.Creighton, *University and other sermons*, London, 1903, pp 226-241.

With the cry sounding in our ears, "Arise, shine," how can we waste time by disputing about the shape of the lanterns?⁴⁵⁸

This appeal was wildly offensive to Anglo-Catholics. It appeared to trivialize the practices for which they contended. The moderate Anglo-Catholic Canon Newbolt called Creighton's charge

A most unpleasant pronouncement, in which the Catholic party were held up to reprobation before applauding Islington.⁴⁵⁹

Advanced men reacted more strongly. A.H.Stanton wrote to Lord Halifax:

What are we to do with the bishop of London! It is disgraceful and disgracing ... it is all a piece of playing to the gallery.⁴⁶⁰

Myddleton Evans of St Michael's Shoreditch thought the charge another abominable weight on his shoulders:

The Bishop of London's charge seems too disgusting for words, and it is hard to think that he did not know better. ... If we here were to obey half that he enjoins, the few people we have caught would be scattered to the winds - I am in the depth of despair whenever I think about it all but luckily I have not much time to do so - ⁴⁶¹

The reaction within the SSC was furious. W.Scott admitted Creighton's cleverness, but said that the bishop's general tone made him feel sick.⁴⁶² E.G.Wood denounced the charge as evidence of a wholly inadequate attitude to religion:

Dr Creighton's position towards the Catholic movement is that he despises us all ... the whole tendency is to humanize religion.⁴⁶³

A meeting of London incumbents was held on 23 April, along similar lines to the one which had met at Halifax's house to discuss the impending incense opinion.⁴⁶⁴ Eighteen clergy met at St Barnabas Pimlico with prominent laymen including Halifax, George Russell and Shaw-Stewart, to work out a policy on reservation. They were against producing a petition or address to the Archbishop. Rather they drafted a model letter which might be used by clergy when they heard from their own bishops.⁴⁶⁵ Comparison with the meeting of the previous June shows how the atmosphere had changed. The first meeting had discussed the divisive effect of an opinion which some would obey and some ignore. The second one assumed that everybody who was practising reservation would disobey. The model letter begged bishops not

458 *Ibid.*, p 323.

459 W.C.E.Newbolt to Ld Halifax, 26.2.1900, Hickleton Papers 270.3.III.138.

460 A.H.Stanton to Ld Halifax, 24.2.1900, Hickleton Papers 270.3.III.123.

461 H.M.M.Evans to Ld Halifax, 22.2.1900, Hickleton Papers 270.3.III.124.

462 SSC iii.1900 p 4.

463 *Ibid.*, p 5.

464 Memo, n.d. [23.4.1900], in Stepney MSS 1900/P.

465 Printed copy with H.Wilson's annotations in Stepney MSS 1900/P.

to put their clergy “in a position of cruel difficulty,” torn between loyalty to their bishops and to the church.

Reservation was, in fact, rather a different issue to incense, as were the arguments which had been used to justify it. At first sight, there was far less warrant for it in the Prayer Book. Its dogmatic implications were greater, however, for it touched on eucharistic doctrine. Anglo-Catholics who used incense did so from œcumenical theories which only a few were prepared to stand up for in practice - three out of fifty-eight in London. Forbidding reservation seemed to deny the holiness of eucharistic elements.⁴⁶⁶ Even those who did not reserve would stand with the others rather than go back on the doctrine of the eucharist for which Archdeacon Denison had contended almost fifty years before.

The Lambeth opinion on reservation was delivered on 1 May. Ignoring the rather different character of the arguments on this subject, Temple took much the same line as before.⁴⁶⁷ The Archbishop distinguished three forms of reservation; extended communion, use for the sick in an emergency, and reservation for purposes of adoration. The first was against the rubric directing consumption. The second ignored the provision of “spiritual communion” in the prayer book. The third was flatly against the thirty-nine articles, as Temple read them. To sum up, the law in its present form forbade all forms of reservation, even the ancient practice of extended communion. It was permissible to press for changes in the law, but not to break it. On the ingenious analogy to lay baptism Temple agreed with counsel against reservation, that it established the efficacy of communion from the reserved sacrament, but not its lawfulness.⁴⁶⁸

The judgment had a sting in its tail which was particularly offensive to Anglo-Catholics. In the course of evidence they had said that one reason they could not celebrate in sick rooms was that it would necessitate breaking the eucharistic fast. Temple suggested that eucharistic fasting need not require total abstinence from food, just a diminution in the amount eaten. Anyway, fasting was a means to a devotional end, not something which might be held to affect the validity of the sacrament.⁴⁶⁹ As well as providing a new provincial definition of fasting, this part of the opinion appeared to value pastoral functionalism more highly than what Anglo-Catholics took to be the law of the church.

George Russell called this opinion a “disaster.” A restatement of the present rubrics, although offensive, would not have mattered too much.

466 Thus E.G.Wood in SSC v.1900 p 13.

467 *Guardian*, 2.5.1900, pp 611-2.

468 Summary in E.G.Sandford, *Op. Cit.*, II.304-308.

469 *Ibid.*, p 308.

What caused offence was Temple's apparent dismissal of the legitimacy of eucharistic adoration. Not only was the Archbishop's concept of fasting defective, but he seemed to believe it had the force of law.⁴⁷⁰ Russell sugared the pill of this apparent affront to Catholicity by reminding himself that

We learnt our faith from the Church, and every Bishop, however exalted in position, is as much a servant of the Church as the youngest Deacon ordained on Trinity Sunday last. And if we are asked which we put first, our Bishop or the Church, we answer with Dr. Pusey rather than with Dr. Newman, that we put the Church before the Bishop; for then to disobey our Bishop would be our duty, lest 'obedience to the lesser should be disobedience to the greater.'⁴⁷¹

The *Guardian* admitted that the Archbishop had a right to express an opinion, but called what had been condemned a "necessity which knows no law."⁴⁷² Bishop Talbot of Rochester, the closest to an Anglo-Catholic on the bench, regretted the opinion. He feared it might encourage "sickly" Romeward growth, and impede the development of sacramental consciousness among evangelicals.⁴⁷³

The May synod of the SSC was held two days after the delivery of the second Lambeth opinion. Many derogatory speeches were made about it, but E.G.Wood's was reported at greatest length. He questioned the legality and canonical status of Temple's private opinion. This latest blow in the campaign the bishops had been waging against reservation had been something of a foregone conclusion. Archbishops' private opinions were their own affair. Those who reserved the sacrament should carry on as they were and say nothing. What could be done to stop them? If called to account, clergy should explain to their bishops that they were following the whole church, not just an individual bishop. The only useful effect of the opinion might be to show wavering members of the ECU how all eucharistic doctrine hung together.⁴⁷⁴

R.A.J.Suckling addressed the council of the CBS in similar vein. It can be seen in this address that Temple's opinion had changed reservation for Suckling from a pastoral convenience into one of the defining marks of a Catholic church. The opinion

had enlisted the sympathy of many moderate high churchmen with us. We must not put our defence on the ground that the sick have to be communi-

470 G.W.E.Russell to Ld Halifax, 2.4.1900, Hickleton Papers 270.3.III.136.
471 G.W.E.Russell, *Op. Cit.*, p 238-9.
472 *Guardian*, 2.5.1900 p 616.
473 Bp Rochester to Ld Halifax, 20.4.1900, Hickleton Papers 270.3.III.131.
474 SSC v.1900 pp 12-14.

cated, but uphold it as a part of our Catholic heritage which links us to Catholicity itself.⁴⁷⁵

A.R.C.Cocks noticed how the incense opinion had divided Catholic clergy into three camps:

some have given up, some have adapted, some have gone on as before. This has prevented a united front, and there has been a consequent loss of trust.⁴⁷⁶

The Master of the SSC feared that something similar might happen over this second opinion.⁴⁷⁷ In this, he underestimated the importance of eucharistic doctrine to high churchmen and Anglo-Catholics. By addressing himself to a subject with eucharistic implications Archbishop Temple had apparently succeeded, where Osnaburgh Street and Holborn Town Hall meetings had failed, to unite the two schools. At its anniversary meeting on 21 June, the ECU put forward a statement on eucharistic doctrine. Its terms hearkened back to those of the declarations which had led to the formation of the CBS in 1858:

In the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the bread and wine, through the operation of the Holy Ghost become, in and by consecration, according to our Lord's institution, verily and indeed, the Body and Blood of Christ, and ... Christ our Lord, present in the same most holy sacrament of the altar under the form of bread and wine, is to be worshipped and adored.⁴⁷⁸

Copious references to patristic authorities were attached to each clause, and the whole was voted for as part of a motion declaring the intention of the union

in view of present circumstances to re-affirm, in accordance with the teaching of the church, our belief in the verity of the Christian faith, and to declare that we shall abide by all such teaching and practice as follow from this doctrine of the whole Catholic Church of Christ.⁴⁷⁹

This official pronouncement represented a shift closer to the canon law party's position, but, perhaps inevitably, not close enough to satisfy Wood himself. He feared that such blanket affirmations allowed high churchmen to think that they had grasped the position in all its depth when they had not in fact done so:

It came very near to putting the *ecclesia discens* in the place of the *ecclesia docens*. It was one of the evil results of having such a body as the ECU at all, in which the lay element was much too powerful, and which was governed by a Council the composition of which left very much indeed to be desired.⁴⁸⁰

475 Minutes 1898-1905, Lambeth Palace MS 2894, 10.5.1900, p 55.

476 SSC, v.1900 p 23.

477 SSC v.1900 p 14.

478 Halifax's copy in Hickleton Papers 270.3.III.130.

479 *Ibid.*

480 SSC v.1900 pp 6.

Practically, Wood believed that no recent public declarations had achieved much. The SSC passed a motion objecting to the description of Christ's presence in the eucharist as "under the form of" bread and wine. It was felt that "under the outward and visible sign of" would have been clearer, and squarer with the catechism.⁴⁸¹ In spite of Wood's reservations, Darwell Stone took the ECU statement as a characteristic summary of modern Tractarian teaching in his *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*.⁴⁸²

The most extreme reaction to Temple's opinion was by those who thought of becoming, or became Roman Catholics. H.E.Hall found the opinion profoundly disturbing:

There is no knowing where Dr Temple may lead us. In this recent judgment he has discarded the chief reason for our being in the English Church at all, and has exhibited the English Church as a separate entity with a doctrine and discipline of her own instead of 'received' as we believe and teach, and as she herself asserts, from the Universal Church.⁴⁸³

Among those who took the step of submission to Rome, the most spectacular and disturbing conversion was that of C.R.Chase, formerly Vicar of All Saints' Plymouth. For those in the know this was the greatest blow the Catholic party had yet sustained in the crisis. Within the SSC Chase had been vicar of the southern province from 1891-5 and 1897-1900. He was Master in 1888, 1892-5 and 1895-7.⁴⁸⁴ His bold and vigorous personality marked him out as the leader of the extreme group. Since early in the year, Chase had been ill. On 20 May he wrote to Lord Halifax from a hotel in Bologna

to say that I am so unsettled in my position as a priest of the Church of England, & am feeling so strongly the claims of the Roman see, & that I do not think it to be right that I should any longer remain a member of the council [of the] ECU, or indeed a member of the Union.⁴⁸⁵

Two days later he was received into the Roman Catholic Church.⁴⁸⁶ The decisive factor in his mind had been the opinion on reservation.⁴⁸⁷ On 12 June the Master of the SSC broke the news to his colleagues:

It is my duty formally to announce to the Society that V. Br Chase has become a Roman Catholic. It is a step which is very sad, because it involves the loss of a friend who has been very dear to all those who have known him intimately... It is difficult to understand Br Chase's action. first, because it was done in such haste - he was, I understand, received on the very day he arrived in England, and, secondly, because of the reasons he has

481 *Ibid.*, p 8.

482 Darwell Stone, *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, London, 1909, II.558.

483 H.E.Hall to Bp London, 14.5.1900, Fulham Papers box 496.

484 May Synod election results *in loc.*, SSC v.1888, v.1891-v.1900.

485 C.R.Chase to Ld Halifax, 20.5.1900, Hickleton Papers 270.3.III.129.

486 by Fr Vassall CSSR at Bishop's Stortford. *Tablet*, 16.6.1900 p 940.

487 See Chase's own account in the *Tablet*, 16.6.1900 p 945.

given. He simply says that he has accepted the Papal Claims. Those claims have been in existence and have been faced by him for many years. ... One cannot help feeling that to some extent his judgment has been overthrown, perhaps by the fact of his ill-health, and also by his being out of active work. This view is confirmed by the fact that he took part in wholly unnecessary services in an Anglican chapel at Florence during Holy week and Easter - a thing which he certainly would not have done before.⁴⁸⁸

For the present, A.R.C.Cocks was appointed to Chase's place in the society. Brethren were exhorted

to stand firm: to be loyal and true Catholics in the face of all difficulties⁴⁸⁹

A few days later, Chase published a paper explaining to his Anglican friends why he had chosen to leave their church.⁴⁹⁰ He told Lord Halifax privately that all that had happened to him was a shift from believing that the Pope held authority *de jure ecclesiastico*, to faith that it was *de jure divino*.⁴⁹¹ This change had dissolved his belief in the possibility of non-papal Catholicism.⁴⁹² Anglicans talked glibly of "the whole church," including the Orthodox and a selection of patristic authors along with Anglicans and Romans. This entity he had found to be "no more than an abstraction:"⁴⁹³

Can such a Church speak at all? Outside the Communion of St Peter's successors, all is confusion.⁴⁹⁴

A divided body like the Church of England could not be one with the Catholic church, as the Father and the Son are one:

To me it was a very strange sensation, as well as a great joy, when I went to see my Bishop, after I had become a Catholic, to know that I was of the same religion as my own Bishop. It was a condition of things I had never experienced before. Yet the Unity of the Church was to be, as our Lord prayed, the very mark of his divine mission, 'that the world may know that thou hast sent me.'⁴⁹⁵

Chase became an enthusiastic evangelist on behalf of his new faith during the last nine years of his life.⁴⁹⁶

488 SSC vi.1900 p 9.

489 *Ibid.*

490 C.R.Chase, handbill, n.d., Hickleton Papers 270.3.III.134. For an extended account by Chase's article in [J.G.F.Raupert], *Roads to Rome*, London, 1904 edition, pp 54-67.

491 Discussion of this term and its meaning (in latin) by T.A.Lacey in SSC v.1901 pp 16-19, especially p 18.

492 C.R.Chase to Ld Halifax, 18.6.1900, Hickleton Papers 270.3.III.133.

493 [J.G.F.Raupert], *Op.Cit.*, p 63.

494 *Ibid.*, handbill.

495 *Ibid.*

496 See, e.g., the *Tablet*, 21.2.1903, p 353.

Horror at the Chase conversion, the most spectacular since that of Father Maturin,⁴⁹⁷ filled the SSC. His action appeared to pass judgment on those who remained, as it was doubtless intended to do:

He has turned his back on the past, and says by his present action that all the past years have not only been useless, but have been years spent in working against God.⁴⁹⁸

Although Chase was not the first to answer “the Roman question” as he had, his prominence and the troubled spirit of the times raised it with freshness and urgency. Some half dozen followed Chase. Among lesser brethren of the SSC were J.H.Filmer,⁴⁹⁹ W.T.Gorman⁵⁰⁰ and A.C.Heurtly.⁵⁰¹ The vast majority followed the Master’s advice and remained Anglicans. The effect of Chase’s conversion on them was to inspire more strenuous efforts to establish their version of Catholicity within the Church of England. This meant less willingness to compromise with bishops in future.

The Round Table conference

Confrontation produced merely external leverage; perhaps that was why it achieved so little. Since Creighton had been Bishop of London, Lord Halifax,⁵⁰² H.E.Hall⁵⁰³ and Canon Newbolt⁵⁰⁴ had all suggested at various times the possible value of talks between men of goodwill. Some informal discussions had taken place in 1899, sponsored by Lord Halifax.⁵⁰⁵ Since then, positions had become more entrenched, and attempts to enforce the Lambeth opinions held out no prospect of further progress. Although initially reluctant,⁵⁰⁶ by 1900 Bishop Creighton believed an *impasse* had been reached which made the time ripe for formal discussion:

Anything that resembles persecution provokes resistance, gives undue importance to the opinions attacked, and creates popular sympathy with those who seem to differ for conscience’ sake. The way to deal with erroneous

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- 497 See DNB, (Compact Ed), Oxford, 1975, II.2787 col 2 and, for his thoughts on conversion, B.M.Maturin, *The Price of Unity*, London, 1912.
- 498 SSC vi.1900 p 9.
- 499 SSC vii.1900 p 2. Filmer’s own account in [J.G.F.Raupert], *Op.Cit.*, pp 95-7.
- 500 SSC viii.1900 p 6. Gorman’s own account in [J.G.F.Raupert], *Op.Cit.*, pp 113-20.
- 501 SSC viii.1900 p 6.
- 502 Ld Halifax to Bp London 4.10.1898. Fulham Papers box 496.
- 503 H.E.Hall to Bp London, 21.3.1898, Fulham Papers box 60.
- 504 W.C.E.Newbolt to Bp London, 29.12.1896, Fulham Papers box 60.
- 505 15.5.1899: Body, Bodington and C.E.Brooke with Newbolt and Halifax met Dr Wace, P.V.Smith, and F.Chavasse to discuss Church and Ministry. see F.W.Farrar to Ld Halifax, 20.3.1899 and 30.4.1899, Hickleton Papers 270.3.1.67 and 64.
- 506 See above, p 72.

opinions is to drag them to light, to force them to state themselves definitely, and to prove their scanty basis.⁵⁰⁷

This could be done by a Round Table conference of learned Catholics and Protestants. It would at least enable both sides to “record opinions.”⁵⁰⁸ At most, some mutually agreeable way forward might emerge. Creighton called the conference no less than an attempt “to discover a workable basis for the great system of the Church of England.”⁵⁰⁹

Creighton commended his idea to the London diocesan conference on 16 May. Treating religious differences in parliament, or even in a parliamentary way, tended to produce catch-phrases which soon became no more than party flags.⁵¹⁰ The Bishop hinted that the eventual answer to questions raised in the crisis might well be church reform.⁵¹¹ In the meanwhile, there would be great value in a Round Table gathering. A resolution was passed calling for the bishop to arrange a conference

consisting of members of the Church of England, on ritual and the doctrines involved therein.⁵¹²

The resolution was proposed by Prebendary Webb-Peploe, Evangelical vicar of St Paul’s Onslow Square, and seconded by Lord Halifax.⁵¹³ The date was set for the second week of October, and Fulham Palace was offered as the venue.⁵¹⁴

A final list of 15 proposed members was drawn up on 28 August.⁵¹⁵ It included many learned Evangelicals, Professor Moule, Dr Wace, and Nathaniel Dimock. On the other side were Lord Halifax, W.J.Birkbeck, and Canon Gore. Not everybody invited to take part agreed to come, however. Among the Protestants Sir John Kennaway felt that anything he said might be thought to commit the numerous Evangelical societies in which he held office.⁵¹⁶ J.W.Miller MP followed Harcourt’s line that as there was no Protestant ground to give, a conference was superfluous:

507 27.7.1900, quoted in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.423.

508 M.Creighton, preface to H.Wace, *The Doctrine of Holy Communion and its Expression in Ritual: Report of a Conference held at Fulham Palace in October 1900*, London, 1900, p 5.

509 London Diocesan Conference Presidential Address 1900, M.Creighton, *The Church and the Nation*, p 326.

510 *Ibid.*, p 328.

511 *Ibid.*, pp 333-5.

512 Quoted by Creighton in H.Wace, *Op. Cit.*, p 3.

513 *Guardian*, 25.4.1900, p 585.

514 Standard letter of invitation in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.447 and replies in Fulham Papers box 64.

515 H.Wace, *Op. Cit.*, p 4.

516 Sir J.Kennaway to Bp London, 3.8.1900, Fulham Papers box 64.

we can make no concession in doctrine; all we ask is that the law should be obeyed by clergy and laity alike. In all the matters at issue the law is perfectly well known by both parties to the controversy.⁵¹⁷

The most surprising Evangelical who begged to be excused was Webb-Peploe, who had sponsored the idea at the Diocesan Conference. He was unsure that common ground could be found.⁵¹⁸ More to the point, he had been denounced as a “traitor” by his own side for allowing his name to appear alongside Lord Halifax’s at the diocesan conference.⁵¹⁹ Apparently institutional paranoia was flourishing among Protestants as well as Catholics in the summer of 1900.⁵²⁰

Contributors were asked to bring with them a short positive statement on “The divine gift in Holy Communion” for circulation when they met on 10 October.⁵²¹ The Bishop of London did not take any part in proceedings.⁵²² The first session elected Dr Wace chairman.⁵²³ The “spirit and tone and temper” of the whole gathering were very positive, and much ground was covered.⁵²⁴ On the Protestant side, Professor Moule was willing to admit that if the eyes of worshippers were truly opened during communion, like those of Elijah’s servant,

we should indeed behold our Lord, present at our communions⁵²⁵

On the other side, Lord Halifax was willing to say that

Christ is present in the holy eucharist not in corporal or natural manner, not locally as if He descended from heaven upon our altars, but sacramentally only, spiritually, after the manner of a spirit.⁵²⁶

Members took formal note of a passage from Hooker. It was thought too rhetorical for doctrinal definition, but it expressed such agreement as had been possible:

It is on all sides plainly confessed that this sacrament is a true and real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth himself, even his whole entire person, as a mystical head, unto every soul that receiveth him.⁵²⁷

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- 517 J.W.Miller to Bp London, 25.7.1900, Fulham Papers box 64.
518 Public explanation in a letter to the editor of the *Record*, 4.6.1900. *Record*, 8.6.1900 p 554.
519 H.W.Webb-Peploe to Bp London, 23.7.1900, Fulham Papers box 64.
520 See, e.g., the Council of the Church Association’s motion of 24.5.1900 anathematizing any who believed in the possibility of a “*modus vivendi* with Revived Romanism.” CA General Council minutes, 24.5.1900, Vol XII P 18. Lambeth Palace MSS.
521 Standard letter by Bp London in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.* II.448-9. Responses in full in H.Wace, *Op. Cit.*, pp 11-41.
522 H.Wace, *Op. Cit.*, p 6. See also the conversation between Creighton and Armitage Robinson reported in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.451.
523 H.Wace, *Op. Cit.*, p 9.
524 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.451-2.
525 H.Wace, *Op. Cit.*, p 72.
526 *Ibid.*, p 69.
527 Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, V.63.7. (Everyman Ed, London, 1907, II.324.)

In its own way, the Round Table conference was a splendid success. Although nothing was issued as a public communiqué, lines of convergence did appear. The participants did grow in mutual personal understanding.

Predictably really, the conference did little to solve the church crisis. Unfortunately it was not its kindly and learned members who had made the crisis in the first place, and they could not end it. Perhaps a Round Table conference of Harcourt's MP's, Kensitite hooligans, and Brighton school brethren of the SSC would have affected dispositions on the ground. One important point of view was not represented at the conference - Sir John Kennaway's belief that the whole question was simply a police court issue. However repellent theologically, this was the idea which inspired Harcourt and Lady Wimborne.

The success of attempts to resolve matters by negotiation depended entirely on the parties wishing to arrive at a solution. As it was, the most deeply committed protagonists on both sides believed that they were absolutely right, and the others entirely wrong. For them, the only basis for peace was surrender. This was the point of D.C.Lathbury's editorial, which had cost him his job. The failure of the Round Table conference to discover "a workable basis for the great system of the Church of England" suggested that its analysis was probably correct.

Parliamentary *Impasse*

The debates of 1899 had ended with the government conceding that unless "speedy and effectual steps" were taken to suppress ritualism, parliament would act.⁵²⁸ Thankfully for the church party, such legislation did not materialize in 1900. The only major debate on ritual took place in the House of Lords on 16 July, when the Earl of Portsmouth asked why nothing had been done to implement the Commons' resolution, and cited numerous instances of seeming compliance in ritualist law-breaking by bishops and others.⁵²⁹

Replying, Archbishop Temple drew attention to the reception of his opinions by the majority of clergy, and underlined the intrinsic problems of coercion. He was able to claim that the vast majority of offending clergy had ceased to use incense since the previous May. The Bennett judgment had confirmed the right at law of men to hold a wide range of sacramental views. Temple's main point, however, was that bishops

528 *Hansard*, IV.71 col 243.

529 *Hansard*, IV.86 cols 10-17.

could not be expected to restore order within the church if their authority were undermined by parliamentary action behind their backs.⁵³⁰

The Earl of Cranbrook reminded the house of the failure of Tait's and Disraeli's attempts to put down ritualism by law twenty-five years before.⁵³¹ The Prime Minister defended the government's policy of "trusting the bishops."⁵³² Their good offices might not be speedy enough for some, but they held out the only hope of effectual remedy. To undermine their authority would be a mistake. The House of Commons must implement its own resolutions. The whole concept of power underlying Harcourt's argument was, for Lord Salisbury, fallacious:

he did not admit that the secular and political authority is the kind of authority which deals fitly with such a matter as this.⁵³³

Why then had the House of Commons done nothing to follow up its resolution of the previous May? Viscount Cranbourne did not believe it was because the bishops had succeeded in winning members' confidence. Such concessions as they had won from their clergy were not substantial or visible enough. This being so,

I suppose it is quite possible we may have a Church struggle in Parl[iamen]t immediately the session opens..⁵³⁴

Quite apart from the war, however, the anti-ritualist campaign did not sustain its momentum in the country as well as in Parliament. Harcourt and Lady Wimborne had pitched themselves into a flood no contemporary working minister of religion would have underestimated - the massive tide of public indifference to the whole question, and to partisan religious issues in general:

Present-day religion, indeed, must often seem to the cottagers a tiresome hobby reserved to the well-to-do;⁵³⁵

Tony Pinn, a Sidmouth fisherman, was interviewed by Stephen Reynolds in 1906, and put the matter thus:

Us can't 'spect to know nort about it ... Tain't no business o' ours. Maybe as they says; maybe not. It don't matter, that I sees. 'Twill be all the same in a hunderd years' time when we'm a-grinning up at the daisy roots.⁵³⁶

The indifference of the uncommitted was not confined to the working classes. More than anything else, it explains the failure of Lady

530 *Ibid.*, cols 18-22.

531 *Ibid.*, cols 24-5.

532 *Ibid.*, cols 25-28.

533 *Ibid.*, col 26.

534 Viscount Cranbourne to Bp London (n.d., but filed for 1899). Fulham Papers box 61.

535 George Bourne, *Change in the Village*, London, 1912 (1966 edition), p 74.

536 [sic] S.Reynolds, *A Poor Man's House*, (2nd ed) London, 1909, p 103.

Wimborne's and Harcourt's campaigns. Quite simply, they could not make non-partisans take them seriously, let alone support them.

For example, Lady Wimborne thought that F.E.Smith, the son of a nonconformist, would make an excellent organizer in Liverpool for her National Church League. He was installed in an office on a salary of £300 a year. For fun, he decorated it with Italianate lithographs of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and put a plate on the door advertising "Lady Wimborn's League" [sic]. Soon afterwards, his employer came to inspect her interests in Liverpool:

She looked with some disfavour on the misspelling. 'How would you like it, Mr Smith,' she said, 'if I were to spell your name wrong on a plate?' 'Dear Lady,' answered F.E., 'there is scarcely any alteration which you could make to it which would not add to its distinction.' They walked up to the offices. Lady Wimborne gasped in horror when she saw the Madonnas. Next day Smith lost his post.⁵³⁷

Amongst young parliamentarians, this phenomenon may be illustrated by Winston Churchill's behaviour at the time. Like any Lancashire candidate, Churchill made anti-ritualism a central part of his campaign at the Oldham by-election in 1899.⁵³⁸ He even boasted of his relationship to his aunt, Lady Wimborne.⁵³⁹ Churchill's real attitude to the question, however, may be seen in a private letter to his mother, written the same year. In it, he urged her to discourage the Duke of Marlborough from taking the chair at a Protestant demonstration in the Albert Hall:

I hope he will do no such thing. He will only make unnecessary enemies on earth, and surely the Almighty knows his own business best.⁵⁴⁰

The calling of a "khaki" election in October 1900 sent members back to their constituencies,⁵⁴¹ their passions raised by the war, not church ritual.⁵⁴² The Church Association was wont to suggest that a huge Protestant vote existed in the country.⁵⁴³ In spite of the earnest hopes of those who published *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*,⁵⁴⁴ the expected Protestant surge never materialized as such at the General

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- 537 Earl of Birkenhead, *Frédéric Edwin, Earl of Birkenhead*, London, 1933, I.85.
- 538 R.S.Churchill, *Winston S.Churchill*, vol I, London, 1966, p 445.
- 539 Speech quoted in G.I.T.Machin, *Op.Cit.*, p 295.
- 540 W.S.Churchill to Lady Randolph Churchill, 19.1.[1899]. R.S.Churchill, *Winston S.Churchill*, vol I (Companion), London, 1967, p 1003.
- 541 See, e.g., the *Times*, 15.10.1900 p 9, J.G.Lockhart, *Op. Cit.*, II.138. For a contemporary account of the campaign see QR vol CXCI (1900) Article XII, "The General Election," pp 565-582. There is a good review of the khaki issues in Thomas Pakenham, *Op.Cit.*, pp 463-469.
- 542 T.W.G.Kenrick in SSC ix.1900 p 9.
- 543 See, e.g., [Anon.] *Protestantism before Party Politics*, Church Association, London, 1905, and a rousing report by a Yorkshire CA Parliamentary Agent (J.W.D.Barron) in the *Record*, 15.6.1900 p 571.
- 544 See above p 85.

Election.⁵⁴⁵ The Sheffield slum priest G.C.Ommanney, Master of the SSC, believed

The Election has shewn that the working classes are utterly sick of the 'Church Crisis', which exists only in the mind [sic] of a few aristocrats not particularly noted for their influence or intelligence. The Church Crisis is dead, and ought to be buried as well.⁵⁴⁶

Perhaps Harcourt and his parliamentary friends had misread their prospects. There was, of course, much else on the public mind. Apart from a few soap-box orators in Liverpool and the north-west,⁵⁴⁷ nobody was greatly concerned about ritualism. Controversialists on both sides had obviously over-estimated the importance of their points of view to working-class electors.

The political result of the 1900 election was a slightly stronger Conservative government, its majority increased by three.⁵⁴⁸ This held out the prospect of a continuation of the church policy the Prime Minister had laid before the House of Lords on 16 July - trusting the bishops, and keeping religious controversy out of parliament. Thus Protestant calls for legislation were answered with simple negatives.⁵⁴⁹ Randall Davidson sought to strengthen ties between the bishops and the government by meeting A.J.Balfour, leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons, on 4 January 1901. Both men agreed to parry future Protestant bills, whilst working for eventual church reform.⁵⁵⁰

In the end, then, the closest parliament came to doing anything was during the three debates of 1899. The Oldham by-election on 6 July 1899 had failed to confirm the trend established earlier in the year at Southport and Elland.⁵⁵¹ Having seen the doubtful usefulness of the ritual question to their cause, nonconformists espoused other issues in the new century. They were not prepared to accept the sacerdotalizing of the Anglican church, but perhaps the pulpit was a better platform than parliament for such issues. Their deeper concern was reserved for the

545 G.I.T.Machin, *Op.Cit.*, pp 296-7.

546 SSC x.1900 p 3.

547 QR CLXXXIX (1899) p 562 gives brief contemporary comment on the regional nature of Orange loyalties.

548 R.C.K.Ensor, *Op. Cit.*, p 267.

549 See, e.g., questions by M^cArthur and others HC 17.2.1902 (*Hansard* IV.117 col 207), and HC 5.5.1902 (*Ibid.*, col 632) and questions of suppressing practices by Stopford-Sackville, Brand and M^cArthur in HC 9.5.1902 (*Ibid.*, col 1285)

550 G.K.A.Bell, *Op. Cit.*, I.349.

551 For the earlier elections, see above p 76. Winston Churchill and James Mawdsley, both pledged to support a Church Discipline Bill, lost. J.Vincent & M.Stenton (ed), *Op.Cit.*, §2 p 188. Comment in the *Times*, 7.7.1899 p 10, 8.10.1899 p 9.

education question, and the implementation of the report of the Royal Commission on Liquor licensing.⁵⁵²

In the House of Commons, Liverpool bills continued to be printed, much as Lord Shaftesbury had produced annual bills proscribing certain styles of clerical dress forty years before.⁵⁵³ After 1900 these were essentially a hobby for a handful of zealots. Nothing new was said, and even if it had been, it would not have impinged on Anglo-Catholic attitudes or practices.

Final dispositions

After 1900, ritualists, their bishops, and their enemies alike sought to hold the entrenched positions they had secured by that time. Within Anglo-Catholic societies, the crisis had cast ecclesiological issues into sharp relief, and forced men to choose. Many young incumbents had preferred hitherto unimagined disobedience to surrender. Those who had wavered after the Osnaburgh Street and Villiers declarations were now awaiting a chance to kindle or rekindle their censers.

Inevitably, the leadership of the party was now more extreme. The appeal of Anglo-Catholicism to the young must have been enhanced by its greater visibility. The Lambeth Opinions had been a gift to E.G.Wood and his friends, winning support for their previously marginal concept of οἰκουμένη, giving them new significance. Although some Anglo-Catholics had become Roman Catholics, those who stayed were distinctly anti-episcopal in mood. Prayer Book Tractarianism now looked distinctly *passé*; the ornaments rubric had ceased to be of interest to a new advanced guard, who took their liturgy from Rome.⁵⁵⁴ Among Protestants, the idea that ritualism was “illegal” was now permanently established, along with resentment against the bishops for ducking their duty.

Over London ritualists there hung a sour cloud of resentment. The bishop who had offered them protection in return for loyalty was now seen as an enforcer of the Lambeth opinions.⁵⁵⁵ A way forward over the reservation question was found when R.H.Duthy of the Ascension Lavender Hill in the Diocese of Rochester agreed a formula with bishop

552 Stephen Koss, *Nonconformity in Modern British Politics*, London, 1975, pp 39-40.

553 PP 1906, XXXIV pp 498-500.

554 Thus the leadership's criticism of those who thus seemingly impugned the validity of the BCP in SSC x.1900 p 2 and xi.1900 p 5.

555 Thus, e.g., A.H.Stanton to Ld Halifax, 24.2.1900. Hickleton Papers 270.3.III.123.

Talbot. This became a paradigm like the one Creighton had agreed with Suckling over incense.⁵⁵⁶ The sick and dying might be communicated from the reserved sacrament, as long as it were locked in an inaccessible part of the church, such as the vestry.⁵⁵⁷

Both Lord Halifax and E.G.Wood thought this would be permissible. O’Kane’s manual on the Roman rubrics conceived of circumstances under which the sacrament might be secured, for example, in a presbytery.⁵⁵⁸ Locking the sacrament away could be presented to the faithful as an additional safeguard against Protestant hooliganism. Wood recommended Duthy’s accommodation to Harry Wilson warmly, in terms redolent of the *orate fratres*:

We want to get the Bishop to be made antagonistic to the Protestant party, and to win him in some degree to our side. That will be for his own good, and for the good of the Church.⁵⁵⁹

Wood told Wilson that the “irreducible minimum” was that the sacrament should always be available for the sick and dying.⁵⁶⁰ Although personally unsympathetic to the practice of Reservation,⁵⁶¹ Creighton was not deaf to the demands of pastoral need. Before Temple’s opinion had cut across his path,⁵⁶² he had permitted, for example, extended Communion at St George’s Hospital.⁵⁶³ The possibility of some concession from the Bishop could, in itself, justify compromise over the mode of reservation:

The whole position, namely, that by contending for public Reservation at present we may be hindering the spread of the custom of Reservation in itself, while by agreeing to a private mode of Reservation we should greatly promote it and open the way to the Bishop’s consenting, is in itself a good and sufficient reason.⁵⁶⁴

Further, Wood urged that an accommodation modelled on Duthy’s with bishop Talbot would

in effect amount to a complete abandonment of all the grounds on which the Lambeth opinion was based. We should have gained our great point ... and

556 For the suggestion that it should be the model for arrangements in London see Ld Halifax to H.Wilson, 10.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/15.

557 R.H.Duthy to Ld Halifax, 31.1.1901. Hickleton Papers 270.3.III.142.

558 Quoted by E.G.Wood to H.Wilson, memo, 13.11.1900. Stepney MSS 1900/21, section C.

559 *Ibid.*

560 *Ibid.*

561 For Creighton’s attitude to the practice in itself, see L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.310-313.

562 Bp London - Bp Stepney, 25.5.1899. Fulham Papers box 113.

563 Bp London to Revd A.J.Locke, 29.4.1898. Fulham Papers box 113.

564 See, e.g., Wood to H.Wilson, memo, 13.11.1900. Stepney MSS 1900/21, section C.

we may be quite sure that once firmly established, we should in a few years be able to reserve publicly in church.⁵⁶⁵

This advice showed Wood in a more calculating, less innocent light than Mackonochie or Nihill in their generation. However much of a “œcumenical necessity” eucharistic adoration might be, Wood was now willing to trade it for future advantage. This change in Wood’s tone was not missed by Evans’ curate, L.S.Wason. Rejecting Wood’s advice to compromise over the ‘rule of three’ rubric in the Prayer Book,⁵⁶⁶ Wason complained that:

the opinions of ‘venerated brethren’ are urged upon us, yet only a year ago the counsel of one of these was, ‘we must abandon expediency and policy, and act on principle only.’⁵⁶⁷

Now it appeared that as long as lip service was paid to principle, it would be best not to split the party - and there was a real threat of that. Canon Newbolt had written to Wilson, his old theological college pupil, to remind him that if he were to follow Cocks’ advice and invite prosecution, he would

enter on this trial with a divided party behind you. Some of us find it absolutely impossible to defend your line, and a split in the ranks of the Catholic party, more especially of the ECU, is only too probable.⁵⁶⁸

Had Anglo-Catholics stuck in 1900 to their “absolute non possumus” of the year before, they might well have split hopelessly.⁵⁶⁹ In fact, Wood’s letter to Wilson indicated a new pragmatism. The process of infiltration it prefigured was to bear fruit in the liturgical practice of most Anglicans in the twentieth century. Harry Wilson was advised by a colleague in the SSC that what was true for reservation might well be true for the use of incense outside the liturgy also:

If you can get a Bishop of London to allow this, and get it recognized, you will have made a name in history, and “ceremonial” use will come in after years *all over*.⁵⁷⁰

The Lambeth opinions had done nothing to arm bishops against their clergy who used incense and reserved the sacrament. The Church Discipline Act was useless, and known to be so by the ritualists, because on final appeal it went to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. What had not worked thirty years before was not going to work now. All Creighton could do, therefore, was decline requests for curates’ licences, not out of conviction, but because it was even more

565 *Ibid.*

566 Advice given to Harry Wilson in *Ibid.*, Section B.

567 SSC xii.1900 p 5.

568 W.C.E.Newbolt to H.Wilson, 12.11.1900. Stepney MSS 1900/18.

569 Thus B.M.Randolph and W.C.E.Newbolt to H.Wilson, 20.11.1900. Stepney MSS 1900/37-39.

570 O.Rhodes to H.Wilson, 16.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/27.

unacceptable to issue them than to refuse. Thus he wrote to Harry Wilson on 16 October:

Your request that I should licence you a curate raises a question which must be faced; how can I licence a Curate to a clergyman who sets me at defiance? I do not know if you consider yourself to be super episcopal, but you have chosen to be extra episcopal. I do not see how I can do more than say that I will not forbid anyone from assisting you, but I cannot give him any formal recognition.⁵⁷¹

A similar letter on the same subject was sent on 15 November to W.H.Bleaden at St Mary Magdalene, Paddington.⁵⁷²

The previous year's dreadful interview between Creighton and Wilson, Wainright and Evans had shown them all that there was no effective legal recourse open to the bishop. Such constraints did not apply to the general public. The weapon Creighton could not wield was taken up by Colonel Porcelli, who had virtually raised ritual complaining to a profession. Porcelli was a retired Colonel in the Royal Engineers from Ramsgate. A convert from Roman Catholicism, he worshipped with the Plymouth Brethren, and conducted his campaign from his Club in Whitehall Gardens. He collected evidence of ritualism at almost two dozen churches, and sent it to the bishop.⁵⁷³

Porcelli's list gave Creighton a new point of leverage against the three. He could decline to allow proceedings only against those who had come to an accommodation with him. At last he had some real protection to offer those who had arranged matters.⁵⁷⁴

As a test case, Porcelli's action boiled down to an action over non-communicating attendance, incense and reservation at St Augustine's Stepney and St Michael's Shoreditch.⁵⁷⁵ A.R.C.Cocks, a former curate of St Augustine's, and Chase's successor as vicar of the southern province of the SSC, was delighted by the prospect of a good fight.⁵⁷⁶ W.B.Trevelyan wondered whether the bishop was just writing an official note so as to appear to have done something. He "devoutly hoped" that nothing would happen, but promised Wilson united support if it did.⁵⁷⁷ Wilson took up the handle of his duplicator again, to keep all his friends and supporters informed of developments.⁵⁷⁸

571 Bp London to H.Wilson, 16.10.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/1.

572 Bp London to W.H.Bleaden, 15.11.1900. Copy in W.H.Bleaden to H.Wilson, 17.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/24.

573 Porcelli's testimony in RCED 1906, II.93 ff. [QQ 1399-1470]

574 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.452.

575 Bp London to H.Wilson, 31.10.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/2.

576 A.R.C.Cocks to H.Wilson, Telegram, 1.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/3.

577 W.B.Trevelyan to H.Wilson, 2.11.1900, Stepney Papers 1900/9.

578 Cyclostyled notes by H.Wilson, n.d.(but encl. Bp's letter of 31.10.1900), in Stepney MSS 1900/5 and 1900/7.

After a few days in which Wilson sought draft replies to the Bishop from E.G.Wood⁵⁷⁹ and Lord Halifax,⁵⁸⁰ Creighton invited Wilson to some and see him on his own.⁵⁸¹ ~~Wilson~~^{He} agreed, on condition that their talks were strictly private and committed neither side. Wilson did not want to be outmanœvred in private conversation, then held to a bargain he had supposedly struck:

Your Lordship is much more clever than I am, and I am rather afraid of you.
I always take some time to make up my mind.⁵⁸²

In reply, Creighton protested that he had reason for as great an apprehension as Wilson's. He reminded Wilson of how their last private conversation, the one about herrings, had been leaked to Wilson's friends and the press.⁵⁸³

The meeting between Wilson and Creighton took place on 15 November.⁵⁸⁴ Wood had advised Wilson to proceed on the assumption that Creighton was as anxious to avoid a prosecution as he.⁵⁸⁵ The interview left Wilson with the impression that this was correct. The bishop was rather short of reasons for declining to proceed, but given suitable ones would use them.⁵⁸⁶

Wilson's impression of what had passed was fairly hopeful about what Creighton was prepared to allow. Lack of communicants was no problem, as long as opportunity was given to communicate. Incense could only be allowed on the same terms as in other London churches, outside the liturgy proper. Duthy's arrangements with the Bishop of Rochester would be acceptable in London too.⁵⁸⁷

This interview was less encouraging for Creighton than for Wilson. The following day he wrote to Randall Davidson:

The position was 'I would meet you if I could: but I am not going to be bullied by a handful of Prots.' ... In fact, 'Catholic principles' are now in the background, and we are going to have British pluck instead. He will not appear in the Arches Court, and will pay no attention to its sentence. Doubtless he will be ejected by the police ultimately amidst universal sympathy, and no one will be able to work his parish. Two parishes in the slums of East London will be devastated, and then the Protestant fervour

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- 579 H.Wilson to Bp London, n.d. (in E.G.Wood's hand, not sent), Stepney MSS 1900/13 and. 1900/20 (2 letters).
 - 580 H.Wilson to Bp London, 3.11.1900, (in Ld Halifax's hand, not sent), Stepney MSS 1900/10.
 - 581 Bp London to H.Wilson, 9.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/14.
 - 582 H.Wilson to Bp London, 11.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/16.
 - 583 Bp London to H.Wilson, 12.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/17.
 - 584 Full account of meeting in H.Wilson, memo, 16.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/25.
 - 585 See, e.g., Wood to H.Wilson, memo, 13.11.1900, point 1, Stepney MSS 1900/21.
 - 586 H.Wilson, memo, 16.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/25.
 - 587 *Ibid.*

will disappear for our lifetime. Incense will come back, and reservation for the sick will become general.

This will be the result. I will not say whether it will be good or bad. But I do not see how I can prevent it.⁵⁸⁸

Cordial letters passed between Creighton and Wilson over the next ten days, while the bishop struggled to find a way which would not seem arbitrary of blocking the prosecution.⁵⁸⁹ In one of them, Creighton tried to explain how the self-consciousness of ritualist ceremonial offended his taste:

The Italian waves his censer in a nice slovenly way which is all right; but the pomp & self consciousness of the English acolyte seems to me artistically offensive. The Englishman is no good for that purpose. He takes himself too seriously whatever he does.⁵⁹⁰

This correspondence brought Wilson to the point where he was willing to come in on what amounted to the compromise operating elsewhere in the diocese over incense.⁵⁹¹ Equally significantly, Wilson was now prepared to act independently of Evans, who was *incommunicado*, suffering from pneumonia and pleurisy.⁵⁹²

Porcelli himself was the rock on which his prosecution eventually foundered.⁵⁹³ He was more abusively anti-Episcopal than the most rabid Anglo-Catholic. Porcelli's style is apparent in a complaint of 1898 to the Bishops of London and Gibraltar about ritualism in overseas chaplaincies. He addressed Creighton as "Episcopal Sir" on the following grounds:

For reasons best known to themselves, Bishops of that which professes to be a Christian Church sign themselves, in bad Latin, by the name of their see instead of, as in Apostolic days, by their own names. And so little is apostolic custom adhered to that they like to be addressed as 'My Lord Bishop' despite the fact that the so-called 'Prince of the Apostles' repudiated for himself, and for his successors, all claim to be lords over God's heritage. If to these absurdities be added the vainglorious prefix 'right reverend', one has a fair portrait of those who, in these enlightened (?) days, profess to be followers of the meek and lowly Bishop of souls. Not wishing to add to the black catalogue of my sins the crime of violating the elementary principles of Christianity, I purposely refrain from addressing you by any of the foregoing anti-Christian terms, and content myself by giving you the only title your office demands.⁵⁹⁴

588 Bp London to Bp Winchester in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.454.

589 See, e.g., Bp London to H.Wilson, 16.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/28.

590 Bp London to H.Wilson, 21.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/41, quoted in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.285.

591 H.Wilson to Bp London, 20.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/40.

592 H.Wilson to Bp London, 17.11.1900.

593 See QR CXCI (1901) p 621: "Had the complainant showed equal tact and patience [to Bp Creighton] the law would have been allowed to take its course."

594 *Guardian*, 17.8.1898, p 1252.

It is hard to see how a prosecution from such a source could have gone ahead. On 28 November, Porcelli's notorious character, his personal rudeness, and his lack of *locus standi* finally persuaded Creighton to block the action.⁵⁹⁵ The next day, he wrote to Wilson to say that the prosecution was definitely off.⁵⁹⁶ This was his last business letter.⁵⁹⁷ According to Louise Creighton, the failure of Porcelli's action was a source of personal relief to the bishop during his last illness.⁵⁹⁸

After the interview of 15 November, Wilson had sought advice from friends including Lord Halifax.⁵⁹⁹ Along with his last letter,⁶⁰⁰ Wilson had enclosed a tedious screed drafted by E.G.Wood. It urged Creighton to be a statesman and extend to Wilson the toleration Talbot had extended to Duthy.⁶⁰¹ Reading this suggestion on what turned out to be his death-bed, Creighton felt angry and frustrated. If Wood's letter foreshadowed the strategy of the next generation of ritualists, Creighton's response reflected how many of their bishops were to feel.

You put your name to a letter, though I know you did not write it addressed to me which I can only call without hesitation the most discreditable production I ever read. It is equally devoid of wisdom, good sense, patriotism, Christianity, and gentlemanly feeling. If this is what the assertion of "Catholic principles" leads to, they will not go very far, because they are in flagrant contradiction to primary moral laws.

Please analyze the contents of that remarkable production, addressed by a Priest to his Bishop. Its exhortation is "Be a statesman: i.e.; let me do as I choose, because I mean to do it whether you let me or not; and if you try to prevent me, I know every dodge of playing to the gallery."

The present position is that some questions have been raised about the conduct of service in church. Who is to settle? You will not admit the Bishop or the Archbishop. Who will you admit? if you tell me, I will do my utmost to meet your views. But it is quite ridiculous to suppose that any institution can go on without a recognized authority to settle disputes: and the assertion that no such authority exists in England is to declare that there is no Church in England.⁶⁰²

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- 595 Bp London to Bp Winchester, 25.11.1900 and 28.11.1900, and Bp London to Archdeacons, 28.11.1900 in L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.455-6.
- 596 Bp London to H.Wilson, 29.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/46. Marked (H.Wilson's hand) "not for publication".
- 597 Copy by L.Creighton in Fulham Papers box 496 is marked (L.Creighton's hand) "Rev H.Wilson lent me this letter of which the Bishop had not kept a copy on condition that it should not be published - it was the last letter which the Bishop wrote with his own hand. He wrote it in bed two days before his first operation & read it to me. L.Creighton."
- 598 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.456.
- 599 H.Wilson to Bp London, 17.11.1900, (in Ld Halifax's hand, not sent), Stepney MSS 1900/34-5.
- 600 H.Wilson to Bp London, 19.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/31.
- 601 H.Wilson to Bp London, 19.11.1900, (in E.G.Wood's hand, enclosed with 1900/31), Stepney MSS 1900/32.
- 602 Bp London to H.Wilson, 29.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/46.

Creighton ended by appealing to Wilson and his friends to face up to their personal as well as ecclesiological responsibilities:

We are in a position which is not very "unfortunate" or all the names which we choose to call it as a reason for doing nothing - we are in a position created by human folly and wickedness ... the letter which you sent me contained so much of both, that I am bound to call your attention very seriously to the fact.⁶⁰³

Wilson's immediate reply assured the bishop that he had not written the offending letter, and that its author was not Lord Halifax either.⁶⁰⁴

Creighton died on 14 January 1901, eight days before Queen Victoria.⁶⁰⁵ A new bishop of London was to carry on the tedious business of negotiation; but with a movement much more sure of itself, more intransigent, more effective, than that which Temple had known as Bishop of London.

Winnington-Ingram

The church crisis had tested and strained Anglo-Catholic loyalties, and produced new sticking points - incense, portable lights, reservation. The party as a whole now claimed the right to practices which only months before had been the preserve of an eccentric minority. With reservation, this was not so much out of enthusiasm for it in itself, as from concern not to deny the eucharistic theology behind it.

Temple's opinions and the way they were being enforced seemed to Anglo-Catholics to be aggressive new acts of government from Lambeth.⁶⁰⁶ The perception that their church was being increasingly dominated by a Lambeth curia had been a commonplace within the SSC since the days of Archbishop Benson.⁶⁰⁷ By early 1900, appeals for canonical obedience sounded like this tendency clothed in Catholic sounding jargon:

Canonical obedience is a holy thing, so is a statue of our Lady in church. But to dress up the latter in rags and carry it about to frighten children as a bogey, would be a very evil and profane thing. So to us it a very evil thing to dress out Canonical obedience with scraps and tatters of learning, and try to frighten the children of the Church from obeying the Canons and observing the usages and customs of the Church which Canonical obedience is intended to conserve.⁶⁰⁸

603 Bp London, *Ibid.*

604 H.Wilson to Bp London, 1.12.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/47.

605 L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II. 463-4.

606 See, e.g., E.G.Wood in SSC v.1900 p 13.

607 See, e.g., Charles Worlledge in SSC ii.1888 p 9 and J.E.Swallow in SSC ix.1888 p 4.

608 See, e.g., Wood to Master SSC, in SSC ii.1900 pp 8-9.

An appearance of such behaviour was inevitably given by any attempt the bishops made to recapture the Catholic high ground. On 16 January 1901, a joint pastoral was issued by all the bishops except Sodor and Man. This claimed that antiquity and the universal practice of the church agreed that "the duty of guiding the church is entrusted to the bishops." Conformity to episcopal authority was thus a Catholic principle. It followed that

Those who refuse such obedience are practically setting up a form of government which is distinctly not episcopal, and they cannot claim that they are guided by Catholic principles or treading in Catholic paths.⁶⁰⁹

This letter showed any Anglo-Catholics who needed convincing that their struggles with the episcopate, far from being over, were only just beginning. Lord Halifax thought the pastoral, and a later Roman one, evidence of a diseased autocratic interpretation of episcopacy by the bishops of both communions.⁶¹⁰ The January 1901 chapter of the SSC found the contemplation of present relationships with bishops a gloomy exercise. L.S. Wason of St Michael's Shoreditch believed:

The Archbishop of Canterbury is determined to put us down, and that those who are holding out shall be dismissed. What are we to do?⁶¹¹

G.C. Ommanney thought it

certain that some legislative action will be taken soon. Our duty is to take no notice. If an Act is passed, we shall know where we are.⁶¹²

Foreboding engendered by threats of episcopal action and an atmosphere of wild rumour⁶¹³ made the question of who was to be the new bishop of London vitally interesting to Anglo-Catholics. The Lambeth opinions, although they were no more than common sense in most dioceses, were bitterly contentious in London. Attempts to enforce them had strained the relationship between Creighton and his most advanced clergy to breaking point. When that point came, as far as the party was concerned, Wilson, Wainright and Evans had won. The bishop retained some persuasive authority, but on the practical level, the three continued to obey E.G. Wood rather than him.

From the government's point of view, Creighton had been an excellent bishop. He had world-wide standing as an intellectual and historian. Brought to bear on the Anglo-Catholics of his diocese, his knowledge was a powerful weapon. Harry Wilson admitted to being afraid of

609 *Guardian*, 23.1.1901, p 108

610 "The Recent Anglo-Roman Pastoral," NC May 1901 pp 736-54.

611 *Ibid.*

612 SSC i.1901 p 6.

613 The *Daily Mail*, for example, announced Lord Halifax's imminent reception into the Roman Catholic Church on 5.12.1900 (p 5 col 4).

him.⁶¹⁴ He was unquestionably fair, and had consistently resisted attempts by Porcelli and Kensit to use him in their cause.

It would have been almost impossible for Lord Salisbury to consider a candidate with no episcopal experience for a minefield like London. For a scholar, the best candidate would have been Wordsworth of Salisbury, but London in 1901 required a strong administrator rather than a scholar.

The Prime Minister's first candidate was Randall Davidson.⁶¹⁵ Although not an intellectual of Creighton's stature, he was universally admired as an administrator and ecclesiastical statesman. He was not identified with any party, but rather with the modern governing tendency within the church. Although somewhat less consulted by Temple, Davidson had almost twenty years' experience as the *confidant* and executive of Archbishops Tait and Benson. He had been the Queen's favourite dean of Windsor, maintaining his connection with her at Osborne in his diocese to her dying day. He knew members of the government well, and was a good performer in the House of Lords. He had experience of dealing with urban ritualism as bishop of Rochester, the diocese with the second largest such problem. He was an obvious future candidate for Canterbury, but at the age of 55 there was still time to take in London on the way. None could question his strength or stature. With a finger in every pie, he seemed to combine diocesan proficiency with a wider reputation. In 1896 he had been Lord Salisbury's choice for the see.⁶¹⁶ Now, not only the Prime Minister but also Archbishop Temple thought Davidson the only man for London.⁶¹⁷

Why Davidson refused is not entirely clear.⁶¹⁸ His stated reason was the medical inadvisability of taking on a diocese with so much evening work.⁶¹⁹ Perhaps Davidson's doctors did not know how much of the evening work in London was done by the suffragans, especially now there was an extra one, the Bishop of Kensington, appointed to cover Creighton's last illness.⁶²⁰ London required less long-distance travel than any other see. Those who advised Davidson may have overestimated the rigours of a post whose next occupant was to hold it for almost forty years.

614 See above, p 129.

615 Ld Salisbury to Bp Winchester, 2.2.1901 in G.K.A.Bell, *Op.Cit.*, I.359-60.

616 G.K.A.Bell, *Op. Cit.*, I.285.

617 Thus Abp Canterbury to Bp Winchester 8.2.1901 in *Ibid.*, I.360.

618 All the advice he was given is in the Davidson Papers, IV. ff 186-96. Lambeth Palace MSS.

619 Sir T. Barlow to Bp Winchester in *Ibid.*, I.360-361.

620 See L.Creighton, *Op. Cit.*, II.463.

More curiously, Davidson's health recovered sufficiently next year to enable him to accept nomination to Canterbury.⁶²¹ Davidson's biography does not quite clear up this point. Two and a half pages of medical opinion assure its readers that Davidson was far too frail to be Bishop of London, while its readers are not given any medical evidence that he was fit enough to be Primate. Once appointed Davidson was strong enough for twenty-five years in that post. Of course he had no way of knowing this in 1901. Compton Mackenzie's Dr Cheeseman of Silchester might have had an eye on the main chance of the primacy. Davidson's feelings about that in 1901 were

I know I am not good enough, but I do know the ropes better than others.⁶²²

If no senior bishop had the stamina for the job, Salisbury's field was limited to junior ones. His final choice was A.F. Winnington-Ingram. Although only sixteen years in orders, Winnington-Ingram was well known in London, not only as bishop of Stepney but before that as head of the Oxford House in Bethnal Green. He was known to be a high churchman; but this did not necessarily count against him. The new bishop had always got on very well with low churchmen in London. An indifferent bishop might have been thought ritualist by Protestants and Protestant by ritualists. Winnington-Ingram seemed to belong in what might be called the Walsham How tradition. As such he had preached at the dedication in April 1905 of the Walsham How memorial at Wakefield Cathedral.⁶²³

How Creighton had managed to work a diocese as large and divided as London was a mystery to most outsiders. Winnington-Ingram was privy to his methods and had put them into operation. He knew many of the men involved, upon whom he had attempted to act as a restraining influence.⁶²⁴ He had been Creighton's choice as bishop of Stepney.⁶²⁵ Like Creighton he was keen to foster what was positive in all schools of churchmanship. Unlike Creighton his boanergic manner held out the prospect of a bright future. Thus Lord Salisbury chose the obvious strong young candidate, who accepted.

In fact Winnington-Ingram was strong in public, but pliable, deadly easy to influence, in private. He may have appealed to Archbishop Temple as a manageable candidate - Young men like Gore or Henson

621 Davidson accepted almost by return of post; it was only the failure of Balfour to issue a sufficiently formal offer which delayed him, who was suffering from influenza at the time, from formal acceptance by eight days. G.K.A. Bell, *Op. Cit.*, I.384-387.

622 G.K.A. Bell, *Op. Cit.*, I.383.

623 S.C. Carpenter, *Op. Cit.*, p 128.

624 See, e.g., Bp Stepney to H. Wilson, 27.11.1899, Stepney MSS 1899/41.

625 DNB, II.2969 col 6.

were far more angular. Sadly, Winnington-Ingram was as pliable to his more strong-willed clergy as he was to his chief at Lambeth. The former were usually more immediate than the latter, and for this reason, far from securing what had gone before, the appointment of Winnington-Ingram precipitated conditions in London in which Anglo-Catholicism took off there in the twentieth century as never before and nowhere else.

The new bishop was welcomed to Fulham by a circle of friends and *confidants* which included Lord Halifax and Athelstan Riley, as well as Trevelyan and Hanbury Tracy among the clergy. On the bench of bishops, his closest friend was Talbot of Rochester. More support came soon after, when Charles Gore was appointed Bishop of Worcester. Talbot had immense faith that the new Bishop of London could achieve something positive by his force of personality. In July 1901 he wrote to Winnington-Ingram:

I watch you in all your wonderful energy & popularity: and there must be just the thought of fear whether you can keep y[ou]r own soul. But you say your prayers & trust God, I know, in a way that I have never learnt to do & he will bring you through.⁶²⁶

Lord Halifax sent a private letter on 26 April 1901, offering to help the new bishop manage his Anglo-Catholics:

One is rather like the fly on the coach wheel, but for various reasons I am able to do something.⁶²⁷

Halifax went on to say that the root of the current crisis was the bishops' uncertainty about the relationship of their local church to the whole. Anglo-Catholics were used to living in the Anglican establishment, and interpreting its idiosyncrasies in a Catholic way. The Lambeth opinions, however, had posed new and serious questions. Along with attempts by the bishops to enforce them, they implied a new institutional wrong-headedness about the nature of the church:

almost everyone in England has come to look upon the Church of England as a *self-going concern*, with no necessary relation and obligation to the rest of Christendom, - a church so to speak inheriting all the rights of a *defunct* ancestor.⁶²⁸

Other Anglo-Catholics believed that recent attempts to bolster the authority of bishops were too provincial in tone. E.G.Wood, now Master of the SSC,⁶²⁹ told the January 1902 chapter:

626 Bp Rochester to Bp London, "July 1901", Fulham Papers box 113.

627 Ld Halifax to Bp London, 26.4.1901, p 1. Fulham Papers box 113.

628 *Ibid.*, p 2.

629 SSC v.1901 pp 8-9. W.B.Trevelyan was elected, but declined on grounds of health. EGW received the second largest number of votes. He declined, but was elected again at a special meeting on 13.6.1901. (SSC vi.1901 p 1)

What we had to combat was the notion that, as a certain bishop had most unhappily said, the "Church of England was a self-going or self-governing concern." The real fact of course is that there is no such entity as the "Church of England," no such organized religious body as the "Church of Rome." There is but one holy Catholic Church. We have also to deplore the fact that so many are quite content with our present position of isolation, and do not seem to realize that without re-union we cannot act freely and with the complete authority that we of these provinces otherwise would [have to] act.⁶³⁰

Turning to practicalities, Halifax advised Winnington-Ingram that his friends could not accept any national church forbidding incense or reservation, but only regulating it. If it were really necessary, men might be willing to screen off the chapels in which they reserved the sacrament. On incense he admitted that regulation was theoretically possible, but the

difference between the use allowed by the late Bishop of London and the ordinary use is so slight that it does not appear to me to be worth talking about. Those who dislike incense[,] if any who are entitled to be heard really do so, would not be conciliated by the lesser use and I should have thought the whole matter had much better have been allowed to drop.⁶³¹

Of course the phrase "allowed to drop," in this context, meant "tolerated." Such a letter would never have been written to Creighton. Halifax hoped that the demands of good fellowship would transcend the duty to lay down rules. He cannot have had any idea as he wrote how completely Winnington-Ingram was to fulfil his aspiration. Thus one episcopal colleague said of Winnington-Ingram in 1939:

He always told us ... that in London there was no disobedience, but this was only because there were no rules to obey. He has left the diocese in a condition of ecclesiastical chaos, every man a law unto himself. His kindness of heart left him lax and easy-going.⁶³²

This was the genesis of Hensley Henson's more caustic estimate of Winnington-Ingram:

He had much of the charm which attaches to the reckless impulsiveness of an affectionate and eager boy, but he lacked the less attractive qualities of an administrator, a teacher and a judge. ...I cannot recall another example of a Bishop who evoked so much personal affection, and yet commanded so little influence, and wielded so little authority.⁶³³

These pictures of Winnington-Ingram at the end of his career must not obscure the fact that this was not how he started out as bishop of London. The present account makes it plain also how far the diocese he took

630 SSC i.1902 p 7.

631 Ld Halifax to Bp London, 26.4.1901, p 4. Fulham Papers box 113.

632 Charles Smyth, *Cyril Foster Garbett*, London, 1959, p 183-4. For an indication of the woes which awaited his successor, see W.Purcell, *Fisher of Lambeth: a Portrait from Life*, London, 1969, pp 80-81, 87, 94-97.

633 H.H.Henson, *Retrospect of an Unimportant Life*, Vol III, London, 1950, p 321.

over was from being a paragon of order. Canon Newbolt gave a perceptive account of its state of authority when, in May 1901, he appealed to the new bishop not to disturb the present fragile compromise:

I am more sorry than I can say that you are bothered already about this tiresome Ritual business. Don't you think the great point is to secure some sort of obedience to the Bishop - and that this is more really a Catholic principle than anything else?

The world apparently believes that in London all except about 3 or 4 (the Wilson lot) are in obedience about incense. The clergy themselves, Tracy & company believe it

Don't you think it extremely desirable to keep this up, if possible?

... Isn't it rather like the Dons at Oxford dancing round the bonfires which they could not put down? Undignified, but preserving an appearance of discipline, to this extent, that they have not given an order, which is being disobeyed. -

Please forgive all this - The whole thing is a great bore.⁶³⁴

The June chapter of the SSC discussed the prospect of life under the new bishop. It was reported that F.L.Ware of St Mary's Edmonton had asked for a curate's licence in May. A three-month licence had been issued by Canon Scott-Holland, while the new Bishop said that by the time this was up for renewal

the matter of ceremonial would be resolved provided incense was not used in the service. Reservation might be allowed as long as it was not in the church, and if the Blessed Sacrament was locked up.⁶³⁵

E.G.Wood had heard that the new bishop was willing to countenance the arrangements for reservation in church at St Matthew's Westminster. R.A.J.Suckling was less sure which way Winnington-Ingram would jump:

It is a time of great anxiety. The remarks of the Bishop of London at the London Diocesan Conference implied that there was to be no uniform way of dealing with things, but that certain things might be allowed in one place, and forbidden in another.⁶³⁶

L.S.Wason, assistant curate at St Michael's Shoreditch, recommended a policy of lying low, in view of the recent unreliability of bishops:

It is no use approaching the bishops. It was an understood thing that, if their orders as to extra services were carried out, there would be no more squeezing. The bishops have broken that Concordat. The only thing now is, when once a practice has been introduced, to continue it, and hold your tongue.⁶³⁷

Wason's policy represented extreme non-cooperation, the feelings of the rump who had not compromised as yet. Others' preliminary contacts

634 W.C.E.Newbolt to Bp London, 16.5.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

635 F.G.S.Nicolle (the curate concerned), SSC vi.1901 p 2.

636 *Ibid.*

637 *Ibid.*

with the new bishop suggested that compromises agreed with Creighton would hold, and might even be extended in a Catholic direction.⁶³⁸ The moderates were not only using *jus liturgicum* to square their consciences, but hoping its exercise by the new Bishop would bring protection. This was what Creighton was understood to have done, and it went far beyond “toleration.”⁶³⁹

By 9 October 1901, the moderates were expecting incense to be regulated not suppressed, and a slight liberalization of the terms upon which the sacrament would be reserved. Hanbury Tracy called this “a miraculous answer to prayer.” But he realized that these plans would require careful presentation to the public:

as regards your own protection which is necessarily a matter of first rate importance to us all, you would not be protected from evil attack or persecution by publishing details any more than by withholding them - you have won us by your fearless independence but you have in so acting placed yourself by our side in the fire point of the battle for right in these matters and nothing humanly speaking can protect you but the confidence which the public repose in you and which would not be increased but rather the reverse by entering into details in print.⁶⁴⁰

Plainly Winnington-Ingram was now doing rather well with the moderates. This left the question of what Newbolt had called “the Wilson lot” - Wilson, Wainright, and Evans, now joined by W.H.Bleaden of St Mary Magdalene Paddington. The cutting edge of Winnington-Ingram’s negotiating process was not what he said to the moderates, but what could be arranged with the most extreme men.

Wilson was happy for the bishop to “Take us along with S[t] P[eter’s] London Docks as we are so near,”⁶⁴¹ but Winnington-Ingram did not wish to do that. He had been conducting his own negotiations with Wainright,⁶⁴² and as it was Wilson, not Wainright, who seemed to be leading the group, the bishop’s main effort was directed at him. It was Wilson who, on occasion, acted as intermediary between the Bishop and Wainright,⁶⁴³ while the latter wrote to Wilson at various time during the summer and autumn to inform him that he had not yet heard from the bishop.⁶⁴⁴

638 Thus W.B.Trevelyan to Bp London 6.7.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

639 A.W.Hanbury Tracy to Bp London, “Monday” [7.10.1901], Fulham Papers box 113.

640 A.W.Hanbury Tracy to Bp London, 9.10.1901, Fulham Papers box 113.

641 H.Wilson to Bp London, 16.6.1901, Fulham Papers box 113.

642 See, e.g., L. S. Wainright to Bp London 27.7.1901 and 6.8.1901, Fulham Papers box 113.

643 See, e.g., H.Wilson to Bp London, 28.11.1901, Fulham Papers box 113.

644 See L.S.Wainright to H.Wilson, 28.6.1901 and H.Wilson to Bp London, 28.10.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/1 and 1901/33.

Harry Wilson had been at St Augustine's for almost twenty years. He had always been a well-known convinced Catholic. He had numbered among his curates A.R.C.Cocks,⁶⁴⁵ now Vicar of St Bartholomew's and leader of the "Brighton school." Wilson was a strong leader. Archdeacon Sinclair thought him "altogether a man of mark and ability," and recommended him for the living of St Matthias' Earl's Court in 1892.⁶⁴⁶ Back in the early nineties he had hatched a plan for Evans to resign St Michael's Shoreditch in his favour, while his brother Richard took over St Augustine's.⁶⁴⁷ This plan never came to anything, as Evans stayed on. The Bishop of Bedford took it for empire-building:

I admire Harry Wilson very much though I do not agree with him about many things. He is giving me much trouble, but we shall continue to get on very well - this is not the first attempt he has made to secure some such arrangement for himself and he will do it again - He has more money than he knows what to do with & would like to have another parish & to leave his brother at St Augustine's. He could run two parishes very well!⁶⁴⁸

Wilson's star had really arisen in the Anglo-Catholic firmament in 1900, when he refused to join the St Alban's arrangement over incense. In March E.G.Wood suggested that if St Peter's London Docks were unavailable the May synod should be held at St Augustine's.⁶⁴⁹ Wilson was not even a member of the society at the time; but this was soon remedied - Wood and R.A.J.Suckling put him up for membership on 3 April.⁶⁵⁰ He was formally admitted only a month later.⁶⁵¹

Wilson resented all interference in his parish, especially that of helpful moderate friends. On 12 May, he addressed a stinging rebuke to R. Linklater who had suggested in print a solution for the incense problem at St Augustine's.⁶⁵² Wilson wrote from his Swiss holiday on 16 June to Winnington-Ingram, offering a solution. He would accept the principle of regulation, as long as Creighton's phrase about "censing persons and things" was dropped. In another letter which would never have been addressed to Creighton, Wilson urged his bishop to accept the logic of toleration:

Don't be like Blomfield, who allowed 2 candlesticks & candles, as long as they weren't lit!⁶⁵³

645 Brighton College Missioner at St Augustine's, 1887-9.

646 W. Sinclair to Bp London, 2.11.1892. Fulham Papers box 192.

647 Bp Bedford to Bp London, n.d. [9-12.9.1892]. Fulham Papers box 185.

648 Bp Bedford to Bp London, 15.9.1892. Fulham Papers box 185.

649 SSC iii.1900 p 6.

650 SSC iv.1900 p 3.

651 SSC v.1900 p 4.

652 H.Wilson to R. Linklater, 12.5.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/2.

653 H.Wilson to Bp London, 16.6.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

This left the problem of reservation. On 20 June, the bishop visited St Augustine's to inform himself about arrangements there.⁶⁵⁴ During the visit he asked Wilson whether he could see his way to lock the sacrament away, and limit incense to processions before and after mass.⁶⁵⁵ The tone of the visit was warm and positive. Wilson's main outstanding worry was how to sell such compromises to his congregation.⁶⁵⁶ Winnington-Ingram paid a similar visit three days later to St Mary Magdalene's Paddington.⁶⁵⁷

On 23 June Lord Halifax wrote to Wilson, to say that he had recently met Winnington-Ingram on a train to Oxford, and the two had discussed St Augustine's. He wanted Wilson to appreciate the sincerity with which the new bishop wanted an honourable solution. A little flexibility from Wilson over incense and locking the chapel in which the sacrament was reserved could have momentous results:

It means the complete victory of and sanction for *all* the things we have been fighting for these last fifty years ... I think you have in your hands the opportunity for *routing* the enemy and *securing* the B[isho]p of London as a real friend for all time.⁶⁵⁸

After receiving Halifax's letter, Wilson consulted Bleaden and Wainright, then wrote to the Bishop asking for assurance that the bishop's requests were only for the time being, and that they were not simply stepping stones to further requests.⁶⁵⁹ Armed with the assurances he had sought from Winnington-Ingram,⁶⁶⁰ Wilson sought advice from Bayfield Roberts,⁶⁶¹ Wood,⁶⁶² and the Vigilance Committee, which met specially on 5 July.⁶⁶³ At this meeting, Bayfield Roberts held out for adherence to principle, while Wood appeared to be more pragmatically inclined.

On 25 July Winnington-Ingram sent a circular to Wilson, Bleaden, Wainright and Suckling.⁶⁶⁴ In it, he offered to permit the swinging of a censer during the liturgy, as long as they agreed not to cense persons and things. He also laid down conditions under which the sacrament

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- 654 Bp London to H. Wilson, "Wednesday" [19.6.1901], Stepney MSS 1901/24.
 - 655 H. Wilson, memo, [20-21.6.1901], Stepney MSS 1901/23.
 - 656 [H. Wilson] to Ld Halifax, n.d. [24-6.6.1901], Stepney MSS 1901/9. The letter was written by Lord Halifax to himself as from Wilson, to show Winnington-Ingram. It claims, however, to be based on a genuine letter of Wilson's, now lost. The actual letter sent is in Stepney MSS 1901/29.
 - 657 W.H. Bleaden to H. Wilson, 25.6.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/5.
 - 658 Ld Halifax to H. Wilson, 23.6.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/7.
 - 659 H. Wilson to Bp London, 23.6.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/25.
 - 660 Bp. London to H. Wilson, 27.6.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/26.
 - 661 G. Bayfield Roberts to H. Wilson, 3.7.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/13.
 - 662 See, e.g., Wood to H. Wilson, 7.7.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/15.
 - 663 W. Crouch to H. Wilson, 28.6.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/10.
 - 664 Bp London to H. Wilson, 25.7.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/28.

might be reserved for the sick in both kinds.⁶⁶⁵ On 27 July Wainright asked for two months' in which to consult his colleagues. He would gather his friends to discuss the bishop's proposals

with a view to arriving at such a decision (you as I am very hopeful) [sic] as shall enable us to obey honourably - in accordance with the laws of the Catholic Church.⁶⁶⁶

The confidentiality of these discussions could not quite be maintained. In early August, garbled accounts of the visits Winnington-Ingram had paid to churches using incense began to appear in the press. On 6 August Wainright, who greatly regretted that anything had been made public, sent the bishop a cutting from the Nonconformist *Manchester Guardian*. This announced that:

The Bishop of London has thrown a bombshell into the camp of the extreme Anglicans. His recent visits to the churches in the diocese where it is believed reservation of the Sacrament is practised have resulted, it is understood, in a general order for the tabernacles where the Reserved Host is kept to be removed, and October 1 is believed to be the date fixed by the bishop for receiving from the clergy concerned a report of their action in the matter.⁶⁶⁷

At the same time other rumours were suggesting that toleration was on its way in the diocese of London. These were to do Winnington-Ingram no good when his proposals came before the bishops' meeting in November.⁶⁶⁸

The two months the bishop had given allowed Catholics to re-group and determine their real position on reservation. H.C.Lang suggested that the SSC chapter on 13 August should debate, then issue guidance on

the necessity of fixed and definite principles and united action in dealing with episcopal demands.⁶⁶⁹

The treasurer put it to the meeting that

We have now about two months breathing time, and if there is to be united action, the subject ought to be spoken of with confidence⁶⁷⁰

E.G.Wood read the meeting his propositions on the subject, including a dissuasive from reservation under both kinds.⁶⁷¹

The autumn of 1901 offered more hope for London Anglo-Catholics than there had been for a while. The Bishop of London appeared to be contemplating recognition of incense and reservation in limited forms,

665 *Ibid.*

666 L.S.Wainright to Bp London 27.7.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

667 Enclosed in L.S.Wainright to Bp London, 6.8.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

668 See below, p 149-50.

669 SSC viii.1901 p 2.

670 *Ibid.*

671 *Ibid.*, p 3.

and was thought likely to offer protection against prosecution. Those who had held out under Creighton appeared to be winning new ground for the party, and their stock rose accordingly. In 1901, Wilson was elected superior of the London district of the CBS⁶⁷² Some members objected that there had been no other candidate.⁶⁷³ Harsh words were said, and one member even resigned,⁶⁷⁴ but a protest meeting on 4 July fizzled out, when only three turned up.⁶⁷⁵

Wilson's new influence within the CBS was not always benign or constructive. On 31 October, Bishop Talbot of Rochester reported confidentially to Winnington-Ingram that

some of my loyal "advanced" [clergy] are concerned about this: the description given me is that "H.Wilson and his set are trying to influence the CBS for the Romanizers?" This comes in terribly badly with your kindness to them.

The immediate subject of this movement is a set of doctrines on the Holy Sacrament which they are trying to push in parishes. The title of the last in the syllabus is I believe "Transubstantiation - the word chosen by the church to guard the doctrine."

If this "syllabus" becomes public it will give us an awkward time.⁶⁷⁶

The two months' breathing space ended on 15 October when Winnington-Ingram met Wilson and Wainright to ask for a decision. Careful preparations were made for this meeting. A memorandum was circulated in advance, setting out the line they were to take. The locking of the chapel in which the sacrament was reserved was negotiable, the proposal to exclude incense from the liturgy proper less so. Careful research by Bayfield Roberts indicated that the irreducible minimum was that the oblations should be censed at some point in the service.⁶⁷⁷

Wilson and Wainright gained just about everything they wanted from the bishop at the meeting.⁶⁷⁸ There should be no censuring of church, clergy or congregation during the service, but the celebrant was allowed to swing a censer no more than three times, and a lay assistant three other times. The chapel where the sacrament was reserved was to be locked. When it was taken to the sick there was to be no procession. Celebrations in sick-rooms were not to be denied any who requested

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- 672 CBS General Council Minutes 24.10.1901, p 93. Lambeth Palace MS 2894.
 - 673 Villiers, Elsdon, Wiltshire, Henly, Pixell, Bleadon, Borradaile, Farmiloe, Brameld, Watkins to the General Secretary, CBS, 17.6.1901 in *Ibid.*
 - 674 W.Mirrielees. See R.A.J.Suckling to H.Wilson, 3.6.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/4.
 - 675 CBS Minutes *in loc.*
 - 676 Bp Rochester to Bp London, 31.10.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.
 - 677 H.Wilson & L.S.Wainright, memo, [before 15.10.1901]. Stepney MSS 1901/19.
 - 678 H.Wilson, memo, 15.10.1901, Stepney MSS 1901/20. Bp London, memo, "October 1901". Fulham Papers box 113.

them.⁶⁷⁹ Thus the bishop conceded ground over the censuring of oblations, but limited the censor to six swings.⁶⁸⁰

Such regulations may seem needlessly petty, but in recognizing the existence of the practices concerned they were more liberal than anything Creighton had offered. In principle, the ritualists had gained the objective laid down in Halifax's letter of 23 June⁶⁸¹. The only substantial doubt was over the bishop's continued insistence on reservation in both kinds,⁶⁸² but Winnington-Ingram apparently considered this point to be negotiable.⁶⁸³ Wilson was doubtless sincere when he told the bishop "I cannot tell you how grateful I am"⁶⁸⁴

Winnington-Ingram's regulations seemed to hold out a workable way forward. In his first six months in the diocese, he had gained just about everything he had set out to achieve. He had kept the moderates in tow, and added Wilson, Wainright and Bleaden. Unlike his predecessor, regulation was no concession, wrung out of him by negotiation; It had been his first instinct to recognize limited uses. Wisely, given the limits of his theoretical knowledge, he had played his bids circumspectly, with constant advice from Talbot, Gore, Riley and Halifax. By the summer the outline of his plan was known to Talbot, who felt:

It is v[ery] much the sort of line that I have felt all along would be really bravest & wisest. The only thing is that it leaves us without a rule: & esp[ecially] without the rule wh[ich] the man in the street understands of interpreted law.⁶⁸⁵

The plan for regulating incense was given to Charles Gore for comment. He replied on 9 August:

I think it excellent ... It seems to me entirely the right line, though doubtless it is not the Archbishop's. I think they will submit.⁶⁸⁶

On 22 October Talbot offered some fine tuning for Winnington-Ingram's plan. The proposal to offer permission "in churches where a case of necessity can be made out" seemed dangerous

for assuredly every 'extremist' will make such a case by the same argument ... 'It is *necessary* for me to be able to admin[ister] to a dying person at any moment...' ⁶⁸⁷

679 Summary in Bp London to H.Wilson (encl in letter of 24.10.1901). Stepney MSS 1901/22.
680 Bp London to H.Wilson, 24.10.1901. Stepney Papers 1901/21.
681 See above, p 138.
682 See e.g., H.Wilson to Bp London, 15.10.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.
683 Thus Wilson's memo, Stepney MSS 1901/20 § 3.
684 H.Wilson to Bp London, 15.10.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.
685 PS to Bp Rochester to Bp London, "July 1901," Fulham Papers box 113.
686 C.Gore to Bp London, 9.8.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.
687 Bp Rochester to Bp London, 22.10.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

Talbot, who had not been impressed by Wilson's tone thusfar,⁶⁸⁸ was worried about the way in which Winnington-Ingram had phrased his regulations:

Your language has been written under the strong impression and influence of their point of view as they shape it and phrase it. And accordingly you make their position your own to a needless extent.⁶⁸⁹

Finally, Talbot thought that the whole principle of regulation, entailing as it did implicit recognition, would need careful handling in public. Clumsy presentation might trigger a new crisis:

Dearest man, I honour your quietness and courage and you may be right. I wish we c[oul]d have all taken the course earlier if it is the right one. But it is a very big move[;] and of course it will be said that the Bishops have now definitely resolved to sanction breaches of the law of the ch[urch] (I don't want them also to say "have taken the responsibility of directing such breaches") and the Archbishop's effort to produce Order has failed. An attempt will be made to push for "orders" by force of law across the Bishops. I don't think it can succeed: but we shall have an ugly time.⁶⁹⁰

Most important of all, however, the plan seemed to be acceptable to those ritualists whose compliance alone could make a success of it. On 17 October, two days after the bishop's meeting with Wilson and Wainright, Athelstan Riley, who was "very anxious" that the new regulations should be accepted,⁶⁹¹ wrote to Winnington-Ingram that he had spent the last few days in London, sounding out Anglo-Catholic clergy.

I think all with one exception are prepared to go with Harry Wilson, and though I did not see Wilson I gathered from what Hanbury-Tracy told me that your Lordship had practically arranged things with him.⁶⁹²

The "one exception" was Evans; but Riley, who was an old college friend, had a suggestion for dealing with him:

Would it not be possible to arrange for a living, say in a small country town, to be offered him, then some of us would try and persuade him to take it. Only it must not come through you or in such a way that would make him suspect why it was offered him, otherwise he would hold on to Shore-ditch come what might. But Keble or some private patron might do it.

Thus supposing, as I hope, all the other incumbents came into line, you could say that all without exception in your diocese had followed your directions.⁶⁹³

Thus by the time Winnington-Ingram went to see Evans on 23 October there was some prospect of a solution to the problem of his last recalcitrant, one way or the other.⁶⁹⁴

688 Bp Rochester to Bp London, 22.7.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

689 Bp Rochester to Bp London, 22.10.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

690 *Ibid.*

691 A.Riley to Bp London, 12.10.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

692 A.Riley to Bp London, 17.10.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

693 *Ibid.*

694 A. Riley to Bp London, 22.10.1901 Fulham Papers box 113.

The atmosphere was thundery, however. Athelstan Riley reported to the bishop a destabilizing tract by one calling himself "Athanasius."⁶⁹⁵ It was an attack on the "Canonists" within the ECU. Riley told Winnington-Ingram:

the 'Canonists' attacked by the pamphlet are clearly Wood of Cambridge, Lacey, and their followers. Wood and Lacey, who have great influence, are therefore doing their best for peace, as I thought, though it is not Wood's usual part!⁶⁹⁶

The tract's main point was that the Canonists had surrendered unnecessarily. It recommended resistance to "episcopal autocracy:"

The 'Canonists' argument makes every Anglican Bishop to-day more of an autocrat in fact than the Pope himself. According to them it seems that a Bishop has only to throw off allegiance to the system of the Church and decide to act apart from the judgment of all other Bishops, and then at once, so long as no appeal to the whole Church is possible, his clergy become bound in conscience to follow him. They are at the mercy of his every whim, in matters which the Church has indeed decided, but has not decided everywhere in identically the same way...⁶⁹⁷

After mocking government of the Church by "secret conclave,"⁶⁹⁸ "Athanasius" went on to make a profoundly destabilizing point. The whole argument that the bishops had a right to regulate, call it *jus liturgicum* or not, could not apply in present circumstances, because it ignored the purpose of such regulation. This was not to protect the sacrament from profanation, but to prevent worship. This defect of intention dissolved any rights a bishop might claim in the matter.⁶⁹⁹ If Christ were present in the Eucharist in more than a Virtualist sense, it was futile to suppose locking the chapel doors made any substantial difference. Bishops who forbade adoration and their accomplices, Priests who prevented it by accepting such regulation, were portrayed as those who sought to forbid the touching of the hem of Christ's garment - fools on an impossible errand.⁷⁰⁰ "Athanasius" finished off by saying there were far worse things to fear than disobedience for the truth - indeed it was only "resistance to uncanonical demands" which had accomplished anything yet for Catholics within the Church.⁷⁰¹

Timed as it was at a tender stage in the negotiating process, Riley thought the tract terribly dangerous:

695 Riley's guess was that it was by one of "two priests, one in the London Diocese (not in Shoreditch) the other in a distant diocese, but who wrote it in London." (*Ibid*)

696 *Ibid.*

697 "Athanasius", *The Canonists and The Crisis - An answer of the Catholic Party to the Episcopal Demands*, London, 1901, p 3-4.

698 *Ibid.*, p 9.

699 *Ibid.*, p 12.

700 *Ibid.*, p 14.

701 *Ibid.*, p 16.

Its appearance makes me all the more anxious about Evans, for it puts forward his position with no little ability... If he elects to take his stand on this position he will certainly get some backing and may even influence the London churches.

If your Lordship's efforts tomorrow are fruitless do let us try to turn the position by slipping Evans into a Keble living if one is going (this will be done through Halifax or Hugh Cecil I think)...⁷⁰²

The bishop need not have feared for Wilson. On 24 October, Winnington-Ingram sent a final typewritten copy of the proposed regulations to him.⁷⁰³ Wilson replied the next day, accepting them in broad outline.⁷⁰⁴ All that now stood between the bishop and his goal was Evans, egged on by "Athanasius." The day before, Evans had refused any co-operation. He would only accept regulation if the bishop was prepared to attach to it a doctrinal statement including Wood's formulation of the doctrine of œcumenical practices.⁷⁰⁵ Talbot pointed out to Winnington-Ingram that no bishop could possibly sign such a *carte blanche* at present. Neither he nor Gore could see an immediate answer:

I am deeply sorry about Evans. But neither of us saw how he c[oul]d be met. C[oul]d any of his own friends influence him? They owe it to you.⁷⁰⁶

Nothing remained to work out with Wilson, except the small print. One point was the possibility of celebrations in the presence of the reserved sacrament.⁷⁰⁷ Gore warned Winnington-Ingram that this might involve "a perfect forest of genuflexions."⁷⁰⁸ By 5 November, the bishop had got Harry Wilson to promise that gestures at such services would be "identical, neither more nor less,"⁷⁰⁹ and Gore was reassured.⁷¹⁰

Talbot thought it unwise to stipulate the orientation of the censer during its six swings. Perhaps the bishop's distinction between lay assistants and clergy could go, too.⁷¹¹ On 11 November he advised Winnington-Ingram that Wilson's request for permission to celebrate the eucharist in the chapel more than once a week was reasonable.⁷¹²

Talbot thought Wilson's other contentions at this time absurd. These included an idea of E.G.Wood's that the prayer book had moved the

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- 702 A.Riley to Bp London, 22.10.1901 Fulham Papers box 113.
703 Bp London to H.Wilson, 24.10.1901 (& enclosure 1901/22). Stepney MSS 1901.21.
704 H.Wilson to Bp London, 25.10.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/32.
705 Bp Rochester to Bp London, 2.11.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.
706 *Ibid.*
707 Bp London to H.Wilson, 30.10.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/34.
708 *Ibid.*
709 This phrase was not Wilson's, but it could be inferred from H.Wilson to Bp London, 2.11.1901, Stepney MSS 1901/35.
710 C. Gore to Bp London, 5.11.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.
711 Bp Rochester to Bp London, 2.11.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.
712 Bp Rochester to Bp London, 11.11.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

Gloria to the end of the service in order to encourage eucharistic adoration by those who would say it while before them, covered by a fair linen cloth, lay eucharistic elements.⁷¹³ Talbot warned Winnington-Ingram against taking this incredible idea too seriously. It had "a certain believed plausibility or possibility - but no reality at all."⁷¹⁴

Thus all outstanding points were agreed with Wilson and his friends early in November 1901. Evans remained obstinate, but Riley, Halifax and Cecil were putting together a plan to neutralize him. Perhaps peace in London was now just around the corner.

Winnington-Ingram's plan received another important endorsement on the eve of the bishops' meeting to which he had to sell it. Canon McColl wrote on 11 November to say that he had been to see the secretary of the ECU with encouraging results. Even two bishops sounded hopeful:

ECU w[oul]d certainly not support any clergy who ... insist on standing out against the compromise w[hic]h the rest have accepted in the matters of incense and reservation. ... I believe that with a little patience the few irreconcilables will fall into line with the rest when they find that they will get no outside support. For myself, I am very sorry that your Lordship's generosity should be so ill requited. The Bishops of Chichester & Exeter told me that they w[oul]d be satisfied with the *modus vivendi* wh[ic]h I suggested in my paper at the Brighton Church congress but perhaps I sh[oul]d not repeat that...⁷¹⁵

Winnington-Ingram's final preparation was, prudently, to check his facts by putting out a form of inquiry about incense and reservation.⁷¹⁶ The Bishop sent this on 7 November to 41 churches on a list provided for him by Harry Wilson.⁷¹⁷ This survey produced a comprehensive picture of the growth of ritualist practices in the London diocese. Here was hard evidence of the way in which persecution had stimulated the growth of Anglo-Catholic practices. The number of churches using incense had multiplied by five in the last thirty years. Fifteen perpetually reserved the sacrament, nineteen occasionally, only seven never at all.⁷¹⁸

The survey made it obvious that such widespread and well-rooted phenomena could not simply be repressed. The argument for recognizing moderate forms of them in return for maintaining the semblance of

713 see H.Wilson to Bp London, 5.11.1901, Stepney MSS 1901/36.

714 Bp Rochester to Bp London, 11.11.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

715 M. McColl to Bp London, 11.11.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

716 Bp London & H.P.Cronshaw [chaplain], Questionnaire and Notes, 7.11.1901 in Fulham Papers box 113.

717 Request for list in Bp London to H.Wilson, 30.10.1901. Stepney MSS 1901/34.

718 Bp London & H.P.Cronshaw [chaplain], Questionnaire and Notes, 7.11.1901 in Fulham Papers box 113.

order must have seemed overwhelming. As the Bishop of London went to Lambeth, he could not have hoped for a stronger or better grounded case to lay before his colleagues.

The collapse of regulation

The bishops' meeting to which Winnington-Ingram brought the result of his labours was held at Lambeth Palace on the morning of Tuesday 12 November. Randall Davidson's minutes record:

The Bishop of London asked for advice upon certain Regulations or permissions for the use of Incense & Reservation, which he had drawn up for adoption by 40 churches in his diocese, which would not agree to the Lambeth Opinions, but which were willing to accept these regulations, thereby giving up several practices which they had been accustomed to for many years.⁷¹⁹

The most trenchant opponent of ritualism at the meeting was the Bishop of Hereford, John Percival. His concern about ritualism was not that of a Church Associationist, but that of a committed Liberal and former headmaster, concerned about discipline in itself. At a bishops' meeting in 1898, Percival had asked:

What practical steps, if any, do those Bishops who have to deal with Romanizing excess in ritual or doctrine, propose to take, so as to save the Church from further drifting, and to reassure the laity?⁷²⁰

Talbot had written to Winnington-Ingram on the day before the bishops' meeting with the encouraging news that Gore was to be the new Bishop of Worcester. The same letter warned, however, that the bishop of Hereford might give "signal of battle & promise of war."⁷²¹ Percival read the meeting

extracts from a public speech by a member of the ECU in which it was asserted that the use of Incense and Reservation had been 'publicly legalized' in the Diocese of London, Rochester, Salisbury, & Truro.⁷²²

Percival's contribution left the bishops concerned no choice but to deny the substance of his assertion. Fear of its implications, and a strong lead from Temple, made the complete demise of Winnington-Ingram's plan inevitable. It was Temple himself who took the lead:

The Archbishop of Canterbury very strongly urged that the Bishop of London should take no action, such as had been suggested. Until Reform could

719 Bishops Meeting 12.11.1901 minute 4 (Lambeth Palace MSS).
720 Bishops Meeting 24.5.1898 minute 16 (Lambeth Palace MSS).
721 Bp Rochester to Bp London, 11.11.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.
722 Bishops Meeting 12.11.1901 minute 4 (Lambeth Palace MSS).

be made in a lawful way, the Bishops must hold every clergyman bound by his oath to use the Services provided in the Prayer Book and no other.⁷²³

It was sad for the bishop of London, new boy that he was, that his plan should have been wrecked by bishops who suffered nothing like the same agonies over Anglo-Catholics. Temple's part must have been particularly galling. Bishop Jacob of Newcastle put it to Winnington-Ingram thus:

After the trenchant line taken by our chief whose own 'laissez faire' policy - which astonished a good many of us at the time - has caused you most of this trouble[,] it seems hard to know what to do...⁷²⁴

Two other bishops wrote from the Athenæum that evening, offering their commiserations, and explaining why they had felt it necessary to abandon Winnington-Ingram at the meeting. The Archbishop of York agreed that

None but the most narrow-minded could complain of temporary toleration; but regulation implies the acceptance of the principle. I felt very sad that your earnest effort in the direction of peace should meet with discouragement: & yet I feel sure that the discouragement was wise.⁷²⁵

The Bishop of Chichester sympathized with Winnington-Ingram, but not with the details of the plan he had proposed. He promised that he had

tried on Tuesday to divert a portion at least of the burden from your shoulders. But bear with me if I say I earnestly hope you won't perpetuate, by regulating, the use of incense.⁷²⁶

Talbot and Winnington-Ingram were not the only bishops to sit loose to the Lambeth opinions in their own dioceses. Thus the prelate whose diocese included the Brighton and South Coast region went on to tell Winnington-Ingram privately that although he ruled out incense as a "luxury," reservation was tolerated all over his diocese "where I am persuaded of the necessities of the parish."⁷²⁷

Talbot, who understood better than any of the others what Winnington-Ingram had been through to arrange his compromise, was appalled by the meeting:

Your matter has lain heavily on my heart ever since, & I do not see my way. I am very sorry for you. It seems, humanly speaking, calamitous that the Bishops' Meeting came then, neither earlier nor later: yours was a line which could only be carried through, if at all, by individual action.⁷²⁸

723 *Ibid.*

724 Bp Newcastle to Bp London, n.d. [13-14.11.1901], Fulham Papers box 113.

725 Abp York to Bp London, 13.11.1901, Fulham Papers box 113.

726 Bp Chichester to Bp London, 14.11.1901, Fulham Papers box 113.

727 Reservation in a locked chapel, in both kinds, with no street processions, and saving the rights of those who desired the full Prayer Book service. *Ibid.*

728 Bp Rochester to Bp London, 14.11.1901, Fulham Papers box 113.

This was Charles Gore's first bishops' meeting. As bishop-elect of Worcester, he was invited to observe. He was aghast at the huge gap this meeting revealed to him between some bishops and the reality of Anglo-Catholicism. Percival and Temple seemed to understand nothing of what they were trying to suppress:

During the meeting yesterday I felt ... A great desire to stand up and say 'My Lords, I have been among ritualists and used to their services since 1868. I can tell you, for I know, that to talk of suppressing incense or reservation is to talk about what is impossible. You might have regulated it, you may perhaps still do so: - but suppress it, no'.⁷²⁹

Gore was worried enough to seek Davidson's advice as to whether he could make his consecration vows knowing he could not obey the line Temple had laid down at this meeting. A characteristically evasive and emollient reply assured Gore that although bishops could only enforce the law, none could be expected to make anything but special arrangements for special cases.⁷³⁰ Predictably, Gore's strictures did not impress Temple:

I had out my views to the Archbishop of Canterbury yesterday, and I thought he rather slew me than answered me.⁷³¹

Gore, like Winnington-Ingram and Talbot, knew that the desire to use incense had not been created by bishops, and, *pace* the bishop of Chichester, was not perpetuated by them. What was common sense in the dioceses of Hereford or Truro was Erastian nonsense to the large Anglo-Catholic group in London, and there was no authority on earth which could hold them to it.

The failure of Winnington-Ingram's initiative gave him the humiliating task of canceling all the arrangements he had made. As he told Harry Wilson and L.S.Wainright on 15 November, he seemed to Wilson "very sad and depressed."⁷³² The SSC learnt on 10 December that the Bishop of London had told the secretary, James Dixon,

that he had failed in his purpose of regulating use of incense and methods of reservation, and therefore he must revert to what his predecessor had done, and refuse to enter Churches in his diocese where incense was used in the Mass and the Most Holy Sacrament Reserved. He would license no Priests to such Churches, but he was willing to give Priests permission to work there.⁷³³

Most Anglo-Catholics appreciated that Winnington-Ingram's hands were genuinely tied. L.S.Wainright wrote to him on 19 November, offering sympathy, but begging for future understanding. He hoped that

729 C.Gore to Bp Winchester, 13.11.[1901]. G.K.A.Bell, *Op. Cit.*, I.362-3.

730 Bp Winchester to C.Gore, 16.11.1901. G.K.A.Bell, *Op. Cit.*, I.363-5.

731 C.Gore to Bp Winchester, 29.11.1901. G.K.A.Bell, *Op. Cit.*, I.365.

732 H.Wilson, memo, [15-18.11.1901]. Stepney MSS 1901/37.

733 SSC xii.1901 p 3.

the loyalty generated over the last few months would not be lost; “despite appearances, only Evans is against us.”⁷³⁴ At the January chapter of 1902, W.Scott commended the bishop for his “friendliness and frankness,”⁷³⁵ but F.L.Ware warned that

we must look not only at the bishop’s words, but at his deeds too, e.g., in causing a grant for [an] Assistant Priest to be withdrawn from his own very poor parish.⁷³⁶

On 28 December, Hanbury-Tracy begged to be allowed the use of incense which had become customary under Bishop Creighton.⁷³⁷ Winnington-Ingram showed Tracy’s plea to Randall Davidson, and asked for advice. Davidson replied on 31 December, urging firmness in implementing the line agreed at the bishops’ meeting. He believed Winnington-Ingram was being tricked by those who suggested Creighton had allowed incense:

I simply decline to believe that B[isho]p Creighton authoritatively lent himself to that kind of hair-splitting. I sh[oul]d at all events require to see some very different evidence of it from this - something not coloured by the necessarily biased recollection of fighting partisans. It is like Kruger’s reminiscence of a talk with Milner...

Then there is surely something pitiable in the absurd attempt Tracy makes to parade in all its glory ... the immensity of the ‘great surrender’ which he & his friends made. Compare the terms of this ‘great surrender’ with the use which is retained!...

I quite agree that if they could show you in black & white anything definitely laid down by B[isho]p Creighton ... you w[oul]d be justified in saying that you w[oul]d protect them from prosecution for anything which fell within the limits of such obedience & this is, I gather, what the Archbishop has approved or enjoined.⁷³⁸

This was advice ‘Benjamin’⁷³⁹ was now in no mood to follow, however, and Hanbury-Tracy was able to write to the Bishop’s chaplain on 4 January inviting Winnington-Ingram to preach at St Barnabas again, now that “we have had the Bishop’s sanction for our use here.”⁷⁴⁰

Hanbury-Tracy wrote to the Bishop himself to say how weary and sick he was of the whole business. Only that year the new Roman Catholic Cathedral had been opened at Westminster, a work of “unique splendour, magnificence and daring.” It was only yards from St Barnabas church; this was no time to be quibbling over ritual:

734 L.S.Wainright to Bp London, 19.11.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

735 SSC i.1901 p 7.

736 *Ibid.*

737 A.W.Hanbury-Tracy to Bp London, 28.12.[1901]. Fulham Papers box 113.

738 Bp Winchester to Bp London, 31.12.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

739 The term of endearment AFWI used to subscribe letters addressed to Davidson as “Dear Elder Brother.” G.K.A.Bell, *Op.Cit.*, I.362.

740 A.W.Hanbury-Tracy to H. P. Cronshaw, 4.1.[1902]. Fulham Papers box 113.

I venture to say that if we are to steady our people in the face of such a tremendous fact (so awfully sad looked at from the highest point of view) this is not the moment for English Bishops to be disputing with their clergy as to the more or less in the ceremonial use of incense, or to attempt to rob English Catholics of one atom of the ritual to which for half a century they have grown accustomed with the tacit consent of authority, & paid so high a figure -

The other day a man in a great position said "The Roman Church is the only consistent church in the world." Do the Bishops of England intend to make it more difficult for us priests than it already is, in the confessional & in other ways, to deny this statement?⁷⁴¹

Whilst affirming his personal affection for Winnington-Ingram, Hanbury-Tracy lamented before the Bishop's chaplain the paltry contribution of bishops to the Oxford Movement:

As I look over more than 30 years' ministry I ask what is the onward movement indebted to the bishops. And the answer seems to be ... the Catholic revival owes nothing to the bishops. I exclude one bishop & his recent action of course. The whole of the fighting, so blessed in its results, has been done by the second order. All the opposition has come not from but through the bishops from the days when they condemned surpliced choirs. This melancholy fact throws light upon our present circumstances today. If the bishops can't or won't help us because as you say of the large proportion of those who are against us or because the great majority of the Episcopate is against us, or because the Archbishop forbids it, or because government threatens disestablishment, then we must help ourselves & go on without them.

What I feel at this moment I should wish to do is to maintain the Status Quo - only with the clear and definite understanding that as the Bishop can't protect me with the exercise of *jus liturgicum*, I must protect myself, which means that at the moment at which the position becomes intolerable to my conscience I shall go back to where we were before Bishop Creighton, so he led us to believe, regulated privately such things.⁷⁴²

The failure of the Bishop of London's scheme did not affect what Anglo-Catholics did in church. There was no hint of giving up anything from the SSC, but rather a paper by Wilmot Phillips rejecting reservation in both kinds.⁷⁴³ All the same, the failure of the regulation plan soured the feelings of Anglo-Catholics about bishops in general. To use Creighton's old categories, if they were not going to be entirely super-episcopal, it strengthened their resolve to be extra-episcopal.

After November 1901 conformity to Creighton's compromise was replaced not by conformity to Temple's wishes, but by a return to the palmy days before bishops were supposed to have anything to do with incense. Prebendary H.P.Denison had been vicar of St Michael's

741 A.W.Hanbury-Tracy to Bp London, 8.1.[1902]. Fulham Papers box 113.

742 A.W.Hanbury-Tracy to H.P.Cronshaw, 10.12.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

743 SSC xii.1901 pp 2-3.

Kensington since 1896.⁷⁴⁴ He was a nephew of Archdeacon Denison,⁷⁴⁵ and had worked for many years as assistant curate of East Brent. St Michael's North Kensington was not a notorious place like St Michael's Shoreditch,⁷⁴⁶ although Denison had brought incense into use there when he became Vicar.⁷⁴⁷ In the autumn of 1899 Denison had agreed to Creighton's terms, but now he opted out of all episcopal restraint.

Denison's letter of explanation to Winnington-Ingram is worth study in depth, as an expression of rank and file Anglo-Catholics' feelings.⁷⁴⁸ He was unmoved by the bishop's appeals for peace and toleration. Since the seventies he had often been told how small were the matters in dispute. If they were so small, why did Protestants carry on complaining?⁷⁴⁹ As for toleration, Denison did not want it, but rather a recognition of his rights.⁷⁵⁰ He had tried compromising under Creighton. That had conciliated no one. He had had enough:

Not one person came to St Michael's in consequence of the change, while there was so marked a falling off that I used laughingly to say that I should have to tell Bishop Creighton that I really could not afford to comply with his request any longer.

No! The Protestant will not be reconciled to us by any such modifications as your Lordship proposes: but the fact of your Lordship's acceptance of Incense and Reservation at all will probably alienate him the more from yourself.⁷⁵¹

Denison saw no need for episcopal sanction. It had not been necessary for any other Catholic advance:

there is not one single thing that is now in common use in our churches that has not, at some time or other, been under the ban of the Bishops. ... Within my own recollection Bishop Tait refused to consecrate a church until the clergy had removed their coloured stoles, and until the sketch for the crucifix in the reredos had been rubbed out."⁷⁵²

This was a reference to the consecration of St Michael's Shoreditch on 24 August 1865, during which it was reported that Tait had said to the

744 Curate of E. Brent, Somerset 1871-75 and 1875-96. Priested after 4 years in orders by Bp Oxford as C St Thomas the Martyr, 1875. V. St Michael AA North Kensington, 1896-. Prebendary of Yatton, Wells Cathedral, 1896-. *Crockford* 1900, *in loc.*

745 3rd Son of W.T.Denison. Foster, *Alumni Ox.*, 235.66. For the Father's career see DNB V.805-7.

746 Although Denison had preached for H.M.M.Evans at St Michael's on occasion, e.g., 31.7.1898. *Church Times*, 5.8.1898 p 182.

747 1896. Bp London & H. P. Cronshaw [chaplain], Questionnaire and Notes, 7.11.1901 in Fulham Papers box 113.

748 H.P.Denison to Bp London, 9.1.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

749 *Ibid.*, (a).

750 *Ibid.*, (b).

751 *Ibid.*, (1).

752 *Ibid.*, (2).

offending clergy "Take off these ribbons, gentlemen!"⁷⁵³ It is interesting to find this snippet of Anglo-Catholic folklore still in live circulation almost forty years later.

Who is to guarantee to your Lordships that continuity of policy at the hands of your successors that your predecessors have not received at the hands of the present occupiers of the bench? ... There seems to us to be the same attempt to crystallize the movement at the point that the Bishops themselves have reached; an attempt that we have seen fail again and again.⁷⁵⁴

Denison went on to doubt that the liturgical knowledge of the bishops was sufficient to support their claimed *jus liturgicum*. "Waxing very bold" he went on to point out that bishops wore mitres and authorized services not provided for by the Act of Uniformity.⁷⁵⁵ Drawing Temple's premises to a radically different conclusion, he suggested that as the whole church was subject to the Act of Uniformity, no bishop could call for a higher obedience.

We cannot, at one and the same time, be under the Act of Uniformity, and under the *Jus Liturgicum*: and as, for the time being, we are under the Act of Uniformity, we cannot, at present, set much store by the *Jus Liturgicum*.⁷⁵⁶

Since Denison's interpretation of the act allowed incense, the bishop had no greater power by which to ask him to desist, being himself under the same law:

I am not quarreling with the Act of Uniformity nor with the *cong  d' lire*. On the contrary, I think that, as things are, they are our best safeguard. We are not yet ripe for the position of a free church; and it seems to me that it is the providence of GOD that retains us under the shadow of the establishment.⁷⁵⁷

Requests such as the Bishops had been making could only be made, according to Denison, in a disestablished church with elected bishops and restored diocesan synods. He wished bishops would resist the temptation to act as what they were not:

I cannot help seeing the growing tendency to unconstitutional Government, and to the erection of Lambeth into a Quasi Papacy. ... I would rather take my chance with the Judicial Committee and Lord Penzance for we know how to answer them: whereas the encroachment of an authority for which we have the profoundest veneration is not so easy to meet.⁷⁵⁸

Finally, Denison turned to present prospects and Creighton's old question of who would be obeyed:

That question is not so easy to answer. In an abnormal state of things it is not easy even if it were wise, to prescribe a *nostrum*. Meanwhile, through

753 R.T.Davidson & W.T.Benham, *Op. Cit.*, I.439-40.

754 H.P.Denison to Bp London, 9.1.1902, (2). Fulham Papers box 113.

755 *Ibid* (3).

756 *Ibid*.

757 *Ibid* (4).

758 *Ibid*

all our difficulties ... it is manifest that things are living and moving, and that an advance is being made all along the line. May we not crave that, as this is so, things may be left alone, and that the settlement of such questions as these may be left to a time that will be more capable of settling them, by which time it is conceivably possible that they will have settled themselves.⁷⁵⁹

This letter, which, like so many now arriving at Fulham Palace, would never have been written to Creighton, reflects a new parochial ἀνομία, which was to horrify Davidson when he encountered it at the hearings of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline.⁷⁶⁰ Everything was now back in the melting pot. Denison's line was strangely prophetic of the way in which matters were to fall out. His explicit refusal to yield made it plain that the whole concept of enforced co-operation, as it had been discussed by Harcourt, Temple and Bishop Percival, was a fantasy. There was no such thing. The only co-operation available was the sort of voluntary arrangement Creighton and Winnington-Ingram had succeeded in securing, which was not good enough for Temple.

Bishop Creighton had been brought by common sense to the point where he was compelled to recognize the existence of Anglo-Catholic practices, and decided to try and regulate them. Then the Lambeth opinions were produced, and ignored. That reawakened the possibility of prosecution, promoted by Colonel Porcelli. Creighton had no stomach for that, and there matters rested.

Winnington-Ingram had surveyed the scene, decided to recognize incense and negotiated an arrangement with all except Myddleton Evans. Perhaps the sort of regulation Winnington-Ingram had arranged was incomprehensible or repugnant to the majority of Anglicans. It did represent an accommodation between extreme Anglo-Catholics and authority. What Canon Newbolt had called the dons at Oxford dancing round the fire was the best obedience that could be got. By forcing bishops of London to hold out for something greater, Temple precipitated anarchy in his old diocese.

For men who were supposed to be so different, it is extraordinary how similar was the ruin of Creighton and Winnington-Ingram's ritual policy in London. The main difference was that Creighton had only six months to live after his arrangements failed, where Winnington-Ingram had another thirty nine years' episcopate to see through.

All manner of Anglo-Catholic doctrines and practices developed in the vacuum Temple had created, as they might have anyway, but without

759 *Ibid.*

760 See below, p 229-30.

any relation to the bishops. One way of cushioning the blow and saving Winnington-Ingram's blushes was to use a suffragan instead. Cosmo Gordon Lang, the new Bishop of Stepney, was not privy to bishops' meetings, not being a diocesan bishop. He took a liberal approach to the unpromising task of implementing an unrealistic line to which he had not been a party.⁷⁶¹ By December 1902, E.G.Wood was recommending London Anglo-Catholic incumbents to take permission from the Bishop of Kensington as a substitute for curates' licences from the Bishop of London.⁷⁶² Next summer, it was reported to the SSC that the bishop of Stepney was sanctioning incense at churches in which it had been in use for at least five years.⁷⁶³

As people did what they wanted, saving "uncle Arthur" embarrassment by not telling him, the principles of Denison's letter became widespread among Anglo-Catholic clergy. Adventures in Anglo-Catholicism which would have been unthinkable under Winnington-Ingram's predecessors were being tolerated in London. The new bishop had not intended to do anything like this at first, but by 1902 he had no real alternative.

The significance of this practical ineffectuality, albeit one for which Winnington-Ingram was not entirely responsible, was keenly felt by Hensley Henson at the time. The Bishop of London was becoming an unwitting tool in Anglo-Catholic hands:

He is attempting to govern a church in the spirit of an enthusiastic High Church curate in the fervour and confidence of his first curacy. None can question his absolute sincerity: few can resist his charm of manner and person: all must admire his ardour and devotion. ... he is bishop of London: really the 2nd person in the hierarchy, with all but the succession to Lambeth in his hands! Only the student of English Church History can know what a calamity to the National Church is involved in the absence from this great Chair of the strong wisdom of moderate churchmanship which in the main has been its tradition. The Bishop of London now speaks no longer with the authority of his predecessors, nor does his Chair count for more in the higher politics of the Church - the politics which determine the courses of religious thought - than the Bishop of Lebombo.⁷⁶⁴

St Michael's Shoreditch

Dealings with the majority of Anglo-Catholic parishes in the diocese of London had now sunk into an impressionistic individual muddle, sometimes called "the compromise," from which they were not to

761 Bp Stepney to Bp London, n.d. [12.1901], Fulham Papers box 113.

762 See, e.g., Wood to C.K.Watkins, SSC xii.1902 p 7.

763 SSC vi.1903 p 5.

764 H. H. Henson to Miss Violet Markham, 18.11.1907. E. F. Braley (ed), *Op. Cit.*, p 8.

emerge until the second world war. Its birth was accompanied by an extended incident representing Denison's ecclesiological principle raised to its most embarrassing power at St Michael's Shoreditch.

Myddleton Evans was the most obstinate ritualist in London. He had come to no arrangements with Creighton or Winnington-Ingram. Although he lacked the intellectual equipment of W.Scott, or the organizing ability of A.R.C.Cocks, he wielded considerable influence. In 1898, H.E.Hall told Bishop Creighton of him:

Mr Evans is looked upon by us all as one of the most devoted lovers of souls amongst your Lordship's clergy and commands our admiration and devoted affection in consequence. Any line of action that he adopted would carry great weight with younger clergy of our school.⁷⁶⁵

Before November, various Anglo-Catholic luminaries had tried to bring Evans into line, Hanbury-Tracy,⁷⁶⁶ Athelstan Riley,⁷⁶⁷ and Canon M^cColl.⁷⁶⁸ Riley's plan to offer him a Keble living through Hugh Cecil or Halifax did not shift him.

Evans' uncompromising resistance called everybody's bluff, Protestants, bishops, and fellow Anglo-Catholics. Practices at St Michael's went far beyond anything at St Matthew's Westminster or even St Augustine's Stepney. Harry Wilson wondered whether his curates might be allowed the key to the chapel containing the aumbry. Meanwhile, Evans was using a tabernacle and holding weekly benediction with a monstrance at the high altar.

St Michael's had a long history of strife. In its early days it had been the best placed and equipped of the Brett and Foster churches. As well as church and schools, a hospital was maintained by "Sisters of the poor" but this fell on hard times in the 1880's. Some of the sisters became Roman Catholics, and took the others to court for a share of the property.⁷⁶⁹ H.D.Nihill tried to resuscitate the hospital in February 1887, but the roughness of the district compounded the weakness engendered by dissension. In July 1892 the Archdeacon of London described the church thus:

Its condition is exceedingly lamentable. The group of buildings is beautiful and ambitious, but shows universally most marked signs of decay and neglect. The Church is not watertight, and will rapidly become unsafe. Every window in the church and schools is broken. The occupants of the sisterhood which forms a conspicuous part of the group of buildings have, for some time, not been on speaking terms with the Clergy. Bands of wild boys have been accustomed to roam around the buildings and even inside the

765 H.E.Hall to Bp London, 21.3.1898. Fulham Papers box 60.

766 A.W.Hanbury-Tracy to Bp London, 4.10.[1901], Fulham Papers box 113.

767 A.Riley to Bp London, 22.10.1901, Fulham Papers box 113.

768 M. M^cColl to Bp London, 11.11.1901, Fulham Papers box 113.

769 H.D.Nihill, *The Sisters of the Poor and their Work*, London, 1888, p v-viii.

church, breaking and destroying everything possible. All religious life has died out of the place, and there is absolutely no tie between the parishioners and the Parish Church. An energetic young man, Mr Evans, has lately come from another great ritualist church in South London, St Agnes Kennington, & is hoping to restore some sort of life and order...⁷⁷⁰

After ten months of Evans' incumbency, the total weekly collection at all services was still under £1.⁷⁷¹ In the depression engendered by this state of affairs, Evans' health broke down almost completely, and he was brought to the brink of Rome. In September 1892, the Bishop of Bedford found Evans in a severely embattled state:

He has shut himself up and sees no one - He has felt the difficulties of the work at St Michael's & his mind has become unsettled. His recent visit to the continent has stimulated a desire for Rome and to Rome I believe he will go...⁷⁷²

Evans actually prepared a letter of resignation,⁷⁷³ but later withdrew it when the Bishop and Ecclesiastical Commissioners found £282 for heating and cleaning⁷⁷⁴ with £281 for the repairs to the church.⁷⁷⁵

Over five hundred pounds were invested in the building, and a fresh start was made.⁷⁷⁶ Evans' attachment to the faith in which he had been brought up was further weakened by the death of his father in November 1899.⁷⁷⁷ By then collections were almost £4 a week.⁷⁷⁸ Evans and his curates had managed to repair the fabric and gather a congregation he described to Lord Halifax as a "few people we have caught here."⁷⁷⁹

The piety of Evans' close-knit "little handful"⁷⁸⁰ was of the simplest kind. Their homely wisdom was that of the public rather than saloon bar. With a prosecution looming over the church in November 1902, George Joy, a working man of the congregation, wrote to Winnington-Ingram about the Rosary:

About a twelvemonth ago I was out of work, for about three months, & towards the end of that time I became very short of money. All this time I never ceased to pray to God for help, but received none. One day I said the rosary with the intention of obtaining help, & two days later I obtained 3 days work. About a week later I again offered the Rosary for help & the very

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- 770 ArchD London to Bp London, 29.7.1892. CC file 26195, doc 11237.
771 H.M.M.Evans to Secretary ECE, 30.7.1892. CC file 26195, doc 9680.1/2.
772 Bp Bedford to Bp London, 15.9.1892. Fulham Papers box 185.
773 H.M.M.Evans to Bp London, 7.9.1892. Fulham Papers box 185.
774 H.M.M.Evans to Secretary ECE, 6.6.1893. CC file 26195 doc 7802.2/2.
775 H.M.M.Evans to Secretary ECE, 7.6.1893. CC file 26195 doc 7802.1/2.
776 ArchD London to Bp London, [10.1893] Certificate of repairs. Fulham Papers box 185.
777 H.Wilson to Bp London, 10.11.1899. Stepney MSS 1899/25.
778 H.M.M.Evans, *Annual Letter*, Advent 1898 p 5. Pusey House, Ollard Papers 8852.
779 H.M.M.Evans to Ld Halifax, 22.2.1900. Hickleton Papers 270.3.II.124.
780 H.M.M.Evans to Ld Halifax, 27.2.1900. Hickleton Papers 270.3.II.137.

next day I was given a days work, & four days later I heard of an appointment, & I obtained the same, which I am still holding.

This I think is a plain proof that our Blessed Lady hears & answers our prayers to her, by praying to Jesus for us, & if so why should we not use the Rosary publicly?⁷⁸¹

Around this time the local newspaper reported a dramatic worsening of employment prospects in Shoreditch since local reservists had returned from South Africa.⁷⁸² Joy's success must have seemed all the more miraculous, and it was hard to argue with such convictions of divine favour. They were the decisive consideration at St Michael's, impenetrable to any outside authority. They included a total attachment to Evans, and on this loyalty hung the course of events. The preservation of Joy's letter shows that Winnington-Ingram did not ignore it altogether. But it offered no basis for official permission for practices far in advance of anything else in London.

Evans' commitment to Catholicism was confirmed by the South African war. He told Lord Halifax on 27 February 1900:

I should give anything to be fighting out there. I have only this morning given what *may* be the last Sacraments to one of our very best men here who sails tomorrow morning. I only wish the Bishop of London had had to deal with him & others that I could name under similar circumstances. *Every single method* which the Bishop most strongly condemns are those [sic] which the solid working man clings to when he has to face death & danger.⁷⁸³

There is no evidence that Evans ever tried this line on Winnington-Ingram. This was unfortunate, because the bishop's performance in the first World War would suggest a great susceptibility to such arguments.⁷⁸⁴

Another element in Evans' world-view was the influence on him of W.W.Hume, one of his assistant curates from his diaconate in 1897 until 1903. Detractors and friends alike agreed that Hume's influence over his vicar was unusually strong. In November 1901, Malcolm McColl told Winnington-Ingram that Evans:

has been under the dominion of a crazy curate who lacks the rudiments of common sense, & who, I am glad to learn, is leaving.⁷⁸⁵

781 G.A.Joy to Bp London, 20.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

782 *Hackney Express & Shoreditch Observer*, 24.1.03 p 2.

783 H.M.M.Evans to Ld Halifax, 27.2.1900. Hickleton Papers 270.3.II.137.

784 In 1915, for example, the Bishop of London was thought by Gore to have "surrendered" over prayer before the reserved sacrament, due to the exigencies of the War. See Bp Oxford to Abp Canterbury, 12.6.1915 in G.K.A.Bell, *Op. Cit.*, II.808 and the statement of Bp London in Convocation, 9.2.1917, *Ibid.*, p 812.

785 M.McColl to Bp London, 11.11.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

Athelstan Riley, a college friend, gave Winnington-Ingram a kinder account of the situation. "Gore's book" was probably *The Body of Christ*⁷⁸⁶ It had scandalized Evans as much as "Athanasius:"⁷⁸⁷

He is as good and zealous a priest as is to be found in London, with his heart bound up with his people and his work, who inherited the roughest parish and in the face of difficulties has done much. But my dear old friend is not very clever and like many not very clever people is terribly obstinate. He has, too, a curate, Hume, who is not likely to help him to yield an inch. Evans has been upset by Gore's book and fancies that any concession will be betraying the faith. I can do nothing with him, and I don't think that Lord Halifax can. He is feeling betrayed by Wilson & Co, and as if he were but the 'one prophet left'!⁷⁸⁸

After years of being super-episcopal in the Denison sense, Evans' attitude was becoming vehemently anti-episcopal. In May 1902, he told Lord Halifax:

there is nothing I should like better than to be given a chance of disobeying my bishop, or all the bishops on the bench; nothing would induce me to give up a thing, and I should pile on a lot more things if they attacked me. Townson⁷⁸⁹ probably believes in Bishops and Establishments to a certain extent, and I hate them all!⁷⁹⁰

It is hardly surprising that bishops found it difficult to negotiate with Evans. Even Winnington-Ingram could do nothing to prevent prosecution in the end. As the threat loomed over Evans he became even more vehement, telling Lord Halifax:

it is our bounden duty always to suspect and hardly ever to obey an Anglican bishop, however graciously he may talk to one!

I *cannot* treat them like Catholic prelates, however much they may talk with Catholic terminology about 'curtains' and 'chapels apart from the church' &c &c, whereby, as they well know, the people cannot be taught *openly* to worship our Blessed Lord in the Holy Sacrament.

Rank heresy is behind it all, however much they may appeal to the east ... for they don't believe in the Real presence and I won't treat them as if they did, and therefore feel that it is my duty ... to force them into flying their true colours when they attack me - If Cardinal Vaughan were to tell me to reserve (behind a curtain) or in a room in the clergy house I would give him an absolutely unquestioning obedience however much I personally might regret such a command, but I should feel a veritable ostrich if I rendered such obedience to an Anglican bishop...

I have absolutely feared to trust the bishops, or indeed (with a very few exceptions) even the Clergy of the Church of England - if you will forgive me

786 C.Gore, *The Body of Christ*, London, 1901.

787 Extremists disliked Gore's strictures on non-communicating attendance. "Athanasius", *Op.Cit.*, p 14 accused Gore of having invented a new eucharistic theory amounting to Virtualism or even Receptionism. For a more positive estimate of the book from another quarter see H.R.Percival, "The Body of Christ: an Epoch-Marking Book," NC October 1901, pp 389-395.

788 A. Riley to Bp London, 17.10.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

789 A student at Oxford Halifax had asked Evans to advise.

790 H.M.M.Evans to Ld Halifax, 23.5.1902. Hickleton Papers 270, odd packet.

for saying so it is only the thought of a few laymen like yourself, and my flock here, that keeps me in the Church of England at all...

For ordinary ignorant people like me, who have to teach simply and straight, and to whom learned historical and philosophical difficulties do not appeal, the hopeless quibbling and rationalism of the Anglican atmosphere are positively stifling, however free one may be from thinking that all in Rome is perfection and plain sailing....

We have had a very good Corpus Christi; the people have really been most delightful and all that the Bishops would loathe!⁷⁹¹

Evans' final drama began on 4 November 1902. Having received a report from the bishop of Stepney who had visited St Michael's,⁷⁹² Winnington-Ingram served a monition on him,

to refrain from the use of the rosary in the pulpit, the use of the service of Benediction with the Reserved Sacrament, the cult of the Sacred Heart, The invocation of the Saints, and devotions to the Blessed Virgin Mary as part of the services of the church.⁷⁹³

Three days later Evans replied, asking for time to consider his response.⁷⁹⁴ The bishop had enclosed a private letter with his monition, and Evans enclosed a private note with his reply. Its tone was rather divergent from the sentiments he had expressed to Lord Halifax that summer:

Need I say what it costs me to assume such an attitude towards you - We can always pray for each other privately however much publicly we may appear to be at loggerheads.⁷⁹⁵

An SSC chapter met at St Mary Magdalene's Munster Square on 11 November, and was informed of events by the Master, who

hoped the Bishop of London would not take any action; great efforts were being privately made to prevent harm being done.⁷⁹⁶

The next day Evans wrote to Halifax, declining his offer of advice and mediation. By now, he realised the indefensibility of his position. He enclosed a pamphlet defending the practices about which the bishop had complained, and stated his intention of going down with all guns blazing:

If I went to you for advice then it would be impossible for me not to have acted on it, but at the same time I am sure that I was obliged to say *exactly* what *I* felt and believed in trying to fortify an anyhow indefensible position; You will be able to read between the lines of my letter, and though I intend to die fighting I am quite plain that die I must so far as the Establishment is concerned; she doesn't want me, and as I have written to Johnny Birkbeck,

791 H.M.M.Evans to Ld Halifax, "Corpus Christi 1902"[29.5]. Hickleton Papers 270, odd packet.

792 Reported in SSC xi.1902 p 7.

793 *Guardian*, 1.4.1903, p 473 gives the date and *Ibid.*, 4.2.1903 p 144 the text of the monition.

794 *Guardian* 1.4.1903 p 473.

795 H.M.M.Evans to Bp London, 7.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

796 SSC xi.1902 p 7.

thank God, there are roads to be run for our Lord elsewhere, and they will never be told by their chief pastors that they may not speak to our Blessed Lady & the saints & angels... [sic]⁷⁹⁷

The only real option was for the bishop himself to take proceedings against Evans. The Porcelli affair had shown how bishops who let a Protestant complaint take its course only bound the Catholic clergy together against them. To do anything, he needed a commission of inquiry. The problem was to find members for it. This required Anglo-Catholics willing to serve a process they might have to abandon at any time on grounds of conscience. Almost certainly they could not support it if its evidence ended up in court. On 13 November H.M.Villiers declined to serve on such a commission, but admitted

In my opinion the Bishop could not act otherwise than he is doing, and Mr Evans has no excuse for the line he has taken...⁷⁹⁸

The same day Villiers wrote to Winnington-Ingram, offering understanding and sympathy:

I cannot overstate the extent to which I blame Evans - it is in my opinion outrageous that a man should do & be doing what he has done - neither could any faithful Bishop under your circumstances hold back from applying discipline however great the pain may be to such a one as yourself...⁷⁹⁹

From early November until the affair was ended, people on all sides of the controversy rained down advice upon the Bishop of London. It is worth looking carefully at this correspondence, for letter after letter teased out the ecclesiological issues Evans was thought to be raising. Winnington-Ingram's correspondents seemed to realize that after the church crisis Anglo-Catholicism was entering a new phase, in which the problems of regulation and recognition would look entirely different.

E.S.Churchill of the ECU wrote to the Bishop on 14 November, to warn him against prosecution, at any cost. He reminded Winnington-Ingram that even Creighton had failed to bring a prosecution against Harry Wilson. Anyway,

While thoroughly disapproving of many of Mr Evans' reported innovations, I would point out to your Lordship that there are many clergymen of the other side whose breaches of the law of the Prayer Book are at least equally flagrant. I feel certain that though ritualism is not liked or understood by 'the man in the street' Englishmen have too keen a sense of justice to allow one side to be coerced and not the other ... I would beg you to pause before letting loose the flood gates of prosecution in the present unsatisfactory state of the Ecclesiastical courts ... for it seems to me that such a course could only end in the Disestablishment of the Church in this country, a

797 H.M.M.Evans to Ld Halifax, 12.11.1902. Hickleton Papers 270.4.

798 H.M.Villiers to H.W.Lee, 13.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

799 H.M.Villiers to Bp London, 13.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

consummation which, though it may bring peace and uniformity in the end, would necessarily be fraught with great danger in the mean time.⁸⁰⁰

Winnington-Ingram's correspondence over the next week showed that although nobody wanted a prosecution, and others agreed with Churchill that it was unfair to single out Catholic abuses, in principle Evans stood quite alone. Apart from the intrinsic eccentricity and flagrancy of his conduct, ecclesiological integrity required that something be done; but nobody knew quite what. Canon Newbolt wrote to the bishop on 17 November:

I feel that to leave Evans alone would be a serious blow to the *visibility* of the Church of England - much as I deprecate prosecutions - ... however, like or dislike, I feel one must stick by you. And that we must disassociate ourselves from this hybrid Romanism, which seems to lack its only good doctrine, the supremacy of the Pope. I hope Evans may listen; the feeling against him seems to be almost universal - I wrote him a strong letter myself imploring him to abandon, by all he held in veneration, his impossible position.⁸⁰¹

Hanbury-Tracy wrote to Winnington-Ingram's chaplain the next day, suggesting a novel way to defend the church's integrity:

I have no right perhaps to write anything about the sad case at S.Michael's except that it affects us all. May I express to you the strong feeling I have in common with so many ag[ain]st the prosecution ...

Where the reaction follows (which is inevitable) I dread to think that the Bishop may only increase his trouble tenfold. So long as such terrible irregularities in the administration of justice in an ecclesiastical system continue, so long as the RC's can write that one man is prosecuted for praying in church to the Virgin and another man left alone when denying that there is a Virgin at all,⁸⁰² so long as Lady Wimborne is supposed to be connected with the regulation of such affairs in the diocese, there must follow bitterness, strife, and indignation.

... I know how good and kind the bishop has been & still is to Mr Evans but if all else fails could not the Bishop summon him to St Paul's & there surrounded by all the pomp he can command *if* he judges him insubordinate condemn him in the exercise of his undoubted episcopal authority and publish a solemn warning to the Faithful that until Mr Evans repents he must be treated as contumacious. Some process like this it seems to me would save the situation...⁸⁰³

800 E.S.Churchill to Bp London, 14.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

801 W.C.E.Newbolt to Bp London, 17.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

802 See, e.g., the *Tablet*, 15.11.1902 p 765. The same point was made, but not by a Roman Catholic, in the letter from H.M.M.Evans in the same issue, p 776. The man who was alleged to have denied that there is a Virgin at all was Dean Fremantle of Ripon, whose paper on "Natural Christianity" had caused a recent flutter in the *Times* (6.11.1902 p 8, 8.11.1902 p 8, 10.11.1902 p 6, 13.11.1902 p 2). Hensley Henson, who felt at the time that Fremantle was being "gratuitously offensive" (*Retrospect* I.73) took the mature view that he "had the power of combining the maximum of spiritual offensiveness with the minimum of practical intelligence" (letter of 7.7.1931 in E.F.Braley, *Op.Cit.*, p 227).

803 A.W.Hanbury-Tracy to Bp London, 18.11.[1902]. Fulham Papers box 113.

There is no evidence that the bishop ever considered this strange procedure. If he had, there is no reason to suppose that Evans would have presented himself for solemn cursing. All the same, Hanbury-Tracy's suggestion shows how one Anglo-Catholic expected a Catholic bishop to behave. If, as Evans suspected by now, Winnington-Ingram was no Catholic bishop anyway, perhaps Hanbury-Tracy's proposal would not have counted for very much with him.

On Sunday 23 November, Evans told the Bishop what he intended to do. He wanted to submit the modifications the bishop had suggested to W.J.Birkbeck,⁸⁰⁴ who was presently ill. He would spend the Tuesday in the country, "away from letters and people," and would let Winnington-Ingram know what he proposed to do on Wednesday 26 November. By now, Evans was in a decidedly apocalyptic mood:

as the answer must in any case mean the complete break up of my work here, I am anxious to take the course which will do the least damage to my people spiritually, as well as to many others not attached to St Michael's.⁸⁰⁵

The real sticking point was the invocation of saints. Hume went to see the bishop on Monday. The account Hume gave of this interview raised doubts in Evans' mind about the bishop and the *Hail Mary*. If he agreed to modify extra services, would Winnington-Ingram protect him against prosecution by those who objected to the *Hail Mary*?⁸⁰⁶

Winnington-Ingram took counsel on this point from Lord Halifax. Whatever the Bishop of Salisbury's private view of its theological deficiencies, the *Hail Mary* was sanctioned by antiquity and scripture. If it were entirely banned, Halifax warned, English Catholics would

be forbidden what Saints and Martyrs have preached from the middle of the 4th Century.⁸⁰⁷

Halifax suggested a formulation to which he thought it fair to hold Evans and his curates:

"I forbid benediction and the public recitation of the rosary - I also forbid (if these things must be said) any litanies to the saints - but I authorize the use of the Angelic salutation together with the collect [for the Annunciation] as witness to guard in the minds of your people the truth of the Virgin Birth and the fact of the resurrection - together with the unique glory of her who is the Mother of God.'

804 For Birkbeck's position on the practice of invocation in itself see a selection of his letters in R.K.Birkbeck, *Life and Letters of W.J.Birkbeck*, London, 1922, pp 74 to 95.

805 H.M.M.Evans to Bp London, 23.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

806 H.M.M.Evans to Bp London, 24.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

807 Ld Halifax to Bp London, 26.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

You may be quite sure as things are that everyone would see the reason of this at the moment - it is perhaps the way of escape...⁸⁰⁸

By Wednesday, Evans no longer wanted a way of escape. The idea of trading exposition for the *Hail Mary* looked rather less attractive from his country retreat, A.R.C.Cocks' clergy house in Brighton. The answer he sent the bishop on Wednesday reasserted, for the last time, his old uncompromising tone:

I have no alternative but to do as I am now strongly urged, to fight the matter out; but before coming to any decision it is absolutely necessary if the matter is to come into court that I should take legal advice as to the exact position...⁸⁰⁹

Evans asked for a further fortnight to do this, and that his counsel might be given details of the membership and terms of reference of any commission the bishop appointed.⁸¹⁰ Perhaps there was as much of Cocks as Evans in this letter, but the die was now cast.

Neither Evans nor Birkbeck knew it, but Birkbeck's advice was being passed to the Bishop of London by Lord Halifax. On 27 November, Birkbeck laid down a base line for Evans to defend. The rosary and benediction could be given up, as long as the principle of eucharistic adoration was not denied. If the bishop wished Evans to give up all invocation of saints, Birkbeck hoped "he would fight the matter out to the death."⁸¹¹ As long as this were not the issue, he recommended that Evans drop benediction, exposition, the rosary and images of the sacred heart in return for the bishop "turning a deaf ear" to Protestants and the press.⁸¹²

Birkbeck's letter went on to defend the antiquity and theological integrity of the invocation of saints. Of the *Hail Mary* he declared

The danger seems to me, not to put our Lady into the place of Christ, but to lower our Lord just about to the level upon which rightly instructed Catholics place our Lady.⁸¹³

If there was to be a fight, this was the ground Birkbeck told Lord Halifax he thought it worth defending.

if the whole prospect of peace is to be upset ... don't you think we could persuade Evans to put himself in the right by yielding to the Bishop's just demands about benediction Exposition Rosary and sacred heart and then go into the court and fight the Invocation business? It would regain him the sympathy of vast numbers who cannot defend the unauthorized liberties he has taken with the Blessed Sacrament, and would rally thousands to the de-

808 *Ibid.*

809 H.M.M.Evans to Bp London, 25.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113. The letter is written on St Bartholomew's Brighton notepaper.

810 *Ibid.*

811 W.J.Birkbeck to Ld Halifax, 27.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

812 *Ibid.*

813 *Ibid.*

fence of a universal Catholic doctrine and practice. Of course it is not from a tactical point of view a good time to fight this question, and it is a great pity that it can't be left quiet...

I'm glad poor old Evans has gone to Brighton: it will do him good - Perhaps he may have been right after all in being so obstinate, but I confess that I still cannot see that he has a leg to stand on about the extra-liturgical services.⁸¹⁴

Undoubtedly, most Anglo-Catholics were by now thoroughly fed up with Evans and the fuss he was causing. On 27 November, Canon Newbolt told the bishop

I hope to be at your disposal when the primâ facie business comes off. I am very Protestant just now.⁸¹⁵

Bishop Talbot found the Shoreditch affair "terribly troubling." He was not sure how Evans could be condemned without evoking sympathy from the party at large. Perhaps Winnington-Ingram would be wise to distinguish practices which required official intervention from those which could not be approved publicly. The bishop must not condemn them wholesale, but could suggest that:

you don't blame anyone for using these things himself: the restoration of a moderate use might be right (this can't be said publicly) but the formularies do not allow pub[lic] use.⁸¹⁶

Winnington-Ingram sent his letters from Halifax and Talbot to Randall Davidson, asking for guidance. Above all, Davidson advised him to ignore Lord Halifax, who was

in his (now usual) scrappy emotional & minatory style, however affectionate. And I feel that he is, without exception, the most dangerous counsellor we can at present have upon matters of these doubtful disputations.⁸¹⁷

As to the practices at issue, Davidson was quite sure there was no ground for Winnington-Ingram to give:

There is probably no single matter whatever either of Doctrine or Ritual upon which we ought to be so adamant as on anything wh[ich] can appear to ... lead to the awful heresy of Mariolatry...

I am sure you won't let yourself by any consider[atio]n of momentary confederacy be betrayed or tempted or decoyed into one single step towards what w[oul]d indeed be a fatal precipice...⁸¹⁸

On the *Hail Mary*, Davidson advised

So long as the whole passage ... is given in its entirety I see no fair ground of objection to its use though it is on the borderland of peril when placed among prayers. But without these introductory words its use in services

814 *Ibid.*

815 W.C.E.Newbolt to Bp London, 27.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

816 Bp Rochester to Bp London, 26.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

817 Bp Winchester to Bp London, 28.11.1902. Fulham Papers 113.

818 *Ibid.*

cannot I think be tolerated for a moment without real unfaithfulness to our consecration vows.⁸¹⁹

Winnington-Ingram sought guidance also from Louise Creighton, who offered sympathy and undertook some research on his behalf. She looked out a letter about the wording of a guild banner in which her husband had distinguished between the Roman use of the *Hail Mary* as a form of invocation and its use as a “quotation explanatory of the scene.” She did not believe this really provided a precedent to help with Evans.⁸²⁰

On 28 November Halifax saw Evans. As a result of this meeting, he suggested an exchange of livings like the one Tait had negotiated in the last months of his life between Mackonochie and Lowder.⁸²¹ However convenient this would have been for the party, there is no evidence that either the bishop or Evans thought it a real possibility by now. If Evans was going, it was to Rome, not a Keble living.

Lord and Lady Halifax went down to St Michael’s for an evening service on 30 November. The service after evensong was a form of Benediction, combining the *Angelus* and *O Salutaris*. Halifax wrote to Winnington-Ingram afterwards, describing the sermon and devotions and saying how impressed he was by the number in church and the proportion of men and boys.⁸²² Perhaps more men were turning out during the crisis, because the previous February the *Daily News* enumerators had only found 15 men there in the evening.⁸²³

The main point of Halifax’s letter was that he and his wife had been greatly struck by what they had experienced at the church. It cannot have been anything but disturbing reading for Winnington-Ingram:

Grant that Evans is to all intents and purposes what you would call a ‘Roman Catholic’ (Of course I do not admit the term) he is not more so than thousands of others... Evans is really too honest & does in his honest open kind of way what he finds brings souls to Christ & which others only blame because they think it impudent.⁸²⁴

Lord Halifax did not believe that any clever accommodation could be expected to mean much to homespun folk such as he had met the previous evening:

After being at St Michael’s I confess I don’t see how Evans can change much with his people as they are and I can only say again that if you saw

819 *Ibid.*

820 L.Creighton to Bp London, 29.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

821 Ld Halifax to Bp London, 28.11.[1902]. Fulham Papers box 113.

822 Ld Halifax to Bp London, 1.12.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

823 R.Mudie-Smith, *Op.Cit.*, p 59.

824 Ld Halifax to Bp London, 1.12.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

his people I don't think whatever the difficulties of the situation may be, that you would have the heart really to interfere with them.⁸²⁵

This was exactly the sort of talk Davidson was most afraid would appeal to Winnington-Ingram.

Among the Bishop Of London's advisers, Charles Gore was

very Jeremically disposed as to the condition of the ch[urch] altogether,

over the education question and over Shoreditch. The former induced depression because he feared the Kenyon-Slaney clause might fail due to insufficient commitment from Church people. The Evans problem, characteristically, Gore saw as disciplinary rather than doctrinal:

W[oul]d it not be possible to "try" Evans solely & simply on the charge of pertinaciously breaking his solemn undertaking by using non P[ayer] B[ook] services which are unlicensed - leaving the doctrinal question (invocation etc) out, & so at least avoiding the doctrinal issue?⁸²⁶

One diocesan expert on ritual prosecutions was Harry Wilson. He had recently resigned St Augustine's through ill health, leaving the benefice to his brother Richard. At the beginning of 1903 he embarked on a tour of the middle east with a former curate. He wrote to Winnington-Ingram on 3 January from an Italian hotel. It was a sign of how far Evans had distanced himself from even his most extreme colleagues that Wilson should assure the bishop

I do not in any way support Evans for as far as I can see he has not got a leg to stand on nor have I the least idea as to what he intends to do.⁸²⁷

Wilson enclosed notes about the Porcelli prosecution. He reasserted the idea he had picked up from Wood that no court sitting under the Church Discipline Acts could be considered "spiritual":

If I were to be deprived of my living by this court I should feel bound to resist to the last because I should be deprived of spiritual functions by a secular court & I should have remained in my living until forcibly ejected by the police...⁸²⁸

If this was also Evans' attitude, deprivation on the sort of disciplinary grounds that appealed to Gore entailed exactly the same threat of violence and imprisonment as proceedings under the Act of 1874. Wilson believed that it was Creighton's realization of this which had sunk the Porcelli prosecution.

Events at St Michael's Shoreditch moved to their climax in 1903. Over Evans' local supporters, prosecution loomed large. On 19 January

825 *Ibid.*

826 Bp Worcester to Bp London, 6.12.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

827 H.Wilson to Bp London, 3.1.1903. Fulham Papers box 113.

828 H.Wilson, memo, "*The True History as to why Bishop Creighton did not allow Col Porcelli to prosecute me*". enc in H.Wilson to Bp London, 3.1.1902, Fulham Papers box 113.

Harry Vick, a resident of the model buildings opposite the church and a member of the choir, wrote to Winnington-Ingram that day to say that he and his friends were now making a point of reciting the rosary publicly every Sunday evening, as a gesture

to unite ourselves as much as possible in support of our Vicar.

Vick protested that while persecuting orthodox clergy like Evans, bishops were tolerating

sacrilegious blasphemers & heretics of the type such as Fillingham and Beeby⁸²⁹

Fillingham was the local modernist, Vicar of St Alban's Hoxton,⁸³⁰ and Beeby a Birmingham vicar who had supposedly denied the virgin birth.⁸³¹

Time was running out. Evans had been given two more fortnight extensions in which to take advice.⁸³² He now had until Sunday 1 February to tell the bishop his intentions.⁸³³ On 28 January Evans made a statement to a *Daily Chronicle* reporter

that he had taken the highest expert opinion in reference to the case, and was advised that legally he 'hadn't a leg to stand on.'⁸³⁴

This phrase had been used by W.J. Birkbeck of Evans' position considered as a whole, and was echoed by Harry Wilson. What Birkbeck meant was that Evans must compromise on inessentials in order to fight for what really mattered, the invocation of saints. Slightly misunderstanding the advice he had been given, Evans thought Birkbeck was saying that invocation of saints was impossible in the Church of England. This exploded his interpretation of Article XXII, one he had followed since student days.⁸³⁵ It made his position as an Anglican ideologically impossible. The only course left was to become a Roman Catholic, taking as many of his congregation with him as he could.

On 1 February Evans took his usual morning service, but in the evening,

Speaking from the pulpit in an incense laden atmosphere, he told a large congregation that there would be but the two early masses the following

829 H.W. Vick to Bp London, 19.1.1903, Fulham Papers box 113.

830 See R.C. Fillingham, *Christ in London*, London, 1900. In his last parish Fillingham had ministered the Holy Communion at a Congregational Chapel in Wellingborough in the face of a formal inhibition from the Bishop of Peterborough, as a protest against Ritualist practices at the parish church. (*Guardian* 23.11.1898, p 1831.)

831 See C.E. Beeby, *Creed and Life*, (2nd ed) London, 1898 and *Doctrine and Principles*, London, 1900.

832 H.M.M. Evans to Bp London, 11.12.1902, and 13.12.1902.

833 *Guardian*, 4.2.1903, p 144.

834 *Daily Chronicle*, 28.1.1903. Cutting in Fulham Papers box 113.

835 H.M.M. Evans, letter in *Church Times*, 20.2.1903, p 251.

morning, and asked that their prayers should be addressed to "Our Lady" in order to receive guidance through a great crisis. He then announced a hymn, "O Sacred Heart." He asked the congregation to sing it "with the desire for the conversion of England to the Catholic faith." The statement seemed to point to one conclusion as to the Vicar's future movements, but after the service he declined to say whether he intended to join the church of Rome.⁸³⁶

Evans left with two curates, L.S.Wason and W.W.Hume. Wason remained an Anglican, in later life Vicar of Cury and subject of a famous ornaments case.⁸³⁷ Hume and Evans became Roman Catholics. Hume's reception was announced on 11 March,⁸³⁸ and Evans' on 15 April.⁸³⁹ As well as his curates, Evans removed the stations of the cross, a madonna and the statue of St Michael.⁸⁴⁰ As a final humorous touch, the organist left a note on the organ-stool

from the old organist to the new: I suggest that the valuable manual setting of Sullivan's comedies of Henry VIII be used in the Church of England founded by Bluebeard...⁸⁴¹

Something like a riot followed. The new Vicar told the Church Commissioners in April 1904 that the estimated cost of the damage was £1700, a colossal sum of money for the time.

everything was so damaged and smashed in the riots of Feb[ruary] 1903.⁸⁴²

Services at the church were conducted for the time being by Bishop Lang's chaplain, The Revd A. M. Cazalet. He raised a working party of eight or nine from the remaining congregation, who undertook running repairs to the church and schools on 7 February. Cazalet told the *Guardian*

pictures had been torn from the walls and windows broken, the latter actually with crucifixes.⁸⁴³

The *Church Times* described the atmosphere in St Michael's the Sunday after the storm:

Deserted by all the clergy and by the organist and majority of men of the choir, and with a congregation scattered to the four winds of heaven, there was a sense of desolation about St Michael's Shoreditch which was truly lamentable.⁸⁴⁴

That day Cazalet said mass with vestments and lights, but no incense. There was no organist or Sunday school. There was no man to ring the

836 *Hackney Express & Shoreditch Observer*, 7.2.1903 p 3.

837 See W.O.Burrows, *The Case of the Reverend L. S. Wason*, London, 1919, and L.S.Wason, *A Fly in the Ointment: the Case of Cury*, London, 1919.

838 *Guardian*, 11.3.1903 p 336.

839 *Tablet*, 11.4.1903, p 585.

840 *Guardian*, 4.2.1903 p 186.

841 *Guardian*, 4.2.1903, p 186.

842 H.Ross to Secretary ECE, 28.4.1904. CC file 26195.

843 *Guardian*, 11.2.1903, p 218.

844 *Church Times*, 13.2.1903, p 203.

bell, so Cazalet did it himself. Eighty or ninety attended, and about a hundred and thirty in the evening, when W.C.E.Newbolt preached *ex tempore* on Psalm 137. The *Guardian* reported that

At the latter service several people who were present at St Mary's in the morning were among the worshippers, and finding that the rumour that they had heard as to an extreme Protestant being sent to conduct the services was false, said that they should remain at St Michael's.⁸⁴⁵

After the service Athelstan Riley addressed the congregation in the schoolroom.

He felt for them with all his heart, and asked them not to listen to those who would urge them to go backward or forward; their strength was to "sit still," their duty to stand by the present curate in charge till the trustees appointed a new vicar. He knew some of the patrons, and he would use his influence with them to send a good and faithful priest who would make no compromise as to the essentials of the Catholic faith...⁸⁴⁶

Local Roman Catholics made ready to receive a flood of converts. On 13 February the *Church Times* reported that

The organizers of the Italian mission, in anticipation of sweeping into their net a miraculous draught of fishes, are very busily at work...⁸⁴⁷

The partially completed church of St Mary Moorfields was specially opened.⁸⁴⁸ C.R.Chase was released from other duties, and appointed missionary to the converts.⁸⁴⁹ Cardinal Vaughan gave permission for hymns to be sung in English.⁸⁵⁰ A handbill was delivered to every house in the parish the next Saturday, with a warm invitation to St Mary's.⁸⁵¹ The Sunday school was marched as a body from St Michael's to St Mary's by their teachers. At the latter church, each child was given a medal of the Sacred Heart.⁸⁵²

The first three St Michael's people were received on 22 February.⁸⁵³ They included Harry Vick.⁸⁵⁴ It is hard to estimate the exact number of converts. The *Times* reported 300 attending St Mary Moorfields the next Sunday, but that figure was disputed by the *Guardian*.⁸⁵⁵ About the time of the first receptions, the *Tablet* reported that Chase had a list of 80 definitely requesting reception, but 10 of these were children.

845 *Guardian*, 4.2.1903, p 186.

846 *Guardian*, 11.2.1903, p 218.

847 *Church Times*, 13.2.1903, editorial, p 195.

848 On 25.3.1903. *Tablet*, 27.3.1903, p 501.

849 *Times*, 16.2.1903 p 7.

850 *Hackney Express & Shoreditch Observer*, 14.2.1903 p 3.

851 *Guardian*, 4.2.1903, p 186.

852 *Tablet*, 14.2.1903, p 260.

853 St Mary Moorfields Baptism Register.

854 *Ibid*, entry (1)

855 *Guardian*, 11.2.1903, p 218.

110 are receiving daily instruction at times from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m. at night.
Father Chase altogether anticipates 200 conversions.⁸⁵⁶

Lowest estimates came from low church sources. On Sunday 22 February, the *Church Family Newspaper* took a local guide along to St Mary Moorfields for High Mass, and found 180-190 people there, including 50 children. Of 130-140 adults, only 11 could be certainly identified as former members of the St Michael's congregation, but of the 50 children, at least 30 were from St Michael's. That Sunday, the same reporter found 150, including the children and the choir, at St Michael's.⁸⁵⁷

In 1903 it was still Roman Catholic practice to baptize Anglican converts *sub conditione*. Thus the actual number of conversions can be told from the register of baptisms at St Mary Moorfields. The group is easy to identify, because St Mary's was not yet functioning as a parish church in the spring and summer, but was only open for St Michael's converts. The baptism register of St Mary Moorfields contains 81 entries between 22 February and 15 November, representing members of 54 households. The majority of the entries are from March.⁸⁵⁸ Two of the entries are almost certainly mistakes; one is a duplicate,⁸⁵⁹ and the other nothing but a surname,⁸⁶⁰ copied from the line above, with no details.

The founder and senior patron of St Michael's was convinced that under Evans the congregation had become overwhelmingly eclectic.⁸⁶¹ If the list of converts offers a snapshot picture of its most extreme members, Richard Foster was right. Many of the entries are incomplete. Of the 36 addresses given,⁸⁶² only 14 were within the parish of St Michael's, some coming from as far away as Holloway,⁸⁶³ Ilford,⁸⁶⁴ Homerton⁸⁶⁵ and even Richmond.⁸⁶⁶ The Bishop of Portsmouth confirmed 73 adults in St Mary Moorfields on 31 March.⁸⁶⁷ Allowing for the uncertain way in which the register was compiled, it appears there were another six conversions later in the year, making a total of 79 between the ages of 9 and 70 from St Michael's.

856 *Tablet*, 28.2.1903, p 353.

857 *Times*, 23.2.1903 p 10.

858 55 entries.

859 Two entries (71 and 59) for "Lilia Walsingham," [no address, no age, baptized by CRC, 14.3.1900].

860 "JUDD" (nothing else) at Entry (49).

861 R.Foster to The Revd S.Buss, 7.2.1903. Pusey House, Croom Papers B11.

862 Although there are 54 surname groups, 18 of these lack an address.

863 "Herbertus" and "Louisa Lester," entries (11 & 37).

864 "Thos King," entry (24).

865 "Marcus Rutter," entry (26).

866 "Maria Anna Chester," entry (8). Most entries are in a latinized form.

867 *Hackney Express & Shoreditch Observer*, 28.3.1903 p 3.

Such a wholesale conversion apparently confirmed Protestant theories about ritualism. The *Hackney Express & Shoreditch Observer* took it for a demonstration of “how Roman Catholics are made.”⁸⁶⁸ A later correspondent who signed himself “Victorian” blamed the “perversion of 73 adults” on the late bishop of London. The same thing would happen again elsewhere unless Winnington-Ingram were to

do his duty with regard to this church and others in the neighbourhood. ...ritualists may deny it, but recent events have proved conclusively that ritualism ultimately leads to Rome.⁸⁶⁹

The Church Association organized a major Protestant demonstration in Shoreditch Town Hall timed to coincide with the first converts’ confirmations on 23 March. It was addressed by two members of Parliament and the mayor of Shoreditch. T.H.Sloan MP deplored Cazalet’s membership of the ECU and CBS. W.R.Cremer MP denounced the government’s Irish and education policies.⁸⁷⁰

The reaction of those who had been Evans’ enemies was predictable. The débâcle at St Michael’s also angered his former friends. Two days after Evans’ departure, the *Church Times* reported that

The first phase of the crisis at St Michael’s has now ended in an easy and complete victory for the Bishop of London.

Last Sunday was certainly the ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων for the parish of St Michael’s, if not for the diocese...

[Winnington-Ingram] having begun his rule by the sacrifice of a ‘Romanizer’ may, like other prelates, including the Archbishop-elect [Davidson], subside into toleration.⁸⁷¹

Over the next few days a considerable amount of anger against Evans surfaced in the Catholic party. Athelstan Riley wrote that this “Catastrophe” required plain speaking. The spirit in which Evans and his friends had acted was utterly incompatible with Tractarian first principles:

Are we to be utterly congregational?⁸⁷²

Catholic clergy had responsibilities not only to their congregations, but to the movement and the church as a whole. It encouraged Protestantism, not Catholicism, to see

Rubrics and rules treated as non-existent; self-will, the very negation of Catholic principles, dominating all...

If we are to resist bishops successfully when they exceed or abuse their authority, as Catholics in all ages have resisted them, surely we should render

868 *Hackney Express & Shoreditch Observer*, 14.2.1903 p 3.

869 *Hackney Express & Shoreditch Observer*, 4.4.1903 p 3.

870 *Hackney Express & Shoreditch Observer*, 28.3.1903 p 3.

871 *Church Times*, 6.2.1903, p 166.

872 Athelstan Riley in *Church Times*, 13.2.1903, p 196.

the most scrupulous obedience to them when they exercise their authority lawfully...⁸⁷³

Worse still, said Riley, was what the incident had done to the mutual confidence and loyalty of Catholics:

We are the victims of treatment which is quite intolerable. Every Catholic priest and Catholic layman throughout the Church of England has been, to some extent, compromised by the action of the clergy at St Michael's Shoreditch. In loyalty to those we believed to be our friends and comrades we held our tongues under great provocation and did not desert them in difficulties which were chiefly of their own creation. For our reward these friends and comrades suddenly turn and aim at us a mortal blow, telling us we are dupes and fools, and that the Catholic faith is contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.⁸⁷⁴

Like Riley, G.C.Ommanney, former Master of the SSC, had sympathized with Evans in his trials, but felt betrayed now. If Evans had really believed what he proclaimed, he should have done as Tooth and Green had done - refused to answer a secular court and suffer the consequences.⁸⁷⁵

A third correspondent resented the paper's hostility to the Bishop of London:

Few bishops have done more for the Church's faith than Dr Ingram; and few have come in for more censure from the 'Evangelicals'.⁸⁷⁶

The worst that could be said of the bishop was that he had allowed himself to be used by the Protestant party.

the meaning of that attack is unmistakable; it is not made by Catholics zealous for the rules and ecclesiastical administration which are being, unhappily, set at nought; it is made by militant Protestants, who pounce upon a weak, because undisciplined, outpost of the faith.⁸⁷⁷

Whilst blaming Winnington-Ingram for acting precipitately, the editor of the *Church Times* announced

We are not befriending Mr Evans; we are defending that of which he is for the moment an unworthy and, we are bound to add, an embarrassing symbol.⁸⁷⁸

Next week, the same paper published letters from two men who had suffered imprisonment in the 1880's, S. F. Green and A. Tooth. Green objected to the parallel Ommanney had drawn between himself and Evans. He had suffered for obedience to the law, where Evans had brought trouble on himself by introducing bizarre novelties. Evans'

873 *Ibid.*

874 *Ibid.*

875 G.C.Ommanney in *Ibid.*

876 "A Lancashire Layman" in *Ibid.*

877 *Ibid.*

878 *Church Times*, 13.2.1903, editorial, p 201.

conduct had been indefensible.⁸⁷⁹ Tooth reckoned Evans had only himself to blame. The effort he had put into fripperies should rather have been spent fostering better attendance at daily eucharists, and pressing for “much stricter observance of Fasting Communion.”⁸⁸⁰

Finally, the paper carried a letter from Evans himself, saying that he had not resigned because of the Church Discipline Acts, but because he now believed that Article XXII outlawed the invocation of Saints.⁸⁸¹ This line was pursued also in an *apologia* published at the end of March.⁸⁸²

The patrons of St Michael’s tried to appoint a new vicar as quickly as possible. The selection was made in consultation with the bishop, since there were only two years until the patronage reverted to him anyway.⁸⁸³ Foster’s first choice for the living was Cazalet,⁸⁸⁴ but another candidate, Henry Ross, was recommended by an old friend of Foster’s.⁸⁸⁵ Cosmo Gordon Lang pointed out in a letter to the trustees of 6 March that no bishop could be responsible for advancing a curate of A.R.C.Cocks, but he would have to endorse the trustees’ decision if they really wanted Ross.⁸⁸⁶ James Adderley was asked to vouch for Ross’ loyalty, which he duly did.⁸⁸⁷ The living was then offered to Cazalet,⁸⁸⁸ who turned it down on 11 May.⁸⁸⁹

This left Ross, who described himself in a letter to Foster of 30 May as a “thoroughly loyal Prayer Book churchman.”⁸⁹⁰ Foster was not entirely convinced, but declined to block proceedings. He was still sorry Cazalet had not accepted nomination.⁸⁹¹ Winnington-Ingram and Lang interviewed Ross several times, and signified their private consent.⁸⁹²

879 S.F.Green in *Church Times*, 13.2.1903, p 251.

880 A.Tooth in *Ibid.*

881 H.M.M.Evans in *Ibid.*

882 H.M.M.Evans, *Why I left St Michael’s*, London, 1903.

883 R. Foster to Revd S. Buss, 27.2.1903, Bp London to Revd S. Buss, 16.2.1903, and The Hon G. Ponsonby to Revd S. Buss, 3.3.[1903]. Pusey House, Croom Papers B14, B12, B19.

884 R.Foster to The Revd S.Buss, 13.3.1903. Pusey House, Croom Papers B22.

885 Revd E.M.O’Hara Lee to R.Foster, 26.2.1903. Pusey House, Croom Papers B21.

886 Bp Stepney to Revd S.Buss, 6.3.1903. Pusey House, Croom Papers B20

887 Revd J.Adderley to Revd S.Buss, 14.3.[1903]. Pusey House, Croom Papers B23.

888 Revd A.M.Cazalet to Revd S.Buss, 13.4.1903. Pusey House, Croom Papers B33.

889 Revd A.M.Cazalet to Revd S.Buss, 11.5.1903. Pusey House, Croom Papers B35.

890 Revd H.Ross to R.Foster, 30.5.1903. Pusey House, Croom Papers B41.

891 R.Foster to Revd S. Buss, 1.6.1903. Pusey House, Croom Papers B47.

892 Bp Stepney to Revd S.Buss, 11.6.1903. Pusey House, Croom Papers B50.

Against what was still Foster's better judgment,⁸⁹³ Ross was appointed, and instituted on 23 July by Lang, resplendent in cope and mitre.⁸⁹⁴

The Shoreditch incident inflamed passions all round, and confirmed everybody in their own prejudices. There were renewed calls in parliament to implement the House of Commons motion of 10 May 1899.⁸⁹⁵ For years after, Protestants took Evans as proof that ritualism led to Rome. As late as 1928, Sir William Joynson-Hicks referred to him in controversy over the revised Prayer Book.⁸⁹⁶ Within the Anglo-Catholic party, the incident recalled earlier conversions. Evans was no heavyweight, as Chase and Maturin had been. Athelstan Riley and others wept not for Evans, but for themselves. They felt that they had stuck their necks out for Evans and been betrayed - this must not be allowed to happen again. No priest who went as far as that should expect support in future, and thus more Anglo-Catholic clergy were to follow Denison's line at St Michael's Kensington than Evans' at St Michael's Shoreditch. Thus the incident defined the limits of acceptable ritualism.

What had happened at St Michael's moved Anglo-Catholics' theological attention away from incense and reservation towards the invocation of saints. At its May synod, the SSC reiterated Forbes' interpretation of the Articles.⁸⁹⁷ At the same time, the ECU issued a pamphlet containing Forbes' teaching on Article XXII.⁸⁹⁸ Whatever their view of the question's technicalities, everyone involved hoped that this sort of *imbroglio* would never happen again. This hope imposed some common feeling and discipline on relations between the Bishop of London and his clergy.

893 Thus R.Foster to Revd S.Buss, 12.6.1903. Pusey House, Croom Papers B51.

894 *Hackney Express & Shoreditch Observer*, 25.7.1903 p 2.

895 See, e.g., by Austin Taylor, *Hansard*, IV.119 cols 733-746.

896 See W.Joynson-Hicks, *The Prayer Book Crisis*, London, 1928, pp 80-83.

897 SSC v.1903 pp 15-17.

898 ECU *Annual Report*, 1903, pp 13-14.

Anglican Catholic Ecclesiology

Advanced ritualists weathered the storm of the church crisis by resisting tremendous pressure from Protestants and Erastians, from conventional Tractarians, and from their bishops. Against all adversity, they retained almost every use their enemies wanted to abolish. By 1903 there was no real prospect of simple parliamentary repression. No conservative government would allow it, and the debates of 1899 and 1900 had revealed to most Liberals the pitfalls of raising church affairs in the House of Commons. Anglo-Catholics had distinguished their ideals from the mainstream of Tractarian liturgy and aesthetics, and made themselves an organized radical force to carry the Catholic revolution further. By the time the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline began its hearing of evidence,¹ they had effectively staked a claim to toleration.

Almost by accident, London Anglo-Catholics now enjoyed the most favourable episcopal régimes yet. Bishop Talbot of Rochester was the first Catholic-minded English diocesan bishop. North of the Thames the age of "Uncle Arthur" was dawning, with Cosmo Lang as Bishop of Stepney. There were occasional niggles about licences and faculties, but the feel of both dioceses was now permissive rather than repressive.

As the strife passed from its acute to its chronic phase the prospect of Protestants achieving anything receded, while a new ecclesiological alloy was emerging and hardening within the Anglo-Catholic party. It was more distinctly Roman than its predecessors, willing to countenance expressions of *romanità* which would have horrified Mackonochie or Lowder. Anglo-Catholics were now far less tolerant of anything that made the Church of England appear to be a self-going concern, and more willing to experiment liturgically. The crisis had given free rein to those with instincts for confederacy and leadership. Human and ideological ties within the party were stronger than ever, making it a more consistent and effective campaigning force than hitherto.

By the end of the church crisis, what were the great questions of ecclesiology for Anglo-Catholics, and how had the crisis developed their views of church and party? This chapter addresses the former, and the next the latter question.

The Anglo-Catholic ecclesiological agenda at the turn of the century was not collected into any great *summa*² Creative thought was given to

¹ 2 June 1904. RCED I.1.

² The first such work was being written around this time. F.J.Hall, Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the General Theological Seminary, New York

the questions at issue, but with little leisure for discursive reflection. The most creative of contemporary Tractarian theological writers, Gore, was dismissed as a dangerous modernist by ritualists like Evans and "Athanasius." The extreme party saw little attraction in kenotic Christology, and thought Gore's sacramental theology rotten with Virtualism.³ Extreme attacks on Gore centred on his criticism of Transubstantiation as "materializing".⁴ Exception was also taken to his strictures about non-Communicating attendance, which was the corollary of eucharistic fasting in most thorough Anglo-Catholic parishes at 11.00 a.m..⁵ The most complete ventilation of the most extreme ritualists' ideology may be found in the private records of the SSC.

It follows that Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology cannot be described as though it were an encyclopædic system, founded on inductive logic. Often during the crisis Wood or Crouch defended positions others had already asserted, supplying arguments after the event. It was not so much a doctrinal package as a theological method - the application within the Church of England of continental Catholic ecclesiology. The definitive statement of this from the seventeenth century to Vatican II was Cardinal Bellarmine's.⁶ This was the mainstay of integralism, proving that only the Roman Catholic church matched the requirements of creeds and reason.

At the reformation, Protestant nominalists distinguished between visible and invisible churches. The visible church was the gathered Christian community, and the invisible church the company of heaven.⁷ They claimed that scriptural imagery applied directly only to the latter, which alone possessed final authority. Because they thought it derivative and secondary, Protestants made it sound as though the visible church was

(Later Bishop of Chicago), *Dogmatic Theology*, London. vols I (1907) to X (1924). Volume VIII, *The Church and the Sacramental System*, was published in 1920.

3 See above, p 161.

4 C.Gore, *The Body of Christ*, London, 1901, p 121.

5 *Ibid.*, p v.

6 Taken as such by, e.g., E.B.Pusey, *An Eirenicon*, Oxford, 1865 edition, pp 291 ff. For Bellarmine himself see J. Broderick, *Robert Bellarmine, Saint and Scholar*, London, 1961.

7 Classic definition of the concept in J.Calvin, *Institutes*, IV. cap 17. (J.T.McNeill & F.L.Battles, Philadelphia, 1975 edition, II.1021-1022 and chapter 1, *passim*). For a characteristic English example (William Perkins) see R.T.Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649*, Oxford 1975, p 59. The distinction is found in Article XIX, and was perpetuated by Pre-Tractarian Anglican Ecclesiologists, e.g. George Tomline, *Elements of Christian Theology*, London, 1826, II.327-333.

no more a private devotional guild, or even the state in its Godward aspect.⁸

Rejecting this distinction, Bellarmine asserted the necessary visibility of the church, and defined the conditions of its being and function. The church of which the creeds spoke must be an independent and self-sustaining *cætus hominum*. Scriptural promises and images applied to this body, or to none at all. In a famous passage Bellarmine asserted that the church was as visible a kingdom as that of France or the republic of Venice.⁹ Its boundaries were precise, defined by credal fidelity, sacramental *communio*, and ordered jurisdiction. Thus were excluded infidels and heretics, the excommunicate, and schismatics. The life of this body was marked by the exercise of three visible functions, teaching, holiness, and *magisterium*, whereby legitimate pastors exercised authority under the Pope.

Bishop Forbes grounded the church's necessary visibility not only in Jesus' calling his kingdom a city set on a hill, but also in the logic of the incarnation itself. As God had taken visible flesh in Christ, so Christ's continuing humanity must issue in an outward and perceptible reality. Although possessed of human and divine aspects, this was necessarily a single visible organism.¹⁰

Thus Anglo-Catholics rejected terminology which impeded the identification of this reality by compromising its unity:

It is too often conceded that whilst invisible unity remains to the church Catholic, visible unity has been destroyed. God forbid! Visible unity is one of the four necessary marks of the visible church, and is preserved to her in her creed, sacrifice, sacraments, and ecclesiastical order, which are the outward and visible bonds of that inward and visible union of which the Holy Ghost is the life and essence.¹¹

T.A.Lacey believed that this misunderstanding was reinforced by popular ecclesiological terminology:

Is it wise to speak of the "undivided church?" Is not the church undivided still? Has she not the fundamental unity of sacramental life?¹²

It followed that the very term "Church of England" had no meaning, except to denominate a part of the Catholic whole. E.G.Wood held that it was vitally important to

8 Survey by Patrick McGrath, "Problems of Authority in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in J.M.Todd (ed), *Problems of Authority - an Anglo-French Symposium*, London, 1962, pp 168-178.

9 Quoted in A.Dulles, *Models of the Church*, Dublin 1976, p 14. Article XIX called the visible church "*cætus fidelium*." (Text in E.J.Bicknell, *A Theological Introduction to the XXXIX Articles* (3rd ed), London, 1955, p 229.)

10 Quoting Möhler's *Symbolik* 11.7: *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, (3rd edition) London, 1878, pp 265.

11 H.L.Russell, SSC viii.1887, p 5.

12 SSC ix.1892 p 23.

teach that there was but one church. Such phrases as the "Church of England" and the "Church of Rome" had a very misleading tendency... Properly speaking, there was no such thing as the "Church of England"; there was no such body. Legally, even, you could not bequeath property to the "Church of England." The expression was but geographical. The notion sometimes called "the Branch theory" was also one to be avoided.¹³

Wood agreed about the branch theory with the Holy Office, which specifically rejected the term in 1864. It was held to reduce unacceptably the importance of visible unity.¹⁴

What was most subversive of conventional Anglicanism was that for Anglo-Catholics the consistency of the whole body of Christ required unity of doctrine, the first of Bellarmine's conditions. It was the essence of Wood's doctrine of œcumenical practices that no part of the church could claim its own doctrine apart from the dogmatic deposit of the whole. As an Anglican, C.R.Chase followed Pusey and Forbes in using the distinction between explicit and implicit dogma to bridge the gap between what Anglicans normally took for church teaching and the Catholic doctrinal πλήρωμα:

I believe all that the Church teaches; what I know explicitly, what I do not implicitly.¹⁵

Randall Davidson was horrified to discover in 1902 that Lord Halifax:

knows no difference whatever between the doctrines of the Ch[urch] of Rome and the doctrines of the Ch[urch] of England! and the only points of difference are on matters of discipline and (Papal) authority. The other differences are he says verbal misunderstandings.¹⁶

Thus Lord Halifax was not prevented from being a Roman Catholic, as Davidson was, by differences of belief. It was a simple question of loyalty and the hope of future reunion:

I am just as much at home in Roman Churches as in our own - & the more I frequent them, the more convinced I am there is between us and them. It is not a quarrel between 2 Churches but between members of the 1 same Church - and that much very much that concerns the whole of Christendom depends upon our faithfulness - where we are.¹⁷

Thus Lord Halifax

soared above the separation between Rome and Canterbury like a skylark over a hedge.¹⁸

It followed naturally from belief in the simple dogmatic unity of the church that its authority should be exercised uniformly. If the church was literally the kingdom of God, it must have a visible structure as real and effective as that of the kingdom of France or the republic of Venice.

13 SSC v.1888 p 15.

14 A. Dulles, *The Catholicity of the Church*, Oxford, 1985, p 131.

15 C.R.Chase in [J.G.F.Raupert] *Op.Cit.*, p 57.

16 Bp Winchester to Bp London, 28.11.1902. Fulham Papers box 113.

17 Ld Halifax to B.M. Maturin, 2.5.1892. Hickleton Papers, 270.3.II.

18 P. F. Anson, *The Call of the Cloister*, London, 1956 p 181.

The benighted state of most Anglican clergy on this point was their besetting weakness. According to Edward Denny:

there was great ignorance with regard to the constitution of the church as the kingdom of God. The acceptance of Ecclesiastical principles follows on this great fact. But now, the idea of the church's power of legislation is well nigh lost.¹⁹

Anglo-Catholics' enthusiasm for "the church's power of legislation" must not be misunderstood. They were unimpressed by the powers the Church of England had recovered by the revival of Convocation in 1851. The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts of 1881-3 suggested that the solution to wrangling over authority was to develop further powers of internal regulation.²⁰ Bishop Creighton²¹ and Bishop Gore agreed.²² In July 1903 a joint committee of the Convocation of Canterbury proposed to add a house of laity to itself. A committee appointed by the SSC²³ to examine this proposal came to the conclusion that

It involved a revolution in the Government of the Church, and therefore must be resisted at all costs.²⁴

Anglo-Catholic opposition to church reform might be put down to simple realism, knowing how much worse their party would fare in something like the Church of Ireland. Such pragmatism was supported, however, by two theological considerations. On the one hand the call for new organs of authority was no more than provincial, and "supported the insular not the Catholic idea."²⁵ On the other, church reform schemes worked on democratic models of the church. Although favoured by the spirit of the age, such images of authority were hard to square with the basic Catholic account of the church as a kingdom:

The government of the Church is the one positively absolute monarchy. It is said that laity will not obey laws they have no part in making. Does this apply to the decalogue and the sermon on the mount? we need to assert the monarchy of Christ in the church. Our blessed Lord calls it a kingdom not a republic.²⁶

It comes as no surprise that the loyalty of those who embraced this vision of the Church could not be won by an exercise of ἐπισκοπή which reminded Canon Newbolt of

19 SSC v.1892 p 14.

20 RCEC Report, I.lv-lvi. Review in QR CLXXXIX (1899) pp 544-576.

21 See e.g. *The Church and the Nation*, London, 1901, pp 333-335.

22 See C.Gore, "General lines of Church Reform" in C.Gore (ed), *Essays in aid of the Reform of the Church*, London, 1902, pp 1-29.

23 SSC v.1904 p 9.

24 SSC ix.1904 p 17.

25 George Bayfield Roberts, SSC vi.1903 p 5.

26 W.Crouch, SSC v.1914 p 22.

the dons at Oxford dancing round the bonfires they could not put down²⁷.

At best this state of affairs was provisional, a stage on the way to something better. Catholic order mattered not for its functional value, but as the expression of the necessary credal, communitarian and jurisdictional *unitas* which was the practical implication of Catholicity.

The Anglo-Catholic account of the Church as a visible kingdom did not absolutely require Bellarmine's juridical categories, however. It could be presented in other terms. Leaving on one side precise prescriptive language, The church was, in a sense, the on-going incarnation of God in the world. Anglo-Catholics decisively rejected the Protestant concept of grace as an imputed mercy, replacing it with the Catholic doctrine of grace as the infused life of God himself. Sacramental life thus came alive for them in a way it did not for other Anglicans. Christ himself

prays in the prayers of the church, and he pours forth his cleansing and restoring power through the instrumentality of the church.²⁸

From another point of view, this meant that the church itself could be considered as the medium of God's continuing humanity in the world. Stallard's view was founded on

an analogy between the church and the human nature of Christ, and so between the work of Christ in his human nature, and the work of Christ in his church.²⁹

This concept could have slid off into mysticism - St Teresa's image of human hands as Christ's. In fact Stallard brought his analogy under control by making its medium the concept of baptismal purity. He quoted Pope Leo who taught

*ut susceptus a Christo Christumque suscipiens non idem sit post lavacrum qui ante Baptismum fuit, sed corpus regenerati fiat caro Crucifixi.*³⁰

A richly dynamic concept of what is assumed in Christ at Baptism may also be found, transposed into a corporate key, in the writings of Augustine, who taught that the church, head and members, comprised *totus Christus*.³¹ Anglo-Catholics' espousal of this principle marks a

27 W.C.E.Newbolt to Bp London, 16.5.1901. Fulham Papers box 113.

28 A.G.B.Stallard, SSC viii.1887 p 3.

29 *Ibid.*

30 The concept of baptismal regeneration expressed in the full passage is strikingly dynamic:

"Dum enim renuntatur diabolo, et creditur Deo, Dum in novitatem a vetustate transitur, Dum terrari hominis imago deponitur et cœlestis forma suscipitur, quædem species mortis et quædem similitudo resurrectionis intervenit, ut susceptus a Christo Christumque suscipiens non idem sit post lavacrum qui ante Baptismum fuit, sed corpus regenerati fiat caro Crucifixi." Leo, *Sermo* LXIV.6 (PL 54.357). A similar concept of baptism may be found, e.g., *Epistolæ* XVI.3 (PL 54.698-9) and LIX.3 (PL 54.871).

31 Quoted and explained in relation to church unity by J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei*, London, 1938, p 101.

recovery by them of a perspective that was not restored to Roman Catholics until the mid-twentieth century, an incarnationism more positive and creative than Bellarmine's defensive juridical form of *communio*.

This vision of the church, one, visible, and alive, was the genesis of the controlling assertion of Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology which T.A.Lacey called "The organic principle."³² This described the church by its living continuities in two dimensions. Vertically, the church was an organic body because it represented a continuous stream of life in an apostolic succession.³³ Most high churchmen went along with this idea. It was what Archbishop Benson prized as "continuity."³⁴

The distinctive radical dimension of Anglo-Catholicism was its other, horizontal, one. The church was organic in that its life was the common life of all Christendom. To be itself, the true church must exhibit a community of life transcending all national or cultural categories:

The Church would be called Catholic, not merely because it was world-wide, but because there was something in it that made it world-wide. ... The Church is not Catholic because it is world-wide - it is world-wide because it is Catholic.³⁵

The church's authority was that of a transcendent, universal, pilgrim community, an authentic human reflection of the being of God himself.

This fourfold quality is found, vitally energetic, in the smallest fraction of the whole Christian society. The local Church is not merely a part of the universal Church; it does not merely represent the whole; it is a true micro-cosm.³⁶

A logical development of this position, although it was not Lacey's, was E.G.Wood's doctrine of "Œcumenical" uses. By calling incense "Œcumenical," Wood did not mean that its use was universal in the sense of being mandatory under the Vincentian canon;³⁷ indeed Wood did not use it himself before 1900.³⁸ Once Temple proved to Wood that the practice could not be inferred from Anglican formularies, it became an expression of respect for authority which was higher than provincial. Had it never been attacked, it would not have mattered, but the attempt

32 Defined in Lecture II, "The Organic Element" of T.A.Lacey, *Catholicity - Conciones ad Clerum*, London, 1914, pp 30-59.

33 *Ibid.*, pp 35-48.

34 E.W.Benson, *The Seven Gifts*, London, 1885, p. 171-2. Of Apostolic succession itself Benson held it to be "everything for a man's own encouragement and help in dispirited hours: but it is not a doctrine to *preach* to the world." (A.C.Benson, *Life of Edward White Benson*, I.600)

35 *Ibid.*, pp 12 & 14.

36 T.A.Lacey, *Op. Cit.*, p 29.

37 Compare the use of the Vincentian Canon by Temple and Wordsworth (above, p 110) with the reference to Vincent's *catholicus sensus* by Forbes (*Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, (3rd edition) London, 1878, pp 280-289).

38 See above, p 109.

to suppress it raised greater questions than the practice itself. Wood and his followers believed they had a positive Catholic duty to defend incense, because to fail to do so was to allow the right of provincial over œcumenical authority. The condemnation of incense seemed to Wood a denial of divine economy, which struck at the very heart of the Church of England's claim to Catholicity.

Anglo-Catholic practice, then, was an application of the organic principle to life in the Church of England. This was the Anglo-Catholic theology of the church, more of a method than a dogmatic deposit. The behaviour of Anglican Catholics in the church crisis makes best sense if, bearing this in mind, we examine their distinctive concerns and practices. It was at these points that the Anglican shoe pinched.

Party and praxis

The sticking points and frustrations of those who wished to be personally Catholic and remain Anglicans boiled down to four basic questions - Liturgy and formularies, Episcopacy and *magisterium*, the Roman question, and the pursuit of holiness.

(a) Liturgy and formularies

Liturgy and formularies, although theoretically separate issues, were bound together by the terms of the Anglican settlement. Formally speaking, anyone who conformed to the liturgy was an Anglican. While Canons regulated questions of administration and discipline, the Church of England's only public doctrinal standard, for most Anglicans, was the Book of Common Prayer. As well as the doctrine implicit in the book's services, this included the thirty-nine articles, with their own distinctive difficulties for Catholics.

Anglo-Catholics solved the problem of the apparent Protestantism of the formularies by a new doctrinal hermeneutic. This was what startled other Anglicans. It began with Tract XC. The fullest and most popular formulation of it was not that in the tract itself, but in Bishop Forbes' *Exposition* of the articles.³⁹

With sufficiently strict and minimal interpretation, the thirty nine articles could be made to allow Catholic doctrine and practice. For example, Article XXV taught that

39 A.P.Forbes, *Op.Cit.* First edition in 1867.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them.⁴⁰

This article was made to allow exposition and benediction by limiting its concern to the prime intention of the sacrament's institution. Forbes discharged his obligations to the article by agreeing that the primary purpose of the institution of the Sacrament was not gazing upon or carrying about, but went on to claim that these were legitimate derivative uses, founded on awareness of the real presence.⁴¹

A similar approach was taken to the question that became critical at St Michael's Shoreditch in 1903, the invocation of saints. Unreconstructed Anglican doctrine assumed that this practice had been banned at the Reformation. Article XXII laid down that:

The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, worshipping, and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.⁴²

Forbes, following Tract XC, distinguished between "Romish" and "Roman" doctrine. As the Article had been drawn up before the relevant session of the council of Trent, the tract argued it could not be referring to that.⁴³ "Romish" doctrine was medieval abuse, and "Roman" the Tridentine formulation.⁴⁴ This latter was, surprisingly, held to be mandatory for all loyal Anglicans.

Thus Anglo-Catholics subscribed the Articles as they were bound to do, but with special reservations and interpretations of their own to explain away their apparent Protestantism. G.F.Hinde explained that he subscribed Article XXV

which states the 'the second book of homilies doth *contain* a goodly and wholesome doctrine'[.] a statement which most of us make with the mental reservation that it also contains much doctrine that is *ungodly* and most *unwholesome*.⁴⁵

Anglo-Catholics' special interpretations increasingly went far further than earlier Tractarians in doing violence to what they believed to have been the intentions of those who had framed Anglican formularies. C.F.G.Turner believed it was no more than

Tractarian superstition that the Book of Common Prayer was compiled by 'Catholic-minded people'.⁴⁶ Its authors desired to separate the Church of

40 *Book of Common Prayer*, Cambridge, 1968 edition, p 622.

41 A.P.Forbes, *Op. Cit.*, pp 442-3. See also *Tract XC* §6, Pt 1.

42 *Book of Common Prayer*, Cambridge, 1968 edition, p 620.

43 *Tract XC* §6 Pt 1.

44 A.P.Forbes, *Op. Cit.*, p 302-3.

45 SSC v.1909, p 14.

46 A tendency strongest in those who opposed Pusey's desire to assimilate to Rome in 1850 (B.Harrison, A.P.Percival), identifying Catholicism with orthodoxy and episcopal government, and thinking of the reformation as essentially Catholic. See R.H.Greenfield, *Attitude of the Tractarians towards*

England from the rest of Catholic Christendom, and from the whole stream of Catholic Tradition.⁴⁷

This opinion showed a less than realistic understanding of the Anglican reformers' intentions.⁴⁸ All the same, its negativity marks one of the distinctive differences between the views of Anglo-Catholics and those of more conventional Tractarians. Before the crisis, all "high churchmen" had shared a common interpretation of the ornaments rubric. High churchmen took it literally, applying it to all the services in the Prayer Book. Thorough Anglo-Catholics were less enthusiastic about the Prayer Book and, as the "second year" of Edward had ended before the publication of the 1549 book, claimed as their right everything from the pre-reformation church.

The Osnaburgh Street resolutions had exposed the ambiguity behind this apparent agreement.⁴⁹ What Anglo-Catholics had been taking in one sense high churchmen and conventional Tractarians meant in another. This was the great gulf between the principles of Carter's meeting and those enunciated at Holborn Town Hall. Although many men managed to sign both, the second meeting was clear evidence of the way in which non-Prayer Book and even anti-Prayer Book Catholicism was taking hold among the extreme party. However unhelpful the Holborn meeting was for public relations, it was very useful in extending the influence of Wood and his followers.⁵⁰

Protestants habitually claimed that the Prayer Book had the force of law.⁵¹ Anglo-Catholics who took anti-Prayer Book positions cleverly set this argument on its head, so as to draw its sting. If the book they so detested was only the schedule of an Act of Parliament, it could be applied with the same liberty of interpretation allowed for any other statute. Therefore, obedience could only be required to a strict and minimal reading.

the Roman Catholic Church 1833-1850, Oxford University D.Phil, 1956, pp 539-56.

47 SSC vii.1910, p 4.

48 See e.g., Cranmer's treatment of patristic tradition in Abp Canterbury to Joachim Vadian, n.d. [1537] in H. Robinson (ed), *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation*, Cambridge, 1846, I.13 and the 1662 Book's stated intention to "reject all such [alterations] as were ... secretly striking at some established Doctrine, or laudable Practice of ... the whole Catholick Church of Christ." (*Book of Common Prayer*, Cambridge, 1968 edition, p viii §2). See also H.F.Woodhouse, *The Doctrine of the Church in Anglican Theology 1547-1603*, London, 1954, and W.O.Cross "The Doctrine of the Church in Tudor and Catholic Writings" *HMPECXXX* (1961) pp 12-23.

49 See above, pp 58-60.

50 See above, pp 80-81.

51 See, e.g., J.W.Miller to Bp London, 25.7.1900. Fulham Papers box 64.

Westall's counsel followed this line at the Lambeth hearings.⁵² He rejected entirely the idea that there was any binding force in the point of view of those who had drafted Anglican formularies, or that of current convention, or indeed, of the only official hermeneutic principle, that of Charles I's declaration in the book itself. This threatened to bring the full weight of Stuart autocracy down on any who dared to "affix any new sense to any Article".⁵³ The right Anglo-Catholics claimed to do this was the skin of its teeth by which the Church of England had been saved from ultimate Protestantism in the sixteenth century. They did not overestimate the thickness of this skin.

The Book of Common Prayer was thus made a permissible expression of Catholicism in spite of itself. It had to be what T.A.Lacey called a "*ritus integer*,"⁵⁴ or the Church of England was no Church. It could not be, if it was not one in offering the holy sacrifice:

If BCP is an accursed thing, then these Provinces are not Catholic⁵⁵

Any implication that the Anglican liturgy was defective enough to be invalid would sever the links required by the organic principle:

It is one thing to say a rite is meagre or even beggarly, or that it lacks synodical authority; quite another to impugn its validity.⁵⁶

The Prayer Book might be a permissible anomaly, but it could not be normative for Anglo-Catholics in the way it was for other Anglicans. Neither could the Canons of 1604 be thought of as definitive:

what was done in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century by Cæsar, and by Cæsar-influenced synods of clerics of whom hardly any were personally Catholic, cannot be spiritually binding upon us, who as by a miracle have been brought back to belief in the living Catholic church. These dry bones, which God has revived, must live a new life in union with the rest of the Body of Christ - of the Body of Christ as it lives today.⁵⁷

When it came to using the Prayer Book, the only way to make it acceptably Catholic was to

stretch rubrics against their mind. If we draw from other sources we do a common sense thing in order to do something which our present rite is not primarily intended for, namely to offer the Holy Sacrifice.⁵⁸

Therefore, while Anglo-Catholic liturgical practice bore some external similarities to later "Prayer Book Catholic," its base line was not the Prayer Book:

52 *Guardian*, 17.5.1899, p 693.

53 *Book of Common Prayer*, Cambridge, 1968 edition, p 610.

54 SSC vi.1891 p 4.

55 F.C.Kempson, SSC v.1910 p 28

56 G.C.Ommanney, SSC v.1910 p 29.

57 R.W.Burnie, SSC ix.1912 p 14.

58 C.F.G.Turner, SSC vii.1910 p 4.

a Catholic cannot take that book as a standard of orthodoxy or practice, so that whatsoever is not enjoined or commanded therein may not be believed or done by the faithful in this country.⁵⁹

Even those Anglo-Catholics most sticklish about the Prayer Book, like E.G.Wood,⁶⁰ did not believe it to be a primary source of authority for ceremonial:

we wear vestments, not because of the ornaments rubric, but because the usage and custom of the Catholic Church enjoin them.⁶¹

It was with some understatement that H.W.G.Kenrick called the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer “a valid mass, but jejune”.⁶² It could not be ignored, because of its importance within Anglicanism. Anglo-Catholics had a duty, as one master of the SSC put it, to “make the best, not the worst of it.”⁶³

As to our rite being jejune, I believe that the jejune impression one gets when reading it in the study is largely due to the un-mass-like language of the fragmentary rubrics. But we do not recite the rubrics, and I think the Prayer Book rite certainly acts better than it reads.⁶⁴

Best loyalty to the Church of England could not be expressed by mere adherence to Anglican liturgy. W.Scott told the SSC May synod in 1898,

The Book is manifestly not complete in itself, so that to be loyal to the Prayer Book we must go outside the Prayer Book...⁶⁵

Attempts to do this, bridging the gap between the Prayer Book and the requirements of the organic principle were what marked Anglo-Catholics out most controversially from their fellow Anglicans. They were driven to it by an awareness that however different they were from other Anglicans, they were really the only ones in step:

It is not we who are unsettled, but the Church of England, which has been unsettled for 400 years, and at present trembles on the verge of falling away from Catholicism; thus we must ask ourselves, concerning a rubric, whether it is theologically right and in accordance with Catholic custom.⁶⁶

This, then, was the rationale of ritualism. Outward forms and ceremonies were much more important to those who believed in the intrinsic visibility of the church than to Protestants who held the whole external life of the church to be secondary. A poem written in honour of S.F.Green during his incarceration expressed this conviction succinctly:

59 J.R.Sanderson, xi.1889 p 8.

60 See, e.g., rejecting the notion that priestly obligation could be discharged without scrupulous adherence to obligations in the BCP: SSC v.1884 p 19.

61 SSC vii.1906 p 3

62 SSC xii.1909 p 4.

63 F.F.Irving, SSC vii.1910 p 4.

64 F.C.Kempson, SSC v.1910 p 23.

65 SSC v.1898 p 21.

66 R.W.Burnie, xi.1913, p 8.

The Catholic Faith which having once received
And as we feel indeed "seen with our eyes,"
Becomes for evermore
The Sole Reality⁶⁷

High ritual conveyed to Anglo-Catholics a more than earthly reality.
Some presented it as a proleptic pledge of heaven:

The sooner all good Christian people get accustomed to the smell of incense, the better, for it is used in Heaven. We are told so in the Revelations [sic] of S. John. So also are lights, genuflexions, prostrations, lamps, white robes, processions, and palms. The worship of Heaven is very ritualistic, according to the Bible, which, we are told, is 'the religion of Protestants.' Without intending to be unkind, we may observe that they will feel somewhat out of place there.⁶⁸

Back on earth, high ritual had an additional function of setting forth and enforcing doctrine:

In the rites we use we constitute and stereotype that which has been laid down by teaching, and made apparent by ceremonial, with the cement of established custom.⁶⁹

The teaching that needed most emphasis among Anglicans was the doctrine of the mass as living communion. H.L. Russell suggested to the SSC in 1888 that they take as their model Willis, the first Roman convert in Newman's novel *Loss and Gain*.⁷⁰

I could attend masses for ever and not be tired. It is not a mere form of words - it is a great action, the greatest action that can be on earth.⁷¹

Anglo-Catholic critique of current Anglican liturgical practice centred on what was seen as its typical mediocrity and human-centredness. E.S. Maltby believed that this was no accident but arose from the very nature of the Book of Common Prayer, born of the subjectivism of the eucharistic little Englander:

What is the holy mass but the great drama of the life of our Lord on earth - his birth, his teaching, his passion and death, his resurrection? The vestments are the outward expression to the eye of the worshipper of this drama. And what has been substituted for this? A sentimental compilation of prayers and scriptural quotations, which is neither liturgical, nor scientific, nor edifying. The attraction is no longer objective, but subjective. The very idea of a propitiatory sacrifice is purposely ignored; the doctrine of intention, which is so central a thought in all Catholic worship, is not even hinted at. All suggestion of mystery is annihilated, and souls are trained, not in the ways of objective adoration and sacrificial worship, but in the ways of sentiment and self-homage⁷²

67 C.F. Hernaman, *Church Times*, 1882, p 182.

68 T.H.P[assmore], *Op.Cit.*, p 8.

69 W.B. Drake, SSC vi.1910 p 4.

70 SSC vii.1888 p 5.

71 [J. H. Newman], *Loss and Gain*, London, 1869 ed, p 290.

72 SSC v.1910, p 26.

Ritualism was a means of supplying this deficiency. H.L.Russell defined the necessary minimum of ceremonial to do justice to the organic principle:

ritual accessories which proclaim the truth of the real presence, and which while they represent the mysteries of the passion - as, for instance, in the case of Vestments - at the same time by their richness and beauty proclaim our Lord's triumph over death and the glorified state in which he now lives, the more perfect state of the sacred humanity in which he now offers himself upon our altars, more perfect than the state of humiliation and death in which he offered himself on Calvary...

Would that priests who are so scrupulously particular about the words were as particular in relation to ritual matters, from Vestments and Lights to the smallest manual act, in their way quite as important and essential as the words in "showing forth the Lord's death till he come."

...it is a mortal sin to celebrate *sine ulla veste sacra* in every case whatsoever. Likewise, to celebrate without chasuble or alb or stole and maniple. Likewise without any light. Likewise, to descend to a matter not always borne in mind even by Catholics, with candles not of wax, except in cases of necessity.⁷³

Only such careful ceremonial could

bring the Church of England into harmony with the church throughout the world in this all important matter, so that all may see and know that we are one with all Catholic Christendom in the offering of the one sacrifice.⁷⁴

Of course, some Anglo-Catholics were more radical than others in their handling of the Prayer Book. There were two basic approaches to ceremonial, later to be known as "English" and "Western" Uses.

T.A.Lacey believed that the best way to take the Prayer Book was as a book of *preces*, saying everything within it, with no additional private prayers, but adding to it *cæremoniæ* drawn from elsewhere, especially where its rubrics were vague or incomplete.⁷⁵

The implication of Lacey's position was that the Prayer Book should be used as it was, although paragraphs could be rearranged.⁷⁶ This English use was preferred to its Roman alternative by the *major et sanior pars* of Anglo-Catholics and high churchmen. It was recommended by Percy Dearmer⁷⁷ and the Alcuin Club.⁷⁸

By 1891 Anglo-Catholic liturgical norms had developed as far as to engender in W.Scott simple disbelief that Lacey could possibly mean what he had said about interpolations:

73 SSC vii.1888 pp 7-9.

74 SSC vii.1888 p 9.

75 SSC vi.1891 p 4.

76 T.A.Lacey, *Liturgical Interpolations*, London, 1898, (Appendix) suggests ways of doing this.

77 P.Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook*, London, 1913.

78 E.G.P.Wyatt, *English or Roman Use?* London, 1913.

If Br Lacey declares that he makes no addition and no excision in saying Mass according to the Prayer Book, that he uses the whole office from beginning to end, we would believe him; but until he did say so, we should be inclined to suppose that he said mass like the rest of us.⁷⁹

The rational alternative to such Prayer Book literalism was Western use literalism, like that of E.S.Maltby:

Our first object should be to secure intact the structural integrity of the mass. If this is to be done successfully, the interpolation by Cranmer must be omitted altogether. We are therefore placed in this position: either to use the compilation of Cranmer word for word, or to use the only service book that has the authority of the Catholic church.⁸⁰

The logical course of action for those who took Maltby's position was that of E.E.Kilburn of St Saviour's Hoxton, who simply abandoned all the trappings of Anglicanism.⁸¹ Of Kilburn's experiment we may say that it was only possible in London, for under no bishop but "uncle Arthur" would Kilburn have dreamt of taking the action he did without first becoming a Roman Catholic.

Anyway Kilburn's blatant Romanism probably went further than the aspirations of most Anglo-Catholics. The majority were content to do as W.Crouch did in the early 1880's, using sections of the Roman Missal to supply the deficiencies of the Prayer Book:

our ordination vow bound us to use no other form but the Book of Common Prayer, but we could not use it without some guide to explain it. He knew none better than the directions appended to the Roman Missal.⁸²

A fair picture of what doing this entailed may be gained from a debate of the SSC in 1909, which enumerated no fewer than nine different combinations of prayer books and cards then in use. H.W.G.Kenrick proposed to amalgamate present books into a new Anglo-Catholic rite. This was to be conflated from a selection of sources. A list of them gives some idea of the variety of what was going on at Anglo-Catholic altars in December 1909:

The whole P.B. service (quoad missam)
The whole of the Missale Romanum in English
But where the P.B. provides anything that is inserted
Scriptures throughout from the A.V. and psalms generally from the P.B. psalter. The P.B. portions printed differently from the additions.
One can therefore use the P.B. only, or choose from the additions whatever may be required.⁸³

79 SSC vi.1891 p 10.

80 SSC v.1910 p 27.

81 S. C. Carpenter, *Winnington-Ingram*, London, 1949, pp 170-175.

82 SSC xi.1881, p 3.

83 SSC xii.1909 p 4.

The new book's designer called it "a kind of 'kiss of peace' between England and Rome".⁸⁴ The Prayer book party, Lacey and Kempson, were predictably horrified at the thought of how Kenrick's book would violate the integrity of both the Prayer Book and the missal of Pius V.⁸⁵ The main features of this production, however, can be discerned in the book which did eventually become normative for "western use" Anglo-Catholics, the *English Missal* of 1923.⁸⁶

Ritual Notes, edited originally by Walter Plimpton of St Mary Magdalene's Paddington and the Revd J.Nelson Burrows of St Augustine's Haggerston, provided fine tuning for Anglo-Catholic ceremonial.⁸⁷ This book was expanded and updated through its editions,⁸⁸ and, alongside the *English Missal*, confirmed the rejection of Sarum,⁸⁹ increasingly abandoned in favour of the Western Use by extreme Anglo-Catholics after the turn of the century.⁹⁰

The ideal of giving the one sacrifice a single liturgical expression was never perfectly realized. This was not just a question of which liturgy to use, but also of how to use it. Edward Heath told the SSC how irritating he found it that some of his colleagues did not seem to know how to put on vestments or even how to hold their hands:

How is it that some priests look quite natural, and others so very unnatural in all that they do?⁹¹

Someone more acquainted with the realities of liturgical practice in Rome itself might have been more aware that there was no Anglican monopoly on variety or sloppiness. Lacey answered Maltby's call to make Roman liturgy the standard in England by asking him which of the five liturgies in use at Rome he had in mind.⁹²

Some Anglo-Catholics went further than others in appreciating the ecclesiological dimension of liturgical variety. C.F.G.Turner, himself a convert Roman Catholic priest,⁹³ supported Lacey's line on liturgy. He

84 *Ibid*

85 SSC i.1910 p 2.

86 *Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal* (2nd ed), London, 1923.

87 *Ritual Notes*, London, 1894. recommended as a guide e.g. SSC v.1910 p 31.

88 Eight editions between 1894 and 1935.

89 See, e.g. E.G.Wood in SSC xi.1881 p 3.

90 See, *inter alia*, an account of the objects and methods of the Society of SS Peter & Paul in Evelyn Waugh, *The Life of Ronald Knox*, London, 1962 edition, pp 97-99, and a general review by Athelstan Riley in M.Donovan, *Op.Cit.*, pp 129-131.

91 SSC viii.1887 p 3.

92 SSC v.1910 p 27.

93 Ordained by the Archbishop of Rouen. Deacon, 1883, priest, 1884. Crockford 1904, p 1413. According to the CA's Ritualistic Clergy List, 1902, (quoted by J.E.B.Munson, *Op.Cit.* p 387) there were 33 former Roman priests working in the Church of England.

believed that it would strengthen Anglo-Catholic witness if his colleagues

could be induced to waive all personal preference, and adopt the undoubtedly “Catholic” principle of treating our formularies, precisely as the rest of the clergy throughout Catholic Christendom treat their missal and breviary.⁹⁴

Ironically, it was the small group of Prayer Book users who came closest to fulfilling this aspiration. T.A.Lacey encouraged using the Prayer Book straight, even if it meant forsaking favourite continental ritual points:

It is not impossible to change the practice of many years, when we realize that the interpolations are made on purely Protestant grounds.⁹⁵

Criticizing his colleagues who interpolated sections of the Roman Missal, Lacey bemoaned their schoolboy translations and chopped-about performances. He went on to point out that the liturgy of 1570 quite clearly forbade clergy

*Necque in missæ celebratione alias cæremonias vel preces, quamquæ hoc missali continentur, addere, vel recitare præsumat.*⁹⁶

Only a minority of Anglo-Catholics respected this principle in practice, however. Proposals by Lacey to protect the integrity of both English and Roman liturgies were lost by large majorities of the SSC in 1891⁹⁷ and 1910.⁹⁸ In one of these discussions, J.W.Kempe went as far as to say that he could not see how the prohibitions of a sixteenth century pope could have any bearing on nineteenth century Anglicans.⁹⁹ If they did not, it is hard to see why it was so necessary to forsake conventional Anglican liturgy in the first place.

Thus Anglo-Catholic liturgical behaviour emitted contradictory ecclesiological signals. Although it was clearly meant to be an improvement on the practice of other Anglicans, its very individualism gave it a very different meaning and function to liturgy in the contemporary Roman church. Doubtless it codified and regularized the doctrine it was intended to convey. We cannot, however, avoid the observation that using liturgy for this purpose was, in itself, an Anglican rather than Roman activity. For Roman Catholics at the time, Liturgy was not so much a means of teaching as the instrument of *Communio*. A chop-and-change hybrid liturgy, in Roman terms, defined nothing but confusion.

By the conventions of the Catholic ecclesiology the most extreme Anglo-Catholics had taken upon themselves, the only real choice was

94 SSC xi.1900 p 5.

95 *Ibid.*

96 SSC vi.1891 p 4.

97 SSC vi.1891 p 8.

98 SSC xii.1910 pp 4-5.

99 SSC vii.1891 pp 8-9.

between Lacey's Prayer Book literalism and Kilburn's Roman liturgy *tout simple*. Like pragmatic Englishmen, however, The majority did not realize this. They experimented with various liturgical permutations, largely unaware that they were doing the same sort of violence to continental formularies as had already been done to the Prayer Book.

In extenuation, we may say that Anglo-Catholics were driven to inconsistency by forces beyond their control. Perhaps their worship was the most Catholic that could be offered within the constraints of history and circumstance. Behaving like Evans or Kilburn required a radical consistency to which only a few could aspire. Those who straggled along in the wake of pure Romanizers could at least claim they were doing something in the right direction.

However much we may understand how Anglo-Catholics painted themselves into this corner, it is hard to say that the resulting liturgical cocktail made the movement more "Catholic" in any way that Bellarmine would have recognized. Arguably, it exposed the fatuity of the whole Anglo-Catholic position. Lacey's stand against the tide drew the attention of his colleagues to a serious flaw in their logic, which pitifully few of them recognized as such.

The position might have been saved by a stronger doctrine of divine economy. Having embraced ritualism, however, few Anglo-Catholics had anything like as sophisticated a doctrine of provincial liturgical right as they had of episcopal autocephality. If they had possessed such a liturgical vision, they might not have gone so far down the ritualist track in the first place. In this respect the connection of ritualism to Anglo-Catholicism was not conducive to a consistent ecclesiology.

Considering this problem in terms of the rest of the Anglican church, some irony attaches to Anglo-Catholic liturgical practice. Paradoxically, its effect was to introduce greater variety than ever before among Anglicans. This dissolved one of the only consistent marks of the Church of England, the theoretical status all parties had conventionally accorded to the Prayer Book. Anglicans may have done different things, but always believing that they were somehow square with their formularies. Young Anglo-Catholics at the turn of the century hoped to catholicize their church by copying foreign forms and customs. This inevitably meant distancing themselves from one of the only unifying elements in their church, its liturgy. The result of this was as disintegrating to the whole

as the fathers of Trent had believed it would be in their own communion when they centralized the liturgy in 1570.¹⁰⁰

If Anglo-Catholics had been more liturgically disciplined, they might have been redefined Catholicity for other Anglicans, as well as securing a more thorough doctrinal base for the movement. The most intelligent of them saw this. Thus W.Scott confessed in 1896:

It may not be quite true to say that we make 100 Ritualists for one Catholic, but there is some truth in the charge.¹⁰¹

W.B.Trevelyan bemoaned the corrosive effect on authority of excessive liturgical individualism,¹⁰² and E.T.Finch, as the SSC's "Ceremonarius," laid heavily into those for whom the main attraction of the Catholic liturgy was sentimental:

The Catholic movement was in danger of being bought into lasting contempt by reason of the prevalence of a faddy, fussy ceremonialism, which to many of the disciples, and even leading lights of the movement, seemed to be of supreme importance... The details of this fussy ceremonial of a generation now passing away were evolved out of the private judgment of the individual, or what he thought he had seen abroad, and were defended on merely sentimental grounds. This was "so teaching," [sic]¹⁰³ that "so beautiful," or "so reverent," &c., *ad nauseam*.¹⁰⁴

At its best Anglo-Catholic liturgy made worship something done rather than something read from a book. This was a major gain, but it was entirely private, measured by the appreciation of Mr Twisaday and others who gave evidence supporting their clergy to the Royal Commission of 1904. Amongst corporate losses must be counted the visible cohesiveness of the Church of England in the twentieth century. This presented a marked contrast to the Roman Catholic church in England at the same time, with its almost clubbish sense of identity.

It is an implicit acknowledgement of how muddled their concept of liturgy was that so many Anglo-Catholics, whilst ignoring and despising the Prayer Book, should have quixotically opposed all attempts to revise it. Thus E.G.Wood greeted the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline by calling for

a great movement to say we will have no alteration in the Book of Common Prayer.¹⁰⁵

G.C.Ommanney believed that Prayer Book revision would do no more than institutionalize the present unsatisfactory state of the church:

100 See, e.g. Article V of the *Professio fidei Tridentinæ a Pio IV præscripta*, 18 Nov. 1564. (B.J.Kidd (ed), *Documents illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, Oxford, 1911, p 357.)

101 SSC vi.1896 p 7.

102 SSC v.1903 p 10.

103 A printer's error. Surely he meant "touching."

104 SSC v.1910 p 29.

105 SSC vii.1906 p 3.

If revision were undertaken now, we should have the Church of England looked upon as having no connection with the rest of the Catholic church. We do want change - some time, but at present we should offer unflinching opposition to any revision of the Book of Common Prayer.¹⁰⁶

Apparently present liturgical anarchy, like establishment, had its uses. However unsatisfactory in theory, it was better than reform until the Catholic revival had made further progress.

(b) *Magisterium* and episcopacy

To make the Church of England measure up to Bellarmine's criteria, it was necessary that authority be exercised within it by legitimate pastors. For this reason, Anglo-Catholics thought that Protestant Non-conformists were entirely outside the church. C.R.Chase thought them, at best, invincibly ignorant, but advised his colleagues to be friendly to them in the hope of maximizing the chance of attending them on their deathbeds.¹⁰⁷ All formal intercourse was forbidden, even for Chase's Sunday school children to sing hymns with them.¹⁰⁸

It was axiomatic that the Church possessed visible living authority. For Roman Catholics this was to be found in Rome. The Pope was set at the apex of a consistent system, his sway enhanced at every level by the effects of nineteenth century Ultramontanism. Roman Catholic bishops exercised authority over their dioceses only by virtue of quinquennial faculties, confirming their status as what Bellarmine called legitimate pastors. The *pallium* was no empty ceremonial accessory, but represented each archbishop's share in the authority of Peter.¹⁰⁹

The sixteenth century Church of England had lost the whole top layer of its crude medieval form of this system. The result had been to increase the importance of individual bishops. Metropolitans still exercised provincial functions, such as appeals and the issue of some marriage licences, but in principle each bishop ruled in his diocese as the highest level of practical administration. His authority was circumscribed by ancient local or royal prerogatives to a much greater extent than by any œcumenical or foreign authority.

It was in this context that changes came over the practice of episcopacy in the nineteenth century Church of England. Dean Burgon called Samuel Wilberforce "the Remodeller of the Episcopate".¹¹⁰ The idea that he as good as re-invented practical episcopacy has become a

106 SSC x.1906 p 7.

107 SSC viii.1887 p 6.

108 *Ibid.*, p 7.

109 The effect of this feature of the Roman system on the power of bishops was discussed by Edward Denny in SSC xi.1898 p 7.

110 J.W.Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, London, 1888, II.1-70.

commonplace of Tractarian and Anglican historicism,¹¹¹ But it is by no means unassailable truth. Inspired by the Tractarians' conviction that all Georgian churchmanship had been as filthy rags, it over-simplifies and misunderstands the attitudes and practices of previous high church bishops.¹¹² A parallel might be drawn to the way in which Tractarian propaganda¹¹³ tended to blacken the memory of previous popular religion.¹¹⁴ Randall Davidson thought Blomfield as important a reformer of Episcopal ministry as Wilberforce.¹¹⁵ What is certain is that after the mid century, Anglican bishops, increasingly, began to organize their work along modern lines.

As this happened episcopacy became increasingly a matter of the Church's *esse* as well as *bene esse*.¹¹⁶ The chorus of protest that greeted the Kikuyu fiasco of 1914 surprised the missionaries involved.¹¹⁷ In its van stood Frank Weston and the Anglo-Catholics.¹¹⁸ In E.G.Wood's view the Church was defined by communion with the Bishop. It was impossible to forsake the one and remain, in any sense, connected to the other.¹¹⁹ The organic principle naturally inclined to the idea that the church was more than an abstract organization:

we are not in communion with the Province, but the Bishop. The latter [is] a Divine - the former a human institution.¹²⁰

The tendency to exalt the episcopate was ideologically underpinned by Victorian patristic scholarship. In mid-century R.A.Lipsius had stripped away later accretions from Ignatius,¹²¹ but still produced a text using which J.B.Lightfoot could interpret episcopacy as the primitive centre of unity:

Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ... μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρᾶσσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ...

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- 111 See, e.g., C.P.S.Clarke, *The Oxford Movement and After*, London, 1932, pp 180-181, S.C.Carpenter, *Church and People, 1789-1889*, London, 1933, pp 258-278.
 - 112 P.B.Nockles, *Op.Cit.*, pp 621-623.
 - 113 See, e.g., S.L.Ollard, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, London, 1963 edition, pp 28-31.
 - 114 F.C.Mather, "Georgian Churchmanship Reconsidered: Some Variations in Anglican Public Worship 1714-1830.", *JEH* 1985 pp 255-283.
 - 115 R.T.Davidson and W.Benham, *Life of A. C. Tait*, I.196-8.
 - 116 Complete review by A.J.Mason, *The Church of England and Episcopacy*, London, 1914.
 - 117 G.K.A.Bell, *Op. Cit.*, I.690-708.
 - 118 Address of sympathy to Frank Weston in SSC xi.1913 p 9.
 - 119 SSC vi.1890 p 3.
 - 120 George Bayfield Roberts, SSC v.1914 p 14.
 - 121 "Über das Verhältniss des Textes" in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Leipzig, 1859.

ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἦτῶ, ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.¹²²

This vision of a non-Roman Catholic community centred on the bishop, supplemented by Irenæus and crowned by Cyprian, was understandably congenial to Anglicans.¹²³ For Archbishop Benson, the north African church seemed to provide an early example of stand-alone monarchical episcopacy.¹²⁴ Cyprian had made the bishop the basic unit of the church,¹²⁵ according to the principle *episcopum in ecclesia esse et ecclesiam in episcopo*.¹²⁶ Thus Benson found in Cyprian's writings the paradigms with which to approach almost all the Church questions of his own age.¹²⁷

Anglo-Catholics endorsed this picture, which in T.A.Lacey's judgment, provided the basis of his church's claim to legitimacy:

The Catholic church is the sum total of all diocesan organizations. The Roman mistake is to consider the unit as the individual in communion with the Pope; the unit is really the bishop.¹²⁸

The Achilles heel of late Victorian high church views of episcopacy, however, was the question of what to do when bishops disagreed. They might indeed have a right to stand up to one another, as Cyprian stood against Pope Stephen, but when they exercised this right, who was to adjudicate, and upon what basis? The Western church had developed two answers - Conciliarism¹²⁹ in the fifteenth century and, Papalism,¹³⁰ which had been given a new lease of life in the nineteenth century by the Ultramontanes.¹³¹ The orthodox had a complex and interleaved system of patriarchal rights and their own version of Conciliarism.¹³² Only Anglicans had nothing positive with which to fill this gap.

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- 122 *Ep. Smyr.* 8 (Kirsopp Lake [ed], *Apostolic Fathers*, London & Cambridge Mass., 1912, I.26)
 - 123 See J.B.Lightfoot, *St Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, London, 1873, pp 232-242.
 - 124 E.W.Benson, *Cyprian, his Life, his Times, his Work*, London, 1897, pp 35-36.
 - 125 *Ibid.*, pp 31-34.
 - 126 *Ep.* 698 (PL IV.419).
 - 127 A.C.Benson, *Op. Cit.*, II.677.
 - 128 SSC vi.1890 p 3.
 - 129 See, *inter alia*, B.Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*, Cambridge, 1955, and A.J.Black, "The Council of Basle and the Second Vatican Council" in SCH.VII, Cambridge, 1971, pp 229-234.
 - 130 For pre-reformation examples see W.Ullmann, *Medieval Papalism*, London, 1949.
 - 131 See J.D.Holmes, "Conciliarists versus Papalians - the victory of Ultramontanism and the decline of Gallicanism in England illustrated by the controversy over the restoration of the hierarchy." AHC III (1974).
 - 132 See E.Herman, "The Secular Church," *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Cambridge, 1967, IV.2.

It was to supply this deficiency that Anglo-Catholics turned to another Cyprianic principle,¹³³ one of which Bellarmine had made much, *Episcopatus unus est cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*.¹³⁴ There was no such thing as a self-sustaining local episcopate. The authority which individual bishops bore was not their own, but merely the local embodiment of Catholic ἐπισκοπή.

One of the fundamental principles upon which the Kingdom of Christ is established and maintained upon earth is the integrity of episcopal jurisdiction.¹³⁵

The seamless unity of the apostolic college which possessed the power of the keys, higher than councils or Papacy, could actually be described as infallible:

The full practical exhibition of the teaching of Catholic pastors throughout the world, and the responsive witness of the faithful, constitute her living infallible voice.¹³⁶

Infallible authority was required, among other things, to judge between councils. Anyway a universal council was not a real enough prospect to pin anything much on. Anglo-Catholics found the living voice in the authority of bishops without a Roman or patriarchal focus of unity by taking the full panoply of infallibility from the Pope and applying it to the one episcopate. George Bayfield Roberts used the terms of the first Vatican Council to define infallibility. Applying the principle to the whole episcopate, however, entailed considerable complication:

Dispersi or *congregati* they are infallible; and *dispersi* they are taken for the church *moraliter*. This infallibility is inherent in the episcopal character. It is either passive or active; passive when not exercised; active when exercised. If, then, a doctrine is taught by the *Ecclesia docens dispersa*, there is an active exercise of inherent infallibility. In such a case the Church acts as *prædicatrix seu magistra*, not as *judex*; but, none the less, she essentially exercises the *Magisterium*.¹³⁷

Infallible teaching was apprehended not in single pronouncements or councils alone, but in different degrees at different levels:

The *Magisterium* is exercised *testificando, prædicando, judicando...*

(i) By the Bishop of the diocese as the *Doctor* of the faithful; (ii) in the Provincial Synod; and (iii) in the Œcumenical Council.¹³⁸

This scheme, however high a doctrine of episcopacy it implied, suffered from the endemic weaknesses of infallibilist arguments, Roman or Anglican. Not only was it essentially self-authenticating, it suffered something like the death of a thousand qualifications in practice. Par-

133 Quoted, e.g., by E.G.Wood (SSC vii.1903 p 6), W. Crouch (SSC i.1907 p 2) and G. Bayfield Roberts (SSC ix.1911 p 7).

134 *De Ecclesiæ Unitate* 5 (PL IV.516)

135 W.Crouch, SSC v.1888 p 21.

136 C.F.G.Turner in SSC i.1897 p 5.

137 SSC i.1897 p 5.

138 *Ibid*, p 3.

ticular episcopal statements, like the Lambeth opinions or the Pastoral of 1902, were obviously not infallible. Identifying infallible statements was such a chore, involving such a bewildering variety of considerations, that it was never done. Thus the doctrine of infallibility became something of a dead letter. As the lynch-pin of authority, it was rather like the shillelagh mild-mannered pensioners sometimes hang in the hall - a better deterrent than weapon.

However much of a contrast it offered to the obedience they rendered bishops in the church crisis, or lack of it, Anglo-Catholics did hold a strong doctrine of episcopal authority. This was far more important than infallibility, which could only be passively exercised. In 1892, A.M.Y. Baylay described the rights and bounds of episcopal ministry within the Catholic constitution:

The organized life of the Church is thus constituted: - Christ is the head and monarch of the Church, and under him, as his vice-regents on earth, we have the Episcopate; each of these, however, only entitled to exercise the authority which he is invested by Christ over a certain limited range, which we now commonly call his diocese, within the bounds of which he has full authority, independent of all other bishops, for conferring orders, for calling synods, for exercising discipline, and for doing all other authoritative acts belonging to his office.¹³⁹

All theories of episcopacy limited each bishop to his own diocese. The special Anglo-Catholic additional requirement was that episcopal jurisdiction be exercised "in submission and in communion with the whole episcopate."¹⁴⁰

Theoretical obligations to the *unus episcopatus*, however, could not always be determined simply. One problem concerned parts of the world which were arguably Catholic or Protestant. Formal succession was not enough in itself to secure the valid exercise of ἐπισκοπή. In 1889 E.G. Wood ruled against the Swedish succession on the grounds that it was merely "mechanical." The powers conferred by the Crown and the people in Swedish consecrations were not theirs to bestow.¹⁴¹ The threat of intercommunion with the Swedes and other Lutherans raised a flutter of protest from the SSC in July 1910.¹⁴² Whatever its claims to a valid succession of bishops, its Lutheranism placed the Swedish establishment firmly among "bodies outside the Church." W.Scott believed that any form of recognition for the Swedish church would imply that the Church of England was a Protestant episcopal body rather than part of the Catholic Church.¹⁴³

139 SSC ix.1892 p 20.

140 SSC vii.1903 p 6.

141 SSC vii.1888 p 11.

142 SSC vii.1910 p 5.

143 SSC v.1909 p 16.

Within the English-speaking world, Anglo-Catholics tended to favour overseas Anglican churches, sometimes, as in South Africa, idealizing them as havens of Catholicism they were probably not.¹⁴⁴ Nearer home, the Church of Ireland was probably the Catholic Church in that land, but possibly not as

The Papal party in Ireland did not let the case go against them by default, but consecrated rival Bishops, both of which [hierarchies] stand in the mechanical succession.¹⁴⁵

But if an Irishman emigrated to Australia, where was he to go to church, and who was his rightful Archbishop of Sydney, the “Anglicizing” or the “Romanizing” one? T.A.Lacey feared that answering this question in the seemingly obvious way, that this was an implicitly English culture, might do no more than export the original Irish schism to this and all British colonies.¹⁴⁶ There was no simple answer to such conundra. They had to be worked out case by case.¹⁴⁷

An important part of Anglo-Catholic aspirations was to breathe life into the mechanical succession which existed in England. Thus Wilmot Phillips of St Ethelburga’s Bishopsgate asked:

How were the bishops of this country to be brought into touch with the *unus episcopatus* of the Catholic Church?¹⁴⁸

Some high churchmen did this by exalting Archbishops to fill the void evacuated by rejecting Roman primacy. E.G.Wood mockingly christened this the “patriarchal and archiepiscopal theory”.¹⁴⁹ Cardinal Vaughan himself shared the joke with Lady Lea in 1894:

Benson is going to get himself declared a Patriarch within the next two years! So I hear from certain well-informed Anglicans.¹⁵⁰

Under Benson, Anglo-Catholics thought that the Anglican bishops had embarked on a sinister campaign of self-aggrandizement:

The Archbishop of Canterbury continually exalts his own see, and speaks as if the English Church were the whole Catholic Church, and the Prayer Book the ‘liturgy of the future’ for the whole world.¹⁵¹

This fear was fuelled whenever English bishops gave an appearance of ecclesiastical imperialism: They seemed all too ready to accept the division of Christendom, as though it were a normal state of affairs.

144 P.B.Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, London, 1963, p 191. For this an example of this tendency within SSC see above, p 39.

145 SSC v.1889 p 16.

146 *Ibid.*

147 For examples and applications, see G.O.F.Griffith, SSC ix.1903 pp 6-8.

148 SSC v.1907 p 20.

149 SSC ii.1888 p 10.

150 Quoted in Derek Holmes, *More Roman than Rome*, London, 1978 p 218.

151 Charles. Worlledge, SSC ii.1888.p.8.

Some public pronouncements of Archbishop Temple expressed this attitude with startling clarity:

It has pleased God to break up the Church into fragments and apparently to give a different mission to each part. ... Our immediate work, no doubt, is to evangelize the world, for we have more opportunities of doing it than any other church or nation.¹⁵²

William Crouch had identified a similar mentality in Archbishop Benson, when he condemned “a very serious tendency to set up a rival Pope at Canterbury.”¹⁵³ It was anti-Catholic because it implicitly violated the jurisdictions of other Catholic bishops.

As well as revealing an unhealthy willingness among English bishops to go it alone, the issue of jurisdiction raised embarrassing practical questions, like that of overseas Anglican chaplaincies. Some saw them as a necessary provision for expatriates, but in general they were suspect.¹⁵⁴ What Anglo-Catholics found ideal was when Anglicans were apparently recognized as brothers by foreign Roman Catholics. In 1882, for example, when J.W.Kempe had been invited to celebrate the eucharist by an Austrian Abbot, it was delightedly reported back to the SSC. The master explained that:

What Br Kempe had done was the right thing to do, viz as a Catholic priest wherever he was, to ask the leave of the ordinary to say mass at a Catholic altar. Not to do so was to fail to recognize the oneness of the Catholic faith.¹⁵⁵

The most decisive sphere of episcopal authority, however, was at home. Here the requirements of Catholicity still defined the jurisdiction. E.G.Wood defined the joint tenure of which Cyprian had spoken thus:

Each [bishop] had an entirety and equality, not in distinct shares, but as entitled to the whole. The authority of each was the authority of all - not as independently exercisable, but only valid and binding when exercised by the consent and with the authority of all.¹⁵⁶

The dispute over incense and reservation enabled Anglo-Catholics to define the constraints of Catholicity on episcopal authority. One kite that was flown was that of *jus liturgicum*. This concept came to prominence in the 1890's, and was used by some Anglo-Catholics and their bishops as a ground of compromise over incense. It seemed to define a mutually acceptable regulating power. The idea was that primitive episcopal ministry had included a special responsibility for ordering worship, *jus liturgicum*.

152 F.Temple, *Op.Cit.*, p 38.

153 SSC v.1888 p 24.

154 See below p 209-211.

155 SSC vi.1883 p 5.

156 SSC ix.1911 p 7.

T.A.Lacey took the *jus liturgicum* to justify his use of the Book of Common Prayer without interpolations. He was less inclined than Wood to locate liturgical authority in impersonal rules or structures:

This ritual is now used in the Diocese of London by exactly the same law and by exactly the same spiritual authority as the Roman Liturgy was formerly here used - namely, by command of the Bishop of London.¹⁵⁷

E.G.Wood put matters differently, allowing a greater rôle for canon law and custom, yet he also believed that bishops had an important authority over liturgy under normal circumstances:

the bishop was originally the source of the prescribed form to be used in his diocese, and he was still the authority for the use of the form... the form is the prescribed form because the bishop prescribes it.¹⁵⁸

This *jus liturgicum*, he went on to say, could not touch œcumenical uses and was subject to the Provincial Synod, Convocation. These restrictions made it practically less important for Wood than for Lacey.

Jus liturgicum was not as useful as Lacey hoped either, however. It was a way for those who wanted to be helpful anyway to clothe their compliance in Catholic-sounding jargon. It cut little ice with those who did not want to co-operate. F.F.Irving believed that, by the terms of the Reformation settlement,

the bishops had bartered away their *jus liturgicum*, from the legal aspect of things.¹⁵⁹

R.W.Burnie rejected *jus liturgicum* entirely, as resting on an inadequate conception of œcumenical law:

The Catholic Church is not a federation of independent princes. ... No Eastern bishop can reject or alter the liturgies of SS John Chrysostom or Basil. No Western bishop of the Roman Obedience can reject or alter the Roman Mass. Therefore the notion of a reversion to the primitive *jus liturgicum* of the diocesan bishop is contrary to the Œcumenical custom of the Church. Therefore, for my part, I will have no lot in such fancied reversion; for had I such lot I should be disobeying Œcumenical Law, which is the Voice of the Holy Spirit.¹⁶⁰

It was not necessary to be an Anglo-Catholic to see the shortcomings of *jus liturgicum*. Archdeacon Sinclair advised Bishop Winnington-Ingram in 1906 that its origins were questionable, and its use by previous bishops of London had been convenient rather than correct:

It is a recent revival of an obsolete and tentative duty of Bishops in the primitive church, before the formation of synods, and National Churches, reproduced by our ritualistic friends in the hope of justifying their eccentricities, and accepted by some of the Bishops themselves who were too busy to make inquiry into such antiquarian matters, & who were glad to ac-

157 SSC ix.1912 p 12.

158 *Ibid.*

159 SSC viii.1910 p 5.

160 SSC ix.1912 p 14.

cept anything which seemed to increase their authority, in days when that authority was so constantly disputed....

Bishop Temple knew nothing of Canon Law, & with his usual self-confidence acted entirely for himself, and greedily accepted the figment of *jus liturgicum*; Bishop Creighton, a brilliant historian, was equally ignorant of Canon Law, and acted as freely as Bishop Temple on his own authority...

The individual "Jus Liturgicum" (a late name for an early necessity) expired with the formation of provinces.¹⁶¹

Sinclair grounded his rejection of *Jus liturgicum*, like Wood, in the notion that Provincial Authority since the time of Constantine had been lodged in Convocations with the consent of the Christian Prince.¹⁶² It was still sufficiently important in the Anglo-Catholic world of the mid-twentieth century for Gregory Dix to think it worth demolishing:

We have heard a lot in England of late years of the bishop's *jus liturgicum*. The term is entirely unknown to the canon law or to any writer in any country before the late nineteenth century, when it comes into use among a certain section of Anglican ecclesiologists, who invented it as a means of lifting the dead hand of parliamentary statutes off Anglican worship. So far as the primitive bishop had any such right he had it not so much as bishop but as celebrant. When he ceased to be the normal celebrant it passed as a practical fact to other people.¹⁶³

The way in which wrangling over authority encouraged talk of *jus liturgicum* provides an interesting commentary on the growing rôle of the episcopate. It provided no long-term solution to the problems the church crisis raised, because it did not invent an authority which could secure the compliance of the most extreme Catholics. Faced by the prospect of real episcopal power, extremists like H.P. Denison preferred to rest on the Act of Uniformity instead.¹⁶⁴

The real issues of episcopacy for Anglo-Catholics were not raised by doubts about their bishops' theoretical status, but their behaviour. Again and again, Anglican bishops did and said things which made it harder to believe they were indeed Catholic prelates. Thus Wilmot Phillips asked

The theory of the universal episcopate was good as a theory, but was it practical?¹⁶⁵

As Hanbury-Tracy told Winnington-Ingram,¹⁶⁶ it hurt Anglo-Catholics above all to be opposed by bishops whose highest interest they believed themselves to be defending:

The Bishops of the Church - the very persons who ought to help us, the persons to whom we are bound to exhibit reverence - are the very ones who

161 W.Sinclair to Bp London, 7.2.1905. Fulham Papers box 113.

162 A theory found before the nineteenth century in, e.g., Joseph Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, Oxford, 1726, XIII. 5 §1-2.

163 G.Dix, *Op. Cit.*, p 588.

164 See his rejection of *jus liturgicum* above, p 155.

165 SSC v.1907 p 17.

166 See above, p 153.

not only fail us, but who turn against us and help to sustain prevailing errors.¹⁶⁷

The problem was exacerbated by natural irritation at having curates' licences refused or suspended, and the dreary business of negotiating arrangements for reservation. As the SSC discussed episcopal conspiracies to "smash" the society, W.Scott was forced to conclude:

none of our prelates, Dr Gore partly excepted, believe at all in the 'real presence' as Catholics understand those words.¹⁶⁸

This pessimistic estimate underestimated Bishop Talbot, but did reflect a depressing fact of life for most Anglo-Catholics, that could erode their faith in the very possibility of Anglican Catholicism. This had led Evans in Shoreditch to tell Lord Halifax he would do as Cardinal Vaughan said, however unpalatable, but it would be "ostrich-like" to render such obedience to an Anglican bishop, as though he were the real thing.¹⁶⁹ When C.R.Chase became a Roman Catholic in 1900, he made a point of telling all his Anglican friends how pleasant it was, for the first time in his life, to feel he had the same religion as his bishop.¹⁷⁰

Some Anglo-Catholics, like H.P.Denison and A.W.Hanbury-Tracy, reconciled themselves to this state of affairs by recollecting that the bishops had never been in the forefront of Catholic revival. They hoped that eventually the bishops would catch up, and, in the meanwhile, were willing to tolerate a few anomalies.

For the present, federated episcopacy was fine in theory, but hard to reconcile with the organic principle's requirements. Trying to make the Church of England match up to Bellarmine's criteria was probably a forlorn hope in the first place. The problem of bishops was rather like the problem of liturgy, but more immediate. The answer to the liturgical question was to pad out and steer by higher obedience. *Mutatis mutandis*, the way to handle bishops was to obey them when they were being acceptably "Catholic," and ignore them when they were not. The bleak years waiting for Catholic consciousness to filter up to the episcopate could be eked out by importing sound bishops from Lebombo or Zanzibar.

Although such practical expedients helped to prevent Anglo-Catholics from feeling fatally marginalized, and so bolstered their faith, they contributed little to the intellectual coherence of their ecclesiology. The idea that the only really Catholic way to obey Bishops was to turn the Nelson eye to everything they ordered was not easy to commend to the man in the street. Certainly it was nothing like what Cardinal Bellarmine meant

167 G.C.Ommanney, SSC v.1907 pp 6-7.

168 W.Scott, SSC ix.1906 p 11.

169 See above p 161.

170 See above p 117.

by submission to legitimate pastors and it was risible to contemporary Roman Catholics.¹⁷¹ This would not have mattered if it had not been according to their rules that Anglo-Catholics were attempting to play the game. Pusey's old line that these were not holiday times, and obedience was better than sacrifice,¹⁷² however unpalatable, might have won deeper respect from outsiders, including bishops.

During the crisis, the whole practice of episcopacy had been redefined under pressure. Wood and Bayfield Roberts had worked out the precise limits of each bishop's authority. They had produced a masterpiece of sophistication, which worked for those who believed in it, rather as *jus liturgicum* worked for Lacey and high churchmen. Consistent and positive episcopacy, however, remained no more than an ideal, approached most closely by the least legalistic who learnt to confide in their bishops as friends and colleagues.

To become any more than that would have required Anglo-Catholic diocesan bishops. Although Talbot and Gore were sympathetic, it was still impossible to think of a thorough Catholic (in the SSC sense) as an English bishop. Even in the Anglo-Catholic heyday, seats on the bench were offered to those moderates most likely to work with others.¹⁷³

An interesting footnote to this question was Charles Gore's performance as a bishop. Raised to the hierarchy, he could not bury questions of authority in party solidarity, or rest them in abstractions like parish clergy did. Few Anglo-Catholics appreciated his actions over Caldey in 1911.¹⁷⁴ Visionary individual enthusiasm grated hard against the requirements of corporate consistency as Gore tried to act as he thought a Catholic bishop should. Even with sympathetic bishops, Anglo-Catholicism was not yet mature enough to sustain real episcopacy. It was still a better protest movement than an establishment.

Tortuous negotiations with bishops during the church crisis showed that the Church of England was simply not the same kind of institution as the Tridentine Roman Catholic church. Practically speaking, this had its advantages. If it had been, we may assume that Anglo-Catholics would have found themselves starving on the streets, like unrepentant

171 Like J.G.F.Raupert (=“Viator”), *Ten Years in Anglican Orders*, London, 1897, p 154.

172 E.B.Pusey to J.F.Russell, 9.10.1839 in H.P.Liddon, *Life of E.B.Pusey*, London, 1893, II.142.

173 See, e.g., the terms in which W.H.Frere was offered the see of Truro in 1923 (G.K.A.Bell, *Op. Cit.*, II.1251). For the view that thoroughgoing Anglo-Catholics had been passed over in favour of Frere see W.K.Lowther Clarke, *The Prayer Book of 1928 Reconsidered*, 1943, p 78.

174 J.G.Lockhart, *Op.Cit.*, II.203-214. For a full description by a participant see P.F.Anson, *The Benedictines of Caldey*, London, 1940. Modern review by René Kollar, “Lord Halifax and Monasteries in the Church of England,” *CH* LIII (1984), pp 218-230.

French Modernists. All the same, the general effect of the church crisis was to diminish the bishops' practical authority for Anglo-Catholics.

(c) The Roman question

The church crisis cast formerly indifferent bishops in the rôles of meddlers and, worse still, Protestant policemen. Disowned by their legitimate pastors, and spurned by the Roman Catholic church, Anglo-Catholics ploughed what was sometimes an intolerably lonely furrow. If they opted out, their steps usually turned towards Rome rather than back into conventional Anglicanism. To those weary of belonging to a minority interest group within a heterogeneous establishment, Rome appeared to be a safe haven.

E.G.Wood could well understand the attractiveness of Rome. To an Anglo-Catholic on the brink of conversion it appeared to be

the lone home of truth, the *Ecclesia docens*, the City of Peace, in contradistinction to the 'Church of England', which he regards as teaching nothing, as a babel of tongues, and a city of confusion.¹⁷⁵

Such allure, however, was to be resisted strenuously. It was axiomatic to the Anglo-Catholic faith that no more than one visible organization could claim to be the Catholic Church:

If the provinces of Canterbury and York do not form part of the one Catholic church, we must leave them as we value our souls' salvation. But if they are part of that one Church, then the Roman bishops in England and the priests under them must be schismatics, and we can have no communion with them, in worship or in spiritual action, without incurring the guilt of deadly sin.¹⁷⁶

A.H.Stanton said that this was the one issue on which Mackonochie was "very narrow, and merciless to anyone who Romanized."¹⁷⁷ Even T.A.Lacey, an intellectual who was to accompany Halifax' to Rome in the cause of re-union,¹⁷⁸ could express this point with the robust triumphalism characteristic of late Victorian religious controversy:

We can have no peace, no negotiation with the Cardinal of the holy Roman Church who calls himself Archbishop of Westminster. He is too obviously an intruder. We can listen to no terms from him but absolute surrender.¹⁷⁹

Therefore Roman Catholic churches in England were forbidden territory. It was not always possible, however, to keep younger Anglo-

175 SSC v.1889 p 4.

176 SSC ix.1905 p 6.

177 Quoted in M.Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, London, 1965, p 152.

178 T.A.Lacey, *A Roman Diary and other documents relating to the papal inquiry into English ordinations MDCCCXCVI*, London, 1910.

179 SSC v.1889 p 17.

Catholic clergy out of them.¹⁸⁰ The consecration of the Brompton Oratory in 1886, for example, attracted various Anglo-Catholic clergy, who were censured for their attendance by J.W.Kempe and C.S.Wallace.¹⁸¹

To contemplate conversion was said to be materially sinful, involving as it did a willingness to “forsake the Catholic Church and join a schismatic body.”¹⁸² After C.R.Chase’s conversion in 1900, G.C.Ommanney advised colleagues not to mention such temptations even in their private prayers:

People so often pray for guidance. We should not dream of asking for guidance as to whether we commit any other sin or not. Rather we should pray for strength and grace that we may be able to resist temptation.¹⁸³

Chase’s conversion touched a terribly raw nerve, for he had been an important party leader. Ommanney saw in Chase’s action an implicit criticism of the reality of his orders, as well as of his own past ministry.¹⁸⁴ E.G.Wood said of the defection of one of Chase’s curates in 1886:¹⁸⁵

A priest who secedes from our Communion repudiates every Priestly act he has done, and so offers a distinct insult to the Eternal Priesthood of the Great High Priest.¹⁸⁶

A year after Chase’s conversion, Wood still did not believe that faith in the reality of Anglican orders and other sacraments could simply evaporate overnight, and questioned the genuineness of the conscientious convictions of anyone prepared to turn:

Appearing in those who become Papists, and whom one previously esteemed highly for their work’s sake and the high character of their lives, it is difficult not to feel that becoming a Papist does imply some lowering of the whole moral tone.¹⁸⁷

It was adding insult to injury that Roman conversions invariably drew comment of the “I told you so” variety from Protestant opponents, as they did at Shoreditch in 1903.

Abroad, matters stood entirely differently. There, the Roman Catholic church was the true and only church. Attendance at Roman Catholic

180 Among numerous appeals not to participate in schismatic worship, see the formal motion in SSC vii.1886 p 5, W. Crouch in SSC v.1888 p 20 and G.C.Ommanney (as Master) in SSC ix.1905 p 6.

181 SSC vi.1886 p 2.

182 G.C.Ommanney, SSC v.1901 p 6.

183 SSC v.1900 p 9.

184 *Ibid.*

185 Apparently five of Chase’s curates at All Saints’ Plymouth became Roman Catholics while serving there in the years before their vicar did. *Tablet*, 16.6.1900 p 940.

186 Said of the Revd W. H. Newland in SSC vi.1886 p 2.

187 SSC ix.1904 p 6.

worship, a “scandal” in Great Britain,¹⁸⁸ was “a question of duty, of principle, not of expedience” abroad.¹⁸⁹

The greatest practical embarrassment in an age in which European travel had been extended to the middle classes, was continental chaplaincies.¹⁹⁰ The Anglo-Catholic obligation to respect foreign Catholic jurisdictions posed an awkward question for tender consciences. Put casuistically, was it a sin to receive communion in parish churches abroad, knowing that had the celebrant been aware of your Anglicanism he would have barred you?¹⁹¹

As an Anglican, C.R.Chase answered this question with an emphatic negative:

He thought instructed Catholics should hear Mass at the parish churches abroad, and that they had a perfect right to go to the Altar and receive Holy Communion (he had done so himself), and also to kneel in the confessional and make their confessions. As Catholics they had a right to do this; and he did not consider that there was any necessity to say anything about one’s position in England.¹⁹²

In contrast, G.D.Nicholas, stood up for continental chaplaincies:

It was out of the question for us to attempt to communicate at Roman altars abroad, when we knew that if it were known that we were Anglicans we should be refused communion; it was dishonest and amounted to thieving. The blame for the existing state of things lay at the door of Rome, and we were bound to make some provision for our own people on the continent.¹⁹³

Wood, Chase, Crouch, Roberts and Scott disagreed, abominating the very existence of overseas chaplaincies, which Crouch vilified as a new “Anglo-Continental Church,” a contradiction in terms. Crouch wondered mockingly when Rome itself would be divided into ‘Anglo-Continental’ parishes.¹⁹⁴ On another occasion E.G.Wood suggested that there was absolutely no need to erect chapels abroad. Instead, clergy travelling on the continent should instruct English people in their own language then march them *en bloc* to receive communion at the local Catholic parish church.¹⁹⁵

Certainly the lack of intercommunion was unfortunate for the Anglo-Catholic position. One provisional answer was Pusey’s old example of

188 SSC v.1888 p 20.

189 W. Crouch, SSC v.1888 p 21.

190 See J.Pinnington “Anglican Chaplaincies in Post Napoleonic Europe: a Strange Variation of the Pax Britannica.”, CH XXXIX, 1970, pp 327-344.

191 The need for “subterfuge” was E.G.Wood’s only doubt on the question. SSC v.1888 p 27.

192 *Ibid.*, p 26.

193 SSC ix.1911 p 9.

194 SSC v.1888 p 24.

195 SSC ix.1902 p 12.

the followers of Melitius of Antioch.¹⁹⁶ Lacey thought the analogy to Melitius offered a controlling principle for peaceful coexistence with Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland and the colonies.¹⁹⁷

For those bold enough to engage in intercommunion, the theological defence against the charge of “subterfuge” was that sacraments belonged to the whole church, not to the part of the church which ministered them. There was no need to ask permission, as “there was no such thing abroad as a Roman Catholic altar”.¹⁹⁸ Anglicans were not individually excommunicate.¹⁹⁹ George Bayfield Roberts countered accusations of dishonesty by pointing out that you could not steal what was as much your own property as its dispenser’s. He did not

regard the attempt to communicate at Roman altars as in any sense stealing, because the Blessed Sacrament is not the private property of the parochus; every Catholic had a right to receive it, and every parochus was bound to give it.²⁰⁰

Given the refusal of the Roman Catholic church to recognize Anglicans as fellow Catholics, they might have sought allies abroad among such groups as the Old Catholics. E.G.Wood did sometimes wonder whether the way in which the Jansenists had been handled did not raise the possibility that they were the Catholic Church in Holland.²⁰¹

The idea that the Old Catholics were more Catholic than the Pope was impossibly absurd, however. They might have been justified in rejecting the Vatican Decrees, but few Anglo-Catholics believed this could justify a formal act of schism. This low estimate was confirmed for William Crouch when he met his first Old Catholic:

I can fully sympathize with the difficulties of the Old Catholics if they were really Catholics at heart, not like the only one I ever met, who, after attending evensong in an English Church, complained to us, “tædet me ceremonarium:” but I have no sympathy with them when they seek to meet their difficulties, not by individual irregularities which necessity may justify, but by setting up a new organization.²⁰²

Similar strictures applied to other non-Roman episcopal communions abroad. E.G.Wood’s rejection of Swedish orders has been mentioned. Bishop Smyth of Lebombo was expelled from the SSC in 1911, for fraternizing with Lusitanians.²⁰³ Kikuyu was just around the corner.

196 E.B.Pusey, *An Eirenicon*, 1865 edition, p 60. Also A.P.Forbes, *Op.Cit.*, p 288.

197 SSC v.1889 p 17.

198 See, e.g., Wood, SSC vi.1883 p 5.

199 W.Scott, SSC v.1888 p 26.

200 SSC ix.1911 p 9.

201 SSC viii.1893 p 4.

202 SSC v.1888 p 24.

203 SSC ix.1911 p 5. Smyth had not changed his views on Episcopacy. He was possibly courting the Lusitanians as a bargaining counter in his dispute with the Portuguese government over education in Portuguese East Africa -

There was no room for compromise on this question, for it called into question the first principle that the church must be a single visible *cœtus hominum*.

However much they rejected Roman Catholic claims in England, the emotional pull of the Papacy remained strong for Anglo-Catholics:

Not only is the See of Rome in an especial sense the Apostolic See, but the position of the Pope is that of the Primate of Christendom *jure ecclesiastico*... If we deny that his authority is *jure divino*, and that all spiritual jurisdiction is derived from the chair of Peter, we must yet admit that the Pope is vested with a certain limited jurisdiction, and that this jurisdiction has accrued to him by custom - *jure ecclesiastico*. If we cannot recognize his claim to be a monarch, we hail him as our chief spiritual father.²⁰⁴

The present ultramontane position was sometimes thought to be a diseased reflection of the Protestant failure to accord the papacy its due place in Christendom.²⁰⁵ The imminent demise of Leo XIII in 1903 evoked from E.G.Wood a display of real feeling for the man he was prepared to style the Holy Father, and his universal primacy:

We must, in order effectually to refuse acceptance of modern Roman claims, acknowledge the pre-eminent position of Rome, in an especial sense the Apostolic See. We must give to the Roman Pontiff the honour of a father, while we repudiate the authority of a prince and a monarch. We must claim a share, as it were, in the Holy Father, equally with continental Catholics; while we refuse to acknowledge that the authority of every bishop is derived from him.²⁰⁶

The doctrine of universal primacy, along with the unacceptability of non-Papal alternatives, made it impossible for Anglo-Catholics to reject Roman claims in Europe in favour of any sect.

The only final answer to the Roman question was reunion, for which present informal acts of intercommunion were a proleptic pledge. In fact, T.A.Lacey thought the term "reunion" misleading. He thought it compromised the Church's mark of unity, and preferred the term "intercommunion."²⁰⁷ Anglo-Catholic efforts to promote it ranged from the sublime to the ridiculous.

Prebendary Allen Whitworth exposed a famous example of the latter in the *Church Review* in 1878.²⁰⁸ The "Order for Corporate Reunion" was the brain-child of Thomas Mossman and F.G.Lee. The idea was to receive orders from *episcopi vagantes* and re-ordain the clergy of the

See T.R.Teague, *A Memoir of William Edmund Smyth*, London, 1955, pp 38-9. For Anglo-Catholic denunciations of Lusitanians see T.T.Carter, (ed) *The Recent Action of the Archbishop of Dublin and its consequences*, London, 1892.

204 George Bayfield Roberts, SSC ix.1905 p 17.

205 See, e.g., Wood, SSC v.1895 p 10.

206 SSC vii.1903 p 4.

207 SSC v.1895 p 20.

208 *Church Review*, 28.12.1878 p 623.

churches of England and Rome, so as to enable mutual recognition of ministries.²⁰⁹ The SSC leadership saw the order exactly as the Roman Catholic authorities did, as a hare-brained affront to Catholic jurisdiction. Membership of the OCR was forbidden to brethren,²¹⁰ and those who did not resign from it were expelled.²¹¹

A more sublime and responsible Anglo-Catholic effort for reunion was the dialogue between Lord Halifax and the Abbé Portal on the subject of Anglican orders.²¹² Certainly there could be no reunion until it was resolved:

the validity of our Orders does not depend on any recognition by the Holy See, but recognition was to be desired, for it was most desirable that for her own sake the Roman Church should recognize them.²¹³

Even before Halifax left England, his mission laboured under two handicaps - one was the Vatican decrees and the other the position of the Roman clergy in England.

Even if the Pope had been willing to recognize Anglicans, it still left the question of the terms upon which Anglicans would be expected to recognize the Pope:

It is not that we merely have to work up to a certain level to get Rome to recognize us. Rome must herself yield certain points before there can be any hope of reunion. Grave questions, such as those which relate to the papal supremacy, must be defined very differently to the definition of the Vatican Council.²¹⁴

Thus papal infallibility represented a significant barrier to reunion. It was not insuperable, however, because Anglo-Catholics were not pure conciliarists. They hoped that one day the decisions of the council would be reversed:

It is quite conceivable that a number of bishops meeting and having the appearance of an Ecumenical council might arrive at a wrong decision and represent only their own opinion; e.g., the council of Frankfort concerning the worship of images - which was rejected by the ordinary *magisterium* of the Church. This ordinary *magisterium* will, we trust, repeal the decrees of the latest council of the church. It is our only ray of hope.²¹⁵

209 *Church Times*, 14.3.1879 p 163. There is a delightful and appropriate description of the OCR scheme in D.Morse-Boycott, *The Secret Story of the Oxford Movement*, London, 1933, pp 221-2.

210 A Statement by the Society of the Holy Cross concerning the Order of Corporate Reunion, London, 1879, p 10. (Pusey House PA/REU XXVIII.9).

211 See, e.g., T. Mossman, expelled in SSC i.1881 p 7.

212 See J.J.Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, London, London, 1968. For the occasion of these discussions, see B.Neveu, "Mgr Duchesne et son *Mémoire sur les Ordinations Anglicanes*, 1895 ou 1896," JTS (NS) XXXIX (1978), pp 443-482.

213 SSC i.1895 p 4.

214 R.A.Thorp, SSC vii.1890 p 15.

215 C.F.G.Turner, SSC i.1897 p 6.

The other major barrier to reunion was the position of the Roman Catholic clergy in England. Had English Roman Catholics in 1895 been as loosely organized as they were in 1800, Halifax might have achieved more. As it was, a growing and vigorous denomination saw little to be gained and much to lose from recognizing Anglican orders. It was in line with the temper of the age that Anglo-Catholics sometimes reciprocated this feeling:

Reunion would be impossible if it meant being reconciled to Cardinal Manning and his clergy, who are schismatics.²¹⁶

Labouring under such handicaps, Lacey and Halifax were careful not to hold out unrealistic hopes to their colleagues. All the same, Anglo-Catholics were bitterly disappointed by the bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*.²¹⁷ T.A.Lacey reminded the SSC that this bull was no more irreversible than thousands of others had proved to be,²¹⁸ but all the same, it was a major reverse.²¹⁹ A.R.C.Cocks, for one, had supposed the two communions to have been “within measurable distance of reunion.”²²⁰ The sober truth was that for all their sincerity and enthusiasm, Halifax had pitted himself against shrewd politicians, and the vested interest of Cardinal Vaughan and his clergy.²²¹

Quite apart from this, Anglo-Catholics knew that the vast majority of Englishmen were not yet willing to surrender their national Protestantism.²²² The question of Anglican orders was ridiculous to Cardinal Vaughan because their Catholic and sacramental character was denied, not just by Rome, but by the vast majority of members of the Church of England.²²³ Realists must have known that there no real prospect of corporate union on this basis.

The negotiations with Portal demonstrated the strength and the weakness of meetings between the most Roman Anglicans and the most Anglican Romans. Although they generated tremendous mutual *bonhomie*, they massively backfired on a corporate level. The failure of

216 W.Scott, SSC vii.1890 p 15.

217 Leo XIII, *Bull Concerning Anglican Orders*, (Authorized translation and text), London, 1896. See also C.L.Wood (Lord Halifax), *Leo XIII and Anglican orders*, London, 1912 (especially the *Times* editorial quoted on p 355) and J.J.Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, London, 1968.

218 SSC ix.1896 p 21.

219 See, e.g., G. Bayfield Roberts, SSC viii.1896 pp 4-6, The Master's September Synod address, SSC ix.1896 pp 5-6, W. J. Scott, SSC ix.1896 pp 19-22.

220 *Ibid.*, p 22.

221 Account of negotiations by Ld Halifax in SSC v.1895 pp 8-9 and T.A.Lacey in SSC ix.1896 pp 6-9 and *A Roman Diary*, London, 1910.

222 See, e.g., T.J.Puckle, SSC i.1895 p 4.

223 See J.G.Snead-Cox, *The Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, London, 1910, II.226-7.

Creighton's Round Table conference showed that what was true of external relations applied equally well to parties within the church.²²⁴

Thus in 1896 Anglo-Catholics were brought up hard against something the previous generation had had to accept - that all they could do practically for reunion, apart from occasional acts of inter-communion abroad, was to assert their priestliness within their own church. At the same time, the vision of eventual unity remained bright:

The devil cannot long keep asunder those who are united in the faithful use of the same means provided by the Church for her concord and peace. An united Priesthood must triumph over Satan's master-stroke, and restore visible concord to the visible Church.²²⁵

Some Anglo-Catholics compensated for the Papal snub with new heights of Catholic practice and devotion in their own parishes. It laid upon them a new obligation to prove Rome wrong by parochial ritualism, which established the validity if not the regularity of their orders:

our Holy Mother disowns us, and it is a grave matter, but - ... with regard to ourselves[,] our belief that we are Catholic Priests, that we do offer the Holy Mass, and absolve sinners, results in certain experiences which carry a thorough interior conviction of the reality of the supernatural force of our sacraments. We can never doubt the validity of our Orders; we may doubt our authority to exercise them.²²⁶

Especially during the church crisis, the Anglo-Catholic attitude to Rome was a considerable public handicap. It produced accusations of disloyalty at home, incomprehension in Rome, and the painful experience of rejection by those who were converted. It is a sign of how important it was to their ecclesiology that Anglo-Catholics held out against all pressure to deny their affinity with Rome in favour of provincial self-sufficiency.

Having started by trying to make their church measure up to criteria like Bellarmine's, Anglo-Catholics were pushed by the logic of being rejected by Rome into a more expansive view of Catholicity. Persisting in Catholic worship in the face of Rome's refusal to recognize its validity led on naturally to the idea that sacraments belonged to the whole church. Thus the position of Melitius, denied Catholic communion through no fault of his own, remained a necessary paradigm. Its ecclesiological inference was a doctrine not dissimilar to the Vatican II concept of the Church "subsisting" in the Roman Catholic Church.²²⁷ This was to mark a considerable departure from Bellarmine's simple identification of the two with each other. The first stirrings of *communio*

224 See above, p 121.

225 H.L.Russell, SSC viii.1887 p 6.

226 W.Scott, SSC ix.1896 p 20.

227 *De Ecclesiæ* 1.8 (E.H.Peters (ed), *The Constitution on the Church of Vatican Council II*, London, 1965, p 74.)

sacramentorum in this modern sense²²⁸ may be seen in Anglo-Catholics' unauthorized acts of intercommunion, designed to express "the organic unity of the body of Christ" in the face of rejection.²²⁹

(d) The pursuit of holiness

The pursuit of holiness demanded personal struggle in all areas of life, but entailed less intellectual paradox in its own terms than other Anglo-Catholic concerns. If the basic unit of the Catholic church was the bishop, the basic unit of the parish was the priest or layman who aspired to being personally Catholic.

An interesting reflection of his former Anglo-Catholicism may be discerned in the mature ecclesiology of George Tyrrell. This shows the durability of the Anglo-Catholic view of personal holiness as the seal and guarantee of Catholicism. It is no surprise that Tyrrell was read by some of the most prominent and controversial ritualists. Evans of Shoreditch, who loathed Gore as a modernist, read and appreciated Tyrrell's writings. He once told Lord Halifax:

I like everything I have read of Fr Tyrrell's. He attracts me more than any other RC clergyman that I know[;] he always strikes me as being "broad church" in the right way!²³⁰

In *Christianity at the Cross-roads*, Tyrrell set out to defend the need for a visible church against the tendency which stood in the following of Harnack to make Christ the antithesis to institutional forms of religion. He sought to reconcile an acceptance of the apocalyptic dimension of the gospels with the need for a visible church. He pointed out that the Christ of the gospels did not reject visible temples, sacraments, priests and altars; rather his zeal burned against their abuse. The truth of the Catholic church was not secured by its necessary outward forms, but by its capacity to transform human lives. This, for Tyrrell, was holiness. Real Catholics were those able to offer outward devotion, whilst not using religion for their own authoritarian ends. The truest Catholic, for Tyrrell, was not the most curially-minded or legalistic, but the most personally holy:

I am thinking of the Catholic religion, not as a theological system on paper, nor as an institution governed by a hierarchy in other than spiritual interests; but as a personal religion lived by what must always be a small minority of professed Catholics. I am thinking of what it does and has done for the souls of those who not merely profess it, but believe in it, and use it. I am thinking of the bird free on the wing, not crushed and crumpled in the

228 B.C.Butler, *The Theology of Vatican II*, London, (2nd Ed), 1981, p 114.

229 J.W.Kempe, SSC vi.1883 p 5.

230 H.M.M.Evans to Ld Halifax, 27.2.1900. Hickleton Papers 270.3.

grip of the hawk; of the Church living, not of the Church dying and dead.²³¹

This vision, foreign as it was to the integralism of most contemporary Catholics, well expressed the Anglo-Catholic concept of holiness, which arose out of the experience of trying to be personally Catholic in a minority. Tyrrell, like Stanton and his former chief Dolling, wanted to beat Protestant holiness movements at their own game. Some Anglo-Catholics, seeking to make something on a corporate level of this aspiration, sought more discriminate administration of marriage,²³² burial,²³³ Holy Communion,²³⁴ and baptism.²³⁵

The practice of holiness began for Anglo-Catholics, as for other Victorian churchmen, with a high regard for conventional morality. Like high churchmen, this entailed opposition to liberal divorce laws,²³⁶ birth control,²³⁷ and any state recognition of marriages with a deceased wife's sister.²³⁸ A tide of enthusiasm for Temperance swept the late Victorian church, from General Booth to Cardinal Manning, but Anglo-Catholics were probably less affected by it than other Anglicans, certainly less so than nonconformists. In church, propriety often required the segregation of the sexes. It must be remembered, however, that in all their enthusiasm for conventional morality Anglo-Catholics saw the church not primarily as a means of moral improvement, but as a fount of sacramental grace.

The application of the organic principle to personal life covered thousands of decisions in daily life, about which guidance could be sought in the confessional. The best motive for auricular confession was seen as desire to order one's life along Catholic lines. Anglo-Catholics sought to correct the Anglican tendency

to use sacraments as they like, rather than as they ought.²³⁹

The principle that the church should be a disciplined body, laity as well as clergy, was central to Anglo-Catholicism:

231 G.Tyrrell, *Christianity at the Cross-Roads*, London, 1909, pp 218-9.

232 See, e.g., E.P.Williams, SSC xi.1883 p 11.

233 See, e.g., G.Bayfield Roberts, SSC v.1882 p 20.

234 See, e.g., H.D.Nihill, SSC ix.1880 p 6.

235 See, e.g., W.Crouch and W.Scott, SSC v.1894 pp 16-18 and E.T.W.Branscombe, SSC v.1910 p 15. The motives for Baptismal rigorism were made apparent, e.g., in E.Heath to Bp Chichester, 23.7.1880, in W.R.W.Stephens, *A Memoir of Bishop Durnford*, London, 1899, pp 250-1.

236 See, e.g., G.Bayfield Roberts, SSC vii.1909 p 5.

237 See, e.g., G.D.Nicholas and E.G.Wood, SSC ix.1904 pp 15-16.

238 See, e.g., J.W.Kempe, SSC ii.1884 p 4. This cause was lost in 1907 with the passing of 7 Edw VII cap 47.

239 J.R. Scholfield, SSC xi.1896 p 6.

the threefold gift of the regal, sacerdotal, prophetic power of the Church involves it. *Sicut misit Me pater, et Ego mitto vos.*²⁴⁰

If holiness was primarily a question of marking out that which belonged to God as separate, its first and most obvious expression was in Anglo-Catholic ceremonial. With some exceptions in the depths of the countryside and where there was strong local opposition, the “six points” were coming to be universal in churches with Anglo-Catholic incumbents. Ritualism was not pursued for its own sake, however, but as an outward expression of what E.G.Wood called:

the Discipline of the Church, that part of it at least which consists in real active personal rule along Catholic lines.²⁴¹

Unfortunately for the propagation of Wood’s vision, the Anglo-Catholic movement was far more successful at spreading ceremonial than the discipline which lay behind it. Sometimes this was because the ground had not been properly prepared before ritualist practices were introduced. Thus E.G.Wood

strongly emphasized the unwisdom of Catholic ceremonial in any parish until after years of teaching.²⁴²

Therefore, there was no room for complacency about what had been secured so far by ritualism. Two years before the church crisis broke, J.R.Scholfield warned the SSC:

the next struggle (and most severe) will be for Catholic discipline. Set this before our people as the only life for Catholics. ... *Cura ergo disciplinæ dilectio est.*²⁴³

For thorough Anglo-Catholics, the characteristic sign of empty ritualism was slackness about fasting communion. This practice was held to be the command of the Fathers, and the law of the undivided church. E.G.Wood called it a moral issue, unsoundness over which imperiled

the whole status of the Church of England as an integral part of the Catholic Church.²⁴⁴

In 1890 N.G.Armytage asked E.G.Wood why it might not sometimes be dispensed from, pointing out that Popes themselves had given and enjoyed far more bizarre dispensations with immunity. Wood rounded on Armytage “with sorrow and much astonishment” that a Catholic could ask such a question:

Why are evening communions profane? Because they are not fasting, and so are disobedient to the law of God. As for ‘rigourism’ there is no rigouristic

240 *Ibid.*

241 SSC v.1888 p 7.

242 SSC vi.1894 p 6.

243 SSC xi.1896 p 7.

244 SSC vi.1893 p 4.

view of fasting communion. Rigourism means 'the omission of a probable opinion,' and there is upon this subject no probable opinion.²⁴⁵

Thus it was with real reproach that E.Heath reported to the SSC "shoals of unfasting communicants at a late mass" in some ritualistic churches.²⁴⁶ This did not, of course, mean the abomination of evening communion, but rather an eleven o'clock High Mass. The convention was that the faithful should attend an early Mass to communicate, and the late morning High Mass, substituted for Matins wherever possible, to adore. Servants could communicate at services held as early as six o'clock, and adore at evensong or benediction.

Fasting communion was seen as an essential discipline, and propagating it became a major preoccupation of leading Anglo-Catholics. In the late 1880's, C.R.Chase discovered that some members of the CBS treating it as no more than a pious custom. He immediately offered his resignation, scandalized that any supposedly Catholic organization could be so lax.²⁴⁷

Perhaps it was a mercy that Chase did not live until November 1909, for that month E.J.E.Howlett reported to the SSC an alarming laxity on the part of the Holy See itself, whose recent modifications to this discipline for invalids were taken to indicate

an endeavour to adapt, instead of obeying, the laws of the Church.²⁴⁸

Nothing would do but scrupulous adherence to the letter of the law. In June 1894 G.D.Nicholas referred two cases to the SSC for the master's ruling. One concerned a woman who had broken her fast by tasting some medicine for a friend the night before. The other was the case of a woman suffering from a peculiar medical condition that made her regurgitate the first thing she ate every morning. Rulings in these cases yielded nothing to apparent necessity. For the first woman, a distinction was drawn between eating *per modum cibi* and *per modum salivæ*, but it was maintained that she should not communicate if there was the slightest possibility of anything having been swallowed. The second woman was to be experimented upon with unconsecrated wafers, to establish whether she might be given communion in one kind.²⁴⁹

Strictness about fasting communion was the distinctive sign of personal commitment to Catholicism. As late as the middle of the new

245 SSC v.1890 p 17.

246 SSC v.1889 p 20.

247 C.R.Chase, SSC ii.1889 pp 11-13. For an indication of the background to this issue within CBS, see above pp34-5.

248 SSC xi.1909 p 3. Comment had also been offered by F.F.Irving and others in SSC v.1907 p 25.

249 SSC vi.1894 pp 6-7.

century students at some Anglican²⁵⁰ and Roman Catholic²⁵¹ seminaries went through agonies of conscience over the possibility that they might have broken their fast, for example by cleaning their teeth. The importance attributed to this discipline was much greater than many in the late twentieth century would be inclined to believe possible .

If fasting was the first mark of a true Catholic, the second was his use of the confessional. This was an area of practice which brought nothing but trouble to the Anglo-Catholics.²⁵² From trivialities like the Cavalier case to major crises like the exposure of *The Priest in Absolution*, enemies of the Catholic movement saw auricular confession as the means by which Roman and Anglo-Catholics established and retained control over their followers.²⁵³ For Protestants, this was the most dangerous of ritualist practices, as it was thought to come between man and wife - it was an affront to British womanhood, that subverted family life.²⁵⁴

Yet Anglo-Catholics sustained their enthusiasm for the confessional against all criticism.²⁵⁵ Within ten years of the SSC's bout of "scarlet fever,"²⁵⁶ the *Priest in Absolution* scandal, the society was discussing a replacement.²⁵⁷ Penitential discipline represented a protest against other Anglicans' implicit assumption that religion was a private affair. If God was truly alive in the corporate life of the church, sin could not be an entirely individual matter.

Therefore, although *The Priest in Absolution* remained under lock and key, the SSC provided training and advice for those who heard confessions.²⁵⁸ Willingness to come to confession became the hallmark of Catholicism in thorough parishes, and the means of testing the results of any mission. According to G.C.Ommanney:

If the number of communicants goes down and the number of Confessions goes up, it is a good sign.²⁵⁹

Auricular confession was a vital component in the Anglo-Catholic concept of the church as the visible kingdom of heaven, the tribunal

250 Cuddesdon, 1941-3: H.A.Williams, *Someday I'll Find You - an Autobiography*, London, 1982 p 94.

251 Upholland, 1943-9: Anthony Kenny, *A Path from Rome - an Autobiography*, Oxford, 1985 ed, p 29.

252 "'Jesuits in disguise?' Ritualist Confessors and their Critics in the 1870's," JEH XXIX (1988) pp 202-216.

253 J.B.Nicholls, *Evangelical Belief*, London, 1899 p 291.

254 Thus, e.g., W.V.Harcourt, *Op. Cit.*, pp 100-105 (*Times*, 5.1.1899 p 8). See also 10.1.99, p 10.

255 For an attempt to inject some of the venom of the 1877 scandal into the church crisis see A.R.Buckland's extended review of *The Priest in Absolution* in the *Record*, 15.6.1900, pp 585 ff.

256 H.D.Nihill, SSC, ix.1883 p 5.

257 SSC ix.1886 p 9.

258 See, e.g., SSC v.1884 pp 10-11.

259 SSC xi.1896 p 8.

within which its laws were applied to individuals. Ministering absolution was a vital part of the priestly office:

The chief aim of a priest must be to administer the sacrament of penance.²⁶⁰

The best time to inculcate the habit of confession was adolescence. Faced with prominent laymen who would not become penitents and young girls who would not take confession seriously, Wilmot Phillips of St Ethelburga's Bishopsgate suggested that the answer might be to lower the age for confirmation:

the best way would be to present children very young, and insist on confession before first communion.²⁶¹

Unfortunately, bishops could not be expected to endorse this policy. Bishop Creighton received complaints in July 1899 that H.M.M.Evans was only allowing penitents to be confirmed.²⁶² In June 1896 the Bishop of Stepney went as far as to refuse to lay hands on candidates presented by F.L.Ware, on the grounds that others had been rejected for refusing to come to confession.²⁶³ As often as not it was candidates' families who were most adamant.²⁶⁴ George Bayfield Roberts pointed out that, in Catholic theory

The bishop is the guardian of the sacrament.

Thus Ware had no remedy against the Bishop's action except a petulant statement to his friends that next time he would have to

give the Bishop two lists - one of those whom he considered, the other of those who thought themselves fit.²⁶⁵

As much as Anglo-Catholics prized high standards of fasting and confessional discipline for all, a special responsibility to lead a holy life devolved upon the clergy. The Holy Spirit had been

bestowed in an especial manner upon his priests in the sacrament of holy order, that they may be the *corps de garde* of the ecclesiastical order of the church²⁶⁶

The typical standard of Catholic personal holiness among Anglican clergymen was by no means satisfactory. This failure was thought to have a detrimental effect on the whole life of the church:

260 A.G.B.Stallard, SSC viii.1887 p 4.

261 SSC vi.1896 p 9.

262 Revd D.W.Evans to Bp London, 6.7.1899, 13.7.1899, 20.7.1899 and H.M.M.Evans to Bp London 10.7.1899, 11.7.1899, 2.8.1899. Fulham Papers box 61.

263 SSC vi.1896 p 9.

264 See, e.g. Revd D.W.Evans to Bp London, 6.7.1899, Fulham Papers box 61, and the Cavalier affair (above pp 85-7).

265 SSC vi.1896 p 9.

266 H.L.Russell, SSC viii.1887 p 5.

the want of spiritual influence in the Church of England was very much due to the want of spiritual tone among the clergy.²⁶⁷

Partly this was a question of personal habits. Things that were allowable in laymen, were not necessarily acceptable in the *corps de garde* of the Church. For E.Heath, such lapses included

moustaches, snuff taken in unusual quantities, cigars, pipes, and the general behaviour of many clerical visitors on the Esplanade at Brighton.²⁶⁸

As well as their personal habits, clergy were exhorted to consider the way in which they used their leisure. They were not required to forsake all worldly amusements, indeed, according to J.W.Kempe:

the junior clergy would do much good by joining in cricket, boating, and football clubs; and getting the members to come to instruction.²⁶⁹

All that was required was that clergy should remember that the baptismal obligation to resist the world was all the greater for them, a point obscured by such abominations as the sight of

clerics, correctly vested in flannels and fancy jackets, on their way to a lawn tennis tournament.²⁷⁰

The way in which clergy dressed contributed to their priestly bearing. T.A.Lacey suggested in 1891 that clergy might consider making it their habit always to wear in public the ancient gown and cap prescribed in the canons of 1604.²⁷¹ Wood pointed out, however, that the present connotations of this were more academic than priestly, and George Bayfield Roberts questioned its practicality in the country.²⁷²

Those who wished to be identified as out and out Catholics wore the soutane, the most extreme almost all the time. In this spirit C.R.Chase berated clergy who failed to wear the soutane on holiday abroad.²⁷³ Whichever they wore at home, H.D.Nihill warned his colleagues in 1883 that they had only themselves to blame for not being treated as Catholic clergy abroad if they could not be bothered even to dress the part.²⁷⁴ E.G.Wood hoped that such lapses did not indicate

after all ... a lurking suspicion that we were not really Catholic priests at all.²⁷⁵

Correct appearance was a matter of some importance to Anglo-Catholics. It bore witness to their sense of Catholic identity, and ex-

267 T.Humphris Clark, SSC v.1893 p 12.

268 SSC viii.1887 p 4.

269 SSC ix.1887 p 13.

270 T.Humphris Clark, SSC ix.1887 p 8.

271 SSC ix.1891 pp 14-17. Percy Dearmer agreed: *The Parson's Handbook*, (12th edition) pp 120-2 and plate 32.

272 *Ibid.*, p 18.

273 SSC viii.1887 p 4.

274 SSC vi.1883 p 7.

275 *Ibid.*

pressed confidence about the validity of their orders. As ever, external observance was the mirror of inner meaning.

A more pressing personal question for members of a church which permitted the marriage of clerks was the correct way to reconcile priestly and marital obligations. The most committed Anglo-Catholics affected to despise marriage after ordination,²⁷⁶ but it must be said that a fair proportion of them had practised it, including T.A.Lacey.²⁷⁷

An influential section of the most extreme men wore a ring as celibates.²⁷⁸ Attempts were made on various occasions to make the SSC an entirely celibate society.²⁷⁹ Although a vociferous minority, which grew after 1900, would have liked it, the SSC did not become exclusively celibate, nor were those who had married after ordination expelled.

Once married, it was important to know how clergy should discharge their responsibilities to their wives. In the abstract the idea of a priest going into society was frowned upon. Although he acknowledged his obligations as a husband and father, George Bayfield Roberts reckoned

if he discharged the social duties of a married man, his work must inevitably suffer.²⁸⁰

Clerical restraint and discipline over externals were prized not for themselves, but as an expression of what E.G.Wood called “the inestimably valuable power of submission.”²⁸¹ A more disciplined clergy would be a more Catholic clergy. As well as regulating their daily lives, the idea that clergy, should offer a daily mass became almost universal among Anglo-Catholics between 1880 and 1914. In 1882 it was still said that if daily mass was not practical for a priest, “God would make it up for him.”²⁸² By 1889 celebrating as well as attending a daily mass was being set forth as an ideal, for members of large staffs and even for rural clergy.²⁸³ By 1906 this was simply assumed to be the norm.²⁸⁴ Thus the Protestant concept of the clergy as leaders of communal worship and teachers was finally extinguished by the Catholic idea that their prime duty was to offer the eucharistic sacrifice. C.R.Chase called this the “express purpose” of holy order,²⁸⁵ and in this area as in others

276 See, e.g., J.E.Watson and G.B.Roberts, SSC xi.1905 pp 5-6.

277 Deacon 1876, Priest 1877, Married 1888. (I.Elliott, (ed) *Balliol College Register, 1833-1933*, Oxford, 1934, p 71.)

278 SSC vii.1890 p 10.

279 See, e.g., SSC ix.1893 p 9, SSC ix.1898 p 4, SSC ix.1905 p 7, SSC xi.1905 p 6.

280 SSC ix.1891 p 7.

281 SSC v.1888 p 7.

282 C.S.Wallace, SSC v.1882 p 7.

283 SSC ix.1886 p 10, SSC v.1889 p 18.

284 SSC ix.1906 p 5.

285 SSC v.1882 p 9.

standards were more consistently adhered to by Anglo-Catholics in 1914 than they had been in 1880.

One place in which Catholic standards could be inculcated was the theological college. In the 1880's, most Anglo-Catholics came from Ely or Cuddesdon, and the desire to attend such a college, in itself, was for some a mark of party loyalty. These colleges were not seen as ideal in themselves, indeed their deficiencies were a frequent cause of complaint by incumbents. In 1913, for example, F.C.Kempson bemoaned the way in which

the training for the ministry in these provinces is, in striking contrast to that of the medical student, irrelevant and unworkmanlike.²⁸⁶

G.C.Ommanney believed bishops were too lax about who they ordained, a fault compounded when seminaries modelled themselves too closely on university colleges, so that their *alumni* imbibed an inappropriate ἡθος:

The theological colleges do but little good[;] they seem to permit men to carry on lax or evil habits formed at the universities.²⁸⁷

Herbert Kelly's Society of the Sacred Mission, a seminary along Roman lines, represented a different approach to theological training.²⁸⁸ In general, however, the prestige of the universities was as great among Anglo-Catholics as elsewhere in the church. This militated against enthusiasm for alternatives.²⁸⁹ Rejecting a scheme for training ordinands in the year before they went to Lichfield Theological College, E.G.Wood expressed a traditional feeling about ordination training:

He considered a University education to be most necessary for candidates for the priesthood, and did not desire, except under very exceptional circumstances, to see those who were not gentlemen ordained.²⁹⁰

Finally, experience of the church crisis led some Anglo-Catholics to question the terms under which junior clergy were employed. These were not immutable, and had sometimes exposed the Catholic party to attack:

There are few evils in the church in our country today which cannot be traced to our system of Curate-priests and Curate-bishops, and the injury it does to the Catholic cause can never be told. There are Catholic ways of working a parish other than the Protestant theory of Vicar and Curates. Why not try them, and render the mean persecution of Bishops in refusing licences and in punishing "Curates" for the imaginary misdeeds of their "Vicars" no longer possible?²⁹¹

286 SSC v.1913 p 7.

287 SSC v.1901 p 8.

288 A presentation about Kelham was made to the SSC by David Jenks, SSM, in SSC ix.1913 p 16.

289 See, e.g. T.J.Puckle in SSC v.1892 p 14.

290 SSC iv.1902 p 7.

291 SSC vi.1910 p 6.

Although this aspiration found partial fulfilment in the common lives of some large presbyteries, smaller and suburban churches remained stubbornly wedded to the concept of vicar and curates.

Above all, Anglo-Catholics wished to prove the reality of their orders by their zeal, holiness, and appearance. The extent to which they succeeded in doing this to anybody but themselves is dubious. The most Romanizing Anglo-Catholics did not establish much in the terms they set themselves, because, however similar they made their their ends, their means were radically different from those of contemporary Roman Catholics.

In practice, Anglo-Catholic clergy won more respect from those to whom they ministered than they did from Roman Catholics. Since most of their parishioners did not measure priesthood in Roman terms, most of this respect was as men and pastors. However much energy Anglo-Catholics poured into this part of their lives, and for some it was considerable, it is hard to say that they achieved what they set out to theologically. All the same, a tradition of incarnationally based pastoral endeavour is one of the most enduring and impressive legacies of the Anglo-Catholic movement.²⁹²

Perhaps the drive for personal holiness was an intrinsically individual quest. As such it was the most successful part of the Anglo-Catholic programme, because a consistent pattern of behaviour was laid down and defended. The way in which Anglo-Catholics pursued personal holiness did, however, have more than personal implications. Bishops who dealt with them were puzzled and vexed by their combination of rigid literal obedience to such rules of the whole church as fasting communion, and complete disregard for Anglican corporate discipline. This was the *ἀνομία* with which Randall Davidson charged Mr Twisaday, and the charge is hard to resist.²⁹³ One of Bishop Creighton's last letters had drawn the ecclesiological implications of muddling through in this way to Harry Wilson's attention:

It is quite ridiculous to suppose that any institution can go on without a recognized authority to settle disputes; and the assertion that no such authority exists in England is to declare that there is no Church in England.²⁹⁴

Chase would have agreed. This consideration was a vital part of his decision that the Church of England was no church.²⁹⁵ Becoming a Roman Catholic, for him, was finding a concrete reality after years of

292 Review in D.G.Rowell, *The Vision Glorious - Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism*, Oxford, 1983, pp 116-140.

293 See below, p 230.

294 Bp London to H. Wilson, 29.11.1900, Stepney MSS 1900/46.

295 C.R.Chase, printed statement encl. in C.R.Chase to Ld Halifax, 18.6.1900, Hickleton Papers 270.3.III.133.

belief in an οἰκουμένη which had been no more than a glorious abstraction. Looking back, he was grateful to the Anglo-Catholic movement for showing him the barren churchlessness of the establishment:

The Ritualists have fought bravely against Erastianism with the result, however, that they have brought about a state of anarchy, for Erastianism is inherent in the entire Anglican system, and without it all government ceases.²⁹⁶

A consistent answer to the question of authority could only be shelved because long-standing Anglican habit tolerated a variety of devotional styles. This allowed house-room in the Church of England for those who sought to be personally Catholic, just as it did for extreme Protestants, and the majority who were neither.

Turning from the question of ecclesiological integrity to that of praxis, it appears that although only a minority of Anglicans aspired to Anglo-Catholic ideals, some real leavening of the lump did occur between 1880 and 1914. Practices which would have seemed irredeemably Ritualistic at one time spread into the mainstream of the Church of England in the twentieth century. This happened not only to prayers for the dead²⁹⁷ and eucharistic fasting, but to reservation, and indeed to every one of the old six points of the ECU, except the use of incense. As yesterday's extremism became today's general practice, the advanced party took new party flags, such as tabernacles and the cult of the sacred heart. In its own terms, this was the area in which the Anglo-Catholics scored their most widespread and durable victories in their campaign to re-define the Church of England. If they did not quite manage to do that, at least they managed to shift the church's devotional centre of gravity appreciably in the direction they wanted it moved.

296 C.R.Chase in [J.G.F.Raupert], *Op.Cit.*, p 63.

297 A popular proclivity for this, which W.Scott noted in 1891 (SSC ix 1891 p 21) was further encouraged by the South African war. For a review of the growing place for the departed in official forms at this time see Paul Welsby "Prayers for the Dead," *Theology* LXIX (1966) p 248.

Anglo-Catholicism in the new century: facts and prospects

Authority in church and party

The Church crisis affected Anglo-Catholic views of Church and Party by transforming the feel of their environment. Very few of them changed their minds about first principles; but all found themselves in new relationships to one another and to their bishops. Arguments over the Lambeth Opinions and their implementation made the party more self-contained, and cut it further adrift from the regular authorities of the Church of England.

The church crisis renewed and invigorated the Anglo-Catholic party's network of human relationships. More than anything else, it was the struggle at the turn of the century that radicalized the party, changing definitions of extremism. Subjects aired within the SSC in 1914 were essentially those of 1880, but transposed into a higher key. The question now was not whether to say mass from Latin or English Books of Common Prayer,¹ but how much to interpolate, if not all, from the Roman Missal.² In the mid eighties, brethren resigned over the inclusion of the *Ave Maria* in the SSC office book.³ By 1912, the society was discussing how best to observe the Feast of the Assumption.⁴ Mac-konochie and Nihill's Anglo-Catholicism had passed away, and the men of Wood's and Lacey's generation were steadily eclipsed by the younger party, Phillips, Cocks, Burnie, Irving and Kenrick.

Throughout the period, the strength of the Anglo-Catholic movement was reinforced by the calibre of its practical and intellectual leadership. This made for a high standard of debate within the SSC. E.G.Wood provided one sort of strength, T.A.Lacey another, C.R.Chase, A.R.C.Cocks and G.C.Ommanney another. These gave the Anglo-Catholic faith a variety of supports - Canon Law, intellectual consistency, pastoral or practical skill, youthful cheek. Whatever was necessary, members of the SSC could look around their Synods and feel they were well served.

Even better, they could know from the style of their thinking and speech as much as their liturgy, that they were united in a concept of priesthood and vocation which transcended that of other Anglicans. Af-

1 See, e.g., Wood, SSC xi.1883 p 5.
 2 SSC vii.1910 pp 2-4.
 3 SSC ix.1884 pp 5-8.
 4 SSC viii.1912 p 11.

ter the growth of the 1860's and the débâcle of 1877, what had been almost exclusively a young man's movement steadily extended the range of its adherents. The young men grew to maturity, and new priests joined. By the turn of the century there was an impressive array of middle aged and seasoned parish clergy, along with the young men who continued to join.⁵

The appeal of Anglo-Catholicism grew as it was implemented and confirmed in practice. Reports of parochial experience occupied as much of the SSC's time as learned papers. They offered an empirical fit to the belief that it was possible to be personally Catholic, and an Anglican.

As the authority of the party over its supporters grew, the emaciated condition of authority within the Church of England became glaringly obvious. Its machinery of coercive power had completely broken down. Providence, in the form of the South African war, diverted public attention from ritualism and prevented any legislative weapon being deployed against the Anglo-Catholics. Pressure within parliament was temporarily relieved, and by a series of interviews with A.J. Balfour and others, Archbishop Davidson was able to divert the call for a Parliamentary select committee into the appointment of a Royal Commission.⁶

Behind such tactical considerations, however, lay some massive facts of psephological and parliamentary life. Protestant organizers failed to win the respect and sincere support of the sort of men they would have needed to whip up and sustain anything approaching a broad-based agitation. John Kensit's death in October 1902, appropriately enough in a Liverpool brawl, removed an irritant from the scene, but did not really affect anything that mattered.⁷ When his kinsman John Alfred Kensit assumed the reformer and martyr's mantle, he polled no more than a modest 2,118 votes at Birkenhead in the 1906 General Election.⁸

In parliament there was never much real enthusiasm for coercion between 1890 and 1914. Randall Davidson was able to remind the House of Lords⁹ that the biggest disincentive to legislation was not the bishops' veto but memories of the farcical imprisonments of the 1880's.¹⁰ Quite apart from the South African war, there is no reason to suppose that the parliamentary opponents of ritualism could have invented a weapon which would have been effective or acceptable to any

5 Age profile by J.E.B. Munson, *Op. Cit.*, p 388.

6 G.K.A. Bell, *Op. Cit.*, 1.458-461.

7 Although it greatly distressed his hagiographer: J.C. Wilcox, *Contending for the faith: John Kensit reformer and Martyr*, London, 1903, pp 66-69.

8 J. Vincent and M. Stenton, (ed) *Op. Cit.*, *in loc.*

9 Details in P.T. Marsh, *Op. Cit.*, pp 218-239 and J. Bentley, *Op. Cit.*, pp 97-120.

10 HL 9.2.1899. *Hansard*, IV.66 cols 271-2.

but their most diehard supporters. In 1906, what the CA reckoned the most Protestant House of Commons ever was elected.¹¹ Its members were not bereft of sectarian concern,¹² but this failed to issue in anti-ritualist legislation, quite simply, because there was no sensible law which could have been passed with any prospect of success.

The vacuum in church authority was created not so much by the ineffectiveness of parliament, however, as by the weak and confused state of Anglican Episcopacy. By 1905 it was as unrealistic to think that ritualism could be controlled by assertions of pure ἐπισκοπή, as to fantasize about legislative solutions. The Lambeth opinions made bishops like Percival, who did not have the daily care of dealing with ritualists, feel better. They made no real impact on Anglo-Catholics. E.G. Wood and his canonists made sport of their basis and substance and ignored them.¹³ Soon after his translation to Canterbury, Davidson was rattling sabres before Parliamentary deputations, assuring them that “the sands have run out” for churches like St Michael’s Shoreditch,¹⁴ but the new Archbishop was canny enough not to venture further Lambeth opinions on such matters as tabernacles or the invocation of saints.

Among the bishops, Gore, Talbot, and Winnington-Ingram knew that ritualism was now so well established that it could not be put down. This perception dawned on Davidson on 23 January 1905, when he heard evidence as a member of the Royal Commission. C.E.J. Twisaday, churchwarden of St Mary Magdalene’s Paddington, rambled through a declaration of congregational strength typical of much evidence given by Anglo-Catholic lay officers.¹⁵ He gave statistics of money and communicants,¹⁶ noting in passing that none of the assistant clergy were presently licensed by the bishop. This state of displeasure, however, had only commenced in 1899. He went on to say that the parochial system in London had broken down anyway

Distances are not much in London. People will go a long way to get to church.¹⁷

This made it ridiculous for Protestant parishioners to claim they were being denied anything. As Creighton had advised Kensit, their best course was to go to a church where the services suited them, not one

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- 11 [Anon], *Protestantism before Party Politics*, CA, London, 1906, p 8.
 - 12 See G.I.T. Machin, “The Liberal Government and the Eucharistic Procession of 1908,” *JEH* XXXIV (1983) pp 559-583.
 - 13 See, e.g., *SSC* v.1900 pp 12-13.
 - 14 G.K.A. Bell, *Op. Cit.*, 1.399. Quoted by Sir W.V. Harcourt, HC, 13.3.1903, *Hansard*, IV.119 col 778.
 - 15 Compare e.g. R. Bickersteth, (St Cuthbert’s Philbeach Gardens) RCED II.243-5 [QQ 11142-11148]
 - 16 RCED II.277-8 [Q 11980]
 - 17 RCED II.285 [Q 12243]

where they did not.¹⁸ Eclecticism was the handmaid of urban ritualism. Thus H.F.B.Mackay suggested to laymen in 1910 that they could best serve their ancestral country parishes, if they ignored parochial boundaries when in town and attended one of the great centres of the faith, such as his own church.¹⁹

Finally, Twisaday was cross-examined by Davidson at tremendous length on the subject of Episcopal authority. It was plain that, without getting bogged down in the sort of talk E.G.Wood understood, the whole congregation habitually ignored anything the bishop ordered which did not correspond to their concept of "Ecumenical uses." Theoretically, Twisaday would obey the bishop in anything. On the two practicalities in which bishops since Creighton had given directions, incense and reservation, he, and everyone at St Mary Magdalene's, was entirely obstinate.

This examination induced despair and anger in Davidson. As he listened to the later part of Twisaday's testimony, he wrote a letter on his note-pad to Winnington-Ingram, urging that any toleration of such churches would imperil the "compromise" working elsewhere in the diocese:

We have spent a (to me) [sic] very miserable & anxious hour or more in examining Mr Twisaday...

Anything more melancholy than what we have been listening to, I can hardly imagine. It comes (after cross examination) to an absolute and unqualified claim on the part of vicar and congregation to disregard or defy the bishop's direction if

- (1) the 'congregation' thinks the usage to be 'Catholic' (though unable to give a vestige of ground for their opinion when invited to do so)
- (2) if the usage has been carried on for some years without the Bishop having interfered to stop it.

This churchwarden's evidence will, when published, show in a very shocking way the hopeless ἀνομία of that parish's attitude, & I do earnestly hope that you will, at whatever apparent sacrifice to the parish financially or otherwise ... refuse absolutely to withdraw from the position you have taken.²⁰

The enduring church question of the times, that of authority, had been brought home to Davidson in a graphic way. The Anglo-Catholicism growing around him was not his, or any bishop's, to control. As Bishop of Winchester, Davidson had assured Sir William Harcourt that the machinery of episcopal government would spark into life when it

18 L.Creighton, *Op.Cit.*, II.288.

19 H.F.B.Mackay, *The Religion of the Englishman*, London, 1911, pp 58-9.

20 Abp Canterbury to Bp London, 23.1.1905 (On RCED notepaper). Fulham Papers box 113.

had been turned over a few times.²¹ This illusion was the last casualty of the church crisis.

The face of episcopal authority in London had been transformed by the demise of Creighton. The arguments which had vexed his mind ran circles around Bishop Winnington-Ingram's simple heart. All the same, the new bishop took advice, and put together a policy which was agreeable to all the men causing trouble except Evans. Although it breached the line the Archbishops had tried to establish in 1899, it did represent the best obedience that could be got in London. At the Bishops' meeting of 12 November 1901, this was rejected out of hand by Temple and most of the others.

The Bishop of London's authority was thus undermined by his chief and colleagues as much as by the Anglo-Catholics. Winnington-Ingram was left with no weapon except the hope that he could trust the boys he ordained to do the decent thing when he appealed to their better instincts. Thus was born "Uncle Arthur," revered by generations of his junior clergy and other lawn tennis partners. There was no call to embarrass "Uncle Arthur" by asking about anything, unless of course you wanted the answer to be "no." The bishop had no pastoral rôle to play now, except benign tolerance. He embodied for almost forty years the failure of authority in his diocese, and thus, almost by accident, opened the way for new adventures in Anglo-Catholicism which would have been unthinkable before.

However offensive all this might be to first principles of episcopal government, the responsibility for it must be laid at the doors of Temple and Percival as much as Winnington-Ingram's. Temple had been wiser in his days as Bishop of London, when he used to tell complainants that attempts to exercise illusory powers were more subversive of real control than dignified silence.²²

The Shoreditch case of 1903 sealed the new order of things in London by its sheer awfulness for everybody involved. The bishop would never allow it to happen again, not even when E.E. Kilburn simply shed all trappings of Anglicanism in favour of their Roman alternatives at St Saviour's Hoxton after 1908.²³

Those Anglo-Catholics who had supported Evans were now more willing to police the party so as to avoid a repetition,²⁴ and to this extent they became more disciplined and mature. As well as assisting the will

21 See, e.g., Bp Winchester to W.V. Harcourt, 14.1.1899, quoted in G.K.A. Bell, *Op. Cit.*, I.334.

22 See, e.g., Bp London to Mrs E. Faulkner, 6.1.1888. Fulham Papers box 192.

23 See above, p 28.

24 thus, e.g. Athelstan Riley in the *Church Times*, 13.2.1903 p 196.

for self-regulation, however, the Shoreditch fiasco had a radicalizing effect on the most extreme, juvenile section of the party. The only way to resist the arguments of Evans' pamphlet, fortified by C.R.Chase as a Roman Catholic missionary, was to reassert the legitimacy of the invocation of saints within the Church of England.²⁵ As numbers of churches using incense and lights began to burgeon, the advanced party moved on to shrines and tabernacles. The solemn evensongs which had been suspended in 1899 were replaced by benediction. As incumbencies changed hands, new men began to reintroduce practices which had been suspended at Creighton's behest.

Winnington-Ingram was obviously no longer in any position to negotiate new arrangements. Even after Temple's death, he knew from his extensive correspondence with Davidson on this subject that the new Archbishop was at least as unsympathetic to any attempt to recognize breaches of the Lambeth opinions.²⁶ As the game-keeper wondered what to do, the poachers ran amok. The last generation of 1860's ritualists, Wallace, Kempe, and Scott, were dying out. Their places were taken by new and more advanced young clergy. As the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline was reporting its findings, the SSC began a process of discussion which culminated in Kenrick's polymorphous altar book "Quoad missam" of 1909. Simultaneously, the society reopened the question of clerical celibacy, with talk of purging the married men from its ranks. By the end of the first decade of the century, ritualists in the Diocese of London were poised to exploit what was almost an open season.

Conditions were now ripe for a flamboyant baroque style of Anglican Catholicism which would have been unthinkable ten years before - that of Caldey, and Ronald Knox's "band of hope," and Maurice Child's Society of SS. Peter & Paul.²⁷ Although slightly removed from the thought world of substantial suburban Anglo-Catholics, its very existence showed how horizons were expanding.

By 1906, Anglo-Catholics had largely abandoned the hopes for the episcopate of their Tractarian forbears. Tract I had spoken of the bishops as engaged in the same apostolic mission, wishing them if necessary the "blessed termination" of the martyr's crown.²⁸ The idea that the living power of Christ in the Church was that of the bishops was a common-

25 thus, e.g. W.Phillips, SSC v.1903 p 17 and W.J.Birkbeck to Ld Halifax, 28.4.1903, quoted in R.K.Birkbeck, *Op.Cit.*, pp 89-93.

26 See above, pp 152 and 167-8.

27 For their attitude to Davidson's style of churchmanship see, e.g., "Anglicanus," *My People love to have it so*, London, 1916.

28 TRACT I, *Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission*, Oxford, 1833, p 1.

place among the first Tractarians.²⁹ As late as March 1874, Pusey opined that

the Bishops might have guided the Movement of 1833, &c., if they would.... I believe that now, too, things would come right, if the Bishops would be to us 'Fathers in God.'³⁰

The idea that bishops would assume their natural seat of authority as Catholic prelates once they accepted an apostolic interpretation of their office was lost in the ocean of urban congregationalism over which "Uncle Arthur" gaily bobbed. It comes as no surprise that Anglo-Catholics were thrown back on more abstract sources of authority.

One important concept had come to prominence during 1898 and 1899 as an effective intellectual basis for resisting bishops' demands on incense. This was E.G.Wood's definition of "Œcumenical uses" and the limits of episcopal power.³¹ Scott Holland and others abominated the way it set theoretical consistency before historical realism, but during the church crisis Wood's argument did counterbalance the new high church fad of stand-alone *jus liturgicum*.

As the œcumenical theory emerged in the late 1890's, its details were obscure, and logic tortuous. Why, for example, was incense "œcumenical" in a way that, for example, chrism was not? The answer was something to do with the fact that no Anglican authority had yet tried to ban chrism. This meant that there was no duty to save Anglican bishops from the implications of their acts by asserting its œcumenical necessity. The attraction of Wood's argument was its apparent ability to defend Anglo-Catholic *a priori* positions against episcopal opposition. Its strength was more functional than inherent. All the same, the theory was perceived to work as Wilson and his friends carried on resisting demands to tone down their ritual.

The effect of Wood's theory was to erode episcopal authority further. By the end of the Church crisis, Anglo-Catholics were scarcely interested any more in the sort of episcopal protection H.E.Hall had sought from Bishop Creighton in 1898. Most of them had managed to weather the storm without it, and it is hard to think many even wanted it any more.

29 See, e.g., [J.Keble] TRACT IV, *Adherence to the Apostolical Succession the Safest Course*, Oxford, 1833, and [J.H.Newman] TRACT X, *Heads of a week-day lecture delivered to a country congregation in -shire*, Oxford, 1833, [W.Palmer] TRACT XV, *On the Apostolical Succession in the English Church*, Oxford, 1833, [B.Harrison] TRACT XVII, *The Ministerial Commission*, Oxford, 1833, part II.

30 E.B.Pusey to the Editor of the *Times*, 28.3.1874 in H.P.Liddon, *Op.Cit.*, IV.275.

31 See Harry Wilson's Christmas Card for 1900-1901, Stepney MSS 1900/47 (Frontispiece above).

Donatists of the Nineteenth Century

If the authority of the Church did not lie in the hands of parliament or the bishops, where was it to be found? The answer appears to be in the Church in general. The great company of God's people rather than any provincial power was the seat of church authority. Anglo-Catholics were fired by a new vision of dispersed Catholicity, which made the English Roman Catholics look like Donatists in modern dress. What was Donatist was not the Roman Catholic structure, but the mentality of those who had controlled it since the Vatican council.³²

Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology was a grand assertion of the organic and corporate nature of Christianity. It was organic in that it stemmed directly from the incarnation,³³ enjoying what Hilary had called *unitas naturalis*.³⁴ It was corporate because Catholic extension was the hallmark of the genuine article. Its concept of corporateness was described by Roman language, which in turn was very much a north African confection. The foundations of western ecclesiology, Bellarmine's, the Gallicans', and the Ultramontanes', were the terms laid down during the Donatist schism. This account of Anglo-Catholic church doctrine may be concluded by relating it back to this datum point.

The tendency of nineteenth century high churchmen to derive comfort from the study of Ignatius and Cyprian has been noted, along with the way in which Anglo-Catholics embraced this and carried it further. Two further aids to the definition of Catholicity lay in the writings of Optatus and Augustine.

The first was the valid exercise of Catholic sacraments. Optatus taught that the Church was holy, not because of the behaviour of its members, but, above all because it possessed Catholic Sacraments. He distinguished clearly between the validity of the sacrament, and the worthiness or mental state of the minister.³⁵

This made Catholicity a function of sacramental life, rather than limiting sacraments to an orb which had been previously been defined by arguments over jurisdiction. The Sacraments defined the church rather than the church the validity of the sacraments. Tridentine orthodoxy implied otherwise, that the Roman church was the sole guarantor of sacramental validity.

Unusually for a support of Anglo-Catholicism, Optatus' concept could actually be squared with a conventional interpretation of Anglican

32 T.A.Lacey, *Catholicity: Conciones ad clerum*, London, 1914. Appendix B, pp 135-149.

33 *Ibid.*, pp 30-59.

34 *De Trinitate* VIII.15 (PL X.247-8).

35 *De Schismata Donatistarum* VII.2. (PL XI.1085-6)

formularies. Article XXVI proclaimed the effectuality of sacraments apart from the status or moral standing of their ministers. Article XIX used the administration of the sacraments to define the church.

The Anglo-Catholics extended this picture, however. For them sacraments were no less than grace made visible *ex opere operato*. Their far more focused concept of sacramentality brought Optatus' idea to life. In the face of much Anglican practice, Anglo-Catholics asserted the necessity of visible channels of grace to define the church. This made the church something far more concrete and dynamic than it could ever be for Protestants.

This was the theological *rationale* of ritualism. In a system whose sacraments were means of infusing rather than just reckoning grace, the externals of faith became more than incidental. Anglo-Catholics believed, in Augustine's words,

*Nec Tamen ideo sacramentum visibile contemnendum est: nam contemptor ejus invisibiliter sanctificari nullo modo potest.*³⁶

Applying this principle revolutionized worship and made the Prayer Book, especially as it was conventionally used, appear partial and maimed. Anglo-Catholics transformed the way in which they offered eucharists so as to square them up with the church they were supposed to be defining. If the Prayer Book contained a real Eucharist, what T.A.Lacey called a *ritus integer*, it could not be considered in its own terms alone, far less as a mere doctrinal text-book. Previous Anglican ecclesiologies had rested on the Prayer Book. Anglo-Catholics ran the process the other way, and made liturgy depend on their doctrine of the church.

In terms of conventional Church of England thought, it amounted to a Copernican revolution for Wood and Bayfield Roberts to assert that sacraments belonged not to denominations, but to the Catholic whole. Therefore there was, for them, no such thing as an Anglican altar or a Roman Catholic altar. Ritualist practices were a denial that any church could simply be a provincial self-going concern without compromising its Catholicity:

You must not tie it to the first century or to the fourth, or to the first six centuries, to the age of the Fathers or to the seven general councils, to the Alexandrians or to the Africans, to the Schoolmen or to the Caroline divines. Least of all must you give it a national hedge, adjust the Word of God to the focus of German lenses, or the mysteries of the faith to the standard of English common sense. All these are ways of narrowness. Abjure Anglicanism as heartily as Romanism. Catholicity is breadth.³⁷

36 *Quæstionum in Heptateuchum* III.84. (PL XXXIV.713)
37 T.A.Lacey, *Op. Cit.*, p 97.

Therefore expression of the Catholic principle could not be limited to the provincial liturgy. Other men than Lacey could go as far as to substitute Roman for Anglican liturgy. For non-Anglo-Catholics, this touched a particularly raw nerve, because there had been no other test of what an Anglican was since the Reformation, than someone who was willing to conform to the liturgy. University and civic "tests" had relied on this principle. To judge the Prayer Book by the Missal was novel and shocking.

We may detect a similar shift here to that which occurred in the Tractarian movement in 1850. Then, Pusey and his followers turned antiquity from the defender of the English church into its judge, and went on to postulate, defensively, a special affinity with Rome.³⁸ Around the turn of the century, advanced Romanizers moved Pusey's appeal to the "orbis terrarum" out of the witness-box and onto the bench. As far as Anglo-Catholics were concerned it was an expression of highest loyalty. They reasoned that all they were doing was trying to establish the right of the Church of England to call itself a Church, in positive terms. For those who did not accept Anglo-Catholic premises about Catholicity, however, behaviour aimed at this end appeared to be no more than acts of subversion and treachery.

Thus Anglo-Catholics brought to life Augustine's concept of extension - *securus judicat orbis terrarum*. For Augustine, the Church was Catholic because it taught the truth as an integrated whole in all the world. The sects' teaching was but partial and local. For this reason the sects' local success counted for little against the truth inherent in the Catholic Church throughout the world.³⁹

Since the days of the early Tractarians, Catholic-minded Anglicans, reading Augustine, were profoundly disturbed by the local nature of their Church. Such disquiet was exacerbated late in the century by the apparent ecclesiastical jingoism of Anglican bishops and archbishops. Anything that savoured of provincial self-sufficiency was entirely unacceptable to them. It ran the risk of splintering the church into what St Augustine had once called "*nefaria separationes*".⁴⁰

Thus Anglo-Catholics reached beyond the authority of the provinces of Canterbury and York, towards that of the whole church. Anglo-Catholics thought disobedience to the lesser for the sake of the greater a means of saving it from itself, and thus, preserving its integrity within the Catholic Church. As with local liturgy, the only way of respecting

38 R.H.Greenfield, *Op.Cit.*, chapter IX, pp 494-556.

39 *Sermo* XLVI.18. (PL XXXVIII.280)

40 *Epistolæ* XLIII.21. (PL XXXIII.470)

the real authority of Protestant and Erastian bishops became to ignore their practical demands.

Defensiveness and Creativity

How did Anglo-Catholics integrate the authority of church and party during the church crisis? We may discern among them two different reactions to living under pressure - some dug in, and some opened out. That is to say, some pursued security by entrenchment, while others became more flexible, widening their sympathies in the hope of taking in and eventually winning their opponents.

The first sort of reaction was exemplified by E.G.Wood. He tried to invent a fixed and unassailable theory with which to fight off attacks - the œcumenical uses principle. The practical implications of this formally reactionary understanding of the crisis were reflected by the parting shot of the *Church Review*, which ceased publication in 1902.⁴¹ Its last editorial reckoned that

There has been a calming of the storm, at least upon the surface, though the deep elemental strife of current against current has been no whit less strenuous than in past years.⁴²

It went on to discern three ominous tendencies for the future. The first fear was that the line Temple had pursued might bear the fruit of a new form of episcopal government:

The Lambeth opinions have failed, but their failure has led to a more threatening episcopal - or rather archiepiscopal - policy. Government by secret conclave seems to be on its way to full establishment.

A second ominous tendency was the growth of doctrinal liberalism, one symptom of which the editor found in laxity over auricular confession in some ritualist parishes.

Thirdly, the church reform movement caused another sort of anxiety. The branch theory espoused by many of its supporters allowed them to arrogate to the English provinces the right to invent their own machinery. Apparently the inherited organs of Catholic rule were all negotiable. It was hard to regard with equanimity the way in which such theories seemed to be gaining friends in high places:

“Church reform’ is as yet little but talk, and, indeed, is hardly likely to become more until disestablishment or parliamentary interference with the Church enters again into practical politics. But ... it behoves Catholics

41 *Church Review*, 22.12.1903, p 1.

42 *Ibid.* p 7.

zealously to counteract the dissemination of those preposterous notions of church government which are the stock-in-trade of the 'Church reformer'⁴³

On the basis of such fears was erected an edifice of party unity to resist contact with outsiders. The Master's address to the SSC's September synod of 1906 demonstrated this tendency in parochial terms, vigorously denouncing Anglo-Catholic clergy who worked in unsound parishes:

We want to hold together more, and not give any assistance to those who do not accept the whole faith. Priests are not really doing good by uniting in work with those who are not thorough. Catholics should join together, and there would be greater progress in work and greater strength in the face of attacks.⁴⁴

The religious aims of Chase, Scott, Ommanney, Cocks, and Irving, could never be attained solely within the Church of England. J.N.Figgis called this party at the turn of the century

a party small, for the most part unlearned, but intensely enthusiastic, whose ideals were purely those of latin Christianity, and whose conception of the church was, in the last resort, ultramontane.⁴⁵

If, however, some Anglo-Catholics learnt no more from the crisis than techniques of entrenchment and survival, others managed to respond in a more positive and outward-looking manner. Encouraged by Newbolt and Scott Holland, this was the way of T.A.Lacey, Turner, Dixon and Kempson within the SSC. Although these men accepted the importance of the οἰκουμένη as the context of all theology and a necessary corrective force, they did not see it as the antithesis of local traditions and realities. Thus they sought to transcend ultramontane positivism.

T.A.Lacey explained his feelings about the crisis in a stock-taking pamphlet of 1906. Addressed to Prebendary Webb-Peploe, *Facts and Prospects* set out what he had learnt about church and party in the last ten years.⁴⁶

Lacey had been to Rome, but wished to remind Webb-Peploe that he had come back. He and thousands like him could not simply be dismissed as "Romanizers." Therefore, his friends and Webb-Peploe's would have to find a *modus vivendi*.⁴⁷ The Royal Commission might help. The King had a perfect right to inquire into anything he pleased, and the government's settling for a Royal Commission might indicate some willingness to relinquish a policy of state coercion in the church.⁴⁸

43 *Ibid.*

44 G. C. Ommanney, SSC ix.1906 pp 9-10.

45 J.N.Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State*, London, 1913, p 236.

46 T.A.Lacey, *Facts and Prospects*, London, 1906.

47 *Ibid* p 4.

48 *Ibid* p 8.

It was now self-evident to Lacey that simple uniformity would never again be secured by law, if indeed it ever had been. None could resist the *Report's* conclusion that discipline had broken down, and never again could every English Christian be expected to find entire satisfaction in the Reformation settlement.⁴⁹ Anglo-Catholics could be taken to court by those with the money and inclination, but, win or lose there, their practices went on. The way of escape from the crisis of authority was not litigation. Nor was it negotiation because

the things most in question are not ours to give. Some are of small intrinsic importance, but have so far become symbols that to give them up would be to surrender what they have been made to signify; others we believe to be of real and practical importance.⁵⁰

Continued attacks on these practices would lead to disestablishment, which many Catholics would welcome. No-one, however, could really know what this meant until it came. Attempts at worldly coercion would never solve the present crisis, indeed they had largely created it.⁵¹

Most important to Lacey was what the church crisis had shown to be true of the Church of England itself. Life under the threatening clouds of the last ten years had indicated an intrinsic soundness, as he and his friends discovered that they could weather the storm. Nothing was to be gained now by throwing all this away:

muddling through has its defects, but will not sink the ship like a stampede of panic would.⁵²

Lacey acknowledged that there were injurious by-products of "muddling through" on a party basis. A spirit which was genuinely heedless of the law could be spiritually harmful. The future, however, was a question of faith as much as calculation:

Croakers look only at the loss, which is visible enough. Pedants look at what is lost, and ask how it shall be regained. Free and loyal hearts look at both loss and gain, and go forward, trembling but rejoicing.⁵³

Lacey acknowledged that fanaticism on both sides had sometimes engendered dangerous hypocrisy. Where teaching stuck it often created "partisans before Christians." The risk of this was worth taking, however, if the alternative was doctrinal indifference. Insipid teaching, to which no one could wholeheartedly commit himself, was far more dangerous. It was better to offer the world two self-contained visions than none.

Finally, Lacey assessed the rôle of the ecclesiastical courts in the ritual question. Any reform worth having would have to touch far higher

49 *Ibid*, pp 9-11.

50 *Ibid*, p 18

51 *Ibid.*, p 20.

52 *Ibid*. p 22.

53 *Ibid.*, p 24.

questions than courts. The very idea of church courts seemed to him a thirteenth century attempt to usurp the rightful place of synods, for the sake of practicality:

to breathe life into them would be like re-vamping the police-courts to solve problems of policy.⁵⁴

Lacey applied this stricture as much to some of his colleagues as to Parliamentary opponents. In a speech to the Manchester Church Congress of 1908, he condemned those like Wood who pretended that rubrics were laws in themselves, rather than references to laws.⁵⁵

The real problem, Lacey concluded, was human as much as organizational. In the short term, for individuals, the crisis had been a trial of patience. Successful coercion by either side would narrow the vision of winners and losers alike. Lacey distinguished clearly between patience and indifference. Patience was born of mutual respect and the spirit of Gamaliel. It recognized that no more than provisional judgment of others was possible:

Your opponents may be right, in which case you would pray for their success ... we have a sure word of prophecy, but small skim in reading it.⁵⁶

In the long term, on the institutional level, Lacey looked for the growth within the church of "Episcopality." This he defined as

"pastoral government of the Church, along the lines of the third century, not the thirteenth."⁵⁷

He welcomed the growing informal authority of bishops in pastoral matters. As they freed themselves from being mere agents of the constitution, their real authority could stand out. Respect would have to be won. Laws that appealed to conscience rather than coercion were not, as had been asserted, "no-laws," but the only laws worth having. Lacey claimed that the real authority of the ten commandments in modern England was enhanced, not diminished, by not having a juridical machine to enforce them.⁵⁸

The *Church Times* had described the crowning fiasco of the crisis at Shoreditch as the ἀρχὴ ὀδύνης for the parish and the diocese. Lacey believed that a change of gear was taking place. The church had been driven since the reformation by the authority of the crown. In 1906 this meant parliament and the Privy Council, both of whom were now obviously played out as organs of live ecclesiastical *magisterium*. Lacey hoped that in future the church would be run not by papal or episcopal monarchs, but by a new kind of bishop - the public servant willing and

54 *Ibid.*, p 30.

55 *Report of the Manchester Church Congress*, London, 1908, p 84.

56 *Facts and Prospects*, p 34.

57 *Ibid.*, p 31.

58 *Ibid.*, p 33.

able to win heartfelt respect.⁵⁹ His weariness with the notion that doctrinal questions could be dealt with by disciplinary assertions reflected Creighton's conception of episcopal office, apparent, for example, when he poked fun publicly at those who wished

to reinstate the inquisition and to clothe the Bishop of London with the powers of Inquisitor-General.⁶⁰

Although it had seemingly diminished many of its participants at the time, Lacey believed that good would come of the crisis if it demonstrated the need, and stimulated hunger, for real "Episcopality" in future.

Words and meanings

Augustinian "Catholicity" was the extension which secured the truth. It was a property of the whole church. Once it was personally embraced, however, it begot an individualized concept of Catholicism. Being personally Catholic in the late nineteenth century Church of England meant steering a collision course against the authorities and most members of one's own communion. When Anglo-Catholics retreated behind their stockade, they took the term "Catholic" with them, and began to use it in a more restricted and defensive way, to denote Catholicism rather than Catholicity.

This was a narrower party meaning - "Catholic," as opposed to "Protestant." A "Catholic" in this sense was more than simply a Christian. He was a Christian who embraced wholeheartedly the implications of Christianity in worship and conduct. This desire could be turned in an exclusivist direction, as when E.J.E.Howlett told the SSC that

Catholics are the only ones who have any *right* to be in the Church⁶¹

Thus scorn was heaped upon the revived use of Sarum as a British Museum religion or Protestantism in chasubles. A "Catholic" in this sense sought encounter with God on a Sacramental level rather than the old Pelagian, moralistic one: Thus his religion transcended for him the English national obsession with conduct and the Bible.⁶² It had a real doctrine of the Holy Ghost. The church was a working ark of salvation into which men were saved.

59 Lord Halifax took a similar line in "The Recent Anglo-Roman Pastoral," NC May 1901, pp 736-754. Even E.G.Wood rejected "prelacy" (See above, p 78).

60 London Diocesan Conference address, 1900. M.Creighton, *The Church and the Nation*, p 336.

61 SSC x.1906 p 6.

62 T.A.Lacey, *Catholicity: Conciones ad clerum*, London, 1914 p 109.

This concept was validated by more than private judgment. Authority was experienced not in the consistency of the church's machinery, but in personal submission to the *ecclesia docens* and *judex*. To this end, Anglo-Catholics entered personally into faith as a corporate phenomenon. This meant the private discipline of the confessional, and awareness of the implications of the communion of saints. Above all what Ommanney called a "thorough Catholic" was an instructed Christian, who accepted what the Church taught in all its fulness. Measured by such a standard, it was possible to say that one Christian was a "Catholic" while another was not. Once such a "Catholic" joined up with other birds of his feather, a faction or party was born.

This was the fundamental paradox of Anglo-Catholicism. Because they set themselves up as interpreters of the whole church, the whole real church anyway, societies like the SSC consistently failed to appreciate the extent to which their ethos and method was sectarian, that of *eclesiola in ecclesia*. When their culture grated against Anglican life, the appeal to "Catholicism" proved that they were ultimately right, the only ones in step.

Although there was a sectarian tendency within the Anglo-Catholic party, there was also an universalizing one which made for comprehensiveness and generosity. Those who took broader views defined Catholicism in less exclusive terms, but the term remained a badge of honour. In 1926, T.A.Lacey defined the church and party meanings of the word "Catholic" using broad criteria:

Catholicity is the religious quality or temper that makes Christianity universal. Any group of Christians, local or diffused, who are led by circumstances to exhibit that temper in a marked degree may reasonably be distinguished as Catholic in contrast with others in whom it is less evident.⁶³

For T.A.Lacey loyalty to the Catholic church was the threshold of ecclesiological *aggiornamento*. He joined the Catholic party because he was bitten by the thought *nulla salus extra ecclesiam*. All the dimensions of the church available to him as an Anglo-Catholic taught him *ubi salus, ibi ecclesia*.⁶⁴ This process of opening out explained and transcended the detailed flaws in much Anglo-Catholic logic. Whatever the dogmatic consistency of Anglo-Catholic faith, it worked as a way of believing, because it could integrate the great data of historic Christianity in a more than local vision of the Church.

63 T.A.Lacey, *The Anglo-Catholic Faith*, London, 1926, p 12.

64 T.A.Lacey, *Catholicity: Conciones ad clerum*, London, 1914 p 114.

Achievements and identity

What, apart from survival, did Anglo-Catholics achieve during the church crisis? The process of becoming more extreme rolled on into the new century, revolutionizing Anglican practice. Although the rabid fringe remained a minority, their contribution was to extend the range of what was possible, creating space within which the moderate majority could follow. Had nobody contemplated incense and reservation, the wearing of vestments might have continued to cause contention. Later on, the use of tabernacles by the few helped the many who used aumbries to feel that they were not being disloyal to the Church of England:

Those who dropped (for a time) incense in conformity with the Lambeth opinions of 1899 all wore the vestments at mass: those who declined to stand out with the XXI in 1928 all swung censers: those who were ready in the post-war years to abandon the Gelasian Canon, 'our inalienable heritage' for a mess of pottage such as the 'interim' or some other type of service all had their tabernacles, or at least their aumbries.⁶⁵

On the level of praxis, however, Anglo-Catholics were probably building with sand. In the first half of the twentieth century, Catholicism often followed the ritualist flag - practice caught on before doctrine and turned Anglican steps in a Catholic direction. In the second half, practice was first to wither as the process reversed itself. The editor of the *Church Review* in 1902 would think his fears about fasting communion and the sacrament of penance horribly fulfilled seventy years on.

If most practical features of Anglo-Catholicism during the church crisis seem remote, its central view of the church, along with its liturgical corollary, the "western use," has not been extinguished. The contrast between the Prayer Book and the Missal of 1570 was immeasurably greater than that between the *Alternative Service Book 1980* and the present English *Roman Missal* but there are still clergy and parishes who prefer the Roman liturgy, lectionary and calendar. Pure Roman orientation survives among a small minority of Anglican clergy. Many more Anglicans see their church not in exclusive terms, but as, say, an order within Christendom.

Another Anglo-Catholic contribution to the future was the Anglo-Catholics' dynamic sacramentalism. This held positive realities before those who might otherwise have been attracted by secular positivism, without entirely denying the dimension of mystery.⁶⁶

65 Dom A. Hughes, *Op. Cit.*, p 39.

66 For an extended account of the distinctive appeal of "a religion of symbols" over that of a "religion of words" see J. Lewis May, *The Oxford Movement: Its History and its Future - A Layman's Estimate*, London, 1933, pp 276-285.

Practically, Anglo-Catholics did transform Anglican liturgical consciousness enough to create conditions within which their church became the principle vehicle of the liturgical movement in England. Traditionally Anglican services had been things read from books. What was seen by hostile critics as the theatricality of ritualistic services introduced a revived concept of what sacraments were for. Insofar as Anglican faith had been formed by the Prayer Book of 1662, the Anglo-Catholic liturgical revolution inevitably re-defined Anglican ecclesiology.

This process was not mindlessly practical. A book like A.G. Hebert's *Liturgy and Society* could not have been produced from the centre of the Anglican establishment. The line of enquiry which produced Dom Gregory Dix's *Shape of the Liturgy* would never have been pursued by a man who believed, with Archbishop Davidson, that the Anglican church was a self-contained and liturgically satisfactory concern. These books' implications and influence ran way beyond those who shared the "sectarian" Anglo-Catholic experiences out of which they grew.

The church crisis saw the failure of the last serious attempt to control members of the Church of England using the old sixteenth century machinery, in a state which now lacked the gaols and torture-chambers which had originally been a part of it. By 1911, Lord Halifax was able to proclaim that "the Acts of Uniformity are dead and buried."⁶⁷

Although the increasingly marginal Protestant rump refused to concede defeat, a corner had been turned by 1906. Future liturgical reforms in England made their way by their acceptability to those members of the church who used them, rather than by any pretended conformity to a supposedly "Prayer Book" corpus of doctrine.⁶⁸ The Church of England's use of the same source liturgies as the Roman Catholic Church for the revision of its rites in the 1960's and 1970's stands as a monument to the Anglo-Catholic triumph in the mid-century. It was by no means the only way forward - in Australia, for example, the 1662 liturgy remained the base line of the new liturgy.

Anglo-Catholics did not believe or act as they did to make the church Catholic. They believed it was already a part of the Catholic church, and expressed this in the things they did. Their loyalty to what the Church of England must be came before loyalty to what it apparently was. Remaining within an establishment which drew its authority not from doctrine but from its position in society, they developed an associational life which they defended by making it part of another higher loyalty. Most daringly, they postulated a special theological affinity between the

67 Viscount Halifax, *Dangers which threaten the Catholic Revival*, London, 1911, p 14.

68 A distinction in procedure described by Gregory Dix, *Op. Cit.*, pp 713 ff.

churches of England and Rome, at a time when almost everyone else, from barrow boys to Bishop Creighton, thought the two to be implacable enemies.

For all their concern for intercommunion with Rome, any attempt to make Anglo-Catholics the pioneers of modern ecumenism⁶⁹ needs careful handling. The existence of Anglican clergymen who dressed and behaved like Catholic priests represented a startling revision of customary attitudes, even if it achieved nothing much corporately at the time. Halifax and Lacey might have got further if they had realized that nobody playing the ecclesiological game by Roman rules stood any chance of winning in Rome. Like the way they used liturgy, it looked to Roman Catholics like an attempt to buy into Catholicism on its own terms. If there was any right in the Roman concept of church at all, and Anglo-Catholics had seemingly conceded this by deserting the traditional Anglican position in the first place, this was not a Catholic theological method. In itself it represented a submission of religious truth to the private and subjective principle which was equally foreign to the early Tractarians and contemporary Roman Catholic integralists.

Subsequent experience has vindicated Davidson's opinion that Halifax underestimated the divide between Anglicans and Roman Catholics too greatly to be of much use as an ecumenical broker.⁷⁰ However much Anglo-Catholics believed in a great church to come, they found it impossible to include within it Lusitanians or even Old Catholics, let alone Protestant nonconformists.

Given the depth of feeling all round, and the robust nature of religious controversy at the time, the Anglo-Catholic search for reunion was rather like Dr Johnson's dancing dog - the wonder was not that it was done well, but that it was done at all. The re-orientation was certainly providential. Lady Wimborne held out the vision of a future which belonged to Protestant Nonconformity.⁷¹ In fact, what lay ahead was a catastrophic decline in the numbers and influence of English and Welsh Protestant Nonconformists.⁷² Catholic religious taste advanced as

69 See, e.g., H.R.Brandreth, *The Ecumenical Ideals of the Oxford Movement*, London, 1947.

70 Abp Canterbury to Dean of Wells, 19.3.1923, quoted in G.K.A.Bell, (ed) *Documents on Christian Unity*, Series II, Oxford, 1930, pp 45-50.

71 C.Wimborne, "The Church's Last Chance" in *Nineteenth Century*, May 1903, p 558.

72 Figures in R.Currie, A.D.Gilbert & L.Horsley, *Op.Cit.*, pp 72-3. For full details and analysis see A.D.Gilbert, *The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales with special reference to the period before 1850: an Historical Interpretation of the Statistics of Religious Practice*, Oxford University D.Phil, 1973. A.Hastings, *A History of English Christianity, 1920-1985*, London, 1986, pp 264-272 charts the decline of Nonconformity's influence in national life in the years before 1940.

chapels closed and Midnight Mass began to eclipse new year watch-night, even in low church parishes. Anglo-Catholics were beckoning the Church of England in the same direction as modern taste.

Within the Anglo-Catholic party, Wood's œcumenical theory did not provide the base-line he had hoped it would for Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology. Although it successfully provided a defence against bishops in 1900-1, it did not help with Evans in 1902-3. The flood of fevered notes from London to Cambridge, asking Wood to provide detailed exposition of his principles, dried up after the church crisis. The whole theory was too complicated and rigid to have a broad appeal. In the new century Anglo-Catholics were more inclined to do as they pleased, whether it could be defended in canon law or not.

Turning to the long-term fate of Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology, the most extreme views contained the seeds of their own destruction. They were misled by Bossuet's *semper eadem* into providing themselves with no defence against a re-definition of Catholicity by Rome. In effect, the more contemporary papalism they succeeded in injecting into the Church of England system, the worse they set themselves up for the Second Vatican Council. Just as it seemed as though Anglo-Catholics had finally made Protestantism redundant and seen off their rivals within the church, the Roman Catholic Church entered a new reformist phase, and wrote off much of its Tridentine formulation.

This instantly marginalized Anglo-Catholic theological furniture and praxis, and presented members of the Romanizing party with a stark and unattractive choice - either to be "Catholic" in the "Western use" sense and start behaving like Protestants, or else to accept that their vision of church was now as much a museum piece as the "British Museum religion" they had mocked earlier in the century.

The Church of England claimed to be a part of the one holy Catholic and apostolic Church - but it did not know how to combine the requirements of its local existence with the claims of universality. The Anglo-Catholics' major success was to define a liturgical and devotional style which swept the establishment under Cosmo Gordon Lang. By doing this they found a new way of encapsulating the contradictions inherent in Anglicanism, clothing their parochial life with the trappings of wider Christendom. This looked like a new religion to its opponents, but helped twentieth century Anglicans to relate to the rest of the church after three hundred years of separation. In so far as they succeeded in broadening Anglican horizons, Anglo-Catholics played their part in helping their church make some of the difficult adjustments necessary for survival in the twentieth century.

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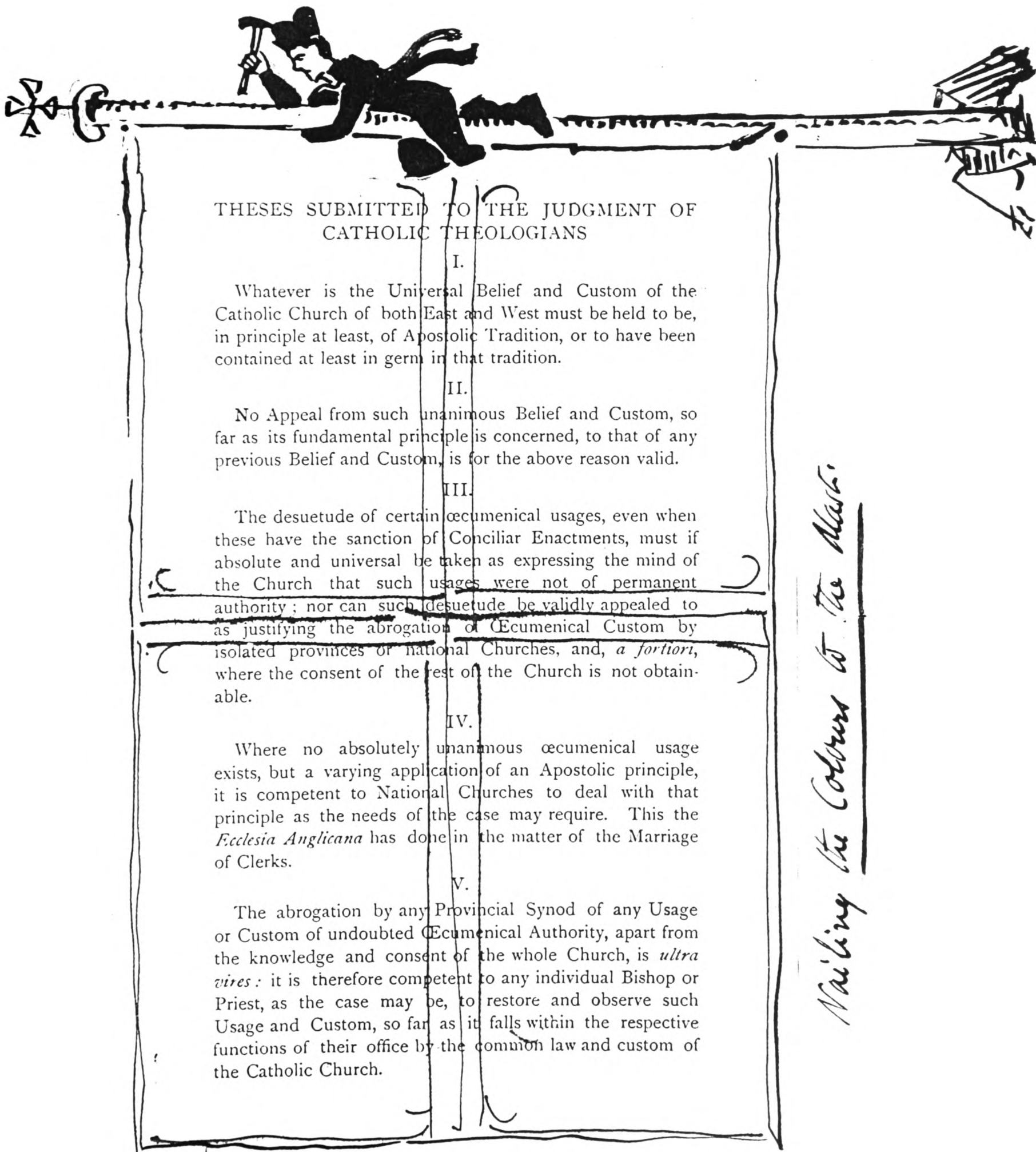
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Nailing the Colours to the Mast

The Revd Harry Wilson's design for a Christmas card (1900) incorporating E.G. Wood's theory of œcumenical authority, using which he had resisted Bishop Creighton's requests to compromise on the use of incense.

Stepney MSS 1900/47



Long Abstract

Alan Wilson
Balliol College

D.Phil.
Trinity, 1988.

Anglo-Catholic practices were a major source of contention within the late Victorian Church of England. Behind the strife lay competing concepts of church and authority, held within an establishment which tended to define itself socially and culturally rather than dogmatically.

This thesis is mainly concerned with ritualism at its most popular levels. It draws on many unpublished sources, mainly from parochial and diocesan archives. These include one from St Augustine's Stepney, newly discovered, which contains several hundred letters between the most advanced Anglo-Catholics of the day, and others between St Augustine's clergy and Bishops Creighton and Winnington-Ingram. Use has also been made of the private records of Anglo-Catholic societies, especially the *Acta* of the Society of the Holy Cross.

This thesis describes in detail the Church Crisis which began in 1898, with Protestant attacks on London Anglo-Catholic Churches. The agitation was taken up by the leader of the opposition in the House of Commons, Sir William Harcourt. An account is given of his campaign, and of Anglo-Catholic responses. Two attempts were made to find principles to unite those who were being attacked, one by general submission to episcopal authority and the other by obedience to the Prayer Book. Both of these failed in their purpose, and extremists began to detach themselves from the rest of the party. The most radical group's distinctive ideology was defined at Holborn Town Hall in January 1899. This consisted of a theory of œcumenical uses which disallowed any unilateral or joint action by English bishops.

Meanwhile, the archbishops attempted to re-establish control by invoking the preface to the Prayer Book, and holding private hearings at Lambeth about the most controversial subjects – incense, portable lights, and reservation. The results of these hearings were unfavourable to the Anglo-Catholic cause, and attempts to enforce them further eroded discipline and spoiled relationships between bishops and clergy.

The Bishop of London attempted to induce all his clergy to limit their use of incense to processions before the liturgy. In the final stages of these negotiations, an unfortunate interview with three extreme clergy exposed the weakness of his position. In 1900 Archbishop Temple ruled against reservation, and thus increased the tension between bishops and ritualist clergy. Although many Anglo-Catholics remained loyal to partial compromises, these did nothing to conciliate Protestants and were a continual source of resentment to those who accepted them. A threat to allow the prosecution of recalcitrants over incense was only averted after months of difficult negotiation, at the end of which the Bishop of London died.

The new Bishop of London attempted to find a way of regulating incense and reservation which would be acceptable to all his clergy. After successful negotiations with all but one of them, his plan was rejected by a bishops' meeting. He was thus compelled to return to

the position taken by his predecessor. This soon crumbled, and with it all effective episcopal control of ritual in London. One decisive step on the way was the conversion to Roman Catholicism of most of the clergy and people of St Michael's Shoreditch in 1903. This thesis pays special attention to the various ways in which Bishop Winnington-Ingram was advised to deal with problems at St Michael's. They provide valuable evidence of the perceived state of authority in his diocese.

Parliamentary concern about ritual, having been deflected in 1900 by the South African War, was eventually channeled into a Royal Commission which sat from 1904-1906. It reported that the church's machinery for regulating ceremonial had broken down, its rules too narrow to satisfy legitimate contemporary aspirations. In spite of the election of a Liberal government in 1906, nothing was done legislatively about ritualism, mainly because there was nothing sensible to do. Individual churchmen worked out for themselves their own practical responses to this state of affairs.

Having described the church crisis, this thesis considers its underlying ecclesiological concerns. Anglo-Catholicism was a theological method rather than a consistent ideological package. Its essence was the application under Anglican conditions of an organic church principle. This began with a strong doctrine of the church's necessary visibility.

Opposition encouraged Anglo-Catholics to define precisely the limits of provincial and episcopal authority. Many used the œcumenical principle laid down at Holborn Town Hall. Others, however, preferred to see this unity in sacramental, even mystical terms, as a oneness with God created by baptism and grounded in the unity of godhead, rather than literally visible in the canons and constitution of the church. All Anglo-Catholic approaches shared a strong desire to transcend provincial self-sufficiency.

Applying these principles in the Church of England led to conflict in four different areas.

First, a special way of interpreting liturgy and formularies was required, to answer the accusation that the Anglican Church was a merely local phenomenon. Anglo-Catholics took two different approaches to liturgy, based on ancient English and modern Roman uses. Their inability to decide between these, in itself, called into question their commitment to Catholicism. In Tridentine terms a chop-and-change liturgy defined nothing but confusion. This anomaly was increased by Anglo-Catholics who mixed and matched between the two norms, on grounds of convenience or taste. Those who did this seldom grasped how paradoxical what they were doing was, in terms of the ecclesiology they had taken upon themselves. The church crisis encouraged such individualism, within and beyond the party. Increasingly, the Western use spread among extreme Anglo-Catholics, while enthusiasm for the English use became general among moderates and high church outsiders.

Second, Anglo-Catholics developed a special view of episcopacy. Nineteenth century Anglican patristic work, especially that of J.B.Lightfoot and E.W.Benson, defined the inherent powers of the episcopate. Anglo-Catholics shared with the high church party a respect for this authority, but added to it the requirement that it be exercised uniformly throughout the world. Some Anglo-Catholics made this theoretical entity the *locus* of infallibility in an

Ultramontane sense, but this principle proved all but impossible to apply. At its least, the principle of *unus episcopatus* required respect for the jurisdictions of other Catholic prelates. Anglo-Catholics disliked the tendency of Anglican Bishops to interpret their office in isolationist terms. Some believed bishops to have an inherent power over liturgy within their dioceses, but others feared that emphasizing *jus liturgicum* encouraged merely local concepts of the church. In practice, the best obedience that could often be rendered to Anglican bishops was to refuse their practical requests for the sake of their Catholic office. The chronic problem remained of making theory match up to the real attitudes and practices of Church of England bishops.

Third, Anglo-Catholics startlingly re-interpreted the relationship between the churches of England and Rome by suggesting that there was a special affinity between them. They believed the Roman Church in England to be schismatic, and conversions from among their number were a major irritant. Anglo-Catholics believed Rome to be the sole guarantor of Catholicity in continental Europe, however. Some held a high doctrine of Roman primacy, but this was interpreted in constitutional rather than absolute terms. In spite of the rejection of Anglican orders by Pope Leo XIII in 1896, Anglo-Catholics looked forward enthusiastically to the reunion of Western Christendom, and believed their liturgical and other behaviour to be important steps towards this end.

Fourth, Anglo-Catholics believed Catholicism to be a function of personal and corporate holiness. Respect for conventional morality was prized almost as highly as correct liturgical behaviour. There were also distinctive personal disciplines which defined Anglo-Catholic holiness - fasting communion, sacramental confession, and Catholic priestliness. This last aspiration was a matter of dress, personal bearing, and discipline over marriage. Pressure to make the SSC exclusively celibate simmered below the surface of the society, grew after the turn of the century, but failed to achieve its aim. Although many Anglo-Catholic appurtenances of holiness spread widely within the church in the twentieth century, few Anglo-Catholics managed to make their stress on personal discipline relate credibly to the party's almost complete disregard for corporate provincial discipline.

After describing the Anglo-Catholic ecclesiological agenda, this thesis considers the ways in which the church crisis affected it. Between 1898 and 1906 the ineffectiveness of parliamentary and episcopal coercion was decisively exposed. Neither bishops nor parliament could regulate the church on their own. This fact strengthened the confidence of those who located this function in wider Christendom. Starting from a Pauline and Augustinian concept of the church as the body of Christ, broadly acceptable to Anglicans in general, Anglo-Catholics made the whole church so defined the basis of a radical critique of conventional Anglican belief and practice.

The church crisis evoked two sorts of personal response from Anglo-Catholics. Some were fearful of future changes, church reform as well as possible Protestant repression. This fear inspired attempts to erect impregnable ideological defences. Other Anglo-Catholics saw the crisis as the last nail in the coffin of conventional Anglicanism, a means of redemption from mediocrity. They hoped that it might prove to be the threshold of a process of renewal,

founded on mutual discovery by those on both sides who cared about the issues which had been raised. An important part of this response was concern for a renewed and less juridical concept of episcopacy, which T.A.Lacey called "episcopality."

Within the party two ways of using the word "Catholic" emerged, in association with these reactions. One was as a description of the whole church. The other was in a focused sense, as a party or individual label. Behind this latter use lay a paradox - the only real short-term success of the most extreme Catholics was in building up close associational cells of a sectarian type. However much personal fulfilment doing this brought to individuals, it achieved little on a corporate level. Anglo-Catholics' concepts of Catholicism were more successful at convincing themselves than anyone else.

Anglo-Catholics emerged from the church crisis with their ecclesiology intact and radicalized. As they held their own within the Church of England, their party grew and became more influential. Thus they found themselves increasingly in the twentieth century in a strong position from which to move the whole Anglican church's centre of gravity away from its traditional Protestantism