

Party and Patronage in the Church of England 1800-1945:

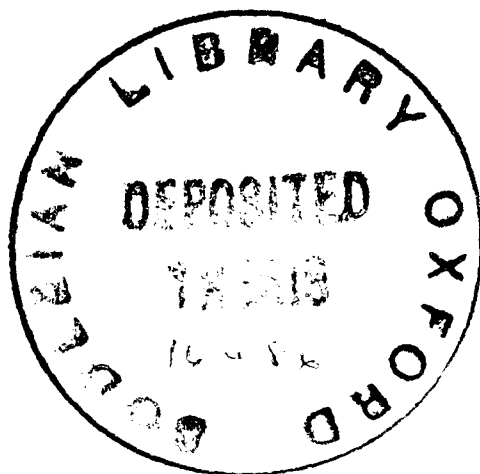
A Study of Patronage Trusts and Patronage Reform.

William Anthony Evershed.

St. Peter's College, Oxford.

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Theology in the University of Oxford
in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

Trinity Term 1985.



To My Family

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This Thesis examines the emergence of party patronage trusts in the nineteenth-century Church of England, their relation to, and their effect upon patronage reforms of the period; and their increasing unpopularity in the twentieth century. It suggests that their existence was a necessary precaution for the free development of the religious movements within Victorian Anglicanism, and that they contributed to the improvement in clerical standards, which helped to fuel the call for patronage reform in the final quarter of the century. Arguing that the Church of the early days of the Enabling Act was idealistic in its attempts to end sales of patronage, it attempts to demonstrate that the increase in sales of patronage was not the fault of trusts in general, but of one in particular, and qualifies some of the statements which have been made about patronage in this period. Various holders of party patronage are examined, in a more fully comprehensive survey than has been attempted before.

Following the Introduction, Chapter 1 describes the origins of patronage in England, and its state at the start of the nineteenth century. Chapter 2 deals with the calls for reform of that century, culminating in the Benefices Act 1898. In Chapter 3 the story is continued to 1945, and the Benefices Measures of the 1920s and 30s are analysed. This legislative background supports the material in later chapters. Chapter 4 is concerned with Simeon's Trust as the earliest patronage trust, and Chapter 5 analyses the other trusts, and their rates of expansion. Chapter 6 examines the rise and fall of the Martyrs' Memorial Trust under the Rev. Percy Warrington, demonstrating its responsibility for much of the bad feeling towards trusts in the 1920s, and suggesting that the more controversial views of patronage at the time, and later, derive from a misunderstanding of the nature of trust patronage. In Chapter 7, the patronage of Keble College is used as an example of the day-to-day workings of trust patronage, and to indicate that party trusts were and are, in general, no more open to accusations than any other holders of patronage.

The thesis is the first attempt to offer an overall view of party patronage, and concludes that opponents of such patronage have, perhaps, more of a case to establish than they might like to think.

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Ecclesiastical patronage, the method by which clergy are nominated for appointment to benefices, developed in Britain in the earliest years of the country's conversion, along lines which followed a North-European pattern, dependent on the relationship between landowners and the ecclesiastical authorities. Granting the advowson of a benefice to landowners and their heirs in perpetuity was a pragmatic device which encouraged the founding of churches, and helped to cement the establishment of the Church. With the passing of time, the proprietary nature of patronage tended to be stressed far more than the spiritual trust which it was held to be, until, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, advowsons were regarded as means of worldly influence, and some of the clergy saw themselves primarily as landed gentry, whom the law assisted in maintaining their benefices as hereditary.

But this proprietary outlook came increasingly into conflict with the nineteenth-century stress on merit professionalism. Higher clerical ideals were encouraged by the Evangelical Revival, and the Oxford Movement, both of which tended to produce 'a different type of gentleman', less willing to be identified with a particular stratum of the society in which they ministered. For these and other spiritual and secular reasons, the Church attempted to reform the patronage system, and in the 1898 Benefices Act some of the worst abuses were controlled; although by then, the purchase of advowsons was coming to be a financial possibility for a wider section of the population. As the twentieth century began, maintaining a 'family living' had been made almost impossible, but individuals were increasingly able to provide for their own well-being by purchase.

The nineteenth-century movements within Anglicanism found the existing structure for securing appointments inadequate. Often relying on individual patrons, or churches, and with no guarantee of perpetuity of teaching, Evangelicals and Tractarians sought new means of influence, and accepted the idea that holding patronage for themselves was a sure means of gaining congregations, and for the spread of teaching. The accumulation of much patronage in a few hands was not a new idea - the Crown, the Universities, and many of the aristocracy held a multiplicity of advowsons - but Evangelicals gave a lead in founding trusts which were larger than many of these accumulations, and in a skilful use of funds to purchase livings as they became available. Anglo-Catholics took advantage of the bishops' willingness to grant the patronage of new churches to those who would finance them, and thus assumed a role in the growing towns and cities, which Evangelicals were finding more usually in established livings. Only in the 1870s, with the increasing persecution of Anglo-Catholics, and in spite of early rejections of such 'Evangelical' methods, were large Anglo-Catholic patronage trusts established, and these never equalled the number or size of evangelical trusts. It would be fair to say that evangelical trust patronage greatly exceeded that of Anglo-Catholics, and, although this thesis does not deal with them, we should not ignore the numerous bodies of 'trustees' each administering perhaps only one living, but on 'party' lines.

When trusts were suspected in the nineteenth century, it was frequently their size which gave cause for alarm, but in general, there was little criticism of them until the 1920s. Trust patrons were not opposed to Victorian reforms, which worked only against those who traded in advowsons for short term advantages. In the twentieth century, the sale of advowsons was the final abuse which was felt to need reforming, before the granting of greater lay rights could begin. But the 'self-compensating' system enshrined in the 1923 Benefices Measure, in

fact led to an increased market for advowsons. The evidence would suggest that much of this buying and selling took place between private patrons, and was stimulated by the economic problems of the 1920s. But at the time, blame became attached to the party trusts, which were universally condemned by those who opposed the workings of 'party' in the Church. Only one trust, the Martyrs' Memorial Trust, gives clear evidence of abusing its position during the period. For the others, the charge that they attempted to reverse the churchmanship of livings in an orchestrated way, does not stand up. A few congregations were upset by some of the patronage transfers taking place. But only with the MMT was this clearly an abuse of its wealth.

The further reforms of patronage which took place in the 1930s, did so within the context of this controversy about the role of party trusts, and this has coloured later reactions, so that there exists a popular opinion, which enters some informed discussions of patronage, that the 1930s saw the 'cleaning up' of party patronage, which had been riddled with abuses made worse by the atmosphere of conspiracy and secrecy in which they took place. Pamphlets like Sibbes and Simeon have had far more influence than the many voices of the time who were sceptical about the supposed harm which the trusts were doing; and the assault on patronage continues, as exemplified by Leslie Paul and Canon John Tiller in their respective Reports.

It is the intention of this thesis to return, as far as possible, to the sources of this controversy, and to suggest that opposition to party trusts has tended to be ideological rather than practical, but couched in language which suggests to the uninformed reader that there are widespread pragmatic grounds for the attitude. The ideological objections take the form of assumptions about the true role of the Church of England, which party interests are supposed to confuse. Thus, in 1932, Henson suggested that trusts tended to give an unnatural colour to the Church, specifically a puritan colour which was no part of

historical Anglicanism. More recently, the Pawleys in Rome and Canterbury through Four Centuries suggest that the continuation of party feelings has effectively prevented a reconciliation, which would act not only within the Church, but between the English and Roman Communions. Paul and Tiller find no room for a 'third party' in general, in clerical appointments, and Paul regards the establishment of Simeon's Trust as a black day for Anglicans. This study cannot take issue with such questions, except in passing, for they are more fundamental a ground of debate than those which will be encountered in the following pages. But we may say that they tend to assume a Platonic idea of Anglicanism, towards which all reforms must work; whereas we would see Anglicanism as in a state of flux, where party debate is of the essence, and not a superfluity which true Anglicans should seek to slough off, or integrate completely. Anglicanism succeeds when it accepts its internal dialectic.

Pragmatic objections to party patronage consisted, at the time of the debates of the 1920s and '30s, of the accusations that congregations had no say in who was appointed, that established traditions were overturned, and that parishes were made into party battlefields. We hope to show that the first of these charges, that trusts were anti-democratic, was as true of other patrons, and that it only emerged at a time when lay rights were more ready to be acknowledged anyway. It was not a particular fault of the trusts. The second and third charges have had the longest life-span. We hope to show that, until 1925, there was little criticism of the trusts on these grounds, and little evidence on which criticism could have been based. Indeed, Anglo-Catholics were occasionally generous in their praise of evangelical trusts, although they objected to the Church Association Trust, who required an agreement as to the type of services which would be conducted. It was only when the MMT began to acquire patronage at an unprecedented rate, and complaints began to be voiced in the parishes, that the Church Assembly,

and others, responded with an attack on party trusts in general, and not on the chief culprit. Indeed, Simeon's Trust, one of the best administered, and more moderate trusts, came in for some of the harshest criticism, perhaps because it was the best-known.

In attempting such a study, there is little previous work to which to refer. Many writers mention the trusts, but few display great information about them, and it is contemporary records which give the best indication of the atmosphere of debate. Nineteenth-century Parliamentary debates, and the Reports of the Church Assembly have provided much background information. Dr. W.D. Balda's thesis on the early years of Simeon's Trust has been used, and the reader is referred to it, although its main conclusions are indicated. For the other trusts, I have relied on information supplied, and interviews given, by various bodies, but in all cases, information is scarce. Records, where they exist, are often regarded as confidential. The business of attempting a survey of parishes in trust patronage was accomplished with the aid of Crockfords, and various diocesan calendars. Various collections of letters proved useful, particularly those of Percy Warrington at Monkton Combe, and the archives of the Church Patronage Protection Committee, a group of which, it is believed, this thesis provides the first account.

The first three chapters look at the question of patronage generally during our period, and the final four chapters concentrate on party patronage as such. In Chapter 1, we provide what can be gleaned about the development of patronage, to indicate its transformation, broadly, from a trust to a piece of property. Chapter 2 follows the story during the nineteenth century, when many attempted to reverse the process, and chronicles the painfully slow path to reform in 1898. In Chapter 3, we look at the establishment of the Church Assembly, as an answer to the failure of Parliament to deal effectively with Church business, and with a commitment to deal with a range of problems of

which patronage was one; and see how the miscalculated 1923 Benefices Measure led to further necessary reforms, many of which were carried through in the belief that they were directed solely against party trusts. This reform was to lead, in its turn, to the greater centralizing of authority in matters of patronage, and the diminution of the patron's role.

In Chapter 4 we examine Simeon's Trust, with Balda's work as a foundation, but continuing the story until 1945. Simeon effectively 'invented' party trusts, and Chapter 5 surveys the other trusts, their churchmanship, and their growth. We conclude that, while Simeon's Trust was often strategically motivated in its acquisition of patronage, and the idea of 'spheres of influence' was an important one, other trusts were more prepared to acquire what was available, and with less thought to the advantages of the benefices acquired. A general absence of funds meant that most of the trusts were given more advowsons than they bought. There is no early evidence that any livings were acquired because other traditions held them, but clearly, some livings were obtained to prevent the other side gaining a foothold. By the 1920s, this picture was to change slightly, in the case of two of the established trusts, but only with the rise of the MMT, the subject of Chapter 6, was this seen as the prevailing aim of trusts. The MMT's spectacular rise and fall was the work of a clever but unscrupulous man, whose ambition overreached itself, but who provided the catalyst for the major reforms of patronage this century. This analysis of Percy Warrington is a consolidation of several diverse accounts, with the aid of additional material, and it is believed to be the first to examine statistically the rise of the MMT, and the work of the CPPC in helping to end its disturbing effects on the Church. In the final Chapter, we turn from the MMT to examine the patronage of Keble College, Oxford, a College whose patronage is administered on the lines of a patronage trust. We have been assisted by the extensive records preserved at the

College, in building up a picture of the routine workings of a trust, which leads us to suggest that their work, far from being conspiratorial, is often beneficial and painstaking.

We conclude that patronage trusts, of whatever form, were a necessary solution to the problem of gaining preferment at times of difficulty, and that their evident advantages continued to be used beyond this, suggesting that other 'official' lines of preferment are not felt to give party views sufficient prominence; that they have assisted in giving the Church a picture of appointments not limited by diocesan boundaries, something which other systems have failed to do; and that they have given the Church an entrance for the minority views which may be the lifeblood of the future. We must furthermore question various popular assumptions about trust patronage. In particular, the evidence appears to be sufficient to enable us to state: that most trusts did not purchase livings so much as accept them as gifts; that the chessboard of patronage is sufficiently diverse to suggest little strategic planning on the part of the trusts; that the general denigration of trusts in the 1920s and '30s was founded on slight evidence, and was generally unjust and unthinking; that contemporary critics of such attacks are largely ignored today; and that modern critics of patronage are often relying on the rhetoric of fifty years ago to establish a case which depends, now as then, on one particular view of Anglicanism.

The reform of patronage is a perennial topic in ecclesiastical circles, either alone or as part of a revolution in manpower planning. We would suggest that a thesis of this nature contributes to the debate, by inviting people to a closer study of the world of patronage, before they confine it to the scrap-heap of history.

Contents

Acknowledgements	5
List of Abbreviations	7
Introduction The World of Anglican Patronage	9
Chapter 1 The Development of the Parochial and Patronage Systems	19
Chapter 2 Reform and its Causes	33
2:1 Introduction	34
2:2 Abuses of Patronage	39
2:3 Early Appeals for Reform	46
2:4 The Scottish Disruption	55
2:5 Magee and Reform	57
2:6 Reform under Benson	85
2:7 The Benefices Act 1898	97
Chapter 3 The Progress of Reform to 1945	104
3:1 The Call for Further Reforms	106
3:2 The Benefices Act 1898 (Amendment) Measure 1923	119
3:3 Further Attempts at Reform	125
3:4 The Patronage Measures of the 1930s	138
3:5 Later Patronage Reforms	154
Chapter 4 Charles Simeon and his Trust to 1945	159
4:1 Introduction	160
4:2 Simeon's Trust from 1865	164
Chapter 5 Other Nineteenth Century Patronage Trusts	179
5:1 The Anglo-Catholic Advance	180
5:2 The Society for the Maintenance of the Faith	189
5:3 The Guild of All Souls	193
5:4 Other Anglo-Catholic Bodies Holding Patronage	198

5:5	Theological Colleges	201
5:6	The Church Trust Fund Trust	202
5:7	The Hyndman Trust	214
5:8	The Peache Trustees	215
5:9	The Church Pastoral-Aid Society	218
5:10	The Components of the Church Society Trust	219
5:11	The Church Patronage Society	226
5:12	Some Minor Trusts	227
Chapter 6	Percy Warrington and his Labours	229
6:1	The Evangelicals at Oxford	231
6:2	Warrington's Early Ventures	237
6:3	Warrington's Empire	257
6:4	The Founding of an Oxford College	267
6:5	Warrington, the MMT, and Advowsons	282
6:6	The CPPC	302
Chapter 7	The Patronage of Keble College	320
7:1	Introduction	321
7:2	A Survey of the Keble Parishes	327
7:3	'The Patronage of Keble College'	355
Conclusion		361
Table 1	Patronage Business in Parliament from 1870 to 1898	371
Table 2	The Progress of the First Five Benefices Measures in the Church Assembly	376
Table 3	Livings Acquired, Held and Lost by the MMT	378
Table 4	The Patronage of Keble College	379
Appendix A	Simeon's Trustees to 1940	382
Appendix B	Patronage Maps	Back Cover
Bibliography		384

Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to my supervisor, Dr. Geoffrey Rowell, Chaplain and Fellow of Keble College, for his original suggestion of the patronage of Keble College as a suitable research topic, for his constant enthusiasm when my field of work expanded to cover trust patronage in general, and for his patience during the drafting of this thesis.

I am indebted to the Warden and Fellows of Keble College for permission to consult the Minute Books of the College Council, and the files of letters concerning the parishes in Keble's patronage; and to Mrs. Jean Robinson, librarian of the College, who for three months was my patient turn-key as I worked in the library's strong room.

Many County Archivists, and many incumbents of Keble livings, replied most helpfully to letters which I addressed to them, and I am most grateful for the time and trouble which they have taken.

Several repositories of documents have accommodated me during this research, and I wish to thank particularly the staffs of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York; Cambridge University Library; Lambeth Palace Library; the Lincolnshire County Record Office, the National Library of Wales, and especially J. Watts Williams; and the National Register of Archives.

For information relating to the various patronage trusts, I am grateful to the officers of the societies in question, many of whom are acknowledged in the text, but I would wish especially to mention: Messrs Taylor, Kirkman and Mainprice, and Mr. H.P. Griffiths for their help in clarifying the role of the Hulme Trustees in the world of patronage, a body which, relating rather to College than to party patronage, finds no mention in the text; the Rev. R.M. Rees, Secretary

to Simeon's Trust, for much useful information; the Representative Body of the Church in Wales; the Church Commissioners; and the Bishop of Norwich. Fr. Peter Geldard of the Church Union, whose views have been most valuable, is acknowledged in the Introduction.

In my researches into the Martyrs' Memorial Trust, I am grateful to the Secretaries of the Old Stoic, Old Canfordian, and Old Wrekinian Societies for their assistance in notifying their members of my work. To Mr. R.A.C. Meredith, the Headmaster of Monkton Combe School, and to Mr. G.N. Randall, the School Archivist, I owe many thanks for their extended loan of the letters which passed between Warrington and the School in the 1920s.

The Rev. David Bubbers, of the CPAS, the Rev. Teddy Saunders of the Church Patronage Society, and the Rev. Alan Wilson, have all given up their time to talk to me about patronage. The Rev. John Reynolds, and the Rev. Bryan Green, are thanked elsewhere, but to the former I owe much useful information, and to the latter, supererogatory hospitality and friendship. To these, and to all others who have helped with encouragement, or questions, I owe heartfelt thanks.

Finally, I acknowledge the constant support and good will of my family, who have borne with great patience the preparation and checking of this thesis, and have put up with considerable disruption of their own timetables in order to help me meet deadlines. It is not merely personal bias which causes me to single out my wife for mention. To her enthusiasm, support, encouragement, diligence, and patience, I owe not only thanks, but the completion of this work. For all of these, and for the prayers of my wider family, the congregation of St. Ebbe's Church, Oxford, I cannot be sufficiently thankful.

List of Abbreviations

AEGM	Anglican Evangelical Group Movement
B.A.A.C.	Benefices Act Amendment Committee
BCMS	Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society
<u>C.A.R.</u>	<u>Church Assembly Reports</u>
CM	Keble College Council Minutes
CMS	Church Missionary Society
<u>C.O.C.</u>	<u>Chronicles of Convocation</u>
CPAS	Church Pastoral-Aid Society
CPPC	Church Patronage Protection Committee
CPS	Church Patronage Society
CSMV	Community of St.Mary the Virgin
CST	Church Society Trust
CTFT	Church Trust Fund Trust
DBP	Diocesan Board(s) of Patronage
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
E.C.U.	English Church Union
ERP	Exercise of Rights of Presentation
GAS	Guild of All Souls
H.	Hansard
HL	Halifax Letters
KF	Keble College Files
MMT	Martyrs' Memorial Trust
NCL	National Church League
NPCU	National Protestant Church Union
<u>ODCC</u>	<u>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</u>
PCC	Parochial Church Council
P.P.	Parliamentary Papers

PRP	Purchase of Rights of Patronage
PWRA	Public Worship Regulation Act
SMF	Society for the Maintenance of the Faith
S.T.	Simeon's Trust
TRP	Transfer of Rights of Patronage
W.L.	Warrington Letters

Introduction The World of Anglican Patronage

'It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England ... to keep the mean between the two extremes...'¹

The Church of England has, as its name implies, not seen itself as a confessional Church, so much as the Church of the English people. From the first, its involvement with English society has had a decisive impact on its shape. It is at once an estate of the realm, and a body of Christians. The Reformation narrowed its bounds, as dissenters left, but did nothing to limit its claims. Held together by liturgical unity, strained by forces at either extreme, post-reformation Anglicanism appears never to have stopped searching for its identity.

It has been said that the Reformation, in many ways, left the Church of England as the most mediaeval in Europe. With regard to patronage, there is much truth in this statement. Other Churches ended or severely restricted lay patronage, but in England, the system, which owed its origins to the acknowledged right of the layman to appoint a priest to a church built on his land, survived with a few modifications. Monastic bodies were dissolved, and their patronage seized by the King, to be distributed to courtiers, or retained. The aristocracy became major patronage holders. Colleges, with ordained fellows now able to marry, acquired patronage in order to provide places for fellows who married and were thus unable to retain their fellowships. The system was re-aligned, but not essentially reformed. Clerical stipends depended upon the accidents of history, and diocesan wealth varied greatly. What reforms there were tended only to operate against Roman Catholics, who could hold, but not exercise, patronage: other dissenters

¹ Book of Common Prayer, The Preface.

were quite free to be patrons.

Patronage operated as a reward for political or other favourites, and as a provision for younger sons. It was part of the currency of influence, and in times when more readily exchangeable coinage was needed, could always be sold, either in whole, or in part.

The Church of England has never been monochrome, but its differences certainly appear to have been less apparent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than in the nineteenth. Before the 1830s, 'High Church', 'Low Church' and 'Churchmanship' had few of the implications which they were to assume afterwards. 'Churchmanship' was simply loyalty to Anglicanism, rather than to dissent. It was not a spiritual thermometer with gradations. High and Low Churchmen were marked as much by political commitment as by religious observance. The High Church were the supporters of the Stuarts, and of the Church. 'Low Churchmen' were, in the early eighteenth century, latitudinarians, with no suggestion of 'enthusiasm' attached to them. They held a low view of the Church, and of the Sacraments, but many of them held an equally low view of the Gospel and of preaching.

In the nineteenth century, these usages changed with the emergence of evangelicalism, and Anglo-Catholicism. 'High' and 'Low' became party badges in a specifically religious sense. That this should have happened was partly due to the influence of patronage, for it took a changed conception of patronage to change the ideal of the Church, and this changed ideal in its turn, influenced patronage.

Perhaps since the Reformation, but increasingly from the eighteenth century, the feudal model of patronage was in decline. The Industrial Revolution caused many land-owners to sell their lands for profit. Whether they retained or sold their advowsons at the same time, the effect tended to be the same: the link between patron and parish was broken. This merely aggravated a situation which had always existed, of magnates holding patronage scattered over a wide area. In many areas,

patronage had ceased to be part of the personal relationship between squire and priest.

The nineteenth century saw the clear emergence of Church parties, at the same time that the decline in the exercise of patronage, and other abuses, led to a call for reform. Reform, when it came, would involve the parties.

Evangelicalism and Anglo-Catholicism were both poorly supported in the Church as a whole, when they began. Both realized that the gaining of pulpits and altars, and the evangelisation of the unevangelised, particularly in the cities, were necessary steps on the road to influence. Both saw the important role played by patronage, but each went about expansion in different ways.

It was the particular contribution of Charles Simeon, that he saw the need for a continuity of teaching, depending not upon the vagaries of individual patrons and the patronage market, but upon self-perpetuating trusts committed to a spiritual ideal which was not to be swayed by the influence of others. His was the first patronage trust, and it influenced others, both evangelical and Anglo-Catholic. But Anglo-Catholics were influenced, too, by the need for new churches in the crowded cities. Many such churches, the patronage vested in the bishop or a group of trustees, began to make their impact on the cities.

It was in the cities, with many churches of differing party loyalties, that party conflict was given an opening. It was much easier, with a wide range of churches in a small area, for parochial loyalties to be replaced by congregational loyalties, and there is some evidence that this did take place. Never officially sanctioned, certain parishes were prepared to overlook the eclecticism of congregations. It would not be too gross a generalisation to point to the apparent 'parochialism' of much non-conformity at the time, in contrast to the apparent congregationalism of urban Anglicanism. In this atmosphere, extremes of churchmanship might develop, and the party chessboard of Anglicanism could be marked out.

Running alongside the development of party patronage, the call for reform had its origin in the greater religious seriousness of the age, which was, in its turn, at least in part, caused by the rise of the parties. The two influenced each other in ways which it is hard to disentangle. Adherence to a party tended to spring from, and lead to, a more 'earnest' attitude in matters of religion, which included issues such as church building, the problems of plurality and simony, and, of course, patronage. The eighteenth-century Church, with its relative absence of party cleavage, tended not to reform. The nineteenth-century Church, with a growing party divide, demanded and achieved reform. The issue of party, if it did not cause reform, at least seems to have led many to the realization that the Church was more than a department of state, and that, un-reformed, it was in many ways a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel.

After immense efforts, patronage reform was achieved in 1898: too little, too late, many might have said. But the very call for reform was itself the manifestation of attitudes which were leading to internal improvements before they were given a legal standing: the Church was reforming itself throughout the century, and the abuses of nineteenth-century patronage were reduced in extent, and became all the more noticeable when they did occur, as the century progressed.

Evidently, this was not all achieved by the work of patronage trusts. But it appears to have taken the creation of party trusts to have turned patronage into a religious rather than a political matter. In pre-Victorian England, patronage had served many purposes; but patronage trusts tended to concentrate on the good of the parish, and the character of the incumbent. His 'usefulness' apart from his spiritual qualities was pushed into the background. And this attitude to patronage permeated, more or less, throughout the church, so that, in political debates on the subject, the question of the parishioners' needs was often placed on a level with the patrons' rights. The

division of parishes, and the erection of new churches, which tended to deprive the original parish churches of part of their endowment, went on perhaps because of the increased pastoral concern which had come in with party churchmanship, and in spite of the parochial system, which tended to the preservation of the status quo of parishes and endowments.

By the time of the 1919 Enabling Act, the Church of England was used to the existence of party trusts, and at the same time aware that patronage itself was in need of reform. Reform took four courses: The buying and selling of patronage were forbidden after the two next appointments; the bishop was to be notified of intended transfers; parishioners were given greater rights of representation; and the Diocesan Boards of Patronage were established. One of the last three reforms, and a fifth, namely the right of parishioners to re-purchase patronage transferred against their wishes, arose directly from miscalculations in the first reform. Patronage sales increased greatly after 1924, and a few trusts took advantage of this to swell their patronage. Before about 1925-6, patronage trusts were generally commended. Afterwards, attitudes changed, and there is little doubt that the Church Assembly felt that its measures were designed to restrict party trusts, as the principal abusers of patronage.

But the facts appear to differ from the assumptions of the Church Assembly. One trust alone, the Martyrs' Memorial Trust, was responsible for most of the patronage bought by trusts in the period. It was of recent origins, and led by one man, the Rev. P.E. Warrington, whose strength of will alone determined the remarkable course which it should follow, as it founded a succession of public schools, financed an Oxford College, and used its profits to purchase patronage at a rate equalled by no other trust, at any time. It alone was the catalyst of many of the reforms of the 1930s.

Victorian patronage reforms were urged by bishops and others as a means of restricting the layman's role in clerical appointments at a

time when it appeared to be out of control. Party patronage was infrequently mentioned, and the debate would be almost equally comprehensible if nothing were known of the phenomenon. In the Church of 1920 to 1933, on the other hand, this situation changed dramatically.

The 1923 Measure was intended to be one of the last controls applied to private patronage, leading to the granting of greater lay rights of representation, and the establishment of DBPs. In fact it gave a lease of life to the MMT, and, in the mind of the Church Assembly, to all other trusts. After 1923, reforms were directed against the trusts, and ignorance of their existence would lead to incomprehension of the debates. But this change in emphasis only serves to illustrate the new importance of party trusts in the life of the Church. If, at times, their influence was seen as baleful, this should not blind us to their significance both in the maintenance of tradition, and in the preservation of a voice which is at once independent of the Church's hierarchy, and at the same time, deeply committed to the Church's interests.

Previous Work and Sources

The issue of patronage is mentioned in practically every study of the Victorian Church, and in the biographies of archbishops and bishops. In many of these, the author's concern is with private patronage, its use as a reward, and the necessity for clergy to find themselves a patron. The patronage market, and the frequent abuses of the system, the price of advowsons and next presentations, are also subjects of interest for many, although nowhere is a whole study devoted to this field: the issue is mentioned in passing. Owen Chadwick in The Victorian Church discusses these sorts of questions, as do Geoffrey Best in Temporal Pillars, Anthony Russell in The Clerical Profession and MacQueen in Parson, Patron and Parish. M.J.D. Roberts, in 'Private Patronage and the Church of England' argues in parallel with some of the points made in Chapter 2, although that Chapter was written

independently of his paper. Studies of the twentieth-century Church are few, as regards the question of patronage. Roger Lloyd's The Church of England 1900-1965 touches on the issue, as do the biographies of Archbishops Davidson, Lang and Temple, but undoubtedly the best sources for this period are such legal books as Cripps on Church and Clergy or Halsbury's Laws which give good historical summaries as well as a clear presentation of the legal provisions, and the Church Assembly Reports for the period, which are as invaluable as is Hansard for the Parliamentary debates of the previous century. There is an extensive pamphlet literature too, although its very size makes it difficult for any one person to acquaint himself with all of it. Contemporary newspapers, particularly Church papers, shed much light on attitudes of the time, and the editor of Crockfords is always a useful antidote to those who believe that patronage reform was universally wished for in the 1930s.

Party patronage is mentioned much less than patronage as a whole. Chadwick discusses Simeon's Trust very briefly, but offers no history. Simeon's Trust, in fact, is perhaps the most frequently mentioned trust. On the other hand, the MMT is practically unmentioned, except in school and college histories, which have only a limited readership. Col. W.A. Salmon in his Churches and Royal Patronage speaks of patronage trusts purchasing every advowson that came on the market, but this is the kind of uninformed comment which this study hopes to dispel.

The history of patronage trusts will, in many cases, it is feared, remain a closed book as long as the trusts themselves are reticent, or if they have no early records. Simeon's Trust have extensive and well-preserved records, and Dr.W. Balda's thesis 'Spheres of Influence' gives perhaps the fullest account of the history of the Trust, and of its contribution to later patronage. Other trusts are less well served, and Balleine, in A History of the Evangelical Party, is often the most

useful source for evangelical trusts. Many Catholic trusts are even less forthcoming. It is, however, quite possible to construct lists of patronage using Crockfords and various diocesan calendars, and the lists provided in the Church Times of the 21 November 1930 in 'Buying Up the Church of England.'

The Martyrs' Memorial Trust, and particularly Percy Warrington, are dealt with in E.H.F. Smith's St. Peters: the Founding of an Oxford College, in the histories of Canford and Wrekin Schools, and in Lord Annan's Roxburgh of Stowe, which is occasionally prone to exaggerate, but is extremely entertaining. I was also fortunate to discover a bundle of correspondence between Warrington and Monkton Combe School, which sheds much light on his later behaviour, and provides the only explanation for some of his enterprises. Details about the MMT's patronage were compiled from a wide range of diocesan calendars, and are believed to be the first attempt to assess it accurately. The work of the Church Patronage Protection Committee is detailed in a minute book in the Church Union Deposit at Lambeth Palace Library. The Library also proved invaluable in illuminating dark areas of patronage, by the aid of the collected letters of the Archbishops of Canterbury.

No one has previously researched Keble College's patronage, although W.E. Bowen's The Patronage of Keble College gives an unfavourable view of the operation of some of it in 1903. Again, I was privileged to be able to consult the extensive files relating to the College's advowsons, and also the minute books of Keble College Council.

Various incumbents of the parishes have been most helpful in supplying information, and I have profited from an examination of some of Lord Halifax's letters, preserved at the Borthwick Institute, in York. If this represents a more detailed study of a Catholic patron than has been possible elsewhere, then the Church Trust Fund Trust, now administered by the CPAS, have enabled me to give something of the same treatment to an evangelical trust, while the kindness and hospitality of the

Secretaries of the Peache Trustees (Rev. B.Green) and of the Church Patronage Society (Rev.E.G.H. Saunders) have increased my understanding of the workings of such bodies. Fr. Peter Geldard, General Secretary of the Church Union, has on several occasions spared me the time to share with me his views on the subject; and it was the Rev.John Reynolds, who must be accounted the authority on Evangelical Oxford, who pointed out to me the link between Oxford and Monkton Combe, in the shape of the Oxford Churches Trust, the patrons of Percy Warrington.

In a study of this size, it is regrettable that much that might have illuminated or entertained has had to be regarded as superfluous. Thus the extensive correspondence of Warrington with the School at Monkton Combe, which clearly reveals his character, and the disturbed nature of his mind, have had to be represented by brief quotations. The work of the Church Patronage Protection Committee too, whose existence has not previously been mentioned, is presented here in a truncated form. The Chapter on Keble College alone would have swollen to the size of the present study if it had been treated with the detail it deserves, and especially if it had proved possible to include an analysis of the incumbents appointed to Keble livings. An illuminating episode from Simeon Trust's later history has been reduced to a single footnote.

Previous writers have sometimes appeared to assume that their readers share with them certain ideas about party patronage, and that these assumptions are inherent in the very nature of such patronage, and have never varied. It is to question this assumption, to analyse the connection between patronage reform, and party patronage, and to suggest that most party trusts were only attacked late in the day, and mistakenly, that this study has been undertaken.

Notes

1. The use of the words 'Anglo-Catholic' and 'Anglo-Catholicism'.

As this thesis is concerned partly with trusts which today would be accorded the name 'Anglo-Catholic', I have thought it best, for the

sake of consistency, to retain this appellation for all but the earliest exponents of the 'Movement of 1833'. There is a faint air of anachronism in this, as, until the late nineteenth century, the word 'Tractarian' was preferred, and 'Anglo-Catholic' was applied rather to those earlier divines whose works were collected in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. Nevertheless, some not inconsiderable authority can be claimed for this position: Owen Chadwick refers to 'Anglo-Catholic trusts', in describing a period before the term gained widespread acceptance; W.J. Sparrow-Simpson, in 1932, applied 'Anglo-Catholicism' as a term for the earliest stages of the Oxford Movement; and the Oxford English Dictionary dates the earliest reference to 'Anglo-Catholic', in our sense, to 1849. The reader is therefore forewarned.

2. The Patronage Maps in Appendix B.

Some explanation of the maps is called for. In general, they represent, as accurately as possible, patronage acquired by trusts by the date indicated, but they take no account of such of these livings as were lost by the date indicated. Generally, it is fair to say that most of these losses were caused by Welsh disestablishment, and if the reader will bear this in mind, the maps will not be too misleading. In the case of the patronage of Keble College, the map indicates all livings held, but reference to Table 4 is needed to ascertain which livings are still so held. The map of MMT patronage is based partly on the diocesan sample referred to in Chapter 6, and the MMT holding in certain other dioceses could well be underestimated. In spite of this, the contrast between this map and the others is sufficiently striking. If a map refers to patronage held 'in' a particular year or 'at present', then no lost patronage is indicated.

Chapter 1 The Development of the Parochial and Patronage Systems

'Mine is a long and a sad tale!'

Chapter 1 The Development of the Parochial and Patronage Systems

In 1862, the anonymous author of a pamphlet published by the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State-Patronage and Control (otherwise known as the Liberation Society), concluded his damning survey by observing that the history and administration of Church patronage were:

marked, at every step, by ambition, cupidity and fraud; its results are such as have been the invariable results of vice in all ages of the world. Can a man so practise with certainty of retribution, and shall a church so practise with perfect impunity?¹

A little over a century later, Dr.V.H.H. Green remarked, more cautiously, that the geographic, demographic and economic anomalies of the parish, and the apparently haphazard patronage system, suggest to many that the modern parish is an archaic survival from the past:

It is not for the historian to decide whether it is archaic or not, but he must be interested in the way in which it came into being.²

Our principal concern is with changes in the patronage system within the period bounded by these remarks, arising from, and influencing, a changed conception of the Church's nature. But it is necessary to examine the background to these changes by surveying briefly the history of the parochial system, and seeing the origins of lay patronage as a distinctive feature in Anglicanism. A study such as Godfrey's The English Parish 600-1300 provides, in short compass, a synthesis of modern research on the subject, and the reader is referred

¹ Anon, Church Patronage: its History, Administration and Results (London, 1862), p.44.

² Cuthbert John Godfrey, The English Parish 600-1300, Church Historical Society, Church History Outlines, 3 (London, 1969), p.vii.

to this to supplement what is said here.

Despite the attempts of some, the New Testament yields little evidence of an emergent patronage system. Some system of external appointment after internal consultation seems to have taken place within the churches, but this was adaptable to missionary peculiarities, and within northern Europe as a whole the outward drive of the Church met the power of local land-owners. In Britain, the feudal system and the Church were mingled from the earliest days.

Christianity was, at first, an urban religion, and only urban decline and the toleration of Christianity helped to spread the Church into outlying areas. The basic unit of Church organization was the bishop's sphere of authority, the parochia, with his familia of priests and deacons. 'Diocese', a word derived from Roman secular administration, came to mean the bishop's sphere considered as an administrative unit, particularly outlying areas, but the whole diocese was the bishop's parochia.

As the diocesan and parochial systems spread, north and south Europe adapted differently. In Italy, practically every large town had a bishopric. By 600, Italy had 250 dioceses, while England, at the close of the Middle Ages, had seventeen, large and territorially based, and much less subject to direct episcopal intervention.

The Italian system was pyramidal, running from the Cathedral church, through baptisteries, which were under a college of priests, and oratories, effectively chapels-of-ease, generally without resident clergy, down to proprietary chapels, privately founded, but often by ecclesiastics, personal property, inheritable or transferable at will, with the priest as one among other servants. Gelasius I (492-6) ordained that private founders of oratories must vest the property in the bishop but, apparently in recognition of a long-standing tradition, the founder and his heirs were entitled to nominate the priest. Proprietary chapels enabled the founder to control the revenues as well as the patronage.

In northern Europe, the story is one of the change from a college of city clergy delegated to minister in the country, to the permanent establishment of a resident rural clergy, with a consequent shift from a central to a local financial provision. The rise of feudalism fitted ill with an itinerant priesthood, and Anglo-Saxon land-owners much preferred a fixed church, and a priest tied to his post, ministering to a congregation in various degrees of subservience to the land-owner. The emergent sixth-century pattern consisted of Cathedral and subordinate city churches, rural 'public parishes' and the oratories or chapels of estates. The parochia was coming to mean the area around the country church, served by a priestly college. In Gaul, such churches were called 'minsters', derived from monasterium, though with no implication that the clergy lived under a rule. The oratories had no official standing in the diocese, and oratory priests were appointed by, and subject to, the whim of the land-owner, whether bishop or layman, and were effectively ordained servants. By the middle of the sixth century, the villa clergy were important enough for canonical attempts to be made to bring them under diocesan discipline. Estate chapels were becoming known as 'parochiae', and as private church growth outstripped minster growth, so public parishes lost something of their old importance.

England was influenced by the Italian and the Northern systems, but also by the Celtic system, more ascetic, and based on the parochia of the monastic Abbot, unfamiliar with the idea of the diocese, and valuing bishops only as functionaries for ordaining and consecrating. For much of the seventh century the English diocesan bishop was less important than his continental equivalent. Archbishop Theodore (669-90), the virtual founder of the diocesan system, adapted it to the circumstances of the English conversion, with kings converting on behalf of their people. The diocese was based on the kingdom, and the bishop was early seen as a rich, splendid magnate, ruling as a prince, not a

pastor in direct relationship with his people.³

With large dioceses, the county^r churches, the 'mynsters', increased in importance, providing the clergy who visited villages. Theodore's Penitential shows that he wished the faithful to be cared for by their own village priests - as an Easterner, the idea was familiar: In 541, Justinian decreed that a man building and endowing an oratory might present its priest.⁴ But lay initiative in church building achieved this end, Theodore controlling this in various ways, so that such churches were private property, but under episcopal jurisdiction and requiring episcopal consecration. By the mid-eighth century, minsters too were establishing daughter churches, but with the priest assigned by the bishop. The village clergy, then, did not function as a group. The way towards a localized parochial system was being prepared.

In the face of demands for greater privileges for privately-founded churches, the bishops acquiesced, being powerless to prevent the proprietary system. The 816 Council of Aachen compelled the bishop to accept satisfactory candidates presented by a lay owner. Each church should have its priest, and a guaranteed means of support. New churches were to receive the tithes of the area, rather than the baptismal churches. This encouraged the spread of rural parishes, which gradually became sacramentally independent.

As churches became provided with regular endowments and offerings, they became suitable prizes, and aristocrats and warriors received them from bishops in return for loyalty and protection. Such lay magnates might pay a rent to the priest, and receive the priest's lands and tithes. Feudalism and the rise of the parish church go hand in hand. Within feudalism, land given for the maintenance of a vassal on very favourable terms, and practically rent- and labour-free, was called a beneficium, held for life, and tending in practice to be hereditary.

³ See the examples given in Godfrey, p.14.

⁴ Godfrey, p.28.

Churches came to be seen as 'benefices', granted by the lord for specific services, the priest becoming the lord's 'man', for his lifetime. The benefice system thus created small independent church units within the diocese. By about 1000, this system was so general north of the Alps that protesting churchmen could not end it, or the odious corollary of lay investiture.

In England, private ownership of churches was known in the eighth century, and the Viking raids so weakened the richer minsters that it increased, as the Church depended more on influential laymen to provide churches and priests. The parish priest became a recognized and valued local figure, with the tenth century the great age for establishing parish churches.

Earlier, bishops had so benefitted from pious gifts that often they were the chief land-owner of the diocese. Such land might be given to clergy or laymen to cultivate. The clergyman would hold the land rent-free, as a substitute for his income from Cathedral funds. Thus prebendaries no longer received their praebenda (rations) from the Cathedral, but from their 'prebend', the estate producing them.

By the ninth century, secular claims to church ownership were generally acknowledged, every church having a proprietor, lay or ecclesiastic, who might sell it, give it, mortgage it, or divide its revenue into portions. This jus patronatus was characterised as honorificum, utile, and onerosum. Honourable, because the patron was highly esteemed and given the chief seat in church; onerous, because he had to defend the church from spoliation or dilapidation; useful, because he had a first claim on the church if he or his family fell into debt.⁵ By 1060, each church had its owner, and the English priest was independent, and in receipt of all tithes and offerings, and the farmer

⁵ Sir Robert Phillimore, The Ecclesiastical Laws of the Church of England, edited by Sir W.G.F. Phillimore, assisted by C.F. Jemmett, second edition, 2 vols. (London, 1895), I, 262-63.

of his glebe. Domesday Book suggests that the parish or manorial church, and its priest, were becoming part of the English fabric, while the minsters dwindled.

Earlier, the proprietor might give the revenues of a church to whomever he chose, including his family or his wife. But from the tenth century, piety generally dictated that such gifts be made to monasteries. The clergy alone suffered, and the donor lost nothing by his 'gift', so that from about 1000, episcopal approval for such appropriations was needed. Appropriations clearly benefitted the monasteries, which were expensive to run, and which, in the eleventh- and twelfth-century revival, were springing up like mushrooms. Pious proprietors saw such gifts as giving to the poor - the world-renouncing monks. They received the tithes, and appointed a priest, perhaps one of their body, as a permanent or temporary pastor, at a reduced wage. The tithe-receiver was known as the Rector - in such cases the appropriating body as a whole - and as the incumbent was a substitute for the Rector, he was called a 'Vicar'. This division between Rectories and Vicarages marks virtually the final stage of the parochial system's evolution, and only occurred with the influx of continental ideas immediately before the Conquest. The new manorial lords often gave their endowments to religious foundations, even foreign ones. This accorded with the Gregorian approval of monasticism and disapproval of lay ownership. In the twelfth century, vast numbers of English churches were made over to religious houses, to Cathedral chapters, to individual ecclesiastics, and to prebends. But too often such churches were looked on as a source of income: they might be kept vacant to avoid paying a vicar, and vicars themselves only received a small portion of the income, and had no secure tenure. But gradually, as the vicarage system gained acceptance, vicars gained greater liberties.

In 1172, a Council at Avranches, under Alexander III, stipulated that vicars must not be appointed for fixed terms only, but must have

greater security, and receive one-third of the revenues. Innocent III went even further in championing parish priests, denouncing the bestowal of tithes by lay lords on non-parochial objects or persons: those who did the work should receive the pay. In the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215,^{the} 'Magna Carta of the parish priest' ordained that priests should be assigned 'a sufficient portion' to sustain them.⁶ The vicar was no mere employee, but a beneficed priest with a freehold and specified endowment, instituted by the bishop, removable only by judicial procedure. The vicar, for his part, accepted the obligation of continuous residence in his benefice.

After this, the number of vicarages increased, a feature principally of the thirteenth century.⁷ Vicars tended to receive a third of the total income, a house and garden, the parishioners' offerings, and the lesser tithes. The chancel was maintained by the appropriator, as rector. Cardinal Ottobon, at the 1267 Council of London, attempted to stop benefices being kept vacant by providing that the bishop could fill any vacant benefice after six months. The civil legislation next interfered against powerful monasteries, and passed the statutes 15 Ric.2,c.6 and 4 Hen.4,c.12, requiring the regular endowment of vicarages.⁸ Evidently some religious were so greedy that the pastoral care of the Church suffered in consequence.⁹

By the close of the thirteenth century there were probably about nine thousand parishes in the English Church, fifteen hundred of which are known to have been vicarages.¹⁰ Appropriations continued in the fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth, though usually to hospitals, chantries or educational establishments rather than monasteries. In the

⁶ Reginald Alfred R. Hartridge, A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages, Cambridge Studies in Mediaeval Life and Thought (Cambridge, 1930), p.21.

⁷ Hartridge, p.30.

⁸ Phillimore, I, 221-22.

⁹ Godfrey, p.76.

¹⁰ Godfrey, p.76.

1535 Valor Ecclesiasticus, just over a third of the 8,838 parishes recorded were vicarages. Naturally, rich parishes tended to attract appropriators, a tendency which has left its marks today. One often finds a large market town whose benefice is a vicarage, while all around are tiny villages which are rectories. The essential mark of the vicar was his residence, though many poorer rectors would also reside. By the thirteenth century, the English parochial system, the main instrument for maintaining the Christian religion among us to this day, was complete, deriving from the feudal idea of the benefice, and the early Christian idea of the parish. By then, too, had arisen various anomalies which continued to a much later age.

Occasionally a benefice was given to a religious house ad mensam monachorum. This was almost a formal union between the church and the monastery, and the church would be served by a temporary curate from the monastery. This could happen in other cases. With the transfer of appropriated benefices to lay owners at the Dissolution, such owners, unable to serve the churches, had to find a clergyman who would be licensed by the bishop to serve the cure, a 'perpetual' curate - because only the bishop could remove him, by revoking his licence - with, effectively, a greater security of tenure.¹¹

Donative advowsons, which were to trouble the Victorians, had a suitably obscure origin, probably arising from individual permission in specific cases.¹² The patron, instead of nominating a clerk to the bishop, presented him himself, thus removing the church from any ecclesiastical jurisdiction. If this were the only way to persuade someone to provide a church, permission might well be given, and after a time, long usage would give permanence to this state of affairs.

Advowson - derived via the French from the Latin advocatio ecclesiae - is the reversionary right to present to a benefice, resting

¹¹ On this, see Phillimore, I, 240-44.

¹² Phillimore, I, 253.

in the patron and his heirs for ever. The 123rd Novell of Justinian provided that the heirs of a church builder could appoint a clerk, and gradually the advowson became attached to the manor of the parish, rather than to the person of the proprietor, as Phillimore's stately prose makes clear:

The endowment was supposed to be parcel of the manor, and the church was built by such lord for the use of the inhabitants of this manor; and the tithes of the manor were also annexed to the church. Upon all which accounts it was most natural for the right of advowson (which was now become hereditary) to pass with the manor, or with such part of it as might at any time be granted or aliened together with the advowson ... The advowson was said to be appendant to the manor, being so closely annexed to it that it passed as an incident thereto by a grant of the manor: it passed, therefore, by livery without deed.¹³

This manorial connection was upset at the Reformation, and became ever more attenuated. But patronage abuses pre-dated the Reformation. By the end of the fourteenth century there were brokers who arranged the exchange of benefices, and it is possible to trace the existence of rings of persons who kept up a trade in benefices.¹⁴

The evolution of the parochial system shows us the parish priest gaining an independent position, free of the demands of patron and bishop once appointed. He was thus a genuine force in the land, no longer any man's hireling.

For centuries before the breach with Rome, England had resisted various papal claims, including the right to nominate to any vacancy over the patron's head. A series of Acts prevented appeals in such cases from travelling beyond the King, although such appeals, and nominations, were made. But patronage was so intermingled with secular property at the Reformation, that there was little question of its being abandoned, despite the profound changes which occurred. Thus the livings taken from religious houses simply found themselves with new

¹³ Phillimore, I, 263.

¹⁴ See A. Hamilton Thompson, The English Clergy and their Organization in the later Middle Ages, Ford Lectures, 1933 (Oxford, 1947), pp. 107-09.

patrons, generally the King and 'the parasites of the Court.'¹⁵ It is said that at least eight hundred people shared in former monastic property. Such benefices were called 'impropriate', meaning that the tithes were paid to laymen. Lay patronage began on a scale unknown since appropriations to religious houses started. The local connection existing between many appropriated benefices and their monastic patrons was broken as laymen with no great spiritual interest in their new patronage regarded them primarily as a source of income.

With this change came another, as the celibate cleric, detached from the world in many ways, became the married clergyman with, perhaps, a private income, and certainly with a family to maintain. Worldly detachment as an ideal gave way to worldliness as a necessity. To be noticed, one needed the influence, or the talent, to rise above the throng, for too many clergy now clamoured for too few benefices. The way of the world depended on nepotism and purchase, and the patronage of the Church came to rest, more or less, on a similar system. A patronage market was being created.

Legal safeguards against patronage abuse were few, principally because, as one aspect of property, it was sacred to Englishmen, but also because M.P.s, as major patrons, were unlikely to approve such a self-denying ordinance. Some measures were taken. In 1588, an Act against Simony was passed.¹⁶ Simony had always been illegal, but Elizabeth's Act made benefices so filled void automatically, and not, as before, merely voidable. Unfortunately, the required oath made the incumbent swear that he had not 'knowingly' broken the Act, encouraging ignorance rather than scrupulous honesty. Also, as secular interests undermined sections of the Act, simony appeared more and more like arbitrary exceptions to a body of permissive legislation. It was not

¹⁵ Church Patronage, p.13.

¹⁶ Phillimore, II, 860-78, treats of this, and of Resignation Bonds.

simony to buy a living while the incumbent was dying, with a view to an immediate presentation, but it was simony to buy during a vacancy. For many Victorian clergy, at least, avoiding the 'detestable sin of simony' was not their top priority.

In James I's reign, an Act, 3 & 4 Jac.I,c.5 prevented Roman Catholics from presenting to a benefice. Later regulations extended this, and tried to end Catholic patronage by preventing trustees from acting on behalf of Roman Catholics, and by stipulating that Catholics could only sell advowsons to Protestants. Catholic patronage was administered by one of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge. Doubtless, this removed some non-Anglican patronage, but it solved little. Patrons of other religions, or of none, were under no such disabilities. The Universities liked the status quo, as giving them more patronage. Catholics, unable to fill their benefices, might sell the next presentations to those who could. These disabilities were never removed. Circumstances had combined, by the end of the nineteenth century, to make Catholic patronage solely a question of money, and there were no marked signs that this situation would be ended.

Until Queen Anne's reign, anyone could present himself to a benefice by buying the next presentation. Canon law had forbidden this but, having no statutory force, was flouted freely. Then in 1713, 13 Anne,c.11 prevented a clergyman directly or indirectly, from buying a next presentation for himself. But it was difficult to prove that undue influence had been used to obtain nomination to a next presentation. Besides, the legal alternative, paying more and buying the advowson outright, became less of an obstacle, if it had ever been one, as the value of livings, and hence their price, fell in the nineteenth century; and it meant that the clergyman-patron could himself sell the patronage at a later date.

Patronage was the currency of power, and as such it needed to be readily cashed. The use of advowsons in political appointments was made

even easier, by a relaxation in the legislation concerning resignation bonds.¹⁷ A resignation bond was an agreement between patron and nominee that, at an agreed time, the nominee should resign or forfeit a sum of money, generally several thousand pounds.¹⁸ The patron's friends or relatives could thus find a vacant living without any trouble. Patrons could also demand money to destroy the bond, should the patron's connection not wish to take the living. The 1588 Act had declared presentations void if made in this way, but the courts decided that general resignation bonds were legal, despite the denunciations of zealous churchmen. Bonds were used secretively, and even suspicious bishops could do little in the face of the temporal courts' implicit support of bonds. Paradoxically, in the nineteenth century, when bishops sought to establish a basic disciplinary role for themselves, they were often suspected of caesaropapism. Their exhortations fell on deaf ears in a world where the plight of unbeneficed clergy was evident. But also, certain livings, kept in clerical families by means of bonds, were excellently looked after. These were the easiest cases to justify among a property-respecting people.¹⁹

In 1783 Bishop of London v. Ffytche succeeded on appeal in having general resignation bonds declared illegal. But bonds to resign in favour of specified individuals continued unchecked until 1827, when in Fletcher v. Lord Sondes the Lords declared a bond to resign in favour of the patron's brother illegal. Of all men, the Archbishop of Canterbury hurried through legislation legalizing bonds in favour of near relatives by blood or marriage, and ensuring that they could be used for no other

¹⁷ Much in the following paragraphs derives from Geoffrey Francis A. Best, Temporal Pillars: Queen Anne's Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the Church of England (Cambridge, 1964), pp.53 ff.

¹⁸ Law books of the time contain examples of these bonds.

¹⁹ The Rev. W.K. Ryland-Bedford testified that the living of Sutton Coldfield had been kept in his family since Queen Elizabeth's day, often by the use of bonds (Parliamentary Papers, 1880, xviii, 373, pp. 78-79, questions 1648-71). Certainly his family were and are locally regarded as benefactors, and there is no reason to doubt the purity of their intentions.

purpose. This secured for lay patrons what was, after all, the principal advantage of owning a living, but it was a sad day for the Church. Every patronage reformer wanted to abolish bonds. The Act was a submission to the will of laymen, who would otherwise have flouted the law. Besides which, the alternative of filling livings with men soon to die, so that a vacancy would not be long delayed, was even worse.

The anonymous pamphlet on Church Patronage summarized the post-Reformation history of patronage as 'a history of the misery, degradation, and pollution of the church'. Bishops became courtiers, and clergymen were pluralists, non-residents, fox-hunters, drunkards and gamblers. It continued with an extensive admonition by Bishop Ken:

Alas, alas ... for your debauched courses! An holy calling and an unholy life! Spiritual persons, and yet live after the flesh! A clean garment and an unclean heart! Servants of God, and yet slaves of sin! Reverend in your function, and yet shameful in your practice! A minister, and yet given to wine! A priest and yet lascivious! In holy orders, and yet in riotous assembly! Enjoined to walk circumspectly, and yet reel! A man devoted to the study and the closet, in chambering and wantoness! Conversation in heaven, turned into discourse in taverns! Is the church grown so contemptible that it may be bought and sold for money? Is preferment rather a prize for the richest, than a reward for the worthiest? Have I no true ministers, but a generation of Demases that embrace the present world? ... Will you all demean yourselves in cringing for the priest's office, only that you may eat a morsel of bread? Will you all buy and sell your sacred persons and employments? The unworthy are promoted, my people perish, my religion decays, my enemies break in upon me, and I have only here and there one to stand by me; the weak, the scandalous, that come in by simony, do betray me.²⁰

We should beware of taking such high-flown rhetoric as an accurate indicator of the true state of affairs, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century, many felt, with the pamphlet's author, that the time had come to reform the patronage system.

²⁰ Church Patronage, pp.14-15.

Chapter 2 Reform and its Causes

'Oh, it's too bad!' she cried. 'I never saw such a house for getting in the way! Never!'

Chapter 2 Reform and its Causes

2:1 Introduction

In about 1800, the patronage system had a quite secular ethos, with 50% of patrons being laymen, and many clerical patrons holding patronage in a personal capacity. It surprised nobody, and was generally felt to be satisfactory, objections only arising over abuses. It fitted naturally into the wider patronage world, and like other kinds, sought the advancement of friends, and the placating of enemies. It was a key to power. He who had much patronage could be great, and he who needed it would surely make himself useful.

If a suspicion ever crossed [the patrons'] minds that a clergyman ought to be picked for other and more personal qualities than his degree of relationship to a political associate, it could speedily be banished by the moral reflection, that a decent performance of the prayer-book services was within anyone's capacity; [and] that the position, like almost all official positions at that time could be performed by a possibly more conscientious deputy.¹

The clergy, if gentlemen, behaved like all others, advancing their sons in or out of the Church and, if larger patrons, helping more distant relatives or friends. Any clergyman could put such an acquaintance into a safe living simply by buying an advowson or next presentation in the open market.²

This was equally true for the lay patron, although he, if a resident squire, would make more of an impression on his presentee, and be a greater force for good or ill in the lives of incumbent and people. Yet, in a little over a century, these powers were to be greatly curtailed.³

¹ Best, p.56.

² Best, p.48.

³ Best, pp.48-49.

Throughout the century, many of the assumptions about patronage were being questioned. Why should money alone determine a man's power to nominate to a spiritual office, particularly when this power was exercised without the need to consult those who had to live with the patron's choice?

Several reasons exist for the nineteenth-century patronage reform movement. After all, in the first half of the century, Church reforms needed for centuries had been accomplished; but patronage was left largely untouched. In an age when military commissions, as well as Church livings, were purchased, any 'merit system' in this, as in other professions, was tenuous, and by the end of the eighteenth century, clerical 'status' depended on the fact that many were gentlemen by birth, or by aspiration. With his income and his land, a rural clergyman was comparable to lay gentry, and in a world which saw these as of the essence, not the appurtenances, of clerical office, resignation bonds were used to preserve the 'hereditary' nature of livings, helping to increase their association with secular property. In the nineteenth century, this assumption was to be challenged.

One cause for this challenge was the generally more 'religious' character of the age, as exemplified by the Evangelical Revival and the Oxford Movement. Both emphasised, in different ways, the Church/State distinction, and were one factor in the increased 'professionalism', observed among clergy throughout the century. The clergy were seen as serving all classes, and the close identification between land-holding clergy and the upper-ranks of their congregations was diminishing. A priest was a man with a community function, rather than a gentleman who secured his status at the cost of a minimum of clerical duties. This increased clerical self-consciousness permeated attitudes to patronage and we may notice two shifts in the general distribution of patronage

rights.⁴

In the early nineteenth century, bishops were frequently, and justly, attacked as some of the greatest nepotists in the Church. But gradually, and following Samuel Wilberforce's pioneering work in the Oxford diocese, bishops began to increase their patronage in order to reward worthy clergy who would otherwise have been neglected.⁵ In the middle forty years of the nineteenth century, episcopal patronage more than doubled, and it continued to grow: by 1901, bishops held 22% of all patronage, acquired at the cost of private patronage and out of Cathedral reforms. Patrons and clergy tended to doubt the bishops' intentions, remembering how recently they had abused their patronage, and fearing a broader scope for monochrome appointments.⁶ The change was slow in gaining acceptance, but it did affect attitudes to patronage.

The second observable shift was the great increase of incumbents who were their own patrons. In 1878, the witnesses before the Royal Commission were in no doubt about this, and by then perhaps one living in eighteen was in the hands of a patron-incumbent.⁷ Few could become rich by acquiring a living, but for all but the oldest, it provided security and a guaranteed return. This increase indicates the prestige which the clergy qua gentlemen enjoyed. But the livings sought for such a comfortable life were predominantly rural and small, with light duty and good facilities. Clerical agents and the 'soul market' arose and flourished in response to this trend. The towns, with greater hardships, and the need of more 'professionalism', had not the same appeal, and here trust patronage helped to fill the partial vacuum.

⁴ M.J.D. Roberts, 'Private Patronage and the Church of England 1800-1900', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 32 (1981), 199-223, bears this out. See pp.204-07.

⁵ Diana McClatchey, Oxfordshire Clergy 1777-1869: A Study of the Established Church and the Role of the Clergy in Local Society (Oxford, 1960, deals with Wilberforce's use of patronage. See p.10.

⁶ Roberts, p.205.

⁷ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, pp.408, 433; Roberts, p.206.

Various early nineteenth-century reforms, reducing non-residence and pluralities, and Peel's Church Building Act of 1843, pushed the demand for clergy above the supply and, coupled with the Municipal Corporations Act, provided something of a market to acquire the available livings. Between 1825 and 1875, parish livings increased by almost 3,000, and the agricultural depression of the 1870s, reducing clerical income, tended to weed out those who were repelled by the more demanding and worse-paid work. With clerical status thus reduced, a direct clerical interest in using patronage for religious ends came to the fore.⁸

The rise of trust patronage, which we shall examine later, began with Evangelicals who perceived that, without it, they could not hope to gain a foothold in the Church. Simeon's refusal to tolerate outside interference was as proprietorial as the attitudes of other private patrons, although he was more enlightened, and did not see advowsons as 'property' in the traditional lay patron's way, having, rather, a high sense of the trust reposed in the patron. Attacked at the time, this attitude was later widely adopted. Trust patronage gained a great advantage from the expansion of city parishes.

Once the prospect of any state funding for new churches had faded, Church leaders found that they needed the trusts too much to reject them out of hand. Any group which funded church building was thus in a strong position to demand the patronage. Despite misgivings about the motives of enthusiastic investors, bishops and civil authorities had to reconcile themselves to a view of church-going which saw it as a voluntary activity, with range of choice an increasingly important inducement to participation. After 1843, it was inevitable that trust patronage should blossom. By the 1850s, bishops were offering the advowsons of new city churches to those willing to endow and build them, and by the 1870s, they and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had come to

⁸ Roberts, pp.206-7.

see trust patronage as normal in new urban parishes. Between 1860 and 1880, trust patronage more than trebled, and continued to rise for the rest of the century.⁹

The call for reform roughly kept pace with improvements, but improved standards of episcopal administration, and the parties' good example, only served to place the unreformed areas of the Church in a worse light: many saw the sale of patronage as disgraceful, and many more were prepared to admit that the worst aspects of the purchase system could not continue.

The patronage system prompted two reactions. Radicals and militant nonconformists saw it as a corrupt way of securing, not the best, but the richest or most influential. Selling livings was 'selling souls', the most blatant form of this trade being private patronage. To establishment defenders, patronage was the best defence against clerical pretensions, ensuring a lay voice in the Church; and private patronage, historically, the safest, least manipulable form of all.¹⁰

Political and clerical differences help to explain why, with so many calls for reform, so little was done so late. Particularly, the call for 'lay rights' hides two antagonistic strands. To traditionalist 'Protestants', unreformed private patronage was a hedge against clericalism, the bishops in particular having limited powers of interference. But to more radical minds 'lay rights' spoke of the congregation's right to a minimum clerical standard. Time and again in the Parliamentary debates, unreformed patronage was defended as property against any reform which would have interfered with the proprietor's freedom of action, while the Liberationists, calling for disestablishment, were quite happy for nothing to be done, to demonstrate the Church's 'corruption'.

In practice, patronage reform meant increasing episcopal powers -

⁹ Roberts, p.213.

¹⁰ Roberts, p.201.

to refuse to institute bad nominees, to discipline without the need for prohibitively expensive court cases.¹¹ With Tractarians fearing that bishops were not worthy of their high office, and low churchmen fearing prelatial power, the mistrusted, moderate bishops knew that this clerical opposition had to be moderated before anything could be done.

At this point, an examination of the principal abuses of patronage would be appropriate, preparing the ground for an examination of the attempts at legislation. Most of the abuses mentioned below held good for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at least, since reform was not substantially accomplished until 1898.¹²

2:2 Abuses of Patronage

Advowsons and next presentations could be publicly auctioned. Many objected to the obtaining of the right to present a man to a spiritual office by any bidder whose sole qualification was money:

A system by which the cure of souls can be sold like a flock of sheep or a drove of pigs deserves unmitigated condemnation; it is a system which is a disgrace to the Church which tolerates it, and to the country in which it exists.¹³

Supporters of the system usually argued that public sales were less open to abuse than private ones, the bidders policing themselves, and guarding against dishonesty. But an advowson could still be purchased in ignorance, the buyer only later discovering what he owned.¹⁴

Secondly, next presentations, being saleable, represented an abuse of the original intention of patronage, and caused further scandals, for they were used solely to buy a patron's nominee into a parish, with no possibility of inheritance. Anyone could thus be imposed on parishioners, with no guarantee of his fitness. Strictly speaking, this

¹¹ See Best, p.190.

¹² See Bibliography for pamphlets and books of the time which mention abuses. The Parliamentary Debates contain frequent, and often amusing illustrations of these.

¹³ Hansard, 1898, LIV, 392-93.

¹⁴ cf. Ch.7 n.11 and text.

method of providing for family and friends was not simony: no spiritual office was bought and, it was urged, the bishop had satisfied himself of the candidate's fitness before ordination. All that was done was to secure a position. But, as Bishop Magee said, this was like promising never to let a room for money, but nevertheless selling the key to it.¹⁵ Acting through a friend or an agent, a man could be appointed to a living.

Queen Anne's Act had attempted to prevent this by forcing clergymen to buy the advowson outright before presenting themselves. But this was becoming progressively easier, and many settled for a small, fixed income and a secure investment at a cost of perhaps seven years' income. The reformers said that this was buying oneself into the Church. Opponents of reform urged that toleration of some abuses was necessary to preserve property without interference. More damningly, many clerical patrons clung to their privileges like the M.P.s of rotten boroughs before them. Reforming bishops had to fight some of their own clergy.

We have mentioned Resignation Bonds. The Warming Pan System, as it was called, was clearly a concession to property rights over spiritual duties, but was it not, argued some, better than the alternative of filling livings with old men?¹⁶

Only donatives could be sold when they were vacant - one of the objections to them - but evidently the health and age of the incumbent determined the price of the advowson or next presentation. The highest price could be obtained for livings which would soon be vacant and, unless Bonds were used, an old, or a dying man might be put into a living which could then be sold at its 'full' value. Unfortunately, we know little of the reactions of the poor clergy whose sole purpose was to have their infirmities placarded. Bonds were regrettable, but at

¹⁵ H., 1875, CCXXII, 818.

¹⁶ H., 1881, CCLX, 195, for example.

least a clergyman under a Bond was expected to perform his pastoral work, and this was preferable to a succession of decrepit clergy, probably incapable of any duty.

For sellers of patronage, the worse the incumbent's health, the better. Hugh McNeile wrote in 1834 accusing patrons of selecting men 'because of their infirmities from either disease or old age, in order that the advertisement for the sale of the next presentation may hold out the valuable inducement of early possession.'¹⁷

Other inducements were used to attract the clergy to the quiet country life which a living could offer - small congregations, no school, trout stream, good company.¹⁸ When the next presentation to the parish of Shelfanger, in Norfolk, was auctioned in 1860, the auctioneer's visit to the eighty-nine year old incumbent, and his opinion that he would soon die, were emphasised. When bidding slackened, the 'pleasant prospect' - presumably the view, rather than the prospect of immediate possession - was thrown in. The congregation's needs were never mentioned.¹⁹

A similar scandal occurred in the parish of St. Ervan in Cornwall, when the patron wished to sell the living at the highest value. He selected a Mr. Cox for his purposes, a man so infirm that in his own parish he was supported into church by his wife and a servant, and frequently carried home in a chair. At the age of sixty-seven he was nominated to St. Ervan. The Rev. Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne testified in 1874:

When taken there for induction, etc. he had to be supported up the aisle by two persons; jelly and wine, or wine and water, had to be given him at the reading desk. In the morning he was not able to get through the reading the Thirty-nine Articles; he was removed to the inn in a nearly fainting state. In the afternoon, however, he did, being

¹⁷ Hugh McNeile, Letters to a Friend Who Has Felt it his Duty to Secede from the Church of England (London, 1834), p.105.

¹⁸ These, and similar references could all be found in the Ecclesiastical Gazette. See also, H., 1873, CCXVII, 451-53; Willis, Simony, pp.53-58.

¹⁹ Anon, A Scene at Garraway's : or What Church Patronage Leads To, Facts for Churchmen No.8, (London, N.D.), pp.1-4.

brought down to the church, finish the reading the said Articles.

Another clergyman ... had been sent for to be ready, if wanted, to finish the service ... It was said ... that this poor paralytic man, who was on his arrival at his benefice supported up stairs, was unable to leave his chair without help, and died before the legal transaction of the sale was completed.²⁰

The reformers pressed for a minimum time limit after the sale of an advowson before which no vacancy could be filled, in the hope of preventing such scenes. Certainly the system in this respect was indefensible, and even opponents of reform rarely mentioned it in debate.

Clergymen had to submit testimonial letters to their inducting bishop, but he could not insist that the candidate's previous bishop should sign them. The 1878 Committee were eager to establish the weakness of this system, and heard with some pleasure of a clergyman with a mistress and three illegitimate children, whose testimonial was signed by four men, none of whom were local, his own bishop having refused.²¹ Reforming bishops asked for a tightening of the regulation about letters testimonial, particularly that the priest's previous bishop should sign them.

In the nineteenth century, there were popularly reckoned to be about one hundred donatives, often used scandalously, and widely felt to be a disgrace to the Church. Some of them could be traced to King Stephen's time.²² The patron did not need to present his nominee to the bishop, and the nominee needed to furnish no evidence that he was of good character, or even ordained. He was similarly free from the usual clerical oaths. Every proposal for reform specified the abolition of donatives. Bishops were unable to control them; and a good appointment to a donative, when there were no possible checks, was left to chance. The only defence offered, but offered strongly, was that donatives were

²⁰ P.P. 1874 (289), VII, 301, P.106, q.1080.

²¹ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, p.47, qq.1030-31.

²² e.g. H., 1898, LIX, 1264.

few, historically interesting, and not manifestly abused.²³

But there were abuses. A case brought before the 1874 Committee mentioned a clergyman who, having presented himself to an advowson, pocketed the profit which he made by selling the brick earth which lay under the glebe. To avoid disciplinary action, he resigned, and when his bishop refused to accept the resignation, he bought a donative in another diocese, to which he presented himself, thus vacating automatically the first living.²⁴ This was an exceptional case, but it hardly improved the general situation.

In many of these areas, abuses were assisted by the unscrupulous and unwholesome men, generally solicitors, called Clerical Agents, who acted as go-betweens in the advowson and next presentation market. The Ecclesiastical Gazette, distributed free to all beneficed clergy, was full of their advertisements, offering light duty and easy living. The 1874 Select Committee surveyed the January issues of the Gazette for 1872-4, and discovered respectively 88, 89, and 109 livings or next presentations advertised for sale, of which 55 mentioned the incumbent's age.²⁵ Taking repeated advertisements into account, perhaps eight hundred advowsons a year were being sold or exchanged. In assisting men to present themselves to next presentations, the agents were effectively enticing them to break the law, and in 1878, Emery Stark, a prince among agents, testified that perhaps three-quarters of his transactions, were, strictly speaking, illegal, but were entered into by clergymen happily and knowingly.²⁶

²³ e.g. H., 1875, CCXXIV, 1208.

²⁴ P.P. 1874, (289), VII, 301, pp.27-28, qq.239-40.

²⁵ P.P. 1874 (289), VII, 301, pp.149-54.

²⁶ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, p.94, q.2025.

In 1898 an agent could still write to a clergyman:

The price is £2,500 with interest until possession. The age of the incumbent is seventy-six; but we hear this morning that he is very seriously ill. The doctor says that he cannot possibly last more than six months; so there is every possibility of a very early vacancy, so that we believe our client would be prepared to entertain a fair offer, if made immediately. Are you disposed to make us one? Kindly reply by return.²⁷

It was little wonder that the Archbishop of Canterbury should take exception to this letter, headed, as it was, with a mitre. As it mentioned, the purchase money for a next presentation was often put out upon interest until possession: the purchaser did not lose his money until possession was complete, and this was financially equivalent to selling a living at a vacancy. In this shady environment, although there is no clear evidence, the possibility of blackmail by agents cannot be ruled out.

We should keep a sense of proportion about this. The most zealous reformers would admit that most of the Church worked well, most of the time. Bishop Magee did not believe that patrons and clergy were the seething mass of corruption which some had described, and he was fully aware of what occurred.²⁸ But a minority thrived on abuses. About 1,400 parishes were constantly in the market, with parishioners confused, impotent, and angry. This was one of the greatest evils, and the Church risked being split between the vast majority of tolerably well-ordered parishes, and the 10% whose patrons and incumbents seemed to live in the days of Fielding and Smollett, rather than of Gladstone and Balfour. In times when some priests lived self-sacrificingly in dockland parishes, others were betraying them by resorting to agents.

²⁷ H., 1893, X, 166.

²⁸ H., 1875, CCXXII, 819.

As Edward Leatham, M.P. for Huddersfield, said in 1884:

If you wish to find a traffic which is a positive disgrace to everyone engaged in it, which demoralizes everyone who touches it, and which is often carried on in the teeth of law itself, you have only to turn to the purlieus of the great institution which we have established for the glory of God.²⁹

This was said in the context of a debate about a racecourse company which had bought an advowson to expand onto the glebe. Later the company folded and a jockey, already the local publican, bought the advowson.

We should picture a Church with, at one extreme, a few 'good' patrons, who acted with no thought of gain or family connection, at the other extreme, those 'bad' patrons, who thought only of money, and disregarded the congregations and, in the middle, perhaps 80% of parishes, controlled by 'normal' patrons, who would not go beyond the law in virtue. They might present friends and relatives, and sell advowsons to raise money. Resignation bonds might be used - carefully - to preserve family livings. In short, they regarded their advowsons as personal property, but to be used with care, never forgetting their genuine allegiance to the Church, and to congregations, in many cases, known to them as tenants. But the reformers' proposals alarmed and perhaps bemused them, and they might say with Parson Thwackum, 'If there were any crime in the practice, so many godly men would not agree to it.'³⁰

The early nineteenth-century patronage world favoured those who wished to benefit friends, or make money from their patronage. Not that good appointments were not possible; but by this time they were almost an accidental by-product of a system which originally had no other intention. Unfortunately the law, which needed changing, tended to take for granted the status quo.

²⁹ H., 1884, CCLXXXIX, 723-24.

³⁰ Henry Fielding, The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling, Penguin English Library (Harmondsworth, 1968), Book 18, Ch.4, p.825.

So in 1835, while the Municipal Corporations Act was passing through the Lords, exception was taken to the possibility of non-Anglicans exercising the patronage held by the Corporations. This was felt to be intolerable, and the Corporations were required to sell their patronage, causing a small flurry of speculation but few objections: the country preferred the sale of advowsons rather than dissenting patrons.³¹

2:3 Early Appeals for Reform

Patronage was too entangled with property rights for the first wave of Church reform to touch it effectively, in the 1830s. Nepotism, pluralism and non-residence were either destroyed or diminished between 1836 and 1840, but patronage was mostly left alone. The Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Act of 1840 transferred the patronage of deans and chapters, in their individual capacity, to the bishops.³² Such Acts could be passed because individual patrons felt safe, but they were quick to protest when appropriation seemed to threaten themselves.

The early reformers must take part of the blame for this failure, for they tended to lament their own lack of preferment, without offering thorough-going solutions. Critics began to be vocal in the 1830s and 40s.³³ Before then, Johnston Grant had criticised Evangelical preferment as an odious sortie against class prerogative: the Orthodox and regularly-bred clergy justly complained of being deprived of their entitlement to preferment.³⁴ But this was bound up with Grant's traditional high churchmanship. In the 1870s, during the second

³¹ W. Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, 2 vols. (London, 1966, 1970), I, 108-12.

³² Francis Warre Cornish, The English Church in the Nineteenth Century, A History of the English Church, Vol.8, 2 parts (London, 1910), II, 329.

³³ Wesley Deane Balda, 'Spheres of Influence : Simeon's Trust and its Implications for Evangelical Patronage' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1976), p.203.

³⁴ Johnston Grant, A Summary of the History of the English Church and of the Sects which have Departed from its Communion, 4 vols. (London, 1814-25), IV, 87.

agitation for reform, we find the same accusation being made against non-gentlemen attempting to buy themselves into the Church.

In the late 1820s, general demands for reform confronted the hierarchy, and discussion of abuses grew, fired by reforming zeal and the growing scale of advowson marketing.³⁵ An anonymous 'Son of the Church' wrote to Peel complaining that, without Parliamentary or borough interests, even the finest clergyman was without hope.³⁶ Edward Berens said:

There is something painful and revolting in the idea of a clergyman anticipating pecuniary benefit to himself from the death of a fellow-creature or talking... of running his own life against the life of his tenant.³⁷

The rhetorical fervour increased in the 1830s. 'One of the Priesthood' referred to 'a mass of open, unvarnished, palpable abuse', and continued:

This 'unheard of covetousness' as old Latimer called it in his day that patrons should sell their benefices, is now, and long has been, a regular and established practice so openly and notoriously carried on that none blush to acknowledge it, or to be partakers in the deed.³⁸

Another writer said 'Lay Patronage is an evil; and private patronage a far greater one than Crown Patronage.'³⁹

In 1835 An Appeal to Patrons took a different line. This pamphlet was one of the earliest suggestions of the later commonplace that patronage was property upon trust. Accepting private patronage unreservedly, the author appealed for a reform of the practice, beginning with the bishops, for it was they, not the patrons, who were responsible for clerical standards, and how could they hope to weed out

³⁵ Balda, pp.204 ff.

³⁶ Balda, p.204.

³⁷ Edward Berens, Church Reform, by a Churchman (London, 1828), p.65.

³⁸ Anon, Outline of an Efficient Plan of Church Reform (London, 1833), pp.11,13.

³⁹ Anon, Church Reform : The Question between the Church and the Country (London 1833), p.23.

careerist clergy when most of them were political appointees and careerists? From Walpole to Liverpool, says the author, with some injustice, not one bishop in five was appointed from 'proper motives' and:

When a Bishop owes his consecration to a job, he will, in nine cases out of ten, be a jobber himself.

He grieved over patrons who, by virtue of their public office, obliged their political and private friends, or children; over nepotistic bishops; over noblemen and aristocrats who were moved solely by party or private influence in using their patronage:

All such motives ... when brought into contact with an appointment so sacred in its nature, so momentous in its consequences, serve only to pollute the act.⁴⁰

In effect, the author's solution to this is limited strictly to an appeal to the patron's conscience before the judgement of God: let patrons appoint only Godly men who will preach the Gospel, not acting for money, nor appointing unfit men, or relatives. But he is too much of a proprietor to advocate legal provisions to make up for the defects of those who are not such paragons: this is a personal appeal. He cites an un-named body, surely Simeon's Trust, who, grieving for the prostitution of patronage, have bought advowsons in order to fill them with men of God, and clearly this proprietorial stewardship appeals to him. Patronage abuses, if unchecked, will eventually lead to radical action and the doom of bad patrons, he concludes.⁴¹

Very definite legislative changes were proposed by the Rev W.D. Willis in his Suggestions for the Regulation of Church Patronage, Preferment etc.. Duplicating the Appeal's accusations, and claiming that patronage well-used bore a small proportion to patronage in which nominations were sold, he offered various complex, and possibly

⁴⁰ Anon, An Appeal to Patrons on their Solemn Responsibility before God and Man for the Religious Exercise of their Sacred Trust (London, 1835), pp.20-21.

⁴¹ Appeal to Patrons, pp.18-19, 44.

unworkable reforms. Length of curacies would depend upon parochial population, which would, in its turn, determine eligibility to serve populous parishes. His desire was to root out inexperienced clergy, and consign them to the less important parishes, and to give more power to the bishops who, as things stood, were unable to prevent men buying out incumbents, presenting themselves, taking the oath against simony, and being instituted. And if absolutely corrupt purchase was avoided, there were equally unpleasant alternatives:

How often have old men, utterly incapable of active duty been presented to benefices with cure of souls, by those too who ought to have judged better - and why? Not for any reverence for the hoary head, but because the patron in his convenience, looked, at no great distance of time, both for the incumbent's death and his living.⁴²

Property rights set the boundaries of patronage reform. Firm supporters of the establishment feared social unrest, and accepted the existing patronage system. The Evangelicals were hardly to be feared in this, since most of them were pro-establishment Tories. The centuries-old conception of property, and an unwillingness to reject the established Church, whether held by Evangelicals or others, both prevented rapid change in patronage practice, and conservatively shaped the changes which would occur in future decades.⁴³

So reformers skirted the issue of existing patronage, and tried to control the patronage of new parishes. In 1818 reformers sought to enshrine the principle of subscribers' patronage of new churches in the Church Building Act. Some, particularly the bishops and the high Church party, feared the possibility of a flood of evangelical 'sectaries', and Rose and Pusey seem sometimes to have felt that to have no church was better than having an evangelical one. Others did not care from what quarter the Church was advanced.

⁴² William Downes Willis, Suggestions for the Regulation of Church Patronage, Preferment, etc., in a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Bath, 1835), pp.3-4, 8-9.

⁴³ Balda, pp.207 ff.

As it was, new churches were left in sickly dependence on mother parishes until 1843, when Peel's Act established subscribers' patronage, although the Trustees Church Building Act had previously provided that subscribers of at least £50 could elect self-perpetuating trustees as the church's patrons. This was very successful, the priest invariably acceptable, and indeed, the public were unlikely to subscribe to churches not vested in trustees.⁴⁴

Evangelicals and high churchmen, who had been united in the 1820s in a 'high' conception of the Church, as against the 'low' views of the abusers of patronage, were split by the 1840s, because of the need for concrete proposals. As we have seen, patronage reform entailed increased episcopal power, if not patronage. Evangelicals, weak in bishops, were afraid; Whigs, against prelatical power, were appalled; constitutionalists, who feared individual discretionary powers, were indignant. Various alternative ideas for national or diocesan patronage boards were quietly proposed, and expired.⁴⁵ By the 1850s, patronage of any kind had become offensive to large sections of urban, commercial England.⁴⁶

Thus, as the middle years of the Victorian era arrived, bishops were in an invidious position. Party men saw them as temporizers, preferring compromise to truth. It was undesirable that the bishops were appointed by the prime minister, often with some political consideration, and this was regretted, if not despised, by those who felt strongly about the Church's spiritual character. It was difficult to be a reforming bishop in the 1860s and 70s, when so many were supine and Hanoverian, tolerating abuses to avoid a fuss; and yet there were reformers on the bench.

The Liberation Society, however, made much of the abuses, and

⁴⁴ Best, p.400.

⁴⁵ Best, p.190.

⁴⁶ Roberts, p.212.

provided the following statistics of patronage in 1862:

The Crown	118 benefices solely 6 benefices alternately with other patrons 178 benefices alternately with the bishop
Archbishops and Bishops	90 canonries Most cathedral dignities All Archdeaconries 2,029 benefices
Deans and Chapters	864 benefices
Archdeacons	45 benefices
Eton and Winchester Colleges	63 benefices
Oxford University	485 benefices
Cambridge University	309 benefices

Furthermore, 218 Peers presented to 1351 livings; 1030 clergymen to 1138 livings; leaving 4217 livings in the hands of others.⁴⁷

How was this patronage used? The Society accused the Prime Minister of selecting the relatives or tutors of peers as bishops, and provided a list to substantiate the charge, and then proceeded to detail various abuses:

The Crown is the patron of the canonries of Worcester, value £725 per annum each ... In 1857 a canonry of Worcester fell vacant; Sir George Cornwall Lewis was at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Reverend Gilbert Frankland Lewis, his brother, was a clergyman. It is true that the Reverend Gilbert Frankland Lewis was already prebendary of Hereford, rural dean, rector of Gladesbury in Radnorshire (one of the lord-chancellor's livings), and of Mannington-on-Wye, a living in the private patronage of Sir George Cornwall Lewis. He is, however, a brother of a minister of the Crown, and so the canonry of Worcester is added to his other preferments.⁴⁸

After attacking Lord Eldon's patronage, it continued:

So the Rev. J.G. Beresford, a brother-in-law of Lord Denman, receives in 1849 the gift of the living of Wymondham, in the lord-chancellor's patronage. So Lord St. Leonard's, formerly Sir J. Sugden, in 1858, secures for the Hon and Rev. F. Sugden the vicarage of Hale Magna, population 1,008

⁴⁷ Church Patronage, pp.17-18.

⁴⁸ Church Patronage, pp.24-25.

value £810. Another relative, the Hon and Rev. A Sugden receives in 1852, the rectory of Newdegate, population 614, value £353. And so, lastly, Lord Campbell bestows, in 1859, the rectory of Puttenham on his son-in-law, the Rev. W.A. Duckworth. It would be hypocrisy to affect surprise at any of these cases; they are only natural results of a system. Whether that system is right, is another matter; let it be recollected, however, that, the "system", in this relation, is only another word for "the church".⁴⁹

A succession of nepotistic bishops and peers were attacked, the argument gaining force from the sheer accumulation of evidence. Bishop Hampden bestowed Hereford's richest living on a Hampden, and the Sumners, of Canterbury and Winchester, were accused of nest-feathering for their family.⁵⁰

The Clergy List of 1861 provided the author with the information that in 716 cases the incumbent had the patron's surname, and in 608 further cases, the incumbent was the patron. And so, he concludes 'the livings of the church are given by favour, and negotiated by jobbery, or are bestowed for reward.'⁵¹ Such a system was leading to the weakening of the Church, the slowing-down of the progress of religion, the demoralizing of the clergy who deserved preferment; and would, unless steps were taken, lead to its overthrow.

The pamphlet was exaggerated in tone, but it contained much truth - the Clergy List did not lie. How was a man without friends or influence to succeed in the Church? This was a particularly pressing question for Evangelicals and Tractarians, who lacked both. Self-help, in the shape of patronage trusts, administering patronage on 'party' lines, seemed for some to be the best solution, but the two sides took different approaches. We should attempt to see these distinct emphases within the prophetic mission which both parties saw as their vocation. Evangelicals, accepting the reformed nature of the Church, accepted the

⁴⁹ Church Patronage, p.26.

⁵⁰ Church Patronage, pp.36-37.

⁵¹ Church Patronage, p.36. The Diary of Henry Hobhouse (1820-27) ed. Arthur Aspinall (London, 1947), pp.32-33, 52-53, provides examples of Liverpool's high standards.

existing system, and worked within it, entering willingly into the advowson market, and perhaps raising the standard of others by their own behaviour. Evangelicals as a body had an advantage over Tractarians, in that Charles Simeon had been collecting patronage since 1817, although to call his a 'party' trust requires careful qualification. This pattern was followed by later Evangelicals and, perhaps partly for this reason, Tractarians generally objected to 'the power of the long purse'. They felt it to be their task to realize the full Catholic heritage of the Church of England, entailing the rejection of anything that did not square with this heritage. The purchase system was manifestly abused by many, and Evangelicals did not appear to be much better, in their proprietorial attempt to control patronage. This is perhaps the simplest explanation of why Tractarians never acquired as much patronage in large trusts as Evangelicals, preferring to work through individuals and small trusts, founding churches rather than acquiring patronage. But as we shall see, Tractarian triumphalism anticipated a final victory in which Catholic bishops would administer responsibly an increased patronage. This picture needed revision, but even when trusts were established, they tended to rely on gifts of advowsons: purchase was tainted. In a way, then, the Tractarian vision triumphed twice: for when purchase was renounced, the Evangelicals looked as though they were living on the profits of a more corrupt age, and were open to accusations from which Tractarians were, generally, defended. For a sympathetic understanding of patronage trusts, one must step behind this prejudice, and see that in many ways Evangelicals acted more loftily than their broader companions. Tractarian intentions were no purer.

These ideas will be developed later. It is sufficient to say that trust patronage helped to secure higher clerical standards and a more professional, vocational idea of the priest's office; and it helped magnify the clergy's own desire for reform. But such improvements also

had earlier roots. The clergy, like lawyers and doctors, were growing in respectability and a sense of social responsibility during this period, as entry qualifications rose, and a desire was felt to receive greater public trust by excluding the unworthy. In the early nineteenth century, the quality of Crown patronage much improved - Perceval and Liverpool set a standard from which few departed. The clergy, with the other professions, improved their standards, to the pleasant surprise of, among others, Lord Liverpool, who said in 1820:

The Bane some years past was the worldly habits of the Clergy. They seemed ashamed of their calling, but now it is found that the best educated are amongst the most correct.⁵²

And yet, good clergy could still not obtain places commensurate with their merit. The bishops, before they expanded their patronage, had few livings to give to the unconnected clergy. Despite the likelihood of their rewarding merit more than private patrons, they still had their families, and socially acceptable men, to provide for, and from the few glimpses we get, the poor clergyman, unable to publicize his lot, must often have led a wretched life.⁵³

In 1863, Lord Chancellor Westbury, tired of attempting to fill Crown benefices too poor to be attractive, arranged for an Act which permitted the sale of some of them, provided that the purchase money was used to augment their value, or that of other Crown livings. A few, but not many, objected. John Keble whole-heartedly approved. The Earl of Derby felt that there was no reason why laymen should not administer them as well as the Chancellor.⁵⁴ If anything, the Act was a storm in a teacup. In 1863 the Lord Chancellor held 546 livings below £300. Between then and 1875, only 109 were sold, 61 within the first two years. A handful of the rest were sold or exchanged every year, but by 1875 the market was sluggish, to say the least. If the Lord Chancellor

⁵² Best, p.260-61.

⁵³ Best, p.412.

⁵⁴ Anon, Prize Essay on the Evils of the Present System of Church Patronage, with their Remedies (London, 1863), pp.4-5.

did not want them, neither did most private patrons.⁵⁵

Generally, it was felt, or piously hoped, that the Church was healthier when rich businessmen were encouraged to take an interest in it. After all, as livings fell in value, it was a distinct advantage to have self-supporting clergy appointed by such men. And at least the market ensured that patronage did not stagnate in hereditary patrons' hands, but was owned by those with a personal interest. Meanwhile, patron-incumbents increased. There were 753 of them in 1878, out of 6,228 livings in private patronage, and another 599 incumbents had the patron's surname, or were said to be trustees for the patron.⁵⁶

In 1874, the possibility of abolition as a solution was brought to the Englishman's back-doorstep by the abolition of patronage in the Church of Scotland. Henceforth, the idea of such a radical measure seemed to hang over everyone's head.⁵⁷

2:4 The Scottish Disruption

The Scottish laity had agitated for some years to have a voice in the appointment of ministers to their churches. The General Assembly's 1834 Act to this effect proved to be unworkable, and Lord Aberdeen's 1840 measure in the House of Lords, which would have allowed presbyteries to veto nominations in certain cases, was thrown out by peers who 'didn't care twopence' for Scotland, as Aberdeen said. Its failure angered the opponents of the doctrinaire Evangelicals, who were not satisfied with the measure, and in 1843, nearly 40% of the ministers of the Church of Scotland seceded in a body, establishing the Free Church. After the damage had been done, Aberdeen's Bill was passed, and the rump of the Church spent the next thirty years trying to operate the ungainly legislation, which needed renewing annually. Almost immediately, patronage rights ceased to be enforced in the old fashion,

⁵⁵ P.P. 1875 (199), LVII, 363; cf. P.P. 1882 (321) L, 11.

⁵⁶ Chadwick, II, 209.

⁵⁷ The following is derived from Andrew Landale Drummond and James Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874 (Edinburgh, 1975), passim.

and were sometimes even sold during vacancies. As in England, patrons had become more distant, less concerned about appointments, and Crown Patronage, comprising about a quarter of the whole, was particularly bad. Certain Free-Church Councils, who were patrons, were said to act maliciously in making appointments. About 180 congregations had the right to choose the minister.

Between 1844 and 1870 there were sixty-one cases of disputed settlements, many an incredible waste of time and money in the Church courts. Protests for emendation gradually passed into demands for abolition. In 1862, a motion for repeal was defeated, but the justification, that there was no alternative, merely acted as a stimulus to abolitionists, including most of the ministers and the majority of the laity, some of whom saw abolition as a key to the re-union of presbyterians.

Specific proposals, drawn up in 1868-9, for congregational election, and compensation of patrons, were cold-shouldered by Gladstone, when he met a deputation seeking Parliamentary action. Only in 1874, after Disraeli had won a surprising electoral victory, did the Church have sympathetic hearers. In May 1874, the Duke of Richmond's Bill abolishing patronage was passed, and congregational election became universal. This abolition of patronage, coupled with Irish disestablishment in 1869, appears to have sent a shock-wave through the English Church. It was a bogey-man which could be used to threaten bad patrons. Many, in Parliament and elsewhere, viewed with dread or longing a possibility which might become reality. Paradoxically, one of the chief opponents of Irish disestablishment found himself, in consequence, given a platform from which to call for patronage amendment in England.

This was William Connor Magee, an Irishman who had served curacies in England from 1847 to 1864 and who, as Dean of Cork, had attracted Disraeli's attention by his brilliant oratory in defence of the Irish

establishment. In 1874, to Magee's own astonishment, he found himself nominated to the see of Peterborough, the first Irish bishop in England since the Reformation.⁵⁸

2:5 Magee and Reform

Magee had a foreigner's advantage of being able to distance himself from problems, in attempting effective solutions. He felt its disadvantage to be that he was not taken seriously, and here his wit and quick temper did not help. But as a bishop he was a formidable fighter, much preferring to make a fuss over doubtful presentations, than to institute quietly. His biographer recounts that Magee had heard that a clergyman of bad character was to be presented to a living in lay patronage. Magee called him for a private interview, and having revealed what he knew about him, pointed out that any lawsuit against him for refusal to institute would involve Magee in unaffordable expense. But there was another way: Magee would, unless the man withdrew, move a motion in the Lords in the course of which the man's misdeeds, with names and dates, could be detailed from the safety of Parliamentary privilege:

It will be published in the morning in every newspaper in the kingdom, and then ... when you go down to your parish the very dogs will bark at you.⁵⁹

Few people, thus threatened, stood up to Magee, and bishops of his calibre, such as Philpotts of Exeter, and they were thus able to carry through local reforms. Magee reduced the average age of clergy appointed in Northampton to thirty-two, most of whom had been previously trained and tested in other parts of the diocese. In consequence,

⁵⁸ Sidney Leslie Ollard and Gordon Crosse, A Dictionary of English Church History (London, 1919), entry for 'Magee', pp.344-45.

⁵⁹ John Cotter MacDonnell, The Life and Correspondence of William Connor Magee, Archbishop of York, Bishop of Peterborough, 2 vols. (London, 1896), II, 21.

baptisms, which had stood at 2542 for 1866-70, rose to 7243 for 1881-85.⁶⁰

The 1870s saw the second wave of patronage reform attempts, spearheaded by Magee's efforts. Magee was not unsanguine about the Church, but saw that changes in the law would stop the minority of abuses and raise standards generally. Again, the reformers were calling for two broad sets of proposals, which tended to exist in tension: greater discretionary episcopal powers, and greater lay powers. Discretionary powers were needed to allow bishops to decide individual cases on their merits, to exclude a man from one living, but not from another, to keep old men from hard parishes. But many saw this as an interference in the delicate balance between squire and vicar. Regularly in the Parliamentary debates, men would conjure up a faintly Elysian picture of the Church, of market towns and villages, the trusty squire, the gentleman clergyman and the submissive peasantry.⁶¹ As with the demand for a lay voice, Parliament often felt such democracy to be undesirable, even though the requested reforms were modest in the extreme: bishops should take into account objections to nominees. But how were simple men to decide such issues, and why was the patron to be upset? It is only fair to add that bishops and clergy made identical objections in the 1920s and 30s.

Critics and defenders of unregulated patronage became more articulate in the 1860s and 70s. The advowson market, and its increase, were plain to all. Even trust patronage was open to the accusation that it allowed the wealthy to buy a voice in appointments over the heads of the inhabitants, importing party cleavages into the Church, which impaired its claim to be the Church of the nation.

⁶⁰ Letter, dated 30-12-1982, V. Hatley. Mr. Hatley has researched this side of Magee's administration.

⁶¹ e.g. Charles McLaren in 1898. See below.

An immediate stimulus to action was provided by the Liberal majority in the House of Commons gained in 1867, which contained several dozen Liberationists, and was led by Gladstone. His action with regard to Irish disestablishment made churchmen wary for the future of the Church of England which, following Civil Service and Army reforms in 1870 and 1871, was left rather prominently out on a limb as one body in which merit was not the most significant factor in appointments. The constant advertisements, and other publicity, were hard to ignore. Churchmen of all shades moved to meet the threat. Some Lancashire Church radicals formed the 'National Committee for Abolishing Purchase in the Church', which played totally into the Liberationists' hands, while more conservative churchmen planned legislation.

In 1868, Canterbury Convocation's House of Clergy heard a Committee report on resignation, patronage, and the law of Simony, which considered such issues as the history of resignation bonds, and the question of donatives, although accepting that Parliament and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were on the way to abolishing the latter. In view of later clerical intractability about abuses, it is interesting to note that it recommended many of the reforms which were to be contentious throughout the rest of the century, including the following:

1. The bishop's right to refuse a nominee should be conferred by statute.
2. A bishop should be empowered to refuse to appoint if, at the same time, the nominee were being refused permission to resign by another bishop.
3. Donative benefices should become presentative.
4. No one should be presented to a benefice less than three years after ordination, and without two years' experience of pastoral work.
5. The disabilities of Roman Catholic patrons should be abolished.
6. No public patron should present anyone less than five years in orders.

7. Alternate patronage should be abolished: 'It operates to prevent the promotion of the incumbent and to cause the exchange by him of the benefice to be difficult and in some cases impossible.'⁶²

We might take this as a prelude to the activity which was to convulse certain sections of the Church for sixty-five years.

Table 1 summarises the frustrations which were to occur between 1870-1898 as successive Parliamentary attempts at reform were rejected or ran out of time.⁶³ Twenty-five Bills were attempted, and all but the last failed. Year after year, the same arguments, the same cases, were used, and similar objections made. A study of the Parliamentary debates indicates clearly the mounting sense of impotence felt by many, who hoped for the ending of abuses which seemed unprecedented in any other land:

If they talked to a French Catholic or a German Lutheran about this right of patronage, he would absolutely refuse to believe that such a state of things could exist in a civilised country at the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁴

The proposed reforms were sometimes ill-considered, or too radical, but more often, objections arose not because of these weaknesses, but due to residual conservatism, particularly regarding property rights. The system was preserved for so long, not because it was good, but because it was old. Eventually the reformers' persistence won Government sponsorship of the 1898 Benefices Act, which ensured its success, but they were much less successful at convincing their opponents in debate. The delays in passing the Act, and its inadequacies, helped to convince members of the Church that effective reforms could only be accomplished apart from Parliamentary interference, and it is arguable that this was more useful for churchmen than an earlier solution.

⁶² Convocation of Canterbury, Lower House, Report of the United Committee on Resignation, Simple and by Exchange, and on Patronage, and the Laws of Simony (London, 1868), passim; recommendations on p.15.

⁶³ Table 1 follows the Conclusion.

⁶⁴ H., 1896, XXXVIII, 693.

We may divide the twenty-eight year period into three sections. There was a preliminary period of calls for reform before 1875, leading to the 1874 Select Committee, and Magee's own Bill. From 1877, the moderate reformers were overtaken by Edward Leatham, brother-in-law of John Bright, and radical in his demands, but by 1886 a new, moderate call for reform was emerging, which, led by Archbishop Benson and various M.P.s, knocked regularly at the door until 1898, when the Government's own Bill was made law.

In 1870, Assheton Cross, a moderate High Churchman, attempted to pass a Bill abolishing the sales of next presentations.⁶⁵ Despite some feeling that it should be extended to cover all sales, to prevent old men being nominated, it was opposed on the convenient and obstructive ground that an attack on one kind of patronage was a threat to all, and meant that the 'valuable system' would collapse. In the face of this logic, the Solicitor-General could only exclaim that day by day, cases came before him which he should have believed fictitious, had he not been obliged, upon the evidence, to believe them true.⁶⁶ But the Bill was lost in the Lords, despite the Duke of Marlborough's attack on 'next presentors', who did not deserve their rights. Lord Salisbury seemed to capture the general mood, and voice an ever-popular objection, that the Bill, in attacking property rights, was harmful and revolutionary.⁶⁷

The next time such a Bill arose, Magee would be present to ensure that it did not die so swiftly, for he was almost naturally a Parliamentary animal, irrepressible in spite of frequent rebuffs. Even his gloomiest predictions were given with an air of good humour. He stood by such unpopular consequences of his actions as the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, reckoning that those who were not averse

⁶⁵ H., 1870, CXCIX, 694-97.

⁶⁶ H., 1870, CCI, 539-42.

⁶⁷ H., 1870, CCII, 1336-42.

to taking their bishops to court should not complain when the same thing happened to them; and courted unpopularity himself, being unable to turn for protection to either Church party, to neither of which he allied himself. He had turned from the evangelicalism of his youth, and in 1867 declined addressing an evangelical gathering:

Oh my! if I had gone and said my say, in how many little pieces should I have been sent home to my sorrowing wife and bereaved orphans!⁶⁸

Later, he lamented:

How easy it is to be a party bishop pure and simple, like Durham[Baring]. No one misunderstands him, and as for abuse, he gets all on one side: like a traveller on an Irish car with the rain.⁶⁹

Magee, on the other hand, was kicked on both sides.

Because of this 'central' stand he felt the cares of patronage more than most:

God knows, and He only, how I hate patronage. It is the most anxious, thankless, and disappointing duty that any man can be called on to perform.

He is certain to disappoint nineteen out of twenty eligible men, and then it is twenty to one that the twentieth disappoints him!⁷⁰

In 1874, Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln joined the debate with a broadside against patronage abuse, which he called simony, morally speaking, and referring to Scotland as a warning against the abuse of privilege. Of the Ecclesiastical Gazette, he said that it:

is supposed to be the accredited organ of the Church of England. In the pages of that semi-official periodical is an unblushing display, month after month, of an unholy traffic in spiritual things.⁷¹

Then, proceeding to a pitch of irony and disgust:

The Divine Head of the Church ... marks the Advertisements in which clerical purchasers of preferment, - Pastors of the Church of Christ, - are tempted by the inducements - not of saving souls and promoting the glory of God ... but by such

⁶⁸ MacDonnell, I, 153

⁶⁹ MacDonnell, II, 72.

⁷⁰ MacDonnell, II, 3.

⁷¹ Christopher Wordsworth, On the Sale of Church Patronage and Simony (London, 1874) p.6.

allurements as gardens and greenhouses, coach-houses and stables, a comfortable parsonage, and well kept grounds, with a trout stream and grammar school for the sons, and with the sea not far off for the wife and daughters, and good society, and a railway station within a mile, and an income of £800 a year; and it is added that the incumbent is 75 years of age, and that the population is small, with light duty.⁷²

Such things, said Wordsworth, brought the Church into disrepute with infidels and supporters of disestablishment.

In the same year, the Conservatives won their surprise victory at the election. With something of the fear of radical reforms thus abated, and a safer political atmosphere, Magee acted. On the 21 April he moved for a Select Committee of the House of Lords to consider patronage. He began by referring to the two disturbing elements which had an almost chemical affinity for each other, money, and human nature; and which mere legislation could not separate. Patronage would never be free from the effects of these elements meeting.⁷³ 'The aim of legislation', he said, 'should be to give practical effect to the principle that in the matter of patronage, property is the incident of a trust, and not trust the incident of a property.'⁷⁴

His view of the origins of patronage owes more to this principle than to historical fact, seeing the patron as the appointed trustee of his parishioners, an anachronistically democratic vision. He spoke of the 'almost idolatrous veneration of property' of the English, which had led to the law's fatal errors in allowing patronage and property to be split in the sale of next presentations.⁷⁵ Bishops should be empowered to refuse institutions, not only for reasons of faith or morals, but for physical infirmity, and without having to go to legal expense. Parishioners should have the right to state objections to an appointment. Sales of next presentations should be abolished, and the

⁷² Wordsworth, pp.6-7.

⁷³ H., 1874, CXVIII, 902.

⁷⁴ H., 1874, CXVIII, 905.

⁷⁵ H., 1874, CXVIII, 907.

declaration against simony amended to prevent it inducing 'men to cultivate ignorance as to the law of simony.'⁷⁶ A process of deliberate evasions and subtle distinctions had brought this law into such a hopeless tangle that there was no logical basis for it:

It is Simony for a presentee to contract to marry a patron's daughter, but not Simony for him to contract to marry a patron's sister or niece, or widowed mother-in-law.⁷⁷

Before the speech, Magee saw the difficulties of speaking so as neither to offend Conservative patrons, nor to appear to palliate abuse. There was the further danger of making a long speech, and offending all the Lords. He had previously assessed many patrons' attitudes, including clerical patrons:

I find every one ... awfully afraid of any damage to 'property'. They do not yet see that identifying property with nuisances is not the best way to preserve it.⁷⁸

But Lord Cairns, for the government, allayed his fears by assenting to the Committee, perhaps to silence any public airing of the issue, and there was no debate.⁷⁹ Magee, inexperienced in Parliamentary matters, was well pleased to discover that as the proposer of the Committee, he would have not inconsiderable powers within it, and some say in its terms of reference. All appeared to bode well.⁸⁰

The Select Committee Report of 1874 is an essential source for the study of nineteenth-century patronage abuse.⁸¹ The Committee consisted of the Archbishop of York (Thomson), and the Bishops of London (Jackson), Winchester (Browne), Peterborough (Magee), and Carlisle (Goodwin), with thirteen lay peers, some of whom, Selborne and Stanhope for instance, were later to play a part in attempts at reform. Only three of its twelve witnesses were clergy; it was not, in short, an

⁷⁶ Warre Cornish, II, 330.

⁷⁷ H., 1874, CXVIII, 908.

⁷⁸ MacDonnell, II, 4.

⁷⁹ H., 1874, CXVIII, 922-23.

⁸⁰ MacDonnell, II, 3-4.

⁸¹ This section is indebted to the 1874 Report : P.P. 1874(289), VII, 301, passim.

ecclesiastical cabal, and neither was it wholly in Magee's pocket. Magee, however, as chief questioner, was well aware of the abuses, and used the distinguished witnesses - Sir R.J. Phillimore, the ecclesiastical lawyer, J.B. Lee, secretary to several bishops, Nathaniel Bridges, a solicitor who had worked with the Church Patronage Trust, Bishop Temple of Exeter, Lord Camoys, a Roman Catholic and a Liberal, Robert Few, the Reverend Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne, and others - principally to provide confirmation at the highest levels. Not everything went Magee's way: Nathaniel Bridges supported trustee patronage, and held that it was often a very great blessing to the Church. Magee opposed trusts, but in general, he heard what he wanted. The lawyers wanted legal changes; Temple wanted greater controls. A succession of horror stories from various witnesses confirmed all the abuses noted earlier. Bridges foresaw the end of sales and the establishment of Diocesan Patronage Boards. Lord Camoys highlighted the Roman Catholic's dilemma: to retain patronage which he could not use, or to sell successive presentations, and thus derive some benefit from it. This latter course was, in such property-regarding times, generally acceptable. Osborne wanted the Ecclesiastical Gazette suppressed, although it was only an extreme example of a common tendency: The Times carried identical advertisements.

Succeeding witnesses merely added weight to earlier testimony. The conclusions to be drawn were clear enough. English and Welsh patronage represented an annual income of nearly three-and-three quarter million pounds, of which rather more than half was held privately. It was impossible to deal summarily with the disposal of so much property. The Committee desired that all legislation affecting Church patronage should act on the principle of patronage as a trust, to be exercised for the parishioners' spiritual benefit. Private patronage had many advantages, but it was associated with disregard of parishioners' interests, want of publicity, and the absence of any effectual check on

improper appointments. All presentees should bring adequate testimonials, and parishioners should have the opportunity to object on the ground of age, or moral or physical unfitness. The oath at induction should enumerate all illegal transactions, with a statutory declaration that neither the clergyman, nor anyone acting for him, had done anything so forbidden. Donatives should be abolished. The practice of paying interest to a purchaser until a vacancy should be ended. Contrary to Magee's wishes, sales of next presentations, which were more open to abuse than sales of advowsons, should not be forbidden, but all sales should be registered, with the names of vendors and purchasers. Patrons should also be allowed to declare the next presentation unsaleable apart from the whole advowson. The Report, in short, contained an outline for reforms which were to be called for during the rest of the century, and beyond.

Following publication, it was attacked by William Keating, a clergyman.⁸² His principal objection was ^{to} the attempt to prevent priests from buying advowsons for themselves. The Church was too much the patrons', and the wealthy excluded the worthy. Why should only this one feature of buying and selling be stopped, particularly as objections to it were only recent?⁸³ Keating was one example of many who, innocently or otherwise, failed to see that the Committee was objecting to the blurring of the distinction between sacred and profane, occurring when both became objects of trade.

Meanwhile Magee, supported by his report, if not, as he mistakenly believed, by a majority of Conservatives, presented before the Lords, on 9 February 1875, a Bill to give effect to the Committee's recommendations. In an attempt to undermine it, a certain Robert Jenkins wrote to Archbishop Tait the day before Magee's moving the

⁸² William Keating, Church Patronage : A Glance at Some Features in the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on that Subject (London, 1874).

⁸³ Keating, pp.4, 11.

Second Reading, calling it 'An Act for extinguishing the rights of private patrons and transferring them indirectly to the Episcopal Body', and suggesting that the Irish Magee was ignorant of the English patronage system, as Irish patronage rarely changed hands. This ignored Magee's years in England. The Bill, said Jenkins, would force private patrons to avoid disputes by surrendering their patronage to the bishops, opening the floodgates for disestablishment. He urged Tait to use his influence in killing the Bill.⁸⁴

Tait presumably tried, but failed, to disarm criticism. Jenkins replied that patronage had inextricable links with feudalism, and the appeal to a lay tribunal could not be justly removed. While agreeing that simony should be more precisely defined, he suggested permitting sales during vacancies to prevent the problem of putting in old lives.⁸⁵ Tait's reply is not preserved. But such lay objections were to be expected. Magee had grounds for more confidence in the clergy, since he had referred his ideas to Convocation and the bishops, and could truly say that the Bill accorded with their opinions, despite the reservations of various clerical patrons.⁸⁶

He described the delays and defeats of justice which occurred, when a single case might be heard in five courts, and last nine years. He gave many instances of notorious abuse, such as the man of seventy-five who had, six weeks after institution, asked him for perpetual leave of absence on the ground of age.⁸⁷ The Bill allowed two or three parishioners to enter a caveat against a clergyman. This would help to preserve the bishops from the annoyance of anonymous accusatory letters, which had to be ignored - the bishops knowing that the parishioners would never substantiate the charges - but which left the bishops open to accusations of inertia. Perhaps objections would now be

⁸⁴ Lambeth Palace Library, Tait Papers, Letter of 24-2-1875.

⁸⁵ Tait, Letter of 1-3-1875.

⁸⁶ H., 1875, CCXXII, 808.

⁸⁷ H., 1875, CCXXII, 815.

made openly. If sales of next presentations could not be stopped - the Committee having rejected the proposal by one vote - no clergyman would be allowed to buy an advowson and present himself at the next vacancy. The declaration against simony was to be replaced by remedies at law.⁸⁸

Bishop Temple, who supported Magee, felt that sales of patronage had to continue, unless compensation was provided, since patronage was property. In general, private patronage was discharged responsibly, and gave variety to the system, but the private patronage which came into the market was the worst sort. The poor felt the grievance as 'a kind of personal degradation.' The Nonconformist shopkeeper taunted his fellow townsman who, with the rest of the parish, was sold like a sheep to the highest bidder. 'It was one of the things which made it difficult for men to lead Christian lives.'⁸⁹ But the peers, like Lord Harrowby, distrusted proposals which might invade property rights. Abolishing private patronage, which allowed the pious sons of the mercantile classes to find a place in the Church, would leave only public patronage, which he suspected even more.⁹⁰ And Lord Salisbury opposed Archbishop Tait's proposal to prohibit the sale of next presentations.⁹¹

The Bill was referred to a Select Committee of three bishops and ten peers, possibly to transform it out of recognition, giving the opposition, including clerical patrons, time to rally their objections and convey their displeasure. It was 'aggressive, encroaching and impolitic', said one pamphlet of 1875.⁹² Magee wrote:

My bitterest enemies are proving to be clerical patrons, who are, as the clergy so generally are, given to panics, and incapable of seeing outside the edges of their own parishes.

⁸⁸ H., 1875, CCXXII, 808-20.

⁸⁹ H., 1875, CCXXII, 827.

⁹⁰ H., 1875, CCXXII, 829-31.

⁹¹ H., 1875, CCXXIV, 1210.

⁹² Anon., Remarks on the Church Patronage Bill Designed to Show the Aggressive, Encroaching, and Impolitic Character of that Measure (London, 1875).

He warned:

The next reformer will be a rougher one than I, and so the clergy may find to their cost.

The Cabinet is sick of all Church questions, and hates the very idea of Church Bills in the Commons. The result of this false Conservatism will be ecclesiastical revolution.⁹³

Magee appreciated the tensions pulling on the Conservatives, on one side wishing to preserve the Church from an increasingly un-Anglican Parliament's attacks, on the other, beset by a Church which was itself calling for reform, and threatening to collapse without it. The granting of legislative powers to the Church Assembly, in 1919, was to be the solution offered.

In May, Magee, trying to raise the Select Committee's enthusiasm, despaired of the clerical patrons, who endangered their position by fighting all reforms of admitted evils on the ground that they were inextricably mixed up with their property. How would the Church appear if it could be said that the abuses revealed by the 1874 Committee were preserved by the connivance of Anglican clergy?

The Bill cannot possibly get through the Commons this year ...Its real defect is, not that it does too much, but that it does too little.⁹⁴

Debate of the Bill resumed in June, when Robert Jenkins was again writing to Tait. It amazed him that the Archbishop should wish to end the sale of next presentations with compensation:

Does it not occur to your Grace that hundreds of settlements in which widows and orphans are so deeply interested, may be seriously disturbed by changes such as that proposed but most fortunately repudiated by the Committee?⁹⁵

Magee, too, was under attack from Lord Houghton, who did not like to think of the diminution of the comfort and well-being of the educated clergy consequent upon the passing of the Bill. The Church would become middle-class. A lay patron was often better able than the bishop to select a capable man. Granting bishops a veto would turn them into

⁹³ MacDonnell, II, 21-2.

⁹⁴ MacDonnell, II, 32-3.

⁹⁵ Tait, Letter of 8-6-1875.

inquisitors. Private animosities would be clothed with the sanctity of an ecclesiastical censure.⁹⁶ Likewise Lord Portman defended donatives because of their historical interest, and the loss of property involved in abolition.⁹⁷ Temple returned to the attack, but his attempt to declare the auction of advowsons illegal was rejected, and again Lord Portman spoke in favour of resignation bonds, supported by Salisbury, who preferred these to the alternative of putting in old men. The Roman Catholic peers did not want any further reduction of their rights.⁹⁸

In short, the House was in an uproar, and it is small wonder that Magee said:

I feel like a very little boy holding on to a very big kite that is dragging him about and nearly off into space.⁹⁹

Nevertheless, and in spite of Lord Houghton's repeated appeals to preserve resignation bonds as maintaining the link between the Church and landed families, and to withdraw the Bill, preventing a split between Lords and Bishops, it received its Third Reading.¹⁰⁰ It passed to the Commons, but not in time for debate, and before its Second Reading, Walpole, the M.P. for Cambridge University, who had offered to support it, had withdrawn, betraying Magee and losing the Bill. Magee gave way to bitterness. Discounting Walpole's excuses, he said that the withdrawal was:

really because his clerical constituents have been threatening him! Really and truly the conduct of the clergy on this question is very discreditable.

The reform of patronage which they really want to see is one ... securing better promotion, not one ... securing better men. I am very sick of the whole thing ...

I am beginning almost to long ... for Disestablishment. It will very nearly drown us, but it will kill the fleas ...

I ought to have been the editor of a Radical newspaper, instead of being a Conservative bishop.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ H., 1875, CCXXIV, 1203-07.

⁹⁷ H., 1875, CCXXIV, 1208.

⁹⁸ H., 1875, CCXXIV, 1221-23.

⁹⁹ MacDonnell, II, 33.

¹⁰⁰ H., 1875, CCXXIV, 1457-58.

¹⁰¹ MacDonnell, II, 37.

Magee could do little but wait for 'an east wind of pamphlets and letters' which he anticipated.¹⁰² But his concern was evident when, early in 1876, he wrote:

I get sadder and sicker every year as I witness the Church buying her Sibylline books, each year at a higher price. Her bankruptcy is far nearer at hand than country parsons and Erastian archbishops dream. I feel, too, so helpless to do any good ... I am regarded as a Celtic Cassandra amongst my brethren, when I talk of what is coming as surely as I am writing this, and nearly as fast too. I shall live to have my revenge as a prophet by my disestablishment as a bishop.¹⁰³

Ironically, Magee had contributed to the attitudes which had helped to defeat his Bill, for the earlier debate about the Public Worship Regulation Act had created an atmosphere, among 'protestants', very hostile to clerical pretensions. Although a low churchman and a supporter of the Act, he was attacked for desiring to increase episcopal powers. Clerical patrons could thus shelter behind anti-clerical sentiments, and retain their patronage intact. Magee and his supporters had been trying to present the anti-aristocratic appeal for reform in as good a light as possible, but their opponents 'knew' that property rights guaranteed 'protestant' liberties against episcopal encroachments.¹⁰⁴ Once the 1875 Bill was lost, there was no chance of another succeeding while the Conservatives were in office.

Magee went on holiday, and in April 1876 wrote back enquiring about the Church:

We are, I suppose, as usual, drifting and getting nearer and nearer to our Niagara; Cantuar at the helm, quite satisfied that a good strong Erastian wind from St. Stephen's is carrying us steadily and safely along, the crew mutinying, and the deck cargo of antiquated abuses shifting perilously; while no one dares so much as to put a pennyworth of tar in the yawning seams in the ship's side; or if any one, like my unlucky self, ventures to propose this, he is straightway heaved over as a Jonah.

¹⁰² MacDonnell, II, 35.

¹⁰³ MacDonnell, II, 36.

¹⁰⁴ Roberts, p.217.

. There, that is a pleasant sketch of the good ship, Church of England; becalmed off Disestablishment point, and drifting on shore in a strong current. By our special artist ... W.C. Peterborough.¹⁰⁵

For the next few years, Magee's reins were to pass, as he had predicted, to a rougher reformer, Edward Leatham. Leatham favoured disestablishment, and was willing to castigate the establishment, while it lasted, for its abuses. His debating style was vigorous, even comical. So he described the progress of Magee's Bill in terms of a frog developing backwards:

It began by jumping very high indeed, then its legs fell off and it became a tadpole; then its tail fell off and it became a mere globule of legislation, transparent and passive.¹⁰⁶

The principal fuel for Leatham's ire was the 1874 Committee report, from which he quoted extensively and repetitively. In 1877 he asked for 'more stringent' measures to be introduced, and spoke out for the unrepresented laity. Out of four hundred advertisements for the sale of advowsons, he had found only fourteen which mentioned the desired type of clergyman, and one of these had generously said 'High Church, but Evangelical would do for this parish.'¹⁰⁷ For the same reason, he wished to stop those groups:

the whole scope of whose operations consists in the purchase of advowsons over the heads of congregations, and the imposition of men of extreme views, who may think it their duty to startle us by gymnastic services, or the exhibition of some Evangelical extravaganza.¹⁰⁸

In the event, a modified motion was accepted, expressing the desirability of preventing evasion of the law of simony, and checking abuses in the sale of privately-held livings.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ MacDonnell, II, 39.

¹⁰⁶ H., 1877, CCXXXV, 309.

¹⁰⁷ He had made the same point in 1873 : H., 1873, CXVII, 453.

¹⁰⁸ H., 1877, CCXXXV, 311.

¹⁰⁹ H., 1877, CCXXXV, 318.

In 1878, Leatham supported a similar motion with a similar speech, but before the House could call for a definition of simony, it was adjourned as inquorate.¹¹⁰ Magee noted:

My patronage efforts are producing good fruit in the House of Commons. The patrons and clerical agents will live to wish they had taken my Bill.¹¹¹

Leatham's agitation secured a Royal Commission in 1878 to report on the law and practice of the sale, exchange and resignation of benefices, composed of Magee and three other clergymen, with eight laymen.¹¹² It heard similar evidence to the 1874 Committee, but this time the witnesses were generally humbler. If the expert opinion of 1874 had been politely ignored, then incumbents and others who had to live with the system would be heard.

The Commissioners' enquiries apparently influenced the Ecclesiastical Gazette to stop advertising livings at the start of 1879, but this politic act merely increased the circulars sent by agents to the clergy. In attempting to establish the extent of the agents' business, the Commission heard from J.C. Cox, a former Derbyshire J.P., who had performed a survey by writing off to all agents who advertised in the Ecclesiastical Gazette for June 1878, with its twelve columns of livings for sale. Emery Stark's Church Preferment Register offered 124 advowsons and next presentations, the Benefice Exchange Register, 297 for exchange, Corbett's General Register of Church Preferment for Exchange, for July, stated that he had 500 livings on his books, Bagster's Monthly Register of Church Preferment for Sale or Exchange offered 405 livings, Millward and Co., 'over 250 livings', and so on, down to the smallest agents.¹¹³

Stark charged fourteen shillings for putting a living in his list,

¹¹⁰ H., 1878, CCXXXVII, 1540-67.

¹¹¹ MacDonnell, II, 89.

¹¹² P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373. The Commission only began to hear evidence in March, 1879.

¹¹³ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, pp. 7-8.

and three guineas if it was withdrawn. The Exchange Register charged 10s.6d for an insertion, plus 5% commission on the gross annual income of the living relinquished, applicable to both parties. And, said Cox, the traffic was increasing. In September 1872, 10% of the Church's livings were advertised for sale.¹¹⁴

At Magee's ingenuous:

Clerical agents are not always persons of perfectly respectable character, I believe?¹¹⁵

Cox unfolded the sordid history of one Workman, alias Rawlins, still an agent with an extensive business, and a priest. This man passed under a dozen aliases. One early transaction cheated a clergyman of £3000 and involved him in simony, losing him his living and his money. The man was now a day labourer, and usually in the workhouse in winter. Rawlins set up as an agent after his release from prison following a conviction in 1852 for altering a cheque from £8 to £80; and using his own and his family's means, he purchased several livings, some at auctions. He was frequently bankrupt, and on the third occasion in 1875 perjured himself, under an assumed name, by swearing that he had never been bankrupt before.

In 1871, Rawlins took £1200 from a clergyman to purchase a living for him, to 'exchange' with his old one, which he vacated and left in Rawlins' hands. The man never got his living, and could obtain no redress. The transaction was simoniacal and as such he could recover neither his money nor his living, and was comparatively beggared. Rawlins filled the vacated benefice, and was even allowed to preach there. Rawlins, said Cox:

has so many aliases that Crockford or the Clergy List is no real guide to the livings of which he is now patron.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, p.8., q.24.

¹¹⁵ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, p.10, q.53.

¹¹⁶ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, p.10, qq.54, 58.

Agent's happily offered to re-purchase an advowson immediately it was sold, thus evading the statute of Queen Anne. Cox calculated that on average (for the determining factor was the age of the incumbent) an advowson was worth ten times the annual income, and a next presentation, five times.¹¹⁷

The Rev. R.F. Meredith testified to his own experience of the bad work done by patron-incumbents.¹¹⁸ The Rev. E.P. Dew, incumbent of a donative, said that he had taken no oaths and paid no fees on his institution. He had merely to sign the declaration of conformity.¹¹⁹ Other witnesses pointed to similar anomalies and abuses. Clearly, in certain cases, advowsons were merely a matter of trade. In others, they were a matter of frivolity. Edward Herford, the Manchester Coroner, and Chairman of the National Committee for Abolishing Purchase in the Church, in a survey of Cheshire livings said:

It is stated that when the living of Astbury was about to become vacant, one of the ladies of the Crewe family was allowed to stake it on a bet with one of the ladies of the Egerton family, the decision being made to depend upon a race between two caterpillars.¹²⁰

C.J. Blagg, a solicitor, testified to the unbecoming scenes at Bilston, Staffordshire, where the patronage was vested in the householders, who, irrespective of religion, could vote. Both candidates provided canvassers, and spent perhaps £600 on their campaign.¹²¹ Likewise John Davenport, the Bishop of Oxford's Secretary, testified by letter concerning Piddington, Oxfordshire, where all male

¹¹⁷ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, p.12, qq.106-10; p.15, qq.167-86; Appendix H.

¹¹⁸ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, pp.18-22, qq.252-373.

¹¹⁹ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, p.22, qq.390-95.

¹²⁰ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, p.56, q.1217.

¹²¹ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, pp.73-75, qq.1549-75.

residents above the age of twenty-one were admitted to vote at a vacancy:

The consequence has been, in my own experience, of the electors assembling as a mob, and being uncontrollable; and proceedings wholly at variance with any ecclesiastical decorum, and hostile to good order and decency, have ensued. I could dilate upon the great mischief attendant upon this state of things, but it can be readily imagined. The introduction of passionate rivalry, and the engendering of a secular party spirit, which is cherished prior to and for long after the election, are among the consequences. And the candidates take their share in the unbecoming contest as if it were of a parliamentary or municipal character.¹²²

Magee himself testified to four cases in which he had been compelled to present a paralytic, a drunkard, a seventy-five year old, and a man guilty of 'unnatural vice'. This last had withdrawn under threats, but none of these presentations could be legally vetoed.¹²³

With Emery Stark, the clerical agent, Magee's amazement and indignation at what he heard were evident. Stark testified:

Only this morning in an interview I had with one of my clients I pointed out to him that it was an illegal transaction. In all my transactions with my clients I have always stated that they are illegal transactions. Whenever I have been asked my opinion, and repeatedly without being asked, I have pointed out the illegality of the particular transaction. In most sales I have no power or voice in the matter of possession, it being arranged by the two clergymen.

Magee questioned Stark sarcastically:

Notwithstanding that, these pious and good clergymen deliberately break the law? ...

In the same way as a poacher breaks the law holding that the law is a very unfair one which prevents him taking his neighbour's hares? ...

These colonial bishops and other eminently pious clergymen, being severely moral persons, regard the law as immoral, and consider it their moral duty to break the law?

Knowing [the meaning of 'simony'] these moral clergymen who first of all ask you to break the law then take an oath that they have not broken the law? ...

So that every one of these clergymen of high standing and of high moral character has been guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury?¹²⁴

¹²² P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, p.115, Appendix O.

¹²³ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, p.85, qq.1784-85.

¹²⁴ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, p.95, qq.2042-44, 2046, 2063-64.

Stark could do little more than agree, although later he presented a personal testimony, presumably common to many:

As a business man I am accustomed to look upon church property as property to be realized, and therefore it is often my duty to point out to my clients that unless they evade the law they probably sacrifice half their property ... The purchasers chiefly I find are of the better class, men who spend thousands of pounds upon their houses and churches ... I believe a large number of gentlemen's sons enter the church, apart from any religious motives, they know that in due time they can purchase and settle down. These form a very important element in the Church, and to prevent this class purchasing would be tantamount to closing the Church to this large class, and would do serious injury to the Church.¹²⁵

In all this, Stark distanced himself from the 'black sheep' who would accept those potential purchasers whom he had rejected.¹²⁶

C.S. Wortley, the Secretary to the Commission, provided some useful statistics, based on twenty-seven out of thirty dioceses. Between 30 June 1873 and the completion of the return there were 2072 presentations by public patrons, and 1718 by private patrons. About eight-seventeenths of private patronage had been transferred between the penultimate and the last presentation, one-third being sold. Thus about 16% of private patronage - perhaps 7% of the whole - had been sold prior to the most recent presentation. There were ten sales of advowsons for every three of next presentations. Resignation accounted for ten in thirty-three of all vacancies, one in fifty being under resignation bonds, less than 1% of all vacancies.¹²⁷

The Commission approved of the variety of patronage, which assured the representation of different views. But to control it, they recommended that auctions, sales of next presentations, donatives, and resignation bonds, though not sales of advowsons, should be abolished. All transactions should be public and duly registered, with parishioners

¹²⁵ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, p.97, q.2097.

¹²⁶ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, p.99, qq.2155-81.

¹²⁷ P.P. 1880, XVIII, 373, pp.100-01.

able to object, and the bishop to refuse institution, with cause shown, for physical incapacity, unsuitability from youth or age, or insufficient testimonials. The aggrieved person might appeal to the Archbishop or the Court of Arches. Patron and presentee should both make the declaration against simony. Roman Catholics should exercise their patronage, subject to episcopal approval. The bishop should be able to refuse to accept a resignation to discipline an incumbent. Six weeks' notice of presentation should be posted, and any seven baptised householders should have the right to object within fourteen days. Livings which lapsed to the bishop should for that turn be handled by a board of diocesan trustees, including laymen, which might also accept advowsons from willing patrons. Where all the parishioners were patron, they should select a small group to act on their behalf.¹²⁸

A Royal Commission shows as many difficulties in action as reasons for action, and in this case the difficulty was compensation; for the property which would be affected represented a capital of some £60 million. But Magee was pleased with the proposals, and wrote to the Editor of the Guardian to say that the Report was 'considerably in advance, not only of the provision of my Bill, as ultimately amended by the Lords, but also of the [1874] Select Committee.'¹²⁹

The Guardian had earlier attacked Magee for his weakness in failing to oppose sales of advowsons. Magee had his own reasons for this, believing that other reforms would reduce the value of livings, making them unattractive for speculators, and paving the way for an end to the traffic.¹³⁰ Likewise the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were refusing to augment donatives unless they became presentative, thereby reducing the potential scandals, and tending to undermine the opposition to a final abolition.

¹²⁸ Warre Cornish, II, 333.

¹²⁹ MacDonnell, II, 149.

¹³⁰ MacDonnell, II, 151.

The Rev. John Oakley, later Dean of Manchester, took up the idea of diocesan patronage boards in 1878.¹³¹ His sixth, prophetic, proposal was for an elective board, as in Ireland, with clergy and laity in equal numbers as trustees, sitting with the bishop for every future exercise of episcopal patronage:

It needs nothing but the resolution of a single Bishop to have the experiment fairly tried; and if it works well, he will not be long without imitators.¹³²

He believed that the development of diocesan conferences, which were pointing the way to a central representative and consultative body acting in concert with, and in temporal matters subordinate to Parliament, was a case in point. Presumably Diocesan Boards of Patronage might blossom into a national patronage system.

With the 1880s, and Gladstone's return to power, came wider calls for reform of the stagnant patronage system, from those like Leatham, who wished to abolish all sale with minimal compensation, and Stanhope, who fought for Magee's cause in the Commons. More extreme than either were those like Illingworth, who called for abolition, but would often talk a Bill out, and by claiming to support only radical reforms, ensured that no moderate reforms passed. The Liberals, generally, did not favour reform. Nonconformists did not want the Church strengthened against them, and Illingworth seemed to exemplify Archbishop Benson's charge that reforms were deliberately blocked in the hope of forcing disestablishment on a crumbling Church.¹³³

At the end of 1880, Tait was all for a Bill based on the Commission's Report.¹³⁴ Magee recommended that it be introduced in the Commons, and by Stanhope, a good Conservative, and a Churchman, to

¹³¹ John Oakley, Church Patronage : A Paper Read at the Church Congress at Sheffield on October 2, 1878 (London, 1878).

¹³² Oakley, pp.15-16.

¹³³ See, e.g., H., 1881, CCLX, 846, 973-78.

¹³⁴ Tait, Letter to Selborne, 16-12-1880.

counter charges that this was a nonconformist, disestablishing Bill.¹³⁵ Leatham gave some support to Stanhope, though clearly the Bill did not satisfy him, and in a fervent speech he summed up the abuses which the 1878 Commission had illuminated:

I have said nothing about the piquant advertisements over which the House has often laughed; the glowing descriptions of the piggeries and shrubberies at the rectory; of the paucity of labour and the plenitude of pay; of the real county society; of the propinquity of admirals and baronets; and the abundance of trout and rooks ... or of the poor man of whom I read the other day, who complained "That his chances of preferment were gone; when it was supposed that he had a cancer, he was sounded with reference to four livings, but now that it was known that he only had a tumour, patrons took no notice of him."¹³⁶

But the Grand Old Man proved an obstacle. Magee felt that he often behaved like a petulant old woman. Gladstone, as leader of a divided party, had troubles of his own, and tended to rush Church questions in order to deal with the 'issue' par excellence, Ireland. The suggestion that a Patronage Bill might require debate was enough for it to be sacrificed.¹³⁷

In December 1880, Gladstone wrote to Lord Chancellor Selborne on this issue, and the letter was forwarded to Tait.

I think it unlikely that our Government will undertake to legislate upon "the traffic in Church livings", nor could I undertake it, although personally I would give a cordial assent to the prohibition of sales of next presentations.

Gladstone wished congregations to be protected from violent changes of usage by different patrons' presentees, but prior to this, some congregational organization would need to be attained.¹³⁸ But in debate, these views were not expressed. Stanhope's first Bill was opposed and delayed, and as Gladstone had predicted, there was no hope of its getting through. Furthermore, a thorough-going Erastian like Sir William Harcourt was unlikely to approve of a Bill increasing episcopal

¹³⁵ Tait, Letter of 11-12-1880.

¹³⁶ H., 1881, CCLX, 195.

¹³⁷ For example, H., 1881, CCLX, 217; CCLXIII, 854.

¹³⁸ Tait, Letter of 1-12-1880.

powers. A second Bill, introduced later in the year, was likewise withdrawn.

Under such circumstances, party trusts and party controversy thrived, partially, it appears, due to Parliament's inability to guarantee purity in the handling of patronage. Not that either side thought the other particularly pure. In 1880, J.C. Cox, a witness before the 1878 Commission, read a paper to the E.C.U.; supposedly an attack on simony, in reality an attack upon Simeon's Trust. Its purpose was to oppose suggestions that Anglo-Catholic bodies should follow the Evangelicals' lead. The nineteenth-century clergyman, said Cox, having procured his ordination and stipend, 'finds the path of Simony beautifully smoothed out before him.' But, unless he were an Evangelical, whole areas would be closed to him:

A combination of men, determined to buy all important Livings, can exercise, and have exercised, a most detrimental effect on the doctrine of the Church, for they thereby secure the appointment of men pledged to adopt their own private, fanciful, and narrow shibboleth. We know in what a wholesale way this has been done by the Simeon Trustees, who are bound to perpetuate, as far as they can, certain doctrines such as the Gorham heresy, which we ... feel ourselves solemnly bound to repudiate.¹³⁹ Many a parish has fallen away from the faith, and her sons have been scattered by the intrusion of Simeon nominees.

Cox grieved to hear of a midland priest who had sold his former living to Simeon's, with 'simply disastrous' results to the parish's spiritual life. It was fatal to suggest that the High Church should imitate the Low in this. Had Simeon's purchases done them any good?

Are they not the decaying power in the Church, whilst we are the rising one? And may not the very fact of their decay be in a great measure owing, in God's hands, to their relying on the power of the purse strings in dealing with Benefices?¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Simeon's Trust was founded before the Gorham Case, and there is no evidence to support this charge.

¹⁴⁰ J. Charles Cox, The Sale of Benefices in the Church of England: A Paper Read at the Annual Meeting of the E.C.U. 1880 (London, [1880]), pp.5,12.

This indicates the extent to which patronage and party issues ran together, so that Simony was seen, by Anglo-Catholics at least, as an abuse particularly indulged in by Evangelicals. Thus they saw a reform of patronage as an opportunity to steer the Church away from Evangelical, Erastian by-ways, and into its true path. But in fairness it ought to be said that among all the debates in pamphlet or Parliament, there were very few references to patronage trusts, and most objections to them tended to be a matter of principle, rather than for specific abuses.

In 1882 the previous year's pattern was repeated. Leatham's Bill was dropped, and Stanhope's debated, but blocked by Illingworth, again with the claim that he could not countenance any Bill which did not totally do away with the existing patronage system.¹⁴¹ Tait remarked that the chief opposition was from a small body who seemed to have determined that nothing should be done to improve the Church's constitution. Edward Herford, a witness before the 1878 Commission wrote reprovngly, in support of Leatham. Leatham's Bill was mainly opposed by churchmen, although he had to admit that Liberationists opposed it to an extent, as Charles McLaren M.P. had written:

From a non conformist point of view, I say let the 'abominable scandal' (the sale of livings) go on until the Establishment falls to pieces of its own accord.

Stanhope's Bill was opposed for its uselessness or worse, for it accepted the traffic in livings. There was little difference between sales of advowsons or presentations, indeed the latter were preferable, enabling advowsons to remain attached to estates. Liberationists might oppose reform, but it was impossible to maintain the establishment when pew-rents excluded 90% of the population of towns and populous parishes,

¹⁴¹ H., 1882, CCLXIX, 47-62.

giving the Church the appearance of one amongst many pew-renting sects:

I need not point out that in this and other things, resistance to indispensable reforms comes not from dissenters, but universally from the small minority of the well-to-do Churchmen who benefit by the present system.¹⁴²

A fortnight later, Herford wrote again. Leatham's Bill alone opposed all sales, and Tait's opposition to it was as bad as the dissenters'. Only Leatham's reform could accomplish its professed objects, and save the Church from the attack upon it.¹⁴³ As for Stanhope's Bill, his Committee opposed it for various reasons. The Royal Commission had shown that sales of livings were four times as common as sales of next presentations, and presentations cost nearly as much as advowsons. Stanhope's Bill would lend implicit legality to the sale of advowsons, which gave a greater opportunity for evil than the sale of presentations. Agents could continue to break the law. The extent of the traffic demanded total abolition, but Stanhope's Bill might shelve this for years. Stopping the sale of presentations would merely increase the sale of advowsons, and besides, the purchaser of an advowson could still present himself.¹⁴⁴

Both sides' convictions, and their opposition to the other's Bills, caused both to be defeated. The old vested interests could almost relax and watch from the sidelines.

Leatham withdrew his 1883 Bill, and only in 1884 was patronage aired again, Leatham and Stanhope each sponsoring a Bill. Leatham emphasised parishioners' rights, and each attacked the other over this. Leatham's seconder urged that something be done quickly in response to the increased abuses and the louder outcry.¹⁴⁵ It was said that the debates themselves were causing sales to fall off.¹⁴⁶ Harcourt opposed

¹⁴² Tait, Letter of 18-7-1882.

¹⁴³ Any Bill opposing all sales was doomed to failure.

¹⁴⁴ Tait, Letter of 1-8-1882.

¹⁴⁵ H., 1884, CCLXXXIX, 735-36.

¹⁴⁶ H., 1884, CCLXXXIX, 745.

increased episcopal powers, wishing to prevent dioceses merely reflecting their bishops' attitudes, and supported the consultation of congregations.¹⁴⁷ There was an objection to societies with the power to buy up the patronage of whole areas, but this was considerably exaggerated, and quite peripheral to the debate.¹⁴⁸

Both Bills went to a Select Committee, which was effectively called to report on the general principles to be enshrined in future legislation. It repeated most of the suggestions of 1874 and 1878, but proposed the abolition of all sales, with compensation, except for those purchasers with a proprietary interest, public patrons who could not sell, and Queen Anne's Bounty, provided the price was under five times the annual income. Q.A.B. was furthermore to be given a power of re-sale to a qualified purchaser. Patronage Boards should be established in each diocese. As long ago as 1875, Earl Nelson had criticized the idea of such boards saying 'Nothing could tend more to reduce the Church to mere mediocrity', but it was difficult to arrive at another system balancing the bishop's and the parish's wishes without the mediation of clergy and laity not directly linked with either.¹⁴⁹

The Report concluded that a Bill should be brought in to effect the Committee's recommendations.¹⁵⁰ Nothing happened in 1885, but next year Tait's successor Benson adopted the idea of Patronage Boards enthusiastically. Benson was more willing than Tait to involve himself in this sort of debate, and this could account for Magee's dislike of Tait as an Erastian. Times were changing. At Tait's funeral in 1882,

¹⁴⁷ H., 1884, CCLXXXIX, 746-52.

¹⁴⁸ H., 1884, CCLXXXIX, 767-69.

¹⁴⁹ H., 1875, CCXXIV, 1455.

¹⁵⁰ P.P. 1884 (297), IX, 595-606.

'Lead Kindly Light' had been sung. Magee recorded:

I was greatly struck ... to think of the time when Mr. Tait then a Balliol Fellow, denounced as one of the four tutors the teaching of Mr. Newman; and then to hear the hymn of Cardinal Newman sung over the body of Archbishop Tait. What a world of English Church history lies between the two events!¹⁵¹

Magee had recognised and lived through a transformation of the Church in its self-understanding, and in the attitude of the nation. But in 1881 it was still possible for Illingworth to accuse Tait of having provided for his own relatives out of his patronage.¹⁵² The new Archbishop appeared as the champion of reform.

The Liberal split of 1885-6 and the Conservative-Unionist assumption of office, although it put the Liberationists somewhat behind the scenes, did not improve the prospects for patronage reform. Protestant feelings continued, as in the 1870s, to work against an extension of episcopal powers. Furthermore, the 1884 Reform Act widened the electorate and gave more business to the House, so pushing Ecclesiastical legislation even further down the agenda. The Church had twelve frustrating years to wait before Parliament listened in 1898.

2:6 Reform under Benson

In November 1885, Archdeacon Philpotts of Cornwall urged Benson to lead the reform movement in the Lords. Benson's correspondence at the time included hundreds of letters warning of the dangers of disestablishment, and of the need to end the traffic in livings. This might well be the last opportunity, said Philpotts, to press reform upon Parliament. He urged every diocese to pray for an end to all sales within five years, and could see no valid reason why lay patrons could sell when clerical patrons were forbidden.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ MacDonnell, II, 181.

¹⁵² H., 1881, CCLX, 976.

¹⁵³ Lambeth Palace Library, Benson Papers, Letter of 23-11-1885.

If Benson needed convincing, this convinced him, for a few days later, he wrote in praise of previous episcopal patronage Bills, which had been hindered solely by those who openly said they would block all legislation, because abuses were levers for disestablishment; and again, supporting the end of corrupt purchase:

The whole church has long cried out for it. Is the whole church then to be branded by a name which teaches the ignorant to believe that Holy Orders and all offices of the cure of souls are bought and sold?¹⁵⁴

Benson tended to exaggerate his supporters' strength: there was no 'Church Party' behind him; but he compensated for this by a violence of language in this second letter, which was essentially a plea for moderation, attacking the Liberationists - on Herford's testimony, justifiably - for blocking reforms. Throughout 1885, many petitions, including one in December signed by about 150 Cambridge Fellows and Heads of Houses, came to Benson pleading for patronage reform.¹⁵⁵ He took his proposals to Convocation and on the 18 February 1886, the Upper House adopted a five part resolution calling for the removal of the evils of the patronage system; an improved procedure for removing incompetent clergy; the smoothing of anomalies in clerical income; the reform of convocation; and greater lay involvement in ecclesiastical administration.¹⁵⁶ Patronage reform took its place within a network of reforms, all of which were to be more freely attempted when the Church was more self-governing.

Early in 1886, Gladstone had warned that 'pressure of other business' would leave patronage reform to Private Members.¹⁵⁷ In April, Benson's Bill was introduced in the Lords, and a day later, Leatham's latest Bill was given its Second Reading in the Commons, and introduced with a misplaced confidence that something would now be done.¹⁵⁸ Even

¹⁵⁴ Benson, Letter of 27-11-1885.

¹⁵⁵ Benson, Letter of 12-12-1885.

¹⁵⁶ Benson, Letter of 18-2-1886.

¹⁵⁷ H., 1886, CCCII, 714.

¹⁵⁸ H., 1886, CCCIV, 989-1027.

Magee now opposed sales of advowsons.¹⁵⁹ Only Illingworth was intent on blocking.¹⁶⁰ But the Bill was lost in May, before it could go to a committee. Benson's more moderate bill fared a little better. It still permitted sales of advowsons, but advocated compulsory registration of transfers, and the banning of auctions. He favoured Diocesan Councils, who might veto nominations if two-thirds of the Council objected. Roman Catholics should be allowed to present.¹⁶¹ The Universities, who were later to change their minds, had given their blessing to this, apparently touched by the debates. Thus the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, issued an appeal to the Governing Body against the sale of an advowson for £2000, to aid the College funds, based on the bad example that would be set when Parliament was debating this very issue: let them wait until Patronage Boards were established, and the advowson could then be freely transferred to a Board:

Shall we at least stand aloof from all this traffic in Rectories and Vicarages and wait till it has become as obsolete and as incredible as the once firmly established traffic in Parliamentary boroughs?¹⁶²

But Salisbury would not oppose donatives, and objected to the attack on property represented by their abolition. The Bill went as far as a Select Committee of the House, and was later lost.¹⁶³ Bishops, Convocation, all had approved. Only Parliament had stood in the way. Magee was greatly disappointed. He had written in January:

It was curious for me to find my seed sown eleven years ago "bearing fruit", clause after clause, in the forthcoming Bill, "after many days".¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ H., 1886, CCCIV, 990.

¹⁶⁰ H., 1886, CCCIV, 991.

¹⁶¹ H., 1886, CCCV, 879-92.

¹⁶² Henry Montague Butler, Some Remarks on the Sale of Advowsons (N.P., N.D.).

¹⁶³ H., 1886, CCCV, 892-94.

¹⁶⁴ MacDonnell, II, 219.

Even when Convocation had seemed 'dangerously conservative', there was one advantage:

We bishops shall pose as advanced reformers, and the Church laity as obstructives; and this will not be a bad position for us to occupy.¹⁶⁵

Prior to the Bill's defeat, he prophesied:

My own belief is that [reform] will not come until we have obtained leave from Parliament to reform ourselves.¹⁶⁶

In 1887 another episcopal Bill was lost, but not without a fight which Magee relished. There had been a struggle even to be granted a Second Reading:

No less than six peers came to tell me that they feared they must vote against the Bill, and one of them (Brabourne) was even prepared to speak against it!¹⁶⁷

Magee was clearly frightened at the prospect of the harrowing debate before him on 3 March. He had declined speaking for the Bill, saying to Benson that he was 'a poor old, worn-out Bishop', but he was later to show some of his former fire in the face of Lord Grimthorpe's attacks.¹⁶⁸ Grimthorpe, Chancellor and Vicar-General of York, was cold and haughty, and scorned the reforms. He urged that the Bill be withdrawn: it was late, and there were few in the House. Despite the favourable, though superficial, Committee report of 1886, the Bill was most revolutionary, abolishing private patronage and increasing episcopal powers. 'The scum of the parish' would divide into factions and plot at their respective public-houses. The Church would become subject to 'the Churchwarden Class'. Surely the Archbishop did not wish to prevent the poor Church being enriched by an influx of wealthy young men.¹⁶⁹

When the debate resumed, Temple, now Bishop of London, attempted a mild rebuke. If their Lordships knew how ordinary people felt, they

¹⁶⁵ MacDonnell, II, 224-25.

¹⁶⁶ MacDonnell, II, 227.

¹⁶⁷ MacDonnell, II, 240.

¹⁶⁸ Benson, Letter of 26-2-1887.

¹⁶⁹ H., 1887, CCCXI, 683-89.

would not be surprised that they wished to be consulted in such an important matter. But they had no thought of taking over the Church. In nine out of ten cases, no one would object, and the bishop could dismiss trivial or frivolous objections.¹⁷⁰

But Magee had not finished with Grimthorpe. He spoke for about thirty-five minutes, and was surprised that lay peers as well as spiritual were cheering him. Amongst warnings of the consequences of rejecting the Bill came 'a few hits at Grimthorpe', which were very well received.¹⁷¹

The Noble and Learned Lord probably knows very little about the scum of our parishes ... When the scum [go] to the Blue Boar it [is] for other purposes than to discuss the character of their parsons. It [is] earnest, pious, moral Churchmen who [are] grieved, shocked and sick at heart when men [are] thrust upon them of more than doubtful character. Why should Bishops be mulcted in sums varying from £1500 to £2000 or £3000 in instituting and carrying on proceedings in the case of unfit presentees?¹⁷²

'I think', said Magee, 'they were obliged to me for giving them an excuse for shaking off his domination. Luckily for me and the Bill he was not there.' Grimthorpe was ill, and missed Temple and Magee.

Salisbury half-blessed, half-banned it, but decidedly supported second reading ... Then all the house nearly slipped away save the bishops and front Government bench, who sat for half an hour, not listening to Earl Fortescue, who steadily prosed on in a high pitched voice, like the setting of a saw, about something or other in the Bill, nobody knew what; and then we passed second reading and went home.¹⁷³

In the next debate, Benson discovered that his advocacy of Diocesan Councils was an easy target for the opposition, and he failed to defend them. Bishop Maclagan of Lichfield, later Magee's successor at York, attempted to prohibit the re-sale of patronage within five years of a presentation, but this was felt to go too far.¹⁷⁴ Temple sensibly proposed that no one should present himself, and this not

¹⁷⁰ H., 1887, CCCXI, 1027-32.

¹⁷¹ MacDonnell, II, 240.

¹⁷² H., 1887, CCCXI, 1038-39.

¹⁷³ MacDonnell, II, 240.

¹⁷⁴ H., 1887, CCCXII, 341.

inconsiderable demand was granted.¹⁷⁵ The Bill received its Third Reading, but failed in the Commons.

Again, Gladstone must take some of the blame for this. Early in July 1887, W.H. Smith had written to Benson advising him to interest Gladstone in patronage reform, Gladstone being the only man capable of neutralising Liberal opposition.¹⁷⁶ Either Benson or Smith succeeded temporarily in enlisting his support, but by the end of July, Smith wrote:

Mr Gladstone has drawn back and expresses himself unable to mitigate the hostility of many of his supporters, and unfortunately some of the Liberal Members and some Conservatives are unwilling the Bill should pass.¹⁷⁷

Without Gladstone's support, another Bill was frustrated. It was becoming plain that Parliament, no longer a solely Anglican body, but containing nonconformists and Roman Catholics who interfered adversely with Church legislation, was not a fit place to take Church reforms; while Parliament itself grew ever more annoyed and unhelpful at the procession of Patronage Bills, adding to the Church's frustration.

There was a lull in reform attempts. Benson wrote to Smith on 7 February 1888, asking if he could not introduce a clause ending parishioners' patronage by replacing the parishioners with five elected trustees, but nothing was done, and the idea was shelved. In 1891, Magee died, after a few months as Archbishop of York. He should be recognized as one of the Church's leading supporters of reform, and one who saw the need to liberate Church government from Parliamentary control. His, perhaps regrettable, involvement with the Public Worship Regulation Act should be put into this wider perspective. He died when a surge of narrow 'protestantism' was affecting part of the Church, and finding an ally in the secular anticlericalism of a section of the

¹⁷⁵ H., 1887, CCCXII, 1129.

¹⁷⁶ Benson, Letter of 4-7-1887.

¹⁷⁷ Benson, Letter of 28-7-1887.

British public; the charge of 'Sacerdotalism' began to be used in attempting to dismiss reforms which required greater episcopal responsibility. The 1893 Bill, however, lasted too briefly even to be attacked. Well-argued by Benson, and with the Lords reasonably assuming that it would pass the Commons, it was never seen again. Opponents still clung to their romantic notion of the bishop as a distant, exalted figure, not the sort who made annual requests for reform in the Lords.

The growing feeling within the Church that Parliament was unable, or unwilling, to listen to it, led it to establish alternative consultative structures.¹⁷⁸ From the 1870s, diocesan conferences of clergy and laity were held with increasing frequency, until by the century's end every diocese had a regularly-constituted conference. Convocation, also, attempted to secure the power to draft Canons which would be laid before the Queen in Council, and then Parliament; but was opposed by Parliament.

In 1870, the liberal Church Reform Union was formed to legislate for a diminution of clerical power, granting the laity a share in Church government. To effect this, in 1871, a Parochial Councils Bill was attempted in the Commons, but was opposed and dropped. A Church Boards Bill of 1881 was attacked for attempting to control the Church through Boards not necessarily Christian. In 1886 Canterbury Convocation established a House of Laymen, and in succeeding years, a variety of independently-constituted Parochial Church Councils were voluntarily established by various incumbents. These associations held the key to the future. York Convocation's House of Laymen followed in 1892. These various movements undermined the argument that talk of reform was unrepresentative of Church opinion, since reformers had the resolutions of representative Church bodies, clerical and lay, behind them.

¹⁷⁸ See Warre Cornish, Ch.XV, pp.311-27.

In 1893, Fair Play is a Jewel, a confused and badly-written pamphlet, was sent to Benson, attacking patronage reform. It expressed strongly what many felt, that patronage could not, as a property right, be justly removed without compensation. Not even advocates of dissent and discord could countenance this destruction of vested interests, which broke 'the 8th and 10th Commandments.' Private patronage had done much to keep up the clerical 'calibre.'¹⁷⁹

The 1894 Bill, modest in the extreme, and seeking to prevent a presentation within one year of a transfer, was nevertheless given a stormy reception because of the proposed end of sales of next presentations, without compensation.¹⁸⁰ Several patrons bemoaned their fate if the Bill became law. It was ingeniously suggested that sales of advowsons would become matters of gambling if one year had to elapse before a presentation - as though patrons had not already been gambling on incumbents' lives, at better odds, for years. Others suspected the bishops as political pawns; still others called for disestablishment. The Church Association had opposed the Bill. Benson, perhaps relishing an opportunity to discomfit the Low Churchmen, wrote to Sir John Kennaway, a prominent Evangelical:

It is to be inferred that the Evangelical party are the opponents whom we really have to fear in attempting to carry some reform into the vilest abuse of Church Patronage. I put it thus without hesitation, for the Bill has been brought down to touch only the worst.

Non-conformists in the House of Commons stood aside. When they had abused it sufficiently they were willing not only to let it pass, but to help. They introduced improvements. But the Evangelicals are apparently on the side of keeping things as they are, and in their action are allied with the traffickers ...

P.S. It is thought by some that it was pressure originating in such quarters which caused the Bill to be dropped when it was in a forward stage early last session in the House of Commons. The pressure of Clerical Agents and their Clients would not have been respectable enough to effect this, although they, naturally, are ready to do what they can. If it were so, tant pis.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Anon., Fair Play is a Jewel (N.P., N.D.), in Benson Papers.

¹⁸⁰ H., 1894, XXIV, 142-70.

¹⁸¹ Benson, Letter to Kennaway, 7-12-1894.

Frustration rather than judgement had dictated the letter. Kennaway had only to point out that what Evangelical opposition there was stemmed from fear of bishops: many were not at all against the Bill. Nonconformists, like the Liberationist Carvell-Williams, had been most responsible for its defeat.¹⁸²

In 1895, a Commons Bill reached the Lords' Standing Committee. This time, Benson prepared the ground more carefully, discussing with Webster and Dibdin, Chancellor of the Dioceses of Durham, Exeter, and Rochester, and a leading figure in the moves for an independent Church government, the best form for the Bill. He agreed to permit sales to trusts without power of sale, to propitiate Evangelicals 'whose opposition is the cause of Conservative slackness.'¹⁸³ Patronage could be re-sold after one year, not two, as earlier planned. A clause concerning compulsory resignation was dropped: Benson agreed that earlier Bills had suffered because of the idea of men grown old in the Church's service, forced to beg their bread. Such preliminary discussion was apparently novel, but was later used much more regularly. Under these circumstances, Benson presented a Bill to end sales of next presentations, which due to the fall in the value of benefices were, with sales of advowsons, the best investment a clergyman could make; and to allow bishops more powers, and to fill benefices quickly.¹⁸⁴ Most of the opposition claimed that the Bill did not go far enough, though Grimthorpe still felt that trial before a bishop was fundamentally un-Anglican.¹⁸⁵

To further the reformer's cause, Dibdin published a pamphlet discussing the Bill. Previous Bills had been opposed by people more concerned with their property rights than the good of the Church. The

¹⁸² Benson, Letter of 7-12-1894.

¹⁸³ Benson Papers, notes on the 1895 Patronage Bill.

¹⁸⁴ H., 1895, CCCIII, 1141-48.

¹⁸⁵ H., 1895, CCCIII, 1148-52.

Church Property Defence Association, a body of patron-incumbents, had denounced the Bill, in 1893 and 1894, as confiscatory, in view of the prohibition of clergy buying advowsons and presenting themselves. They effectively admitted that sales to clergy were by now the largest part of the traffic.¹⁸⁶ Dibdin spent a disproportionate space in attacking the Rev. E.P. Hathaway, who had written, in his retirement, The Church Patronage Bill of 1894, an attack on reform. Hathaway, a 'protestant' Evangelical, followed Simeon in purchasing advowsons, to some of which he was himself presented. There is good evidence that he was not a corrupt patron, but he seemed to hold the view that a Godly patron had but to consider the end to be achieved, and that legal restrictions were likely to be positively harmful. This advocacy of the freedom of a Christian patron looked like a justification of simony, and a subtle way of making the end justify the means:

For an ordained man to seek to obtain, by a small outlay of money, the unspeakably high privilege of ministering to souls as their chief pastor is not essentially sinful, and need not be so. The character of the transaction must turn upon the motive.¹⁸⁷

Even the trusts for which Hathaway claimed to speak did not support him in this, and Dibdin had little difficulty in disposing of him, when he might have been better occupied in attacking the agents. Hathaway distrusted bishops, and trusted Godly individuals, but his own proposals would have been disastrous. And it was a little weak to accuse the reformers of 'springing' the Bill on the Church, when he had been repeating this accusation since 1886.¹⁸⁸

Dibdin wished to reassure the trusts that the Bill would not harm them. He himself saw why they were created, and why they needed to continue: intolerance of Evangelicals was not dead. No class of

¹⁸⁶ Sir Lewis Tonna Dibdin, The Church Patronage Bill 1895, with Introduction, Notes, and Index (London, 1895), p.3.

¹⁸⁷ Quoted in Dibdin Patronage, p.10.

¹⁸⁸ Dibdin, Patronage, pp.17-19.

patronage was more honestly or carefully exercised, and the 1895 Bill would place them in unquestionable safety. Simeon's Trust had not opposed the Bill, and he would have been surprised if they had.¹⁸⁹ He was accurate in pin-pointing the weakness of the opposition:

It is significant to note the vicious circle in which the opponents of reform ... constantly move. When checks on the purchase of patronage are asked for, it is said - "Certainly not, quite unnecessary and confiscatory too. You do not understand what is needed. You have begun at the wrong end. The real remedy is with the bishops. They should refuse institution to unfit clergymen". But when it is proposed to enable the bishops to require full information - obviously he cannot act without it - the note changes entirely, and the complaint is raised "Oh the degradation and dishonour" etc.¹⁹⁰

In the Commons, the 1895 Bill had been attacked by disestablishers as a High Church Bill, and by protestants as creating a 'clerical Star Chamber.' H.J. Roby argued that refusing a man might be prejudicial to the rest of his career. This argument was later made to go a second mile in the Church Assembly. T.M. Healy, an Irish Nationalist, cynically suggested that the Bill go to the Grand Committee on Trade, not Law.¹⁹¹

The Bill failed. Undeterred, the reformers introduced a Benefices Bill in 1896. The change of title from the usual 'Church Patronage' perhaps indicated a change of emphasis - the reforms were to benefit parishes, not to save the good name of patronage. Patrons must reform to save their parishes from bad appointments and empty churches. The reformers were also dealing with a new Conservative ministry. As in 1895, careful research took place before the Bill was proposed, and Dibdin kept Benson informed about its progress in the Commons.¹⁹² Evangelical opposition was feared, some protestants as usual feeling that it gave the bishops too free a hand. But Benson was relying on the

¹⁸⁹ Dibdin, Patronage, pp.19-20.

¹⁹⁰ Dibdin, Patronage, p.37.

¹⁹¹ H., 1895, XXXII, 849-73.

¹⁹² Benson Letters, of 1896, passim.

massive vote of confidence given when all but one bishop telegraphed their support of the Bill.¹⁹³ Inspired by this, the Government was asked to adopt the Bill. Salisbury doubted that there would be time, and Balfour foresaw difficulties, though he would see what could be done. Unfortunately the Bill was not adopted, but at least channels of communication had opened between Church and Government, and increasing pressure was put on Balfour to support the issue.¹⁹⁴

Viscount Cranborne, heir to Salisbury, and seven others supported the Bill, feeling that Parliament's duty was to vindicate the spiritual nature of the trust involved in patronage, a trust exercised on behalf of parishioners. He was cheered and applauded throughout his speech. Colonel Sandys, a member, and later Chairman, of the Protestant Reformation Society, objected that no clergyman would be given the chance to hear the evidence against him, and H.S. Foster continued this line by objecting to the attack on property rights, without compensation. It amazed him that in the enlightened nineteenth century, anyone should wish to give bishops more power, re-introducing a Star Chamber with the bishop as judge, jury, and executioner. How could matters of ritual not be made a ground of objection? Sir John Kennaway countered that the only interference was that which prevented 'the rogues from having their way.' The bishops might be fallible, but it was due time to acknowledge them as the leaders of the Church. James Caldwell warned that the power of objection in Scotland had become such a scandal that patronage had had to be abolished, as would happen in England if the Bill became law.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Benson, Letters of 1896. The one exception was the Bishop of Sodor and Man who felt that it would have been out of place to express support, when the Bill did not affect him.

¹⁹⁴ See Benson, Letters from Dibdin, 1896.

¹⁹⁵ H., 1896, XXXVIII, 673-99.

The Home Secretary, Sir Matthew White-Ridley, evidently sick of the whole thing, was a lone voice:

I think it will be admitted that there are certain abuses, not, as I hope, widely prevalent, in the Church of England, and it is reasonable and right that Parliament should be asked to give the Church the power to reform those abuses.¹⁹⁶

But it was not admitted, and power was not given.

In permitting sales to those with a proprietary interest in the parish, the Bill, some felt, unduly favoured land-owners. But the reformers argued that most abuses only began when patronage and land ownership became separated. They wished to preserve and extend the original intention of patronage, allowing a wider veto of the patron's choice. But while patronage and land-ownership were tied, there should be no objection to sales. The Bill received its Second Reading, but 'the most sacred rights of property' conspired to oppose it, and it was lost through pressure of business.¹⁹⁷

2:7 The Benefices Act 1898

By the 1890s, despite the failure of successive Bills, the reformers had some justification for optimism. After the middle 1880s, the Liberation Society made no headway in politics; calls for disestablishment, and the blocking of Bills, diminished. It had been feared that the 1884 Reform Act might create an anti-Church Parliament and electorate, but in England at least this was not so. Many M.P.s were merely apathetic about Church measures. There were thus grounds for hoping that change could occur without hostile interference. The prolonged agricultural depression had so reduced the value of livings, that the consequent fall-off in the advowson market made reform a less contentious issue. So, despite the disappointments of 1894-6, resolve strengthened. In 1898 there was an alleged shortage of Parliamentary

¹⁹⁶ H., 1896, XXXVIII, 699.

¹⁹⁷ H., 1896, XLI, 800, 1694.

business, and the Government sponsored and supported a Bill, providing the final link in the chain of events producing the 1898 Benefices Act.¹⁹⁸

In 1897, perhaps the humblest Bill of all, the Church Patronage Transfer Bill, was introduced. It would have required transfers to be registered, to ensure that none occurred during a vacancy, and to guard bishops against surprising changes of patronage without their knowledge. The Bill passed the Lords and went to the Commons, but by 1898, when it arose briefly for discussion, it had been swamped by the Bill which became law, and which gained Parliamentary approval for an end to the patronage abuses which had plagued the Church for centuries.

Government adoption of the Bill, which helped it immensely, can be traced back to Cranborne's 1896 Bill which, with modifications, was the basis for that of 1898. Archbishop Temple asked Balfour if he would take up the Bill, and Balfour recalled:

I added that I was personally favourable to the Bill, and that probably many of my colleagues would be disposed to take the same view, but that I could hold out no hope of finding an opportunity for discussing it during the present Session. I said, however, that I should be glad to bring the subject before my colleagues' attention, and to consider whether we could include a measure dealing with at least part of the subject in a future session.¹⁹⁹

But he was anxious to avoid promising anything:

Nothing ... must be interpreted in any way ... as suggesting a pledge on the part of the Government that they will take up the Bill next year.²⁰⁰

Despite this caution, the Government did support that part of Cranborne's Bill dealing only with next presentations, believing that the moderate reforms achieved would silence the reformers.

On 2 March, the day before the Government's Bill was due, the Hon. Alfred Lyttelton moved for the Second Reading of his own similar Benefices Bill. He was opposed by Charles McLaren, who, although a

¹⁹⁸ Roberts, p.221.

¹⁹⁹ Lambeth Palace Library, F. Temple Papers, Letter of 16-1-1897.

²⁰⁰ F. Temple, Letter of 18-1-1897.

nephew of John Bright and a Radical, gave a speech which appealed to a very conservative vision of the past. The Bill opposed the country's protestant history. Certainly the patronage system was illogical, but it worked well enough, and the Church had survived because of it. The spiritual descendants of Laud and Strafford had produced the Bill, attempting to wrest power from the people and vest it in the worst form of episcopal domination. He appeared to believe that the 'old style' eighteenth-century vicar was beloved of his country, and that the Evangelical revival had been a hiatus during which political pressures had forced men to identify insincerely with the new school of thought.

There is a great deal to be said in favour of the parson who believes in muscular Christianity, who is a good cricketer, who knows how to pull his parish together in all questions excepting theological questions.²⁰¹

Such a man was the squire's friend. Where were the evils of the system? McLaren knew of none. But once pass the Bill and the bishops would become uncontrollable dictators, with every appointment needing their blessing. What if a bishop objected to a hunting, or a cycling, or a theatre-going Vicar? McLaren presumably thought objection to a cricketing vicar too unthinkable to mention. He exasperated the House. C.A. Cripps, the ecclesiastical lawyer, and author of a standard textbook on the subject, asked McLaren if he represented:

the heart of the Church of England in this country, better than those who have brought forward this Bill, and who have been pressing this measure of reform year after year, for a series of years, upon the attention of this House?²⁰²

Carvell Williams, predictably, appealed for disestablishment, rather than the ineffective measures of the Bill, to end the agents' trade, and the advertisements in the Times.²⁰³ Balfour, attempting to curtail the debate, pointed out that any effective opposition would have to take the establishment of the Church for granted, and offer

²⁰¹ H., 1898, LIV, 355-66.

²⁰² H., 1898, LIV, 378-79.

²⁰³ H., 1898, LIV, 386-90.

suggestions on that basis.²⁰⁴ When Lyttelton withdrew his Bill, in view of the other's more likely success, all opposition centred on Balfour. As usual, free-churchmen tended to gloat, or to encourage disestablishment. When it was said that the Bill was a sop for Anglo-Catholics, Samuel Smith proceeded to use it as a soap-box for his own views. Smith was a 'Liverpool protestant' who thrived on talk of Catholic plots, and dwelt in the world of The Secret History of the Oxford Movement, and John Kensit's anti-ritualistic vandalism. To him, many of the bishops and theological colleges were in the grasp of the enemy. Their aim was to seize the Church of England for Rome, as the Order for Corporate Re-union, and the Society of the Holy Cross seemed to prove only too readily.

He proceeded to repeat these, and wilder, accusations, but this proved self-defeating, for talk of 'worship of images' and 'vain superstition' did not please Roman Catholic M.P.s, who felt insulted by inference. Smith thus risked appearing anti-Irish, as he urged that bishops should be given no more powers to take the Church into their thrall.²⁰⁵ Brynmor Jones, a Welsh Congregationalist, supported Smith. He would trust the Oxbridge Colleges in preference to a bishop as to a presentee's fitness.²⁰⁶ Just as the debate appeared to be deteriorating into a protestant demonstration, Compton-Reckitt, another Congregationalist, reminded the House that Parliament represented the religious views of three kingdoms, not of Protestants alone.²⁰⁷ Balfour too, had reason to doubt the truthfulness of Smith's accusations.²⁰⁸ But Smith returned to the fray a few days later, proposing that disobedience to the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Prayer Book rubrics should be a ground of objection to an appointment.²⁰⁹ This was

²⁰⁴ H., 1898, LIV, 409-10.

²⁰⁵ H., 1898, LIX, 469-80.

²⁰⁶ H., 1898, LIX, 493.

²⁰⁷ H., 1898, LIX, 510.

²⁰⁸ H., 1898, LIX, 515-16.

²⁰⁹ H., 1898, LIX, 1025-36.

generally felt to be unworkable in the liturgical climate of the times, and Smith was silenced for the moment. Only R.J. More, vicar's son, Lord of the Manor of Linley, and a patron of three livings, was in favour of donatives, but he was generally condemned. Everyone else had had enough of them.²¹⁰

At the Third Reading, Sir William Harcourt again made accusations of Catholic plots, and again fell foul of the Irish.²¹¹ Such 'secular protestantism' was no longer, if it had ever been, widely supported in the Church. Very few Churchmen, of any party, could identify with Harcourt's view of the Church as merely a legally constituted branch of the state.

In the Lords, the Bill was generally approved, although Temple wished to abolish all sales, to help those free-floating livings which were always on the market.²¹² At the Third Reading, Lord Wemyss attacked the Bill as robbery without compensation, but it passed, and received the Royal Assent on the 12 August 1898.²¹³

The reformers had cause for relief and rejoicing, for the Act stopped many of the major scandals. All transfers of patronage were to be registered. Sales of next presentations were abolished, and donatives converted to presentative advowsons. In all transfers, the whole interest had to be transferred, except for family settlements, where the reservation of a life interest was permitted. Auctions were forbidden, except in cases where the advowson was appendant, and here the regulations were made more stringent by requiring that, to be auctionable, an advowson had to append to a manor or estate of more than one hundred acres, and in the parish of the benefice, or in an adjoining parish and belonging to the owner of the advowson. In other words,

²¹⁰ H., 1898, LIX, 1264-66.

²¹¹ H., 1898, LX, 383-93.

²¹² H., 1898, LXI, 99-104.

²¹³ H., 1898, LXIII, 116-18.

those who were still permitted to buy advowsons at auctions were those who were principally interested in the estate purchased with the advowson: squires were at least to be resident squires.

Agreements in favour of particular nominees, or which specified a re-transfer, or which allowed the purchaser interest on his purchase money, or some other delay in payment until the occurrence of a vacancy, were all abolished, as were resignation bonds.

Furthermore, the bishops were given more power to refuse to institute. If a transfer occurred less than one year after the last presentation, then the transfer was void; and if a presentation occurred within a year of a transfer, the nominee might be refused if the bishop believed that the nomination had been undertaken with this in mind. Likewise, anyone less than three years in orders might be refused. In general, it had been made easier for a bishop to block a presentation, but it was still by no means easy. Sales of advowsons were still permitted, and clergy, or their wives, were still able to buy livings for their own use, although a stringent declaration against simony was now inserted. But at least the power to refuse was extended to include physical, mental or moral unfitness, grave pecuniary embarrassment, or neglect of duty in an ecclesiastical office.²¹⁴

The Act did little to secure lay rights; and this had to wait until the twentieth century, but the clergy were drawn into line with other professions. Overall, attitudes to patronage in the century had changed quite dramatically. Private patrons were now likely to refer more to the professional experience, and probably the ideological compatibility of their nominees, rather than their connections, or the value of the living in question. The bishops, at the price of some clerical distrust, had secured a greater centralization of patronage,

²¹⁴ Church Acts and Measures, reprinted from Halsbury's Statutes of England (London, 1969), pp.554-61.

and an increase in their own powers.²¹⁵

While both Bills were still in debate, the Church Times reviewed the struggles of the previous years to secure reforms. All previous Bills had died to no effect. Modesty increased as Bill succeeded Bill. Clauses shrank in number leaving the present Bill with only nine, concise clauses:

Promoters of Benefices Bills have learned wisdom by hard experience. They have had the fact forced on them that ancient abuses are the hardest of all things to kill if they have succeeded in enlisting the close support of vested interests, so that it comes to pass that the ardent reformer must be content with very small instalments of improvement, must abstain from all attempts to carry through root and branch reforms, and console himself with the thought that the best is ever in practical affairs the enemy of the good...²¹⁶

Churchmen were urged to support the Bills as 'wise' though not conclusive attempts; and a fortnight later, not to attack them for their moderation, causing them to be overloaded with clauses and thrown out.²¹⁷ But such fears were unjustified.

The Victorian age had begun with the widely-held assumption that patronage was merely a special coinage, rewarding family and friends with little thought for the congregation. With the coming into effect of the Benefices Act, patronage was far more obviously a trust, and those who ignored the fact were liable to correction by their bishops. In the eyes of many, the Church now had an efficient mechanism for controlling abuses.

Unfortunately, this was not so.

²¹⁵ Roberts, p.223.

²¹⁶ Church Times, 11-3-1898, p.265.

²¹⁷ Church Times, 25-3-1898, p.323.

Chapter 3 The Progress of Reform to 1945

'I don't think they play at all fairly, ... and they all quarrel so dreadfully one ca'n't hear oneself speak - and they don't seem to have any rules in particular: at least, if there are, nobody attends to them ...'

Chapter 3 The Progress of Reform to 1945

In this Chapter, we shall attempt to describe the further legislation which was carried through until the end of the Second World War. This was principally contained in the Benefices Act 1898 (Amendment) Measure, 1923, and the Benefices Measures of 1930, 1931, 1932 and 1933, all of which were the work of the youthful Church Assembly.

A difficulty occurs here which was not present in the last Chapter. There, it would have been possible to have discussed patronage reform without mentioning patronage trusts. True, the 1895 Bill was framed to win their approval, and Dibdin's discussion of it took issue with Hathaway's criticisms, but in general, the attempted reforms of the nineteenth century were directed against the abuses of private patronage, which arose from the legal notion that patronage was simply property.

This situation was almost reversed in the twentieth century. The 'final' abuse, as it seemed to the Church, was the purchase of advowsons specifically by clerical patrons. Patronage trusts were frequently sneered at and attacked in a desultory way, for being small-minded, or for attempting to control the Church in an unnatural fashion. There were always those who felt that their powers of purchase should be limited. But this has always to be set against the fact that the trusts did not hold much patronage. Reformers, as in the nineteenth century, left party patronage trusts alone, and tried to bring an end to sales of the patronage of individuals. This they accomplished in 1923, only to discover that the consequence was a vast increase in the number of livings bought up by certain patronage trusts. It can be argued that, whatever else was being attempted in the 1930s Measures, the ending of this new abuse was significant.

Thus it is impossible to deal with the twentieth-century legislation, without bearing in mind that the rise of a new breed of party trust was behind much of it. Yet if the topic were to be dealt with merely in chronological sequence, the development behind it would be lost. For this reason we shall attempt to separate the two issues as much as possible, while freely admitting that this cleavage is impossible to make fully effective. In this Chapter we shall deal principally with constitutional and legislative issues, and postpone a consideration of the finer details of the change in patronage trusts until a later Chapter.

Only one issue will suffer unduly as a result of this: the 1933 Benefices Measure owes much to the action of a Committee established by the English Church Union, in an attempt to safeguard parishes from being purchased without the parishioners' knowledge. This deserves a detailed discussion, but because of its 'unofficial' nature, we shall deal with it, and with much of the debate which went on in newspapers, when we consider the work of the Martyrs' Memorial Trust.¹

3:1 The Call for Further Reforms

Following the passing of the Benefices Act, there was little Parliamentary action with regard to patronage. All transfers were registered, and Lord Hugh Cecil periodically requested printed lists of these to be made available. There are four such lists: for 1899, for 1900, for 1901-3 and for 1904-12;² each of them, naturally, larger than the last, and none of them patent of a final analysis. The reader is struck at once by multiple transfers, often within days of each other, which were perfectly innocent, while breaches of the law might go undetected. Dibdin remarked in 1914:

¹ See below, Chapter 6.

² P.P. 1900 (347), LXIII, 527; 1901 (36), LIV, 901; 1904 (366), LXXIV, 507; 1914 Cd. 7139, LXXI, 27.

A study of them with the aid of a series of Clergy Lists and Crockfords ranging over a considerable number of years, yields a good deal of information. But without assistance of this kind, they are a sealed book. Any impression they give is not only very imperfect, but it may be entirely erroneous.³

Thus, transfers relating to resettlement in the case of landed estates give the totally false impression of a series of simoniacal transfers.

Nevertheless, we can conclude, following Dibdin, that between 1899 and 1912 there were between 1300 and 1400 transfers of patronage. Of these, Dibdin estimated that 315 were 'suspect': cases in which the advowson was transferred to a man with the same name as the incumbent. Dibdin's statistical method leaves much to be desired, but one can conclude that there were about twenty suspect transfers a year, although with only fifty-seven transfers overall in 1899, this represents a much larger share than for the final nine years of the survey. The tendency was for a slow increase in suspect transfers in the years from 1900 to 1912. 'Furthermore', said Dibdin, 'the effect of the Benefices Act seems to have been to diminish materially the number of corrupt sales of advowsons'.⁴ Advowsons for sale were no longer plentiful, and no longer found ready purchasers.

The failings of the Benefices Act were as follows, according to Dibdin:

It should have made it illegal for a clergyman, or his wife, or an agent, to purchase an advowson and present himself. Lord Selborne had inserted this clause in most of the Patronage Bills, but it had had to be sacrificed.

The idea of the 'close year' when patronage could not be sold after a presentation, was not as great a deterrent as had been imagined, though whether this was due to evasion of the law was not known.

³ Sir Lewis Tonna Dibdin, The Sale of Advowsons, Church Reform Leaflet, No.50 (London, 1914).

⁴ Dibdin, Sale.

Bishops were not looking out for suspect presentations, some of which occurred only weeks after a transfer. One bishop had allowed thirteen out of thirty 'suspect' cases to delay registering their transfers, one way of evading the law of the 'close year'.

The Act had failed to stop mortgages of advowsons. A could sell to B, who would then mortgage to A for the full purchase value.

For all of these reasons, the publication of the final return of transfers for 1904-1912 caused the reform movement to spring to life again. Little had been done in the years since 1899, presumably because, after the experience of the last century, twenty suspect transfers a year would have appeared minimal. Had the Government continued to make annual returns, all might well have remained stable for much longer. We cannot ignore the fact that a foolscap report of 136 pages of transfers for the past nine years must have had a psychological effect far beyond the actual evidence of abuse contained in it. It was under these circumstances that the Benefices Act Amendment Committee arose.

The first public intimation of the existence of this group was given in a letter from Edward Atkins to Archbishop Davidson of Canterbury, at the end of 1913:

The scandals of which evidence is given in the recent Parliamentary return, relating to the traffic in "next presentations" can only be met by an amendment of the Benefices Act 1898, and I feel sure that your Grace will not withhold a word of encouragement to those of the laity who are moving in this matter. The bishops have been misled by false testimonials in the case of two clergymen inducted, and in the Peterborough case the incumbent has been deprived, and in the St. Albans case there has been a sentence of five years suspension. I say this to show that it is not upon the shoulders of the Episcopate that the blame rests, but upon those clergy and laity who deceive the bishops by writing false testimonials and by the suppression of material facts.⁵

Davidson replied with a cautious letter, offering them his support in

⁵ Lambeth Palace Library, Davidson Papers, 'Benefices Act Amendment Committee', Letter of 18-12-1913.

any steps they might take to prevent simony.

On the 1 January 1914 in the Guardian, and the Church Family Newspaper, the Benefices Act Amendment Committee announced its formation, and issued the call to reform, by saying that the Act was being evaded, and next presentations sold. The following week A.D. Phillips wrote:

Shortly after the passing of the Benefices Act, it was brought to notice that it was practically ineffectual in placing an obstacle in the way of a clergyman buying a benefice for himself. All that he needed were discreet and perjured confederates.⁶

The Committee quoted a series of cases which might have come from the nineteenth century: of churches where old men were still put in as 'warming pans', sometimes for schoolboys, or men awaiting ordination; of churches where unsatisfactory clergy were not disciplined by any legal action, and the Church was in decline; of a church whose incumbent worked as a dentist during the week, travelling to his living on Saturday and leaving on Monday. He undertook no visiting, and paid local clergy to perform funerals and marriages at 2/6d. a time. He bought the living with his wife's money; she assisted him in his work as a dentist. One man was frequently too drunk to preach; another had been twice bankrupt; while a third had been given the living by his aunt as a wedding present, visiting it at weekends when he was not employed as a commercial traveller.⁷

The Benefices Act Amendment Committee aimed to prevent this sort of thing. They were a rather mixed group, with A.D. Phillips as Secretary, and other members including the Duke of Rutland, Lord Hugh Cecil, Sir Charles Walpole, Earl Fortescue, Lord Haversham, Lord Parmoor and Messrs. H.W. Hill, E.F. Jeffries, C.E. Lawrence, C.J. Battersby, E. Atkins, Digby Thurnam and H. Foster-Pash.⁸

⁶ Church Family Newspaper, 23-1-1914, p.12.

⁷ Davidson, 'B.A.A.C.'.

⁸ Davidson, 'B.A.A.C.'. Lord Parmoor, previously C.A. Cripps, was later Chairman of the House of Laity in the Church Assembly.

The Committee made its next approach to Davidson in May of 1914, asking him if he was aware of the living of Harbledown, near Canterbury. The Rector, it was alleged, was 'loose in his conduct', and was frequently seen with 'a thickly veiled Frenchwoman with whom he is said to frequent Canterbury Cathedral'. But for fear of legal proceedings, the evidence of this was being concealed in his parish.⁹

This was the stuff of scandal, hardly of a Parliamentary Act. Davidson's Chaplain replied that it was realized there were 'difficulties' in the case, but no evidence of any wrong-doing.¹⁰ More than a suspicion must have entered Davidson's mind that the Committee could start a witch-hunt under the guise of reform.

By this time, apparently independently of the Committee, Parliament had before it the Patronage Boards Bill, which aimed to set up Diocesan Patronage Boards, and to restrict the sale of advowsons. The preamble to the Bill admitted that sales were decreasing, but was worried that the break up of landed estates could cause a reversal of this trend.

It was proposed by Montague Barlow, with the support of Sir Edward Beauchamp, and Messrs. Buxton, Joynson-Hicks and Campion, who believed that the free-floating livings could be quite easily bought up by the Church, and the whole traffic cease.

The Bill adopted the principles of the Commons' Committee of 1884. It prohibited the transfer of livings except in connection with estates of over 500 acres, or to certain public patrons, such as the bishops and the patronage board, at the same time providing for compensation to the patron out of the revenue of the benefice, of an amount equal to two years' gross income.

The boards would consist of five clergy and six laity, with the

⁹ Davidson, 'B.A.A.C.', Letter of 5-5-1914.

¹⁰ Davidson, 'B.A.A.C.', Letter of 11-5-1914.

Archdeacon, Rural Dean, and two delegates from the parish on an ad hoc basis. Transfers of advowsons were to end five years after the passing of the Act.¹¹

Despite the reformers' zeal for the Bill, it is hard to say much in its favour, mainly because it would have prevented all transfers, not merely sales. Private patronage would tend to stagnate, except that which was given to patronage boards. It was, in short, a bureaucrat's dream, and was presumably felt to be so, for it was defeated.

The Committee attempted to take things into their own hands. By return of post they wrote to the Archbishop asking for a list of clergy who had not been recommended for licences or preferment, so that Crockfords could omit those who had been blacklisted.¹²

Davidson replied hastily. He could not possibly allow them to see such a list. A black list would be undesirable. There were many clergy whom a bishop should watch carefully, but who would not be banned from every post in the diocese. Besides, he asked pertinently, how would this help to prevent sales of advowsons?

No one can be more eagerly anxious than I to restrain or prevent scandal or incompetency in the Church, but the subject is an intensely difficult one. How delicate, and how difficult those only know who have, like myself, to deal with it every day of their lives.¹³

Having given this rejoinder to the amateur interference of the Committee, Davidson wrote a warning letter to the Bishop of St. Albans, who was partial to the Committee, because of their championing of his cause against an undesirable incumbent:

I am informed that you preside tomorrow at a meeting held by the Benefices Act Amendment Committee. I cannot quite make out what this body is after. It seems to me to have an ambitious aim, and Mr. Atkins, its Secretary, is evidently an active fellow, though his requests are somewhat beyond the mark. [Here he quotes the request for a blacklist]. But it seems to show that they are aiming at a sort of

¹¹ Patronage Boards Bill, H.M.S.O. 1914, in Davidson Papers.

¹² Davidson, 'B.A.A.C.', Letter of 11-5-1914.

¹³ Davidson, 'B.A.A.C.', Letter of 12-5-1914.

control of affairs which could only be exercised by men of real authority ... We must take care not to let them run away with us as regards matters which must be kept under Episcopal control.¹⁴

It was against this background of pressure for reform that Dibdin's pamphlet, quoted earlier, was written. He was largely in agreement with the Bill of 1914, but could not accept that compensation should come from the parish. Besides, as the Act was causing the market price of advowsons to fall constantly, what was the value of a living? Dibdin preferred the suggestion made by William Temple, that sales should be stopped after the next two vacancies. This would provide an automatic compensation: a patron could sell his patronage, and realize its market value, and everyone would be given adequate warning that the market was closing.

Dibdin acknowledged that since 1898, the old idea that private patrons were a bulwark against episcopal domination had crumbled, with a consequent increase in episcopal patronage, but he felt that Parliament would not favour this trend indefinitely, and therefore advocated patronage boards, on the lines of the 1914 Bill.¹⁵

Despite these pressures for reform, nothing was done, because the situation in Parliament for Church Bills was even worse than it had been in the previous century. Besides which, the Church itself was more concerned about ritual issues at the time. But above all this, was the over-riding problem, that the Church was beginning to show its age after three centuries of establishment. It was almost as much of a department of state as any Government ministry, yet it was the one which had the least hope of any Government measures to help it. Curates for instance, were often treated cruelly, but nothing could be done for them. They might work for years for £120 a year, with an average of thirteen years before they would be given their own living. A curate had no pension,

¹⁴ Davidson, 'B.A.A.C.', Letter of 13-5-1914.

¹⁵ Dibdin, Sale.

nor any place in Convocation. As he aged, his chances in the patronage 'lottery' grew less and less, and he might well find himself dismissed by a new incumbent, desirous of making a clean sweep.¹⁶

This was only one of the many issues which needed regulation. New dioceses needed to be created, adequate clergy pensions needed to be provided, and the revision of the Prayer Book needed to take place. All of these, with many more causes, contributed to the call for reform, the rise of the Life and Liberty Movement and the eventual passing of the Enabling Act in 1919. This is a subject which is dealt with quite adequately elsewhere, and which will be summarized here.¹⁷ We have already seen the ways in which the nineteenth-century Church explored alternatives to Parliament in the debate about patronage. That the Church needed such organisations is made clear in remarks of Davidson, quoted in his biography:

Not once or twice, or five times or perhaps ten times, have I brought before the Ministers in power during the last quarter of a century matters which, big or little, I thought needed attention at the time in the Church's life, and the answer has been again and again the same, "Probably you are quite right; but with the present pressure upon the time of Parliament and the present attitude of the House of Commons towards the varied work that lies urgently before it, we could never ask the House to give up the days or the weeks that would be necessary". They did not say, "We are opposed to it", or "We are objecting to what you do", but rather, "You are asking a machine to do it, which is already so clogged with work, and work of a different kind, that you are asking an impossibility".¹⁸

Sheer pressure of time made the passing of a Church Bill a matter of unsavoury barter and exchange. In 1913, for instance, in a case quoted by Lloyd, the need was there for the creation of the three dioceses of Sheffield, St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich, and Chelmsford. The

¹⁶ Roger Bradshaigh Lloyd, The Church of England 1900-1965 (London, 1966), pp.152-53.

¹⁷ See, e.g., George Kennedy A. Bell, Randall Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, 2nd ed. 2 vols. (Oxford, 1938), Ch.LIX; Frederic Athelwold Iremonger, William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, his Life and Letters (London, 1948), Chs. XIV-XVII; and Lloyd, pp.232-38.

¹⁸ Bell, II, 968-69.

funds had been subscribed, but the Government could not allow time for the proper debating of the Bill, for it had been made clear that it would not be allowed to pass unopposed. But suddenly, to everyone's surprise, not least Davidson's, it was passed during the Archbishop's summer holiday. He asked Lord Hugh Cecil how this was done and was told:

My nephew, Wolmer, on the Friday before the prorogation, suggested that we might oppose, and so prevent the passage of a number of Non-conformist Charity Bills unless we got the Bishoprics' Bill through.¹⁹

Lloyd summarises Bell:

There followed a deal of backstairs work, conducted with great secrecy. The conspirators promised not to oppose fourteen Charity Bills for Non-conformist bodies. They gained Asquith's support. They chose a moment when they knew the chief opponents to the Bill would have already left London for their holidays, and they sprang the Bishoprics' Bill on the House. Taken by surprise, the members let it through and thus, as Lord Hugh said: "The passage of the Bill resulted partly from a Parliamentary deal, partly from the goodwill of the Prime Minister, partly from the absence of the Liverpool members, and of some strong Radical opponents who were abroad". But it is not thus that dioceses should be created, or by such means that Fathers-in-God should receive their flocks.²⁰

In 1899 Gore published his Essays in Aid of the Reform of the Church, in one of which, by Clement Sturge, the patronage system was attacked, particularly as Parliament had frustrated all attempts at reform. The essay was written before 1898. Since 1870:

No fewer than twenty-five Bills, dealing with various aspects of the problem, have been introduced into the House of Lords or the House of Commons, only two of which have reached the other House of Parliament. Of these the most important was the Bishop of Peterborough's Bill, which passed the House of Commons in 1875, mangled and deprived of its most valuable provisions, Mr. Stanhope's Bill, perhaps the most statesmanlike and comprehensive of the whole series, introduced into the House of Commons in 1881, the two Bills of the Archbishop of Canterbury, brought forward in 1886 and 1887, and the Benefices Bill of 1896, which, after passing its second reading by a majority of 178, and successfully running the gauntlet of the Standing Committee on Law, succumbed at the report stage to the opposition of a little knot of patronage mongers in the House, aided by some

¹⁹ Lloyd, p.232.

²⁰ Lloyd, pp.232-33.

conscientious English liberationists and the more violent of the Welsh irreconcilables.²¹

The issue of patronage was thus one of the strongest reasons for members of the Church to wish to have an independent procedure by which their wishes could become law, but it touched on so many other, related issues, that the reform movement could be said to have contained all who were frustrated with the endless plotting necessary to secure Parliamentary sanction for Church Bills.

Part of the result of Gore's collection of essays was the formation in 1903 of the Representative Church Council, formed to bring the two Houses of Laymen into closer co-operation with Convocation. After much discussion, continued at intervals during several years, it was decided that all the members of the two Houses of Convocation and the House of Laymen in the provinces of Canterbury and York should meet in Council when summoned by the Archbishops. One important result secured by this arrangement was the practical, though not official union of both provinces in one assembly. The power of election was limited to those who had been confirmed, and for this and other reasons, it was by no means truly 'representative'. It was a consultative and not an executive body, with no legal powers. But it did further the process by which diocesan conferences and parochial church councils were coming into being. It still had to fight every inch for reform in Parliament, and obtained far less than it would have wished. But it did provide the Church with an experience of democratic government, and it taught the Church the value of consultation before acting.²²

The Council took the first steps on the road to securing the Enabling Act of 1919. In 1913, it secured the appointment of an Archbishop's Commission on the relationship of Church and State. In

²¹ Clement Y. Sturge, 'Reform of Patronage', in Essays in Aid of the Reform of the Church, edited by Charles Gore (London, 1899), pp.208-09.

²² Lloyd, pp.234-38.

1917, the Commission reported, and proposed a scheme for passing Church legislation through Parliament, which was remarkably like that which the Enabling Act eventually legalized. The Archbishop, welcoming the report, said, 'it is obvious to anyone that it is impossible to make this a fait accompli during the war'.²³

The Life and Liberty Movement, under the leadership of William Temple, 'Dick' Sheppard, and F.A. Iremonger, challenged this view. The National Mission had convinced them that the tasks clarified therein could not be accomplished unless a great measure of legislative liberty were granted to the Church.

Temple, and the others in the movement, devoted themselves to intensive campaigning throughout the country, from 1917, and by the summer of 1919 had created such a demand that the Archbishop was able to set himself to use all his unrivalled skill to get a unanimous resolution out of the Representative Church Council, and to pilot the Enabling Act through Parliament. By the end of 1919, this Act had become law, the New Church Assembly was formed, and the Church of England had become a tempered democracy.

Suffrage was on the basis of baptism, which caused relief to many, like Henson, but not to some Anglo-Catholics. Any more restrictive qualification, it was felt, such as confirmation, or communicant status, would lead to self-perpetuating cliques in certain parishes where the ceremonial ensured that many parishioners would seek neither confirmation nor communion there. The baptismal suffrage was always open to the contrary charge that it was too wide, and allowed interference by nominal church members, but few parish meetings would allow any fanatics to be elected, and by and large they passed without incident.

Nevertheless, Anglo-Catholics did not wish their parishes to be

²³ Bell, II, 960.

represented by anyone with less than the highest standard of churchmanship, and in February of 1920, an article in the Church Union Gazette urged incumbents to press their communicant members to enrol themselves on the Electoral Roll, and attend the Parochial Church Meeting.²⁴ They should, says the article, use discretion in inviting non-communicants to the meeting who, after all, had no proper right to represent the living body of the Church, in spite of all the provisions of all the Enabling Acts in the world. Finally they should scrutinize carefully the qualifications of those who, being non-communicant, yet claimed the right to vote in 'these important elections'.

Anglo-Catholicism, at this stage, was evidently fearful of any idea of parish democracy, and remained so for long afterwards. The promise of the Life and Liberty Movement, that it would not allow patronage to continue to be treated as it had been treated, was no cause for alarm, but many were alarmed. As a consequence, the coming of a more democratic appearance to the Church meant that Anglo-Catholicism 'missed the boat' in this, and in December the Gazette lamented:

The first Meeting of the National Assembly has come and gone, and has shown us that the Catholic Party is but poorly represented in that company so far as numbers go. This is probably (let it be frankly confessed) very largely our own fault. If we had realized the possible implications and consequences of this revolution in Church Government which has taken place we should have been at more pains to secure our own position and perhaps to have secured also some valuable modification of the scheme before it actually took shape ... It is incumbent upon the ECU to make it abundantly clear to everybody concerned that no interference with the spiritual rights and duties of a priest in his cure of souls can be tolerated for one moment.²⁵

The Church Assembly, although undoubtedly concerned with the reform of patronage, had not been constituted solely for this end, and it would be false to presume this. Its broadest aims were to allow the laity greater consultation, and to give the Church that liberty which

²⁴ Church Union Gazette, Feb. 1920, p.33.

²⁵ Church Union Gazette, Dec. 1920, p.345.

Parliament had stifled; on the organisational level this included the establishing of new dioceses to cope with the population of expanding areas; on the human level, it included matters of simple practice, such as regulating for clergy pensions on a sensible system. But the call for lay consultation could not go far without coming up against the patron's rights. In 1920, the layman's rights against the patron consisted of his freedom to complain, with the assurance that nothing would be done. Parishes could still be bought and sold, and the interests and wishes of parishioners ignored. Whatever the motives behind the establishing of the Church Assembly, patronage would become an issue very soon.

The earliest days of the Enabling Act were worrying ones for the Life and Liberty Movement, as Iremonger points out.²⁶ There was a change in interest, from Westminster, to the ordinary Church member, but against this new spirit of democracy stood the clergy, most of whom had become used to ruling unchallenged, and the laity, many of whom were averse to putting their names on anything suggesting a binding commitment. Simple ignorance, too, was a factor. Iremonger records that several letters asked for more information about the new 'Electric Rolls' to which, presumably, the poor of the parish were entitled.²⁷

Anglo-Catholics, as we have seen above, tended not to encourage signatures by means of a general appeal, preferring to restrict the vote to communicants, but some other clergy went from house to house soliciting potential electors to enrol. But generally, the question of enrolment was taken seriously and prayerfully, and the first Church Meeting of electors was well attended:

The laity had been encouraged to believe that they were now to play a vital part in the future management of their Church; at last the time had come when their newly won

²⁶ Iremonger, p.275-81.

²⁷ Iremonger, p.276. See also Crockford Prefaces, the Editor Looks Back (London, 1947), p.7 n.1 (1921-2).

privileges were to be explained to them in detail, and the incumbent would answer all their questions from the chair.

These answers were clear enough. Could they now appoint their parson? No. Could they now recommend a particular man, when the living was vacant to the patron? No. Could they now decide what form of service would be the rule in their Church? No. ... There were then, as there have been ever since, two outstanding points on which feeling among the laity ran high - the appointment of the incumbent and the type of church services - and in both these respects disappointment was widespread.²⁸

3:2 The Benefices Act 1898 (Amendment) Measure 1923

The Church Assembly was aware, at its first sitting, when it attempted to constitute and define the powers of the Parochial Church Councils, that the popular unrest mentioned above existed. Major J.D. Birchall said:

[P.C.C's] desire to have corporately what I believe every individual has now got under the present law individually - the right of approaching the Bishop in the case of a vacancy in a living.²⁹

And Lord Wolmer felt that the laity would resent any attempt to pass over them.³⁰ H.C. Hogan began the call for the Assembly's work of patronage reform. He ventured to say that the time had come when the patron's rights should be most seriously challenged. If a man had purchased or owned the advowson, it did not follow that he had purchased or owned the souls of the people, and it was essential that the parish should have some right of saying what type of man they desired to minister to them. There had been scandals since 1898, and further protection was needed, although now the objections were more likely to be doctrinal than anything else.³¹ Here we have a faint indication of the charge which was to be made more frequently in later years, that patrons ignored the churchmanship of parishes, a charge which the patronage trusts, naturally, found it hardest to counter.

The following year, in the 1921 session, it was moved to set up a

²⁸ Iremonger, p.277-78.

²⁹ Church Assembly Reports, 1920, Spring and Autumn, p.18.

³⁰ C.A.R., 1920, Spring and Autumn, p.24.

³¹ C.A.R., 1920, Spring and Autumn, pp.70-71.

Committee to look into patronage, the sale of advowsons, and the tenure of benefices, and with power to prepare a motion on the subject. This was, said Wolmer, a difficult and intricate problem with which they must grapple.³² Sir Lewis Dibdin said that the scandal resulted from the continuing sale of livings, which should be either abolished or controlled. He was in favour of abolition, while accepting that it would not be easy, and for this reason preferred to temper the blow with compensation in some form.³³

Dibdin also spoke of patronage trusts, and demonstrated the charitable attitude which could still be displayed in pre-1924 days, though mingled with the cynicism towards them which it was fashionable to assume. The more he had seen of the workings of them the less he liked them, but he felt bound in fairness to say that he thought that they were often talked of in a tone which was really exaggerated, and he had never known, in the course of his career, a case of corrupt purchase by a party trust.³⁴

Similarly, the Bishop of Barking defended 'accredited Patronage Trusts'. Trustee patrons were not guilty of abuses. In theory, no real charge could be laid against the trustee system, while in practice it worked out well. Its abandonment would cause the life of the Church to be less healthy and less comprehensive.³⁵

These views should be borne in mind when we come to the years between 1924 and 1933, when the bitterness towards 'the Trusts' reached a peak. Yet rarely was an individual trust accused; an interesting situation, particularly as most of the trusts, while expanding over the period, were not guilty of even minor deception.

Two abortive attempts at patronage reform took place before the

³² C.A.R., 1921, Summer, pp.128-29.

³³ C.A.R., 1921, Summer, pp.129-30.

³⁴ C.A.R., 1921, Summer, p.130.

³⁵ C.A.R., 1921, Summer, pp.131-32.

1923 Benefices Measure, both designed to allow PCCs to veto a patron's nominee. The Further Powers Measure of 1922, which would have left a nominee ignorant of the charges against him, was passed by the Assembly, but rejected by the Ecclesiastical Committee of Parliament, to the delight of the Editor of Crockfords, who pointed out the injustice of such a Measure, particularly as it appeared directed solely against private patrons.³⁶

The Parochial Church Councils (Additional Powers) Measure, rejected by the vote of the House of Clergy, came a little closer to the principles of simple justice: the nominee was to be informed of the charges against him, but, apparently, not granted the right to answer them. Again, the Editor of Crockfords criticised the Measure, and suggested that talk of 'detestable scandals' was exaggerated, as closer acquaintance with the working of the patronage system would demonstrate.³⁷ He did not consider trusts worthy of mention. Reform in this direction was to continue after the sale of advowsons was ended.

In the Spring of 1923, Dibdin moved the Benefices Act 1898 (Amendment) Measure, which was finally given the Royal Assent on the 14 July 1924. This was an interim Measure to prevent the worst cause of abuse, and was not intended to be final: after all, the Committee on Patronage had not yet made its recommendations. In it, Dibdin encapsulated his compromise between abolition and compensation - granting the patron the right to sell his benefice before two vacancies had occurred in the living. In effect, this meant that if he sold immediately, then he could expect to receive a payment equivalent to selling two next presentations before 1898, each of which was, on average, two-thirds of the value of an advowson. This solution appeared

³⁶ Crockford Prefaces, pp.13-14.

³⁷ Crockford Prefaces, pp.27-28.

to be ideal: the patron who wanted compensation could sell his advowson immediately, and more than recoup its value. Everyone else would be given adequate notice of the end of sales, and advowsons which were not sold would gradually lose their market value, and become what they should always have been: property upon trust. Furthermore, any patron who wished his living to be immediately incapable of sale, could make a declaration to that effect. In this way, he became entitled to augmentation of the value of the living by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, whose funds for this purpose were only available to public patrons, or those whose livings could not be sold. This was a simple precaution against a patron's improving his living at the Church's expense, and selling it to his own advantage.

The Dean of Westminster believed that the Measure would remove an abuse, and clear the good name of the Church of England. He thanked God that the attitude of a century ago had changed, and that sympathy was now felt for the parish, rather than for the 'hard done by' patrons.³⁸ Albert Mitchell re-echoed this view. The Measure was opportune, coming as it did at a time when large estates were being sold off, when usually the advowson was the final thing sold. The opportunity for limited sales would put patronage in better hands.³⁹ Convocation generally welcomed the legislation, and passed a motion to this effect, proposed by Canon Scott-Moncrieff.⁴⁰ On the same day, Prebendary Hay had well expressed the view of bemused conservatives everywhere, when he described the private patronage system as 'utterly indefensible ... in theory' but said that it 'almost passed the wit of man to devise an alternative that would act better in practice'.⁴¹ And Dr. Kidd pointed out that if private patronage were to decline in favour of episcopal patronage, there was an equal danger of party men exercising their power

³⁸ C.A.R., 1923, Spring, pp.57-58.

³⁹ C.A.R., 1923, Spring, pp.58-59.

⁴⁰ Chronicles of Convocation, Feb.1923, p.127-28.

⁴¹ C.O.C., Feb.1923, p.68.

in a way which could be dangerous. The twentieth-century bishop, said Kidd, would, if transplanted to the nineteenth century, have caused the decline of both Evangelicals and trusts. Scott-Moncrieff argued that when patronage was no longer marketable, it would lose the mystique of 'private property' and consultation between the patron and other interested parties would occur with greater willingness.⁴²

Feelings against sales were running high: the Measure appeared sensible and reforming, and it was passed. It came into effect on the date when it was given the Royal Assent, 14 July 1924, and like the 1898 Act, excepted transfers of appendant advowsons sold with estates. Patrons were also forbidden to present themselves. Almost immediately, the perceptive were able to see that something had gone wrong. Rather than sales falling off, they multiplied. Many patrons did not think first of their spiritual responsibilities, but of the potential sources of capital which they held, and which were losing value daily. They sold.

In 1922 and 1923, 86 and 91 advowsons, respectively, were transferred. By 1925 this had risen to 132, and after a lull, the figure for 1929 was 200, not worryingly large as a proportion of all benefices, but still a sufficient increase to cause concern.⁴³ Large numbers of these transfers must have been sales, although there is evidence that gifts of patronage increased with sales, and here again, 1929 was the year of note.

The Assembly's embarrassment was apparent. At a time when they believed that it was safe to assume a diminution of the Victorian profit motive, here were patrons showing that given public 'approval' to sell, they would do so. Who were the purchasers? This is a difficult question to answer, although some attempt will be made later. Clearly

⁴² C.O.C., Feb. 1923, pp. 103-04. Kidd was Warden of Keble College.

⁴³ P.P. 1932-3, X, 164.

some sales were to other private patrons, but some were, equally clearly, made to trusts acting from party motives, either the Bishop of Barking's mythical 'accredited' trusts, or local groups, perhaps patrons of only one living, where the problem of establishing 'party' feelings is immense. But for our present purpose, the identity of the real purchasers is less important than the Assembly's widespread assumption that party trusts were the guilty ones.

There were many reasons for this attitude. It was galling to have to admit that patrons' motives were not as pure as had been assumed in the framing of the Measure. Groups of trustees were easier to accuse than individuals, and might be presumed to act with a certain corporate irresponsibility. In short, they were scapegoats who stood ready to hand. Was it not they who were ruled by the 'dead hand' of past generations? Was it not they who were set on acquiring advowsons, even for money? Had not their founders eaten the sour grapes of the purchase system, and were not their inheritors' teeth set on edge?

This desire to find a scapegoat can be seen in the debates of the Church Assembly. Every speaker who declared himself acquainted with one trust or another always took pains to assert that they were not the guilty ones. Behind them all lay a quintessential 'corrupt trust', which no one had yet succeeded in locating.

But a further, and sadder, reason is the fact that in one trust at least, there were grounds for mistrust, but until the 1930s, it was not accused. The Martyrs' Memorial Trust, which will be discussed in greater detail elsewhere, certainly abused its position in some cases, and in countless others its very secrecy caused suspicion and mistrust of the whole system. Some other trusts, unfortunately, adopted its methods in this 'boom' period for the advowsons market, but on a greatly reduced scale. Indeed it could well be argued that the 1933 Benefices Measure was drawn up solely with the Martyrs' Memorial Trust in view, although it did have a wider effectiveness.

In short, if much of what the Church Assembly said about the responsibility for the increase in sales was mythical, it did have a basis in truth. But it should not blind us to the fact that the immediate cause of sales was the naivety of the Church Assembly, in assuming that the 1923 Measure would reduce and finally end sales without first artificially boosting them.

3:3 Further Attempts at Reform

In the 1925 session, the Committee on Patronage and Tenure of Benefices at last made its report. It recommended that private patronage should be retained, as a means of interesting laymen in Church affairs, and preserving a certain variety in appointments. Parishioners ought to be consulted during a vacancy, but should not be given the right of choosing the incumbent. PCC representation to the bishop ought to be allowed, with the right of appeal to the archbishop. In this way the bishop could refuse a man if he considered him unsuitable for the parish.⁴⁴

There was disagreement on both sides with the report. Some, like H.J. Torr, felt that it deprived parishioners of their existing right to object to the bishop after the name of the incumbent was known. Torr wanted more, not less, power to the man in the pew.⁴⁵ Others felt that to allow parishioners a say in the appointment, would lead to party feeling within the parish. This was the view of the Bishop of Durham.⁴⁶ Wolmer suggested trusting the bishops in their job of checking a nominee's antecedents. He opposed giving too much power to the PCCs in the belief that, given the name of a proposed clergyman, they would only gossip, and might well spoil his chances of any appointment.⁴⁷

Much was said in favour of Diocesan Boards of Patronage.

⁴⁴ C.A.R., 1925, Spring, pp.2-5.

⁴⁵ C.A.R., 1925, Spring, pp.5-7.

⁴⁶ Herbert Hensley Henson.

⁴⁷ C.A.R., 1925, Spring, pp.14-16.

J.P. Hargreaves argued that the present patronage system deprived the Church as a whole of the right of appointing its own officers. Every patron was responsible to no one else in the choice he made. The idea of 'private patronage' was a contradiction in terms, because patronage was a public matter, and should not be left in private hands. The system as it then existed was a usurpation of the rights of the Church, and Hargreaves felt that the future lay in a nationwide system of Patronage Boards.⁴⁸

These were opposed by those who felt that they would lead to blandness and uniformity within a diocese. A reform of the present system, rather than a radically new departure, was called for. Allowing more consultation with the PCC would only blacken a man's name if it was fairly black to begin with. In this atmosphere, the report was received.

The Bishop of Ely⁴⁹ then moved two resolutions: 1. that the PCC should make representations as to the needs of the parish, but without suggesting any individual, and 2. that the bishop should inform the patron when he considered a candidate unfit for the benefice. The laity wanted a voice, he said, not the power of election. As this was debated, it was heavily amended by those in favour of the DBP system, and the Bishop remarked that it was a comfort to him to know that, having worked steadily at the Patronage Committee for three years, he had succeeded in getting through the word 'that'.⁵⁰

Dibdin eventually carried the motion which would favour establishing DBPs and then went on to propose, successfully, that they should be empowered to handle the patronage of livings which lapsed to the Crown, and that of Roman Catholics, Jews, Aliens, Lunatics, Infants, Bankrupts, and certain criminals.

⁴⁸ C.A.R., 1925, Spring, pp.7-9.

⁴⁹ L.J. White-Thompson.

⁵⁰ C.A.R., 1925, Spring, p.36.

At this point the Spring debate on the subject ended, and further discussion was postponed at first until the Summer, and then to the Autumn. This time, the point at issue was the structure of the DBPs. A.T. Lawrence attempted to forbid any bishop from holding or acquiring more than half of the diocesan patronage, but this was rejected. Lord Wolmer's motion that the Lord Chancellor's and Crown Office patronage should be transferable to the bishop or the DBP was carried, although he admitted that only the poorest livings might benefit from this, in order to obtain augmentation. It was agreed that the New Parishes Acts of the previous century had created an unfortunate situation in establishing 'Crown and Bishop' patronage, which alternated. It was accepted that this should be brought to an end, and fully vested in the bishop; and that episcopal patronage in other dioceses should be transferred to the bishop of the diocese in question.⁵¹ This was a fairly contentious issue. Bishops were (and are) not averse to 'flinging their dead cats over the wall'; depriving them of the patronage which helped them to do this was one way of stopping it. On the other hand, it would leave bishops of industrial dioceses with no rural livings to give to men who needed a rest. Or was this the same issue under a new guise?

Slowly the debate moved into the party groove. Canon Guy Rogers moved that patronage should only be transferred with the consent of the PCC, and this was carried.⁵² With the increase in the sale of livings, patronage went totally over the heads of the parishioners, who ought to be consulted. This principle, like several others in the debate, had to wait several years before it was formulated in a Measure. The Bishop of Exeter⁵³ said that it was monstrous to transfer patronage by sale to trusts, ignoring the parishioners, and forcing them to hear views of

⁵¹ C.A.R., 1925, Autumn, pp.412-21.

⁵² C.A.R., 1925, Autumn, pp.431-35.

⁵³ R.E.W.G. Cecil.

which they might disapprove. Responding to this, Viscount Wolmer moved 'That trustee patrons should be enabled in all cases to appoint any fit and proper clerk to a benefice, and should be freed from all special restrictions upon their choice imposed by the terms of the trust'.⁵⁴ Wolmer's motives in moving this are hard to assess. In fact it would have had little effect on party trusts, most of which would not exist if their members did not feel some commitment to 'special restrictions', even if they were not expressed in a written trust deed. He claimed that it was directed at trusts which required, for example, membership of a particular college for their nominees, but as Albert Mitchell said, if that was all that was intended, then the motion was too vague, and would in effect be more far reaching.⁵⁵

At this point, it was generally felt that the debate had gone far enough. Canon Rogers said that he had no desire to attack particular trusts. He had a high regard for some of them, especially as he held a trust living.⁵⁶ Wolmer moved that a committee be established to draft a measure, and this was carried.⁵⁷

As the report of Church patronage reforms became more widely known, parishioners reacted to it in various ways. Various Free Churchmen of Halifax petitioned the Prime Minister, urging him to ensure that no reduction of the patronage of the Vicar of Halifax should be allowed, as this would reduce the importance of the Vicarage. Such patronage should not be centralized in board or bishop:

We therefore appeal to the Crown, the patron of the living of Halifax, to oppose any interference with the ancient prerogatives of the Vicar of Halifax as regards advowsons;

⁵⁴ C.A.R., 1925, Autumn, p.477.

⁵⁵ C.A.R., 1925, Autumn, pp.477-78.

⁵⁶ He was the Rector of St.Martin's, Birmingham, in the patronage of the St.Martin's Trustees.

⁵⁷ C.A.R., 1925, Autumn, pp.514-18. It should be noted that the Life and Liberty Movement, in a circular of 2 March 1926, opposed the trend of the reforms, on the grounds that they gave the bishop a veto in every appointment and, consequently, too much power.

and to secure the deletion of this objectionable proposal from any measure submitted to the Church Assembly.⁵⁸

That such a petition should have come from Non-conformists demonstrates the strength of feeling about patronage, even though the chief objection in this case was to a loss of civic prestige.

Furthermore, Archbishop Davidson was sent petitions from at least two parishes, expressing the belief that the patronage question would not be settled until the laity were given an effective voice in the choice of an incumbent.⁵⁹

The debate of 1925 had established the broad outlines which legislation was to take, in the following years. From the nineteenth century, the general patronage reforms which the Church desired were clear. Those who wished for greater lay rights, wanted members of a congregation either to be able to veto nominations, or to make some representations concerning the needs of the parish. This overlapped with the wishes of those who preferred a responsible centralization, and called for the establishment of DBPs in each diocese, along the lines of those which existed already in a semi-official capacity. Whether the 1923 Measure was passed or not, these two reforms would have been advocated.

But gradually, as the extent of the revived advowsons market was realised, and as party trusts were blamed, a new call for reform was heard. The trusts, it was felt, operated in secrecy, and were assisted in this by general ignorance of the patronage of particular livings. 'The Bishop of Chichester's Bill' therefore required that all transfers of patronage should be registered, and congregations given the right to object to an intended transfer. The Bill was needed, whatever the truth of the story that party trusts were to blame. But it was not

⁵⁸ Davidson 'Patronage 1925'.

⁵⁹ Davidson 'Patronage 1925', petitions from St. George, Mossley, 10-3-1925, and from St. John the Evangelist, Blackheath, 25-6-1925.

retrospective, and could not deal with those livings which were seen to be languishing under the domination of unsympathetic patrons. Thus the fifth Benefices Measure was an attempt to allow parishioners to re-purchase their patronage and transfer it to the DBP. It is significant not so much for what it achieved, which was probably less than was imagined, but for the fact that it was, in effect, an attack upon one trust alone, and indeed, almost on one man.

These measures were debated together in rather a confusing way, and we set out, in Table 2, the progress of the four later measures, namely, the Benefices (Diocesan Boards of Patronage) Measure (DBP Measure);

the Benefices (Exercise of Rights of Presentation) Measure. (ERP Measure);

the Benefices (Transfer of Rights of Patronage) Measure (TRP Measure);

and the Benefices (Purchase of Rights of Patronage) Measure (PRP Measure).

But as the debates on one Bill impinged on the others, it is perhaps best to examine them chronologically, as far as possible, particularly as this highlights the changing attitude to trusts from 1925 to 1933. It should also be borne in mind that these Measures had to compete with a great deal of 'other business' not the least of which, in the years leading to 1928, concerned the Revised Prayer Book.

Patronage did not obsess the Assembly, as much as this account suggests, but whenever it was discussed, party feelings tended to come to the fore.

In the Spring of 1926, the DBP and ERP Measures were discussed, and referred to a committee, at whose suggestion, in the Spring of 1927, the two were united into one Measure, as they were seen to be running on

similar lines.⁶⁰ Discussion was then postponed from session to session until the Spring of 1929, despite Wolmer's protests in the previous Autumn that it was being pushed behind other Measures of less importance. The great work of the Patronage Committee was being held up, and this despite the fact that there was a large measure of agreement on the central proposition of the Measure, that the parishioners should have an effective means of preventing party trusts, and patrons who abused their powers, from foisting unsuitable and unpalatable parsons on a parish.⁶¹

The TRP Measure, which had first arisen in Autumn 1928, was similarly postponed to the next Spring, although there was a debate in the Autumn Session, principally to do with ways of curbing the powers of the party trusts. The Bishop of Manchester⁶² was concerned at the extent of sales over the heads of parishioners, particularly to the trusts. His own experience of them, in his Diocese, where their patronage was considerable, was that they had shown every desire to exhibit consideration for the people whose spiritual interests were in their hands. But the tendency was undesirable. Dibdin pointed out that it was simply due to the drop in value of livings, but the Bishop of St. Albans⁶³ was more decisive. Trusts ought to be stopped, and if they could not be stopped, at least it should be made impossible for them to carry on the sale of patronage which they had been carrying on. Doubtless they were careful, but this did not alter the fact that they would only nominate those clergy who held their views. Such trustees might well be absentees, yet they were able to impose their will on the parish. Canon F. Partridge wished patrons to be better informed about the trusts, so that they did not dispose of their livings 'in the dark'.

'Those Trusts ... are out to get advowsons', he said, which was

⁶⁰ C.A.R., 1927, Spring, p.20.

⁶¹ C.A.R., 1928, Autumn, pp.406-08.

⁶² William Temple.

⁶³ M.B. Furse.

certainly true of some.⁶⁴ The TRP Measure would give the PCC the power to fight a trust, by refusing to allow the transfer.

In the Spring of 1929, the Benefices (Patronage) Measure - the old DBP and ERP Measures - was discussed at great length, and sent back to the committee. The Bishop of Ely urged that it be made law 'forthwith', Lord Hugh Cecil adding that the urgent need was for the PCC to be consulted. Wolmer emphasized that the Measure was designed only to affect a small part of the whole Church, that part where patrons were inconsiderate. A number of active party trusts were every month acquiring more livings, and their object was to force men of a particular ecclesiastical complexion upon any parish of which they happened to obtain the advowson. The moderate laity regarded that as an intolerable abuse of the powers of a patron.⁶⁵

The Archdeacon of the East Riding reminded the Assembly that a break in tradition, which could be caused by a party trust, was no bad thing, and could often renew the life of a dying church. It was, after all, party men who had often established the 'tradition' in the first place, and then declared that it should be ever thereafter inviolable.⁶⁶ This should be borne in mind. There were cases where an evangelical trust upset an Anglo-Catholic 'tradition' which had not existed prior to the last incumbent.⁶⁷

Lord Hugh Cecil, avoiding the awkward issue of party trusts, (he being himself a trustee of Keble College), merely proposed that anyone not professing himself a Christian should be excluded from being a patron, and this was carried. He had also to report that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge would not accept the vesting of Roman Catholic patronage in DBPs, and this clause was therefore

⁶⁴ C.A.R., 1928, Autumn, pp.487-90.

⁶⁵ C.A.R., 1929, Spring, pp.24-36.

⁶⁶ C.A.R., 1929, Spring, pp.72-73.

⁶⁷ Information supplied verbally by Canon B. Green.

dropped.⁶⁸ Similar feelings, from Parliament, led later to the dropping of any attempt to legislate for Crown Patronage, for Parliament would never yield its prerogative of interfering with Crown privileges.⁶⁹

Little was done in the Summer session. Cecil complained of the abuses brought about by partisans using their money solely to extend the sway of partisans, but such talk was becoming routine.⁷⁰ Canon H.T. Knight felt that the real need of the laity was for protection against radical changes in services, which could be secured simply by giving the bishop more grounds for refusing an appointment.⁷¹ This, however, was felt to be a retrograde step, in that it offered nothing to the parishioners, and it was later withdrawn.

By the Autumn of 1929, the TRP Measure was being discussed again, while the Patronage Measure appeared so encumbered that it looked unlikely ever to see the light. Again, the debate was almost wholly conducted from the anti-trust standpoint. The Bishop of Chichester⁷² pointed out that sales of advowsons had increased again, and said that party trusts showed the greatest activity in this matter. Patrons, he felt, should be told of the dangers of the trusts, particularly where dioceses have Boards of Patronage established. Sir Thomas Inskip agreed that it was undesirable for transfers to be done in a hole-and-corner way, but felt that talk of party trusts was a red-herring. What, he asked, was a party trust? If he and other evangelicals combined as patrons of a living, were they a party trust? If the Bishop decided to appoint none but men of his own school, was that a party trust? Certainly there were Protestant and Anglo-Catholic trusts which were party. The number had been exaggerated, but a great many trusts were under a cloud because of people's loose terminology. Those who were

⁶⁸ C.A.R., 1929, Spring, p.141.

⁶⁹ C.A.R., 1929, Summer, p.336.

⁷⁰ C.A.R., 1929, Summer, pp.337-40.

⁷¹ C.A.R., 1929, Summer, pp.345-47.

⁷² G.K.A. Bell.

doing their best, in consultation with the bishops, to use the trust committed to them, had to suffer from the obloquy with the rest.

Wolmer replied that Inskip's hypothetical Evangelical friends would be a party trust, and that there was all the difference in the world between a trust and a party bishop. A bishop, after all, was local, but a trust was national. That trusts should exercise the right of presentation in defiance of the wishes of parishioners was an intolerable scandal, leading to a loud demand for reform.

The Bishop of Chester spoke of the particular evil of party trusts buying advowsons for money. He mentioned several trusts known to him which refused to buy advowsons, although they would accept them as gifts. In speaking of Simeon's Trust, he remarked on its 'extraordinary gentleness and consideration', and said that he owed them a very great debt of gratitude. But those trusts which did purchase advowsons were causing an evil which he was seeking to publicize, particularly when they carried out their work of purchase through individuals, to deceive the patrons of their intention.

That this was true was shown by the Rev. W.R. Johnson, who said that certain trusts worked through solicitors, who would invite sales of advowsons, not revealing where they would be transferred. Johnson did not wish to condemn the trusts as roundly as others had done. If they wished to spend their money in this way, then it at least showed their sincerity; but no one wanted to see an extension of party patronage in the way in which it had been proceeding, which was, after all, largely a Protestant advance. It was a matter of simple justice to say that the Anglo-Catholic party had not had its hands in the traffic to anything like the same extent, if to any extent at all, in comparison with others.

The Rev. F.J. Edmond felt that one should distinguish between those trusts which sought to preserve a pre-existing tradition, and those which broke a long-standing tradition simply because they opposed

it. Surely preserving a tradition was legitimate, and in this respect most of the societies worked with clean hands. But the bishop should establish if the clerk he was presenting had promised anything to the trust.

Mr. A.C. Kelway referred to an advertisement by a Protestant trust, appealing for money to buy three advowsons, and saying that they owned fifty and could purchase fifty more, if people would subscribe.

The Bishop of Ely, using stronger language than was justified by the tone of the debate, said that they all knew that party trusts were altogether bad things, and had been proved to be so in their working, for the undeniable reason that appointments were made regardless of the wishes of the parishioners. Bishops, however bad as patrons, were only mortal, but a party trust never died.⁷³

The Measure was committed to a Committee after only four had voted against the proposal. The Patronage Measure, likewise, was sent back to the Committee.

This debate has been set down in some detail because of its significance for the whole subject, and for the tendencies which it shows. First of all, the Bishop of Ely's remarks about the universal unpopularity of the party trusts were exaggerated, as preceding speakers had shown. The trusts were not all disliked, and were not all shown to be bad in their working. But so many people had criticized them in some measure, that few people felt willing to speak in opposition - it was almost felt that such support would prove one's own worldliness, party prejudice, or whatever. Thus there must have been a 'silent majority' in the debates who, while supporting PCC powers, were not averse to every aspect of every trust.

A second point to notice is Inskip's remark that party trusts were a red herring. This is not strictly true - many people believed that

⁷³ C.A.R., 1929, Autumn, pp.434-49.

a vote for the TRP Measure was a vote to limit party trusts, and nothing else. But it is true that the 'particular evils of party trusts' could as well be the evils of private non-party patrons. A patron could present anyone, without consulting the PCC, and might appoint an objectionable man, just as much as might a trust. It was small comfort to reflect that the patron was only mortal, and therefore limited in the evils he could perpetrate. One could equally well argue that the patron, in selling to a trust, proved that he cared less for the parish than would the trust. In short, all patrons would be affected by the PCCs' increased rights under the TRP Measure, and it would doubtless be used more against private patrons than against trusts.

Thirdly, the objection to trusts buying advowsons was a genuine one, and deeply felt. But it was felt out of proportion to the crime: for most of the major trusts did not buy advowsons. Nevertheless, the few who did coloured everyone's attitude to all trusts: all were seen as potential purchasers, to be stopped.

Fourthly, we should appreciate the growing realization that a party church was by no means an evil in itself, provided that it was not too rigid or exclusive, and that the preservation of a genuine tradition was a stabilizing element. The fear of the 'immortal trust' must be balanced by the awareness that for at least some, a church which did not swing violently between extremes with each change of patronage, and which did not wallow in latitudinarian hollowness with each nepotistic appointment, was something to be welcomed, not howled down.

Fifthly, most trustees were no better or worse than religiously motivated private patrons, and therefore the charge of 'disregard for parishioners' holds only as much as it does for other patrons. Few trustees were anxious to reform their patronage, it is true, and so there is a tendency to view them as 'the opposition', simply because the Church Assembly has left more records of its own views, which fit in better with our conception of the way the Church should be thinking.

Finally, we must recognize in all this, the creation of a scape-goat. Party patronage was made to stand for all that epitomised the contemporary evils of patronage - its conservatism, its unwillingness to consult, its willingness to buy and sell advowsons. But, as has been said, behind all the baseless accusation, lay a foundation of truth. Some trusts did buy patronage regardless of the tradition, and appoint regardless of the congregation, and some operated as individuals in the hope of deceiving sellers. But they were a minority. Church Assembly would have been better employed in ignoring the scape-goat, and finding the black sheep.

The question of patronage trusts was raised in Convocation in 1929 by Canon C.E. Douglas, who held that they often took no interest in a man once he was appointed. Of course this charge could be made of several private patrons. The Rev. S.E.B. Serle revealed that he had resigned from the Patronage Committee of the Church Assembly because he had come to the conclusion that the Committee, which was more than one hundred strong, was simply anxious to follow 'a leading layman' and to do exactly what he suggested.⁷⁴ B.J. Kidd was opposed to patronage boards, because of the fear of gossip. Dealing with the patronage of Keble College, he had frequently to reject a large number of applicants, but did not wish this information to be used as a reflection on the men rejected. Canon Knight repeated that he wished to see the bishop's veto extended, rather than any change in legislation. Parishioners needed protection, rather than added powers.⁷⁵

In the Spring of 1930, the TRP Measure was further revised. The panic about the increase in sales led Dibdin to call for their phasing out, and Inskip to seek to abolish them. It was, however, pointed out that Parliament would assume from this that the Assembly could not make

⁷⁴ C.O.C., Feb. 1929, pp. 60, 61. The 'layman' was probably Inskip, an Evangelical. Serle was an Anglo-Catholic.

⁷⁵ C.O.C., July 1929, pp. 194-97.

up its mind. If the Measure were passed, trusts would not be able to buy secretly any more, and surely this was all that was desired.⁷⁶ The Measure was sent back to the Committee.

Inskip persisted, however, and was granted a Committee to prepare a Measure to abolish the sale of advowsons. To counter this, Albert Mitchell remarked that the patronage trusts had imported a purer and better tone into advowsons business. All should be grateful to them.⁷⁷

This was rather an idiosyncratic view for the Assembly, but it went unchallenged.

Consideration then turned to the Patronage Measure. It was now realized that DBPs were going to be rather different in practice from the way they had appeared in theory, in 1925. For this reason, the Patronage and Tenure Committee were asked to divide their Measure in two - a DBP Measure and an ERP Measure. They were thus back where they had started.⁷⁸

3:4 The Patronage Measures of the 1930s

The next session considered a great deal of patronage business. Inskip had drawn up a new Benefices Act 1898 (Amendment) Measure, to abolish all sales, but this was first postponed to the end of the debate, and then defeated. Some were uncharitable enough to accuse Inskip of waiting until Evangelicals had run out of money for purchasing advowsons, before putting the Measure. If anyone wanted to think that, let them, he said. Hugh Cecil made the sensible comment that patronage abuse had lasted for eight hundred years, and could surely survive a little longer, and die out under the provisions of the 1923 Measure, which was at least equitable.⁷⁹

The DBP, ERP and TRP Measures were each debated three times, and finally approved. There had been some pressure to lay all three before

⁷⁶ C.A.R., 1930, Spring, pp.174-81.

⁷⁷ C.A.R., 1930, Spring, pp.186-89.

⁷⁸ C.A.R., 1930, Spring, pp.194-95.

⁷⁹ C.A.R., 1930, Summer, pp.325-30.

Parliament at once, and thus to complete all patronage business within the session. For this reason, an amendment to reform Crown Patronage was withdrawn. It was hoped that the Crown might voluntarily reform its own patronage:⁸⁰ it did not.

All three Measures were considered by the Ecclesiastical Committee, and on the 1 August 1930 the Benefices (Transfer of Rights of Patronage) Measure 1930 received the Royal Assent. The last Measure had been the first passed. What were its provisions?

In general, it provided for discussion between the interested parties, rather than any veto, and this depended largely on the patron's good will, or the bishop's personality. The patron was obliged, before transferring his patronage, to notify the bishop, supplying details of the intending purchaser; and could be called by the bishop to consult with him, or through representatives, about the proposed transfer, within twenty-one days of the notification.

The bishop, in his turn, was obliged to communicate with the Churchwardens and the Secretary of the PCC, within one month of receipt of the notification, supplying full information, and inviting objections within a period of fourteen days, which were to be passed on to the patron.

The Benefices Act 1898 was amended, so that transfers of patronage could not be registered until, (1) a month after notice had been sent to the Churchwardens and the Secretary of the PCC and, (2) the patron had complied with the terms of the Measure.

In cases where the bishop was himself the patron, he notified the church, and objections and consultations were to be held directly with him. The PCC were, in this case, allowed twenty-one days in which to pass a resolution that a conference should take place.

⁸⁰ C.A.R., 1930, Summer, pp.374-75.

On receipt of a notice under the Measure, it was to be fixed to the main door of the church, to ensure publicity.⁸¹ In permitting consultation, rather than the opportunity to submit objections, the Measure was an advance, although the PCC were certainly not granted powers equal to those of the patron, or even the bishop.

The other two Measures were debated briefly in succeeding years. The ERP Measure was given the Royal Assent on the 8 July 1931.

A vacancy or impending vacancy was to be notified by the bishop to the patron and the PCC. The PCC might then make written representations to the patron as to the conditions, needs, and traditions of the parish, but without mentioning the name of any particular clerk. A copy was to be sent to the bishop.

The PCC might also, within thirty days after notice of a vacancy or impending vacancy, pass a resolution that Section 3 of the Measure was to have effect, and this was to be communicated to the bishop and patron. Should they not do this, then the patron appointed on his own authority, but taking due regard for the peculiarities of the parish. But if they did, the patron might present only after consulting with, and obtaining the consent of, the churchwardens as representing the PCC.

If nothing had happened in this respect sixty days after the notification of the vacancy, through no fault of the patron's, then he might present after obtaining the bishop's approval of the presentee. Before this approval was given or withheld the bishop might, and if the PCC or patron required, would consult the Body of Advisers which Section 4 of the Measure set up. If the bishop finally withheld his consent, the patron might appeal to the archbishop (or if the archbishop was the diocesan, to the other archbishop). If the bishop was himself the patron, he had to consult the churchwardens as representing the PCC, and again was allowed, or compelled, as the case might be, to consult the

⁸¹ See Church Acts and Measures, pp.603-06.

Body of Advisers, before collating to the benefice.

The Body of Advisers was to consist of three clergy elected triennially by the Chamber of Clergy of the Diocesan Conference, and four laymen elected triennially by the Chamber of Laity together with the archdeacon as chairman.⁸²

This Measure was, in many ways, the Magna Carta of the PCC, despite the fact that it multiplied bureaucracy, and thus prepared the way for other Measures, where the point at issue could be buried in paper. It was also a badly publicized piece of legislation, having had a relatively easy gestation, and even in 1936, could be unknown to Simeon's Trustees who, one might have imagined, would have studied it avidly.⁸³

The DBP Measure ran into difficulties in the Summer of 1931, because the Legal Committee felt that Lord Hugh Cecil's category of 'not a professing Christian' was an extremely difficult one to apply. The revised Bill was postponed to Autumn, and then, when the 'National Crisis' caused that session to be cancelled, to the Spring of 1932. This time it was not debated at length for, as W.H. Coles said, it had effectively been passed when it was first considered.⁸⁴ It received the Royal Assent on the 16 June 1932.

This was a very short Measure, smaller even than the 1923 legislation, but with an effect on the Church of England out of all proportion to its size, in that today the Diocesan Board of Patronage is a firmly established part of the ecclesiastical landscape. Various voluntary boards to deal with patronage had already been established, but the Measure gave them a uniform structure and procedure.

The Board was to consist of the bishop as chairman; three diocesan

⁸² See Church Acts and Measures, pp.606-11.

⁸³ Simeon's Trustees, by their ignorance of this Measure, fell foul of the Churchwardens of Cheltenham Parish Church, in a case which produced more heat than light.

⁸⁴ C.A.R., 1932, Spring, p.62.

clergy, to be elected by the Chamber of Clergy of the Diocesan Conference; five laymen, elected by the chamber of Laity of the Diocesan Conference and, for the purpose of transacting any business relating to particular benefices, the archdeacon and rural dean in whose archdeaconary and rural deanery the benefice was situated. The members of the Board were to be elected by proportional representation, using the single transferable vote system.

The Board was given power to acquire, hold, and transfer any right of patronage, and to exercise any right of presentation or other right of a patron incident to a right of patronage held by the Board, or conferred on the Board, provided that no transfer to the Board could take place without the consent of the relevant PCC, unless the parish became part of another diocese.

The Board was to be elected every three years, with, generally, six members as a quorum, and no member was to take any part in business in which he himself had an interest.

The Measure contained other details about the regulation of the Boards, but in principal it was almost an enabling act, allowing a body to be elected, but giving it no patronage to administer.⁸⁵

The PRP Measure was now to occupy most of the time devoted to patronage by the Assembly.

In 1931, with the three Measures on patronage either law, or well on the way to becoming law, one might imagine that the issue would be allowed to fall. That it was not, is due largely to the work of the Church Patronage Protection Committee, a semi-autonomous organ of the English Church Union, which between 1931 and 1934 held meetings, campaigned, published, and did all in its power to resist the advance of party trusts, both individually, and through the Church Assembly.

⁸⁵ See Church Acts and Measures, pp.612-14.

That the Assembly debates should reflect this in the often violent nature of their language is no surprise, for they were thoroughly steeped in the articles and pamphlets which were being produced at this time. At this stage we shall concentrate on the debates within Church Assembly, and at a later stage will examine the work of the small but influential CPPC.

In the Spring session, 1931, the Rev. W.R. Johnson proposed that a Committee be set up to introduce a Measure which would enable rights of patronage transferred by sale since the 14 July 1924, (the date of introduction of the 1923 Measure), to be acquired by purchase by the PCC, the bishop, or the DBP. In principle this was carried, but in an amended form, so that it empowered the Committee to draw up a Measure as they saw fit, in view of recent sales of patronage.⁸⁶

Johnson's speech in moving his proposal emphasised the extent to which the subject of patronage, and especially of the sale of patronage, had occupied the Assembly from its beginning. Although no one, perhaps, would condemn in all circumstances the sale of patronage, yet the scandal of the kind of trade going on had been felt ten years ago to be so great that one of the first duties of the Assembly had been to abolish it. This was wishful thinking on Johnson's part. The 1923 Measure aimed to end all sales, because private patrons were felt to be abusing their trust. He was correct, however, in saying that it had actually caused sales to increase, with the consequent increase in the activities of the party trusts. What Johnson wanted was the introduction of a compulsory purchase system, by which the PCC would buy up the advowson. The patron would not lose any money in this way, and the system would be self-policing, since only those parishes which disliked their present patronage would attempt to end it in this way.

Inskip, perhaps, came closest to the truth, when he said that he

⁸⁶ C.A.R., 1931, Spring, pp.121-40.

reckoned that, with a couple of exceptions, party trusts operated with a single eye to the glory of God and the welfare of the Church. They tended to consult everyone involved.

He referred to an article in the Church Times of 21 November 1930, which we shall deal with fully later, entitled 'Buying Up the Church of England'. This was, in reality the 'first blast' of the Church Patronage Protection Committee, and designed to be as shocking as possible. Inskip said that it seemed to be faced with a difficulty as to how far it was to go in speaking of the trusts: it insulted Simeon's Trust as fulsomely as the rest. He reminded his listeners that Simeon's Trust had arisen in response to a general indifference in the Church, rather than to any party issue. When it used the power of the purse, it was to promote spiritual religion. But here one could read:

Well, the Simeon Trustees are less narrow than most of their fellow-Trusts, but, even with them, Evening Communion and the 'north end' obtains in a great many of their churches.⁸⁷

This was one of the weakest points of the article, which could point to no more than these two features, both of which were anathema to Anglo-Catholics, but neither of which indicated a great deal of spiritual bondage on the part of parishioners. Surely, said Inskip, it was not a party scandal if some approved of Evening Communion, and valued North End celebrations.

The proposers of the motion, he said, really wanted patrons to be forced to sell their patronage. But he was a trustee for the CPAS, a trust which held 120 livings, for which it had not paid a penny. Would they be forced to sell? Inskip conveniently forgot the terms of reference of Johnson's motion, that it concerned sales of advowsons since 1924, and would affect the CPAS not at all.

Bishop Henson of Durham rose to speak, expressing views which

⁸⁷ 'Buying Up the Church of England', in Church Times, 21-11-1930, pp.647-48.

would go into print in Sibbes and Simeon, to be dealt with later. He objected to the party patronage system root and branch. One cardinal objection, he said, was that it represented the emergence of money into the spiritual order. It continued because of the blinding force of partisanship. He wished to rid the Church of this imperium in imperio, which went behind the backs of Church members, and was increasingly recognized as being discreditable to the good name of the spiritual society. This was a complete volte face from the Erastian Henson of 1919.

Why were party trusts so strongly objected to, and held to be wholly inconsistent with the character and interests of the Church as a spiritual society? Henson listed four reasons:

1. They carried simony into the very heart of their ecclesiastical life.

2. They subordinated the interests of the parish to the private opinions and ambitions of irresponsible individuals.

3. They tended to perpetuate forms of thought which were obsolete or obsolescent.

4. They were an improper inducement to clergy to affect the profession of, and agreement with, opinions which they did not really hold.

Doubtless the trusts were well administered, but it was quite as immoral to use well the profits of an immoral procedure. Perverted conscientiousness, which was the very principle of these trusts, had been the historic root of the very worst evils in ecclesiastical history. Men had no right to seek to set up the kingdom of righteousness by methods that would not stand the criticism of their consciences.

This was very strong meat for the Assembly, and sprang from Henson's peculiar prejudices on the subject, which will be dealt with in more detail later. He was particularly blind to the merits of the

trusts, many of which never contemplated simony or the upsetting of parochial opinions. To suggest that they acted as an occasion of sin, by prompting people to be hypocritical about their party allegiance, was particularly ludicrous: as well say that the Thirty-Nine Articles had the same effect.

Hugh Cecil said that the evil of the trusts was simply the desire to impose one's will on a congregation. But this was a problem with private patronage as well, and to be fair, the Measure should extend to cover all sales. With the agreement of the congregation, there was no objection to a party trust holding the advowson.

Sir John Birchall felt that the Measure was unnecessary. Could the bishop not be trusted to stand up for the interests of the parish against the patron? H.B. Barkworth, presumably speaking with evangelical trusts in mind, objected to the constant charge of 'narrowness' directed against trusts. He challenged anyone to tell him of a case where the 'change' caused under party patronage was nothing more than bringing the parish more into line with the Prayer Book.

The Bishop of Ely reminded them that the motion was not an attack on trusts per se. Certainly some individuals were as harmful as any of the trusts. But whatever his assessment of the topic at issue, other speakers were in no doubt that the party trusts were 'on the menu'. J.P. Hargreaves asked how the Assembly could not object to individuals as patrons, when they clearly objected so much to parties. Were they not, after all, as individuals, party men, and potential party patrons?

In short, was not the existence of party trusts merely a recognition and rationalization of the fact of party views within the Church?

Lady Bates, an Evangelical of rather old-fashioned views, said that evangelical trusts had arisen because of the lack of men true to the principles of the Reformation. The trustees did not like spending their money on advowsons, but was there any other way? Besides which, all party appointments were of men loyal to the Church of England, and

what could be wrong with that? And A.F. Griffith supported this by saying that the use of money in such cases was not simony: trustees were activated by the highest Christian motives.

Canon E.A. Berry spoke of the CPAS again, saying that their desire, and that of other trusts, had been simply to do the highest and best that they could for the Church. The original motion had never been intended as an attack on the party trusts.

What had it been intended to be? Johnson himself said that the debate had not gone the way he had intended. Why was this? Part of the explanation must be that both sides were confused about what they were attacking. Johnson had intended to control the patronage of irresponsible trustees, and these alone, but his cause was embraced by those like Henson, who wished to end all party patronage, however administered. This caused some opponents to criticize the proposed Measure as an unwarranted attack on all trust patronage.⁸⁸

Nevertheless, despite these difficulties, the motion was carried, and the Committee appointed to draw up a Bill.

By the next Spring, the Patronage Committee was ready to report on its deliberations. W.H. Coles reported on the figures for sales of advowsons since 1924, which had been much in excess of anything there had been before, a very great number of which had passed to patronage trusts. The Committee had received complaints from several parishes, where a new patron, whom they disliked, held the living. The lately passed ERP Measure did, of course, allow PCCs the option of fighting the patron at every vacancy, but it was felt to be simpler, and ultimately more edifying, to allow PCCs to purchase the advowsons, if the transfer had been within, say, the last fifteen years. Such a provision would not affect, for example, Simeon's, who took a great deal of care and trouble with their appointments and who, furthermore, had not, he

⁸⁸ C.A.R., 1931, Spring, pp.126-39.

believed, acquired any advowsons in the relevant period. But there were trusts and persons who had been rather active in the past few years over the matter, and it was not yet known what appointments they would make.

The Measure would allow PCCs three years in which to take advantage of its provisions. It was thus clearly intended to act as a 'mopping-up' Measure, since the TRP and ERP Measures between them ought to have ensured that no further undesirable transfers took place.

Once again, party loyalties were aroused. Sir Thomas Inskip rushed to the defence of the Evangelicals, referring to The Menace of Party Trusts, a pamphlet which suggested that the Evangelical trusts alone bought up advowsons.⁸⁹ Certainly, he said, the CPAS did not.

The pamphlet likewise accused the Reformation Church Trust, the organ of the Protestant Reformation Society, of double dealing. It was said that the President of the Protestant Reformation Society, Mr. J.F.W. Deacon, held livings in his own name, which were in fact administered by the Trust. But this was not true. Certainly he was a trustee, and certainly he did hold livings in his own right, but he administered these, and not the other trustees. Besides which, though Inskip did not say this, the Reformation Church Trust only ever held a handful of livings.

The Bishop of Durham, again, perhaps because of some uncertainty as to the behaviour of the trusts at the time, accused them of attempting to live down a previous image of trafficking, while living off the profits of their past, an accusation which would have applied equally well to any patron.

After the Report, the Measure was considered, and sent back for revision in the Summer, after another long debate on party trusts. Hugh Cecil introduced the Measure, and once again, the Archdeacon of London reminded the assembly of the Church Patronage Trust, which had been

⁸⁹ See below, Chapter 7.

founded 100 years ago, and had never spent a penny on buying a living, and indeed endeavoured to act from no party spirit. Bishops liked its appointments, although others criticized it.⁹⁰

In general, the Measure was opposed as unnecessary or unjust, but this was not the feeling of the majority. C.A. Buckmaster believed that it was trust patronage which had begun the separation of patrons from parishes. Although this was not only untrue, but nonsense, it had a certain emotive appeal. Albert Mitchell, evidently irritated with this line of approach, said that the patronage trusts came into existence to provide by legitimate methods, for the inculcation of permissive views.

It was because the then prevailing system had not allowed sufficient possibility of this, that the original patronage trusts had come into existence. There was no effective difference between a party patron and a college patron. The administration of trust patronage could quite honourably stand up for comparison with every other form of patronage. Indeed, it could well inspire parishioners with the confidence that they would always be given the right sort of man.

This was all quite true, as Lord Wolmer realized. But the question had only arisen because some trusts were abusing their privileges and acting in an unreasonable and tyrannical manner. If there were not some popular feeling behind this call, then why was there a Private Members Bill in Parliament to this effect? The Church Assembly was taking too long over this issue, and others were seeking alternative remedies.⁹¹

In fact, the path was almost clear for the passing of the PRP Measure, but much explanation had yet to be done. Opponents of the Measure were generally fearful that it would have a wider effect than was really intended: in effect, it would kill off party patronage. The

⁹⁰ C.A.R., 1932, Spring, pp.25-41.

⁹¹ C.A.R., 1932, Spring, pp.52-60.

story of the rest of the debate is thus, in part, the story of how some opponents were won over from this point of view, to see that only the worst type of party patronage would be affected. With the benefit of hindsight, we can see that even here, the damage was not as great as certain reformers had expected. In the final analysis, PCCs were not major agents of reform.

In the Summer of 1932 the PRP Measure was revised again and put to an appointed Committee after a long discussion, most of which was, however, concerned with the mechanics of the proposed system, and when it would come into effect, how long the PCCs would have in which to act, etc. During this session the Measure was considerably amended, particularly by limiting more narrowly the period of time which it covered.

L.H. Booth made a very moderate speech in favour of the reform. Patronage trusts were part of the present somewhat anomalous system of patronage, having defects peculiar to themselves; but in some respects they operated less objectionably than other classes of patronage. The Measure did not seek to abolish them, and would not affect them if they had not bought livings since 1923.⁹² This was not strictly true, since any transfer, whether by sale or gift, came under the provisions of the Measure.

It was pointed out by some that, under the leadership of a strong bishop, the newly established DBPs might well find themselves becoming merely official 'party trusts', with parishes suffering as much from them as they had from other bad patrons.⁹³

In the Autumn, the Measure was revised slightly and committed for drafting, following another debate where some signs of acrimony appeared. F.W. Gilpin, an Evangelical, wished to provide that the

⁹² C.A.R., 1932, Summer, pp.265-66.

⁹³ C.A.R., 1932, Summer, p.289.

purchase by the PCC would not be used to oppose the provisions of the Prayer Book, but this was felt to be a retrograde step. He accused the Bishop of London of having deliberately attempted to turn his own patronage against the Evangelicals. Of fifty-eight evangelical parishes at the start of his episcopate, something like thirty-five could not now be so regarded, said Gilpin.⁹⁴

Later in the session, the final draft of the Measure was considered. Albert Mitchell did not like it. As he pointed out, if a profligate man owned Church patronage, he might continue to exercise it; but if, moved by his conscience, he transferred his patronage to two or three good men, they could be deprived of it. This was true, though Mitchell was ignoring the fact that the PCC had first to disapprove of the 'three good men'. The bulk of the laity had more confidence in trust patronage than in any other.

Johnson, the original proposer of the motion in favour of legislation, replied that there were trusts and trusts. The Measure definitely did attack the newer trusts which had sprung up like mushrooms since 1923, and generally on the back of the 1923 Measure. But the older, respectable trusts would be left alone.

The Dean of Chichester, following Henson's line of argument, fired off a salvo of cliches about patronage, which could well have been derived directly from Henson's recently published book.⁹⁵ He attacked party patronage because it committed a body of men who might otherwise have used their own intelligence, to a choice determined by the conditions of a trust deed. They were thus allowing themselves to be controlled by a dead hand, and the feelings and wishes of a past generation were unfairly perpetuated into the present day. It was his pious hope to end the 'party' outlook of the Church of England, and

⁹⁴ C.A.R., 1932, Autumn, p.435.

⁹⁵ Herbert Hensley Henson, Sibbes and Simeon : An Essay on Patronage Trusts (London, 1932).

unify it. In 1932, at least, this must have seemed like the merest fantasy.

Hugh Cecil supported the Measure, in his usual way. As a Keble Trustee, he would not feel the least aggrieved if some of the PCCs of livings in their gift should wish to use the Measure, although he hoped that they could come to an agreement by some other means. Keble College had never bought a living, but had received many by gift. He thoroughly agreed that the stereotyping of opinions by corporate exercise of patronage ought not to happen, unless with the full consent of the parishioners concerned. If patronage was used to overbear the parishioners' wishes, people for whom the living was held in trust, then it ought to be removed from such patrons.⁹⁶

Eventually, final approval was given to the Measure, and on the 29 March 1933, it received the Royal Assent, coming into effect on the 1 June.⁹⁷

The Measure applied to all transfers which had taken place since the passing of the 1923 Measure, and where two vacancies had not occurred between the passing of the Measure and the Registration of the Transfer. In such cases, the PCC could resolve to purchase the right of patronage, by passing a provisional resolution within three years of the commencement of the 1933 Measure, or within three years of the registration of the transfer, whichever should be later; and following this within three months by a confirmatory resolution passed at a Special PCC meeting.

Within fourteen days of the passing of this second resolution, the PCC were to give notice to the patron and the Board of Patronage that they had resolved to purchase the advowson, and to offer the price

⁹⁶ C.A.R., 1932, Autumn, pp.543-53.

⁹⁷ The voting was :

	For	Against
Bishops	13	5
Clergy	111	38
Laity	109	51

resolved upon at the meeting. Should no agreement be reached, then provision was made for arbitration. The Patron, on receipt of the agreed figure, was to convey his patronage to the Diocesan Board of Patronage, who might exercise it in accordance with the DBP Measure, but were not to transfer it without the consent of the PCC.

Similar provision was made for cases in which a principal benefice had been transferred, and where the PCC of an ancillary benefice wished to be excluded from the patronage of the principal benefice. In such cases, the purchase money was paid to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as part of the endowment of the principal benefice. Likewise, if the PCC of the principal benefice wished to purchase the advowson, and if the PCCs of any ancillary benefices wished to retain the patronage of the principal benefice, then provision was made whereby the ancillary benefice would be conveyed to the principal patron for his own use and benefit.

Exceptions to all the above were the patronage of the Crown, of the Admiralty, in respect of benefices held by Greenwich Hospital, or any archbishop or bishop or dean, in respect of his office, or the dean and chapter of any Cathedral church. Likewise any ancillary benefices of which any of the above were the principal patrons were excluded, as well as appendant advowsons.⁹⁸

The Measure was thus extremely complex, but it was a piece of emergency legislation, obsolescent from the day it became law. Furthermore, it seemed to work. The party trusts which had been causing trouble stopped purchasing advowsons almost totally, within a very short time, and while relatively few PCCs took advantage of the legislation, it did have the effect of making all party trusts henceforward equal in the extent of their operations, accepting gifts of patronage only with the approval of the PCC. The 1933 Measure finally ended the evils of

⁹⁸ See Church Acts and Measures, pp.614-24.

the sale of livings, and began the inconveniences of a widespread bureaucratic attitude to patronage. Henceforth, it was to be much more a consultative task.

This was the end of a major phase of patronage legislation, and of the greatest significance. However, we must consider the story a little further, particularly as the idea that patronage was essentially a corporate responsibility entered into other legislation. Providentially, the idea had been hit upon before the Second World War, when the destruction of whole parishes, and a consequent emptying of inner city areas, necessitated the assuming, by the bishop, of fairly arbitrary powers to combine parishes and suspend patronage as he saw fit.

3:5 Later Patronage Reforms

There were still a few bubblings of reform. Thus, in 1933, Gilpin wished to amend the ERP Measure, and a motion to this effect was passed in the Autumn, although nothing further was heard of the matter.⁹⁹

In the Spring and Summer of 1934, the Rev. C.E. Douglas attempted to move a motion proposing a Committee to prepare a Measure empowering trustees and public bodies to transfer the advowsons of benefices in their gift to the DBP. He wished, he claimed, to enable small trusts, founded under a will, to wind up their affairs, if they felt so inclined.¹⁰⁰ Douglas had previously spoken against party trusts at Convocation, and there is some likelihood that his Measure would have been the beginning of an attempt to force many party trusts to wind up.¹⁰¹ He was denied his chance in Spring, when it was felt that his motion was not as uncontroversial as he would have liked the Assembly to have thought.¹⁰² And in Summer, Hugh Cecil correctly took the

⁹⁹ C.A.R., 1933, Spring, p.112 ; Autumn, pp.603-06.

¹⁰⁰ C.A.R., 1934, Summer, p.398.

¹⁰¹ C.O.C., Feb.1929, p.60.

¹⁰² C.A.R., 1934, Spring, p.112.

temperature of Parliament, and said that they would become weary of patronage reform if the Church Assembly insisted on producing an annual Bill. It would be wise not to give the impression that the Assembly was never satisfied with the laws of patronage.¹⁰³

After this, there was silence on all matters of patronage until the Autumn of 1936, when Canon S.E.B. Serle moved for a Measure which would relieve Roman Catholic patrons from the limitations under which they suffered, of transferring their advowson only 'for a full and valuable consideration to and for a Protestant purchaser'.

Because of the Measure of 1923, a Roman Catholic patron, after two presentations, was unable even to give his advowson away, as the Act of James I only allowed him to sell it. He was thus forced to allow it to be administered by Oxford or Cambridge University. The motion, which questioned whether such a Measure could be produced was carried, largely because it was full of good sense.¹⁰⁴

The Legal Board looked into the issue and decided that Roman Catholics should be allowed to transfer their patronage, but only to bishops, deans and chapters, or DBPs.

When the issue came up for discussion again, in the Autumn of 1938, Serle was not happy with this suggestion, because he was arguing the case of a lady who wished to transfer her patronage to another lay patron, but by this time, lay patronage was not looked upon as sufficiently respectable, and he had to concede the point. Neither individuals nor trusts were to benefit from Roman Catholic patronage.

Hugh Cecil raised the point that the universities could well object to losing what was, after all, by a long standing tradition, 'their' patronage, if Roman Catholics were to find it easier to give it

¹⁰³ C.A.R., 1934, Summer, p.399.

¹⁰⁴ C.A.R., 1936, Autumn, pp.567-68.

away. Albert Mitchell evidently mistook the subject of the debate, and failed to see why Catholics were complaining about their woes when no one could sell.¹⁰⁵

The Measure was given its general approval in Summer 1939, and put up for revision, but by the Summer of 1940, wartime conditions meant that Church Assembly was considerably reduced in circumstances. Meeting only twice a year, and for brief periods, it was only able to keep the Church 'ticking over', and the luxury of other Measures had to be abandoned. After the War, the subject was never mentioned again, leaving Roman Catholic patrons in the faintly anomalous position which they now hold, as the nominal owners of a patronage which is not theirs to handle. It is unlikely that Oxford or Cambridge would agree to an alteration of this situation.

The final breach with the proprietary theory of patronage might be seen as coming with the New Parishes Measure of 1943, which disposed of the idea that the chief benefactor of a new parish should be the patron, in virtue of his investment. From thenceforward, the patronage of new parishes was to be vested in the bishop. In the debate, in the Summer of 1942, things could have gone either way, but the Bishop of Derby said that it was quite improper that the patronage of a new parish should be in private hands, still more that it should be in the hands of a party trust.¹⁰⁶ The Measure effectively ensured that no more private patronage would be created.

It was the Second World War which finally ended the patron's absolute rights. As has been mentioned above, the destruction of the inner cities, the fall in value of most livings, and the shortage of clergy, made it necessary to reorganize some benefices, and prevent others being filled, in order that the best pastoral use might be made of the money and clergy available. For these reasons, extensive

¹⁰⁵ C.A.R., 1938, Autumn, pp.582-87.

¹⁰⁶ C.A.R., 1942, Summer, p.100.

restrictions on the right of patrons to present clergy to benefices were introduced, and clerical patrons were made subject to some further special restrictions.

The bishop was empowered, in 1946, to suspend any patronage for five year periods, during which the patron would be unable to exercise his patronage. The Pastoral Measure 1968 extended this principle, with the creation of Group and Team Ministries. A patron is now prevented

from exercising his patronage while a Pastoral Scheme is being discussed, and if it is implemented, pluralities, and Group, or Team Ministries, all impose limitations on the patron's freedom of action. Clearly, this has had the effect of carrying to greater lengths what the earlier reforms tacitly acknowledged: that the patron should be merely one, and not the most important, of a number of people whose views should be taken into consideration when examining the needs of a parish.

An appeal by a patron against a scheme is unlikely to succeed, in view of the assumption that those responsible for the reorganization of the benefice are able to judge better the circumstances in the case.

The post-war Church is thus much less disposed to regard the patron as anything more than an 'interested party' in schemes which affect the distribution of clergy, or the reorganization of benefices. And this change in attitude is due at least in part to the pre-war legislation which we have examined, which moved in gradual stages from allowing objections to the patron's rights (TRP Measure), to requiring consultation (ERP Measure) and finally to depriving an unpopular patron of his rights altogether (PRP Measure).

The effect of this has not been to bring to an end any type of patronage, but it has certainly amended the whole. Very few people regret the present system, and this general approval spans all types of

Churchmanship.¹⁰⁷ Rather than making the Church become monochrome, (a charge frequently made), the very variety of the holders of patronage ensures that no diocese merely follows the lead of its bishop.

In 1964, the following statistics were given as to the extent of patronage:

Archbishops and bishops.	30 - 35%	
Private Individuals.	17 - 22%	
Trusts.	14 - 16%	
Incumbents and mother churches.	8 - 10%	
Universities and Colleges.		7%
The Crown.	6 - 7%	
Deans and Chapters.	5 - 6%	
Diocesan Boards of Patronage.	2 - 3%	108

These figures go to show that about 50% of patronage is still in clerical hands, although much more with bishops, and much less with individual priests. It also shows the relatively small amount of patronage held by DBPs, about 400 parishes in all; despite fears or hopes that they would become the sole pattern of patronage.

In short, the twentieth century has produced Church reform at a far more rapid rate than did the nineteenth. Many of these reforms were hammered out in an atmosphere of party feeling and misunderstanding, during the course of which the whole range of 'party patronage' was blackened by accusations which, to say the least, lacked a firm foundation. We must now turn to examine the rise of the party trusts.

¹⁰⁷ Letters from the Bishop of Norwich (11-11-1982) and the Rev. Peter Geldard (14-5-1982), for example, both express satisfaction with the existing patronage system.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted in M.H. McQueen, Parson, Parish and Patron (Oxford, 1968), p.32.

Chapter 4 Charles Simeon and his Trust to 1945

'It's my own invention.'

Chapter 4 Charles Simeon and his Trust to 1945

4:1 Introduction

Having examined the way in which legislation shaped the patronage system, we must now examine the rise of the nineteenth-century patronage trusts. We should bear in mind that during this century, the trusts worked within the existing legal structures, and legal changes hardly affected them. Only in the twentieth century did a reaction against patronage trusts lead to alterations in the ways in which trusts were permitted to operate. The progress of legislation can be held in the background in this and the next Chapter.

The rise of patronage trusts was a nineteenth-century phenomenon unprecedented in the history of the Church. The evangelical revival, against a background of much nominal observance, opposition to evangelicalism, and the prevailing nepotism and worldliness of those in positions of authority within the Church, combined to lead Evangelicals to resolve the issue of a strategy for expansion by forming large patronage trusts, in order to give a pulpit, a cure of souls, and a pastoral sphere to those who might be denied them by the vagaries of the existing patronage system. The details of patronage should not obscure the fact that patronage trusts were the product of revival movements. Skilfully exploiting the availability of advowsons, they built up bodies of patronage with a nation-wide scope. The Evangelical trust patron had an influence which transcended diocesan boundaries.

From the first, Evangelicals appreciated the significance of patronage in the propagation of opinions. Neither did they ignore education, but within the ecclesiastical structure, patronage trusts represented a major weapon. In the next Chapter we shall examine Anglo-Catholic patronage where, in contrast, it appears that large

trusts were disapproved of: certainly it was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that Anglo-Catholics began to acquire patronage in a wholesale way. Before then, they seemed to prefer church building, and the consequent patronage of new churches. The typical Anglo-Catholic patron would have an influence on one, or several churches of which he was the patron, with other like-minded trustees; but unlike the Evangelical, his influence was seen as operating within the diocese.

This difference in approach could be attributed to the influence of Charles Simeon, who first perceived the significance of patronage in securing continuity of teaching, and who saw his duty as a patron extending to the whole nation. His successors and imitators continued this idea, so that Evangelical trusts quickly established themselves as large-scale patrons. Anglo-Catholics grasped this vision only later, on a smaller scale, and, perhaps, as a direct result of persecution. Both before and after then they relied, far more than Evangelicals, on influencing sympathetic bishops and laymen to use their patronage to favour Catholics.

The early history of Simeon's Trust has been adequately covered in Dr. W.D. Balda's thesis, and it is unnecessary to do more than indicate his conclusions in this section.¹ Before Simeon began his work, evangelical attempts to secure patronage were limited and short-sighted. Evangelicals were reacting against the largely secular and financial emphases which featured in the contemporary patronage world, but individual patronage, election to church lectureships, and the use of proprietary chapels to secure evangelical ministries could only be temporary measures. Simeon saw the need for the permanent succession of ministers within a consistent tradition, and his trust acquired

¹ See Ch.2, n.33. A fuller treatment of Balda's argument may be found in my 'Charles Simeon and his Trust to 1945' (Unpublished paper, 1984).

patronage with this end in view.

The philanthropist John Thornton (1720-90) spent some of his vast fortune on the acquisition of patronage, and at his death bequeathed it to a body of trustees. Again, this was a temporary measure: his purchases had been haphazard, and the patronage was to revert to Thornton's heirs at the death of the Trustees. Simeon, as a Trustee, saw the potential of a perpetual trust, and used his own pastoral experience, and the strength of his personality, to rule the other Thornton Trustees, and later the Simeon Trustees, in order that his emphasis on the necessity of finding 'the fittest person', without regard to other claims, should predominate.

Simeon devoted a large part of his life to buying advowsons, always seeking strategic 'spheres of influence', and, in his last months, purchasing five of the livings released by the Municipal Corporations Act. At his death, thirty livings passed to his five Trustees, together with his Charge, later commended by Archbishop Lang, and notable for a total lack of 'party' terminology, and a concern for souls.² By 1851, the Trustees were responsible for the pastoral care of 3.1% of the English population, for an outlay of under £50,000.

Simeon's Trustees continued his work, acquiring new advowsons, and dividing parishes to provide greater pastoral care. By 1865 they held forty-five livings, of which Simeon had purchased twenty-five and the Trustees three more. Six churches were built, and eight given to the Trust.³

Balda argues persuasively that Simeon and his Trust were representatives of a broad, pastoral rather than a narrow, dogmatic

² Hugh Evan Hopkins, Charles Simeon of Cambridge (London 1977), p.219.

³ Balda, pp.154-55.

evangelicalism, and that their nominees fit into this category. Simeon incumbents were ordained by a broad spread of bishops, including Philpotts of Exeter, who might have chosen them for their pastoral qualities in preference to any party distinction. The Trustees chose able, well-educated, and mature men, with substantial parish experience, to fill vacancies. Each incumbent spent an average of eighteen years in a Trust living. Pastoral ability was looked for before preaching skills, contrary to one view of evangelicalism.⁴

Balda establishes that Simeon's Trust's interest in the needs of the parish produced undeniable results in church attendances. In a sample survey, Simeon's parishes had attendances 500% above the national mean, and nearly twice that of the control parishes. Evangelicalism was attractive, compared to an undesignated churchmanship. The Simeon Trust clergy, forming 3% of the sample, drew 10% of all attendances and supervised 21% of the sample population. Simeon parishes above all were able to attract labouring populations to church rather than to dissent, and only in Simeon parishes were free seats an inducement to attendance.⁵

Other trusts arose in imitation of Simeon's, although on clearer 'party' lines. By the 1840s, evangelical trusts were being attacked by Tractarians and High Churchmen both for undermining the class-structure of the Church, and for reviving the methods and beliefs of the seventeenth-century Puritans. Balda demonstrates that the truth was quite different, by constructing a churchmanship taxonomy. This helps to substantiate the conclusion that Simeon's incumbents fit neither

⁴ Balda, pp.155-62.

⁵ Balda, pp.185-97.

contemporary nor modern stereotypes of evangelicalism. The expressed opinions and involvements of Simeon's Trustees and Trust incumbents disclose a fairly persistent identification with the more moderate habits and inclinations of Simeon himself.⁶

In short, Simeon spiritualised the idea of the advowson; he saw the need to secure perpetuity; he gave priority to the parishes' needs; and believed that the patron acted under God. Steering a course between Calvinism and Arminianism, his Evangelical pragmatism dissuaded him from vesting his livings in bishops. Tractarians might attack this, but their own pragmatism would later take the same course.

The chronicle of Simeon's plans to use patronage, and the maintenance and expansion of this plan by his Trustees, reveals a non-controversialist evangelicalism, defined primarily by churchmanship, and portrays the implication of the spiritually-motivated use of the temporal ecclesiastical machinery, to ensure the survival of a religious movement within the Church of England.

4:2 Simeon's Trust from 1865

With every succeeding year that passed from Simeon's death, the trustees became, of necessity, more independent. As trustees were appointed who had never known Simeon, the traditions of the trust became established less by memories of how Simeon would have acted, and more by the combined decision of the Trustees alone, acting to God. When Balda states that the trustees, after 1839, did not spend any more money on advowsons, this is true for his period, but was certainly not true later on, when large bequests were made for this specific purpose. Likewise, the greater controversial spirit of the succeeding years cannot have

⁶ Balda, pp.252-60.

preserved the trustees in that moderation which they owned before 1865, and although there were many Evangelicals who were far from rabid in their party spirit and desire for controversy, yet certain of the trustees felt that Simeon's spirit called them to a firmer stand against Anglo-Catholic influences. But this is hardly evidence for the operation of a 'dead hand'. Rather, it demonstrates the way in which the Trust developed, and in which later traditions were 'read back' to the early days.⁷

The trustees continued to acquire patronage, and the livings gained are sufficient to show the continuation of Simeon's policy, in selecting important centres, such as Liverpool, Derby, or Bristol; in decentralizing parishes (the division of Hereford or Ipswich, for instance); and in concentrating on expansion at a convenient pace. The trustees held, by 1865, forty-five livings, of which thirty had been collected by the death of Simeon in 1836, with the remaining fifteen collected over nineteen years. In the next sixteen years, they acquired another fifty-two advowsons, a great increase. By 1936, Tait, in his centenary history of the Trust, estimated the patronage at one hundred and fifty advowsons, which would mean that a further fifty-five advowsons had been acquired in fifty-five years.⁸ In short, the latter half of the nineteenth century shows Simeon's Trust at its most expansive stage, adequately supplied with donations of patronage, and with bequests for the purchase of patronage, and able to develop unhindered into the largest single patronage trust in England.

On the 20 November 1875, on the death of Wynn Ellis, Simeon's

⁷ For a list of the Trustees, see Appendix A.

⁸ Arthur James Tait, Charles Simeon and His Trust (London, 1936), p.63. One of the purchases was a next presentation, and one in Wales, hence the fifty-five livings included two which were no longer held.

Trust was left £50,000, which, it was specified, should be spent on purchasing advowsons, or to augment or endow livings, or to provide a fit residence for an incumbent. According to the accounts, £30,000 of this money was used to purchase eleven livings, and to augment a further eleven. Certainly this single gift accounted for the addition of several major spheres to the Trust.⁹

The Trustees were still interested in their parishes, and in the Minutes for 1881 it is recorded:

Clifton - the state of the Parish formed the subject of serious discussion; and it was thought that a friendly visit of one of the Trustees to Clifton might do good.¹⁰

The problem at Clifton was caused by Bishop Anderson, the incumbent, who was an absentee.

A later problem at St. Paul's Clifton indicates something of the tightrope which had to be walked between breadth of sympathy, and compromise. Evidently, a previous vicar had severed parish links with the CMS, and had adopted the Eastward Position, alienating many in the congregation, and furthermore upsetting the plans of Canon Mather, the incumbent's predecessor. The trustees decided that certain changes would have to be introduced. The Eastward Position would be at once abolished, and CMS reintroduced after the new Vicar had won the confidence of the parishioners.¹¹

But while the trustees would interfere in a case where the parish was apparently suffering, they could not be appealed to as, in any sense, the guardians of a narrow evangelicalism. Five years later, in 1903, they received a complaint about St. Paul's from L.F.S. Maberley of Clifton. The church had displayed one of the many standard Holy Week posters whose impact depends on portraying the Crucifixion with an appeal to passers-by. Certain Evangelicals regarded such displays as

⁹ S.T. mss. Legal Accounts.

¹⁰ S.T. mss. Minute Book 1879-89.

¹¹ S.T. mss. Minute Book 20-9-1898.

little better than Calvaries, and presumably Maberley was one such. The St. Paul's placard, apparently, had read:

By Thy Cross and Passion
By Thine Agony and Bloody Sweat
[Picture of Christ Crucified]
By Thy Precious Death and Burial,
In the Day of Judgement Good Lord deliver us.¹²

This had been displayed in Holy Week 1902, and Maberley wished to avoid a repetition. On the 2 April, he wrote to the English Churchman that he had been:

Surprised and horrified to see a board with a printed representation of the crucifix on it.

He had complained to Mr. Haigh, who apparently acted for the Trust on such matters, but he had said that the Second Commandment did not refer to pictures.

Maberley had also written to the trustees:

As Simeon's Trustees, I ask you if you are carrying out the intention of the late Mr. Simeon in allowing these things to be done in and at his churches, and if not, are you not liable to be called to account by the commissioners of charitable bequests?

As a Godson of the late Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A., I ask you to use your influence to put a stop to the public exhibition of the crucifix at St. Paul's Church for the coming Good Friday.

On the 25 February, Eardley-Wilmot replied in what was to be a characteristic vein:

I am directed to point out that in the matter referred to ... [the Trustees] have no jurisdiction. Their duties lie in appointing, and in this they humbly try to do all that knowledge and inquiry enables them to do properly to fulfil the important responsibilities of their trust.

Any complaint against an incumbent after he is instituted should be made to the Bishop of the diocese.¹³

This letter, and the preceding two, were placed before the readers of the English Churchman, a paper not known for the moderation of its evangelical sentiments.

In November 1888 another case had arisen which demonstrates again

¹² Words taken from the Anglican Litany.

¹³ S.T. mss. Minute Book 2-4-1903.

the continuing stand of the Trust against extremism. A certain Mr. J.W. Baillie died, and by his Will made Simeon's Trust his Residuary Legatees. Clearly it would have been to the advantage of the Trust, in seeking to extend their patronage, to have accepted the money. But Baillie's widow contested the will, and Lord Kinnear decided in her favour. The trustees agreed not to appeal. As the minutes record:

This decision was the more easily arrived at from the peculiar conditions laid upon the Trustees on receipt of the legacy, to nominate to such livings as might be purchased by the same -

"Clergymen who hold the following views on the confession of their faith:

- 1st. Unconditional predestination.
 - 2nd. That Christ died only for the Elect, or that while Christ died for all the world, only the Elect can be saved in virtue of his death and resurrection.
 - 3rd. Universal depravity.
 - 4th. Irresistible grace.
 - 5th. Perseverance of Saints.
- and will undertake to preach and teach the same, and to perform Service in the Surplice, Hood and Stole only, and to preach in the black gown only, and not to turn to the East at the reading of the Creeds."¹⁴

Here, quite plainly, was Calvinism seeking an entrance, and offering money to provide for its success. If Simeon's Trust had favoured Calvinism, they could have had no better opportunity. The fact that they let pass the opportunity, and the legacy, and claimed that the conditions laid down eased this decision for them, argues clearly that they were neither Calvinists nor against ceremonies purely and simply.

Despite the trustees' refusal to put into practice a Calvinist system in appointing to benefices, there were occasions when a certain narrowness was accepted to secure a certain object. Thus, in 1890, a Miss Stokes gave to the trustees a vicarage house for the incumbent of Holy Trinity Church, Cheltenham. The House was held upon trust - not by Simeon's Trustees - and the incoming incumbent had to sign his acceptance of the following doctrinal position, which represents a

¹⁴ S.T. mss. Minute Book 24-11-888.

moderately Calvinistic evangelicalism.

1. The divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.
2. The Unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of Persons therein.
3. The right and duty of private judgement in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.
4. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall.
5. The incarnation of the Son of God, His work of atonement for the sins of mankind, and His mediatorial intercession and reign.
6. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.
7. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.
8. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgement of the world by Our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous, and the eternal punishment of the wicked.

Apart from this statement, with which, it must be said, few evangelicals would have disagreed, even if some might have objected to a written declaration, the Vicarage Trustees put various questions to the incumbent, as follows:

We desire to ask you to define your position as to Evangelical teaching, as our Church cannot accept the position of the Liberal Evangelicals.

Holy Scriptures.

Can you definitely support us in the acceptance of the whole Bible as being the Word of God divinely inspired - including our meaning that the criticism of today is in error, and must be denied by all faithful believers?

Second Coming.

Do you teach the Second Coming of our Lord to this earth as taught in the Holy Scriptures, accepting the literal meaning as well as spiritual interpretations?

Social Activities.

In the work of the Church, can you support us in our objection to the use of Whist Drives, Dances, and the like kind of efforts made to attract people to the Church?¹⁵

With so many agreements forced upon him, the full force of statement 3.

¹⁵ S.T. mss. 'Cheltenham H. Trin.'.

in the doctrinal section was doubtless somewhat weakened in the incumbent's eyes. By the 1930s, the nuisance of the Trust Deed was being felt, and the Simeon's Trustees attempted to find out if it could be ended in some way. Bishop Headlam of Gloucester replied that it just had to be put up with, inconvenient as it was. W. Grist explained:

The Trust Deed is a very stringent document, and was compiled by a lawyer who also drew up a similar document governing the Lay Reader Trust for the same lady. In each case there is a reversionary interest, whereby on any alteration of any of the terms, the property, or its equivalent, reverts to certain charities.

The Trust Deed for the Vicarage not only contains this doctrinal statement, but imposes upon the Vicar the responsibility of carrying out whatever alterations or decorations the Trustees may order, and of meeting any legal charges that they may like to incur. There is no money in the Trust, and so strictly by its terms, the Vicar can be made to meet all charges.

The letter went on to assure Simeon's Trust that as long as the Vicar held to the faith, and was not nebulous in his own doctrinal position, there would be no problem from the Vicarage Trust.

Given the traditions of the parish, the trustees were happy to go along with the provisions of the trust document for as long as it was in force. In fact, it only lapsed in recent times, when a new Vicarage was built after the Second World War. Those who wish to see the danger of a 'dead hand' in operation may find ample fuel here, but the contrast between this, and the living and active churchmanship of the trustees, is apparent.¹⁶

Another accusation made against Trust patronage, was that the trustees were not interested in their appointments once they were made. This charge conveniently side-steps the issue of what interest was taken by private patrons, and it also fits very ill with the frequently repeated charge that trust patronage was involved in a plot to subvert the Church, something which could not, presumably, be accomplished without some attention to detail. There is evidence to suggest that

¹⁶ S.T. mss. 'Cheltenham H. Trin.', Letters of 28-10-1932, 24-11-1932.

Simeon's Trustees at least followed those parishes which gave them most cause for concern, with a lively interest, and continued to take as great pains as Balda has noted in earlier days. Thus when, in 1884, the living of Widcombe became vacant, twenty-six candidates were considered, and comments noted, such as:

Said he was no party man. I don't trust him.

Would he suit the South?

Not a University Man.¹⁷

Such comments, including the last, indicate that the particular needs of the parish were being borne in mind.

In 1887 the living of All Saints, Darlaston became vacant. The Slater family gave £100 a year to the incumbent, and because of their known wish not to see the ritual changed, this was evidently an important factor in who was to be appointed. Canon Cadman was asked to enquire more particularly into the matter.¹⁸ As a result, L.H. Squire, Curate of Southborough, was selected for the living:

provided the family with whom rested the addition to the income of £100 a year should be willing to give this sum to him.¹⁹

Mr. Squire visited the parish, but was not much encouraged. Meanwhile, Mr. Slater communicated to the Trust the name of J.B. Wilkinson. Canon Carus was able to speak very highly of Wilkinson's father, and the trustees considered that the best thing to do was to nominate Mr. Wilkinson.²⁰ To what extent Simeon would have approved of this is uncertain. The trustees appear not to have felt themselves bound to over-ride the wishes of one who could so materially benefit the ministry of the incumbent, but there were few cases where such outside influence was brought to bear.

In 1892, the trustees appointed to Church Gresley, and forwarded

¹⁷ S.T. mss. Minute Book 1884.

¹⁸ S.T. mss. Minute Book 6-5-1887.

¹⁹ S.T. mss. Minute Book 17-6-1887.

²⁰ S.T. mss. Minute Book 11-7-1887.

the name of their nominee to the Bishop of Southwell for institution. The Registrar for the Diocese replied that the benefice appeared to be a donative, and as such, the Bishop had nothing to do with licensing the Minister. The trustees replied that they were willing, on public grounds, to give up any donative rights which the living might possess.²¹ The minutes do not record whether this offer was taken up, and in any event, within six years, donatives were universally abolished, but this willingness on the trustees' part to be accountable to episcopal authority argues against the view that they sought to be an imperium in imperio.

In 1899, the Trustees received notice from the Registrar of Oxford Diocese, Thomas Davenport, that the Rev. V.H. Moyle of Ashampstead had been inhibited in consequence of his being convicted under the Commission appointed by the Bishop to investigate the case of his 'shameful neglect of his ministerial duties.' On this occasion, the trustees' conscience was clear. Ashampstead's patronage was split between them and another patron, and Mr. Moyle was not their nominee. They replied to this effect, although, they added, they were deeply grieved to hear of his neglect of his duty to the parish.²²

Seven years later, in 1906, Moyle was convicted of an offence and sentenced, and in consequence of this, was deprived of the living. The trustees failed to fill it, because of the insanitary condition of the house, and finally the turn lapsed to the Bishop.²³

On this occasion, the trustees were not to blame, but in a later case they were not so fortunate. In 1923 they appointed the Rev. A.P.G. Pink to Woodchester. Pink had previously been in trouble for his excessive drinking, but the trustees were assured that he was now a reformed character.²⁴

²¹ S.T. mss. Minute Book 19-10-1892.

²² S.T. mss. Minute Book 9-2-1899.

²³ S.T. mss. Minute Book 1-3-1906.

²⁴ S.T. mss. Minute Book 14-5-1923.

However, on the 1 December 1924, one of the Churchwardens wrote to the trustees, informing them that Mr. Pink was in an inebriates' home for three months, by order of the Bishop. The Warden asked for an assurance that the trustees knew nothing of this when he was presented. Of course, no such assurance could be given. Instead the trustees sent a copy of the original minute in which they accepted Mr. Pink as a reformed character, together with a covering letter.²⁵

By the 12 January, Pink was cured, and the Bishop of Gloucester wrote to the trustees informing them of the fact, but warning them that if there was another lapse, he would have to leave. Even with this unsatisfactory record hanging over his head, the Bishop could still say that he had done satisfactory work at Woodchester.²⁶

One more aspect of the Trust's changing image can be found in its willingness to consult with, and supply evidence for, official bodies, and later on, in its joining together with other evangelical patronage trusts to form a consultative body. This indicates, too, something of the changing image of patronage in general. If we accept Balda's contention that the mid-Victorian Simeon's Trust is to be distinguished from the merely low-church attitude of others, we must also see that by the 1940s, they felt sufficiently at one with such organizations as the Church Association, to meet with them to discuss the best common policy to be pursued. But, paradoxically, if this indicates the formation of a broad party front, it also indicates the end of some party squabbles. A united front of Evangelicals in the late Victorian era would have meant only one thing - an attack on Anglo-Catholicism. By the 1940s, it had become a means to facilitate the pooling of resources and information, so that all trusts were aware of likely candidates for incumbencies. This trend was shown more clearly in the 1950s, when several small trusts amalgamated to form the Church Society Trust, a group which, at

²⁵ S.T. mss. Minute Book 1-12-1924.

²⁶ S.T. mss. Minute Book 12-1-1925.

least before the recent appointment of a potentially controversial President, would have been described as moderately conservative evangelical.

But to return to Simeon's Trust. On 5 June 1919, a letter was read from Thomas A. Ballard of Walton-on-Thames, asking the trustees to appoint one of their number to represent them on a Council which had been formed of 'leading Evangelicals and representatives of Evangelical Trusts and Societies as a co-ordinated and co-operative body' to watch over evangelical interests 'in matters social, political and educational etc.' The trustees responded by appointing the Rev. F.E. Murphy as their representative.²⁷

Doubtless the formation of the Church Assembly lay behind this request. Evangelicals were responding by uniting and attempting to obtain a consensus, in view of the many pressing matters which were of interest to them. Anglo-Catholics, although capable of taking a similar step, did not do so, and in consequence 'missed the boat' in many respects, as they themselves admitted.

In 1920, when the Bill to legislate for Parochial Church Councils was before the Church Assembly, the trustees felt 'that there should be a meeting of the various trusts to take counsel'. Such a meeting was held at 5 p.m. on 4 December 1920, in London.²⁸

Shortly after this, we should recall, the Church Assembly established a Committee to look into the question of patronage, and to formulate legislation. The Committee eventually requested information from Simeon's Trust. On 24 April 1922, the Chairman, Prebendary Eardley-Wilmot, attended them, and gave them the information which they had asked for.²⁹ Partly as a result of this face-to-face meeting, the

²⁷ S.T. mss. Minute Book 5-6-1919.

²⁸ S.T. mss. Minute Book 5-10-1920.

²⁹ S.T. mss. Minute Book 23-5-1922.

Bishop of Winchester, E.S. Talbot, wrote to Eardley-Wilmot:

May I say that I began with a strong prejudice - amounting to dislike - for the Trusts, but I have been very favourably impressed with the care with which yours and one or two others are administered.³⁰

This was praise indeed.

Co-operation between the trusts was again exhibited when the Re-union of Benefices Measure was being discussed in 1925. The Secretary of the Church Association wrote to Simeon's Trust, asking that a meeting of the Council of Evangelical Trusts and Societies should be summoned to discuss Part II of the Patronage Report of the Special Committee of the Church Assembly.

During the War, as we have seen, the need for diocesan re-organization was felt, and destruction of many parishes was merely a spur to action which already needed accomplishing. The Diocesan Re-Organization Committee Measure, in so far as it referred to patronage, envisaged that in certain cases, many parishes would be united with one body of patrons in control of the whole. It was felt desirable that, in this event, a united Council of Representatives from the Evangelical Trusts should be established. To this end, the Archdeacon of London called a meeting of representatives, which took place on the 29 January 1942 at CMS House. As a result of this meeting, the Evangelical Patronage Committee Council was formed.

³⁰ S.T. mss. Minute Book 11-8-1923.

Those present included:

R.B. White	E.A. Langston.
R.R. Neill ³¹	Bishop Heywood
Preb. H.W. Hinde	Bryan S.W. Green ³²
W.L.B. Caley	C.L. Creswell
T.E. Mohan	The Archdeacon of London
T. Ashton	H.G. Dashwood
B.W. Isaacs	Canon Griffiths
H. Siviter	

And apologies were received from:

Canon R.S.S. Taylor	Canon C.E. Wilson
Canon St. John Thorpe	The Provost of Chelmsford

Simeon's Trustees were thus unrepresented at the meeting, but the proceedings were reported to them.

The meeting agreed that they would welcome the formation of a purely consultative Evangelical Patronage Council, to consist of at least one representative from each recognized Evangelical Patronage Trust.

The Council adopted four purposes which it wished to fulfil:

1. To provide a means of obtaining joint action in legal matters such as might arise in connection with the Diocesan Re-organization Committee Measure.
2. To collect and keep a panel of men gifted for special work.
3. To keep a list of men and parishes to ascertain when changes and exchanges are desirable.
4. To deal with any other matters on which patrons would like help and advice.

It should not be gathered from this that in the 1940s, any more than in the 1980s, evangelicalism was a monochrome body which was in

³¹ Of the Martyrs' Memorial Trust.

³² Who is still alive and, at over eighty years old, actively involved in the work of the Peache Trustees.

substantial agreement. The meeting represented varying shades of opinion, and the more liberal Evangelicals found the attitude of the more reactionary unpleasant.³³ But there was sufficient agreement to enable a Council to be established to attempt to represent evangelical views against the non-aligned patronage committees which might try to seize patronage when re-organization went ahead.³⁴

In fact, an examination of the Simeons Trustees' minutes, would suggest that they had little involvement or interest in the work of the Council, and that the Council itself transacted very little business. Thus, a minute for the 18 March 1942 records that Canon Wilson had attended the Second Meeting, but had not committed the trustees to any action.³⁵

Likewise, a minute of the 17 June 1942 notes that Wilson had attended the bi-monthly meeting, at which a discussion on the Diocesan Reconstruction Committee had taken place, together with talk of the possibility of an exchange of names.³⁶ At the next meeting, on the 14 July, the Council changed its name to the Evangelical Patronage Consultative Committee, with Archdeacon Sharpe as Chairman and Prebendary Hinde as Secretary.³⁷

The next and final mention of the Committee's activities is a terse minute for the 6 October 1948 which notes that Sharpe and Hinde had resigned.³⁸ Whether the Committee continued to meet, cannot be established. If all of the representatives took the same approach as did Simeon's Trust, then doubtless it would soon have given up the ghost.

Yet we should not conclude that Simeon's Trust were simply

³³ Canon Bryan Green was still able to recall his dislike of certain of those present, in an interview in 1983.

³⁴ S.T. mss. Minute Book 4-2-1942.

³⁵ S.T. mss. Minute Book 18-3-1942.

³⁶ S.T. mss. Minute Book 17-6-1942.

³⁷ S.T. mss. Minute Book 5-8-1942.

³⁸ S.T. mss. Minute Book 6-10-1948.

isolationist. One of their major contributions was the formation of an evangelical nucleus at Oxford, incorporating four parishes, and St. Peter's Hall, and such a piece of work was only accomplished through consultation with many other bodies.

In conclusion, what can be said of Simeon's Trust? The evidence seems to suggest that it was planned on moderate evangelical lines, and that this is how it has continued. It is notable for its concern with pastoral work, and this is seen in its concern for forming new parishes to provide for congregations. Balda's work has demonstrated the churchmanship of the trust, and later evidence seems to confirm this. There never was a Trust Deed apart from Simeon's known wishes, and his Charge, and so the trustees, far from being controlled by a dead hand, have been the representatives of a living evangelical tradition. This means, of course, that at certain times, they have veered more to the conservative wing of evangelicalism than at others. And at times of great opposition, they have not hesitated to ally themselves with other evangelical trusts. Balda suggests that after 1839, no more livings were purchased, and within his period this is true; but when the trustees were given the money, they had no objection to purchasing livings. However, there is no evidence in this that they upset traditions. All in all, the success of Simeon's Trust, as one of the largest patronage trusts in England, must owe a great deal to its moderation, and its concern for souls, rather than the desire of some trusts to man the ramparts of party controversy. It is these trusts which we next examine.

Chapter 5 Other Nineteenth Century Patronage Trusts

'It's a great huge game of chess that's being played - all over the world - if this is the world at all, you know.'

Chapter . Other Nineteenth Century Patronage Trusts

During the course of the nineteenth century, the patronage trust grew to be a recognized, if not always an accepted, feature of the Church of England. Other Evangelicals sought to imitate Simeon, and finally Anglo-Catholics, on a small scale, imitated the Evangelicals. Anglo-Catholicism, in its early history, follows something of a similar path to evangelicalism. Catholics were opposed, and denied openings in the Church. Those which they could obtain, generally had to last them a lifetime. For this reason, much of the story of the early days of Anglo-Catholicism dwells on individual parishes - the same brief flashes of light which signalled the start of the evangelical revival - and individual victories and defeats. It is because the roots of Anglo-Catholic patronage lie far back, that we begin with some consideration of their progress.

5:1 The Anglo-Catholic Advance

Evangelicalism had confronted a Church which was indifferent, or hostile, but it had no revivalist rival to contend with. Anglo-Catholics had to confront not merely the continuing latitudinarianism of the day, but also the now strong forces of evangelicalism. The reason for the antipathy which developed between the two parties has yet to be fully accounted for. In the earliest days, there were perhaps more points of unity than of contrast. But finally, the breach came. Anglo-Catholicism, with its doctrine of ministry, and its revival of ceremonial, seemed to Evangelicals to be obscuring the doctrines of justification by grace, and of works as the proof of faith, rather than the guarantors of salvation. But besides this, there was the residual protestantism of the British public, with its opposition to all which appeared to be leading 'Romeward', and which fuelled far more riots than

did any convinced Evangelicals; together with the Victorian attitudes which opposed the confessional for no better reason than that it derogated from the husband's authority over the wife. For whatever reasons, Anglo-Catholicism had to fight for survival.

Doubtless one of the keys to survival lay in the loyalty of Anglo-Catholic congregations, who were not swayed by the threat of riots or disturbances, and who accepted the discipline of the new regime which came to their churches. The obstacles to success were formidable. Whole areas appeared to be shut off. Islington, for instance, was a centre of Evangelicalism in the mid-nineteenth century, with 100,000 inhabitants and ten district churches, by 1856, built by the Rev. Daniel Wilson, successor to the famous evangelical Bishop of Calcutta, and no friend of Tractarians. Islington was a family living, which had originally been bought at Garraway's Coffee House, scene of many advowson sales. The daughter churches were built largely by public subscription, but retained under Wilson's patronage, which he exercised through trustees.¹ What hope did an Anglo-Catholic have of penetrating such an area?

Like the earlier Evangelicals, the Anglo-Catholics did not wish to compromise themselves by purchasing livings for their own use, or by diluting their beliefs, and so they had to make do with what came their way. Bennett, of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, was presented to the living of Frome Selwood in Somerset by the Marchioness of Bath, and spent the remaining thirty-four years of his life there, following an attempt to invalidate the presentation.² With patronage in its contemporary state, the presentation of any Anglo-Catholics was a marvel, and it is extremely difficult to establish in many cases, who were the patrons

¹ George Wakeling, The Oxford Church Movement : Sketches and Recollections by the late G. Wakeling, With an Introduction by Earl Nelson (London, 1895), p.63, 67.

² Wakeling, pp.107-08.

behind the most celebrated appointments.³ It seems that the first generation of patrons were either old high-churchmen who saw Anglo-Catholicism, in a vague way, as a continuity of their beliefs, or those who had come under the influence of the Oxford Movement while at University, and determined to use their influence and their patronage to secure places for tractarians. Some churches were built by Anglo-Catholic subscriptions, and trustees of similar beliefs appointed as patrons. But whatever the reason for an original appointment, those doors which were opened by an Anglo-Catholic, tended to stay open. Churches such as All Saints', Margaret Street, St. Alban's, Holborn, St. Augustine, Kilburn, St. Mary Magdalene, Paddington, remain as centres of Anglo-Catholic influence to this day.

Large-scale trust patronage came late to Anglo-Catholicism; and only in the 1870s, did such trusts arise. By then, there was less scope for their rapid expansion. Evangelicals, to a large extent, had never had to trouble about patronage since the days of Simeon. The idea of the trust was to hand, and was used. But Anglo-Catholics, suspecting, it appears, such trusts, struggled for longer with the alternatives, and found that, in time, they could produce fruit too. Individual patrons, bishops, and small local trusts could all be depended upon to appoint Anglo-Catholics, and the tradition, once established, tended to perpetuate itself. Anglo-Catholicism spread by these small channels, and not by the larger streams of patronage trusts. Thus the trusts, when established, tended to be of a 'Memorial' kind, such as the patronage of Keble College, or for a specific religious object enshrined in such names as the Guild of All Souls, or the Society for the Maintenance of the Faith. To give patronage to an Anglo-Catholic trust was an act of piety: to give to an evangelical trust was part of a grand

³ Dr. L. Ellsworth, in an interview, was unable to recall the patron of Fr. Lowder.

strategy for survival. This contrast is overdrawn: Catholics felt the need to fight for survival, and Evangelicals gave as a religious duty, but by the 1870s, the non-existence of Catholic trusts would not have ended Anglo-Catholicism. Evangelical Trusts were far more necessary to Evangelicals.

We are not in a position to deal with the work of individual patrons, or bishops, in furthering the Catholic advance by the judicious exercise of patronage, and local trusts will only be touched on; but all of them should be borne in mind in this analysis; and it could be argued that Catholics, by relying more than Evangelicals on 'market forces' to spread their teaching, ensured that it would receive a dispersal which far exceeded the bounds of the movement itself.

Wakeling, who attempted to write a history of the Oxford Movement in 1895, produced a book which is really an expanded list - a celebration of individuals, and of parishes, which have contributed in some way to Anglo-Catholicism as a whole.⁴ It could be argued that Ollard, who wrote later, merely adopted the same method, but edited more fully.⁵ Certainly the early pages of Wakeling consist of what is, in effect, a tourist's guide to the churches, at first of London, and then County by County, where Anglo-Catholicism had gained a foothold. But in the later pages, he is able to concentrate on some of the great men behind the movement.

For example, A.J.B. Beresford-Hope, M.P., who had much to do with All Saints', Margaret St., and St. Andrew's, Wells St.; Lord Addington, who founded St. Alban's, Holborn; Sidney Herbert, who built Wilton Church; Colonel Short, who was mainly instrumental in substituting Christ Church Broadway, for the little chapel that stood on the site; Curtis Hayward, a model Anglo-Catholic squire; Earl Beauchamp;

⁴ See n.1 above.

⁵ Sidney Leslie Ollard, A Short History of the Oxford Movement (London, 1915).

Sir Perceval Heywood, patron of St. John's, Miles Platting; Alderman Bennett of Manchester; and many others are recalled affectionately by Wakeling.⁶ This was all due to individual initiative.

But some concentrated work was put into founding a trust to handle the patronage of the Anglo-Catholic churches of Brighton. Brighton, in the 1850s, was an evangelical stronghold. St. Margaret's, Christ Church, St. Mary's, and St. James Chapel were all occupied by Evangelicals, and all of them, according to Wakeling, had high pews, and three-decker pulpits obscuring the altar, curtains, cushions, a parish clerk and a choir located in the gallery.⁷ However, in spite of all this, there was hope in the shape of the Rev. Henry Mitchell Wagner, Vicar of Brighton.

Tall thin and active, Mr. Wagner about the town, in his small narrow brougham, was a familiar figure for years.⁸

Wagner began his work with the building of St. Paul's, in West Street, and appointed his son, Arthur Douglas Wagner as the first incumbent. Needless to say, St. Paul's was far in advance of anything which Brighton had known before, and this Catholic spirit was helped by H.M. Wagner's choice of curates for the parish church.

Wagner senior went on to build St. Mary Magdalene's, Bread Street, St. Bartholomew's, St. Martin's, Lewes Road, and the Church of the Resurrection, while Wagner junior began St. Mary's Home, which was a Sisterhood, a home and refuge for penitents and children, a hospital and dispensary, and a school for the middle-classes. The patronage of the Church of the Annunciation was also obtained, although Wakeling does not explain how.⁹

⁶ Wakeling, pp.276-91. Bennett built St.Benedict's Ardwick, in the patronage of Keble College.

⁷ Wakeling, pp.217-19. Wakeling's criticisms show as much about Anglo-Catholic dislikes as about evangelical preferences.

⁸ Wakeling, p.217.

⁹ Wakeling, pp.219-33.

Certainly, Wagner's Brighton was a suitable breeding ground for Anglo-Catholic clergy. Richard William Enraght was an early curate at the Church of the Resurrection, and it was he who, as Vicar of Holy Trinity, Bordesley, in 1880, was imprisoned for two months in Warwick Gaol, under the terms of the Public Worship Regulation Act.¹⁰ The Rev. John Purchas was one of Wagner's curates, and then the incumbent of St. James', Brighton, where, in the cases of *Elphinstone v. Purchas*, and *Hebbert v. Purchas*, he made legal and ecclesiastical history in 1871, when the Privy Council, overturning a decision of the Court of the Arches, declared the use of vestments illegal, and established the 'six points' as the summit for which Anglo-Catholicism was battling. Purchas was, admittedly, extreme. He had, in 1858, edited the Directorium Anglicanum, which led the way for an unscholarly rejection of much that had survived the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the wholesale acceptance of much that was unhistorical and Roman. Ollard himself admits that Purchas 'was accustomed to hang a stuffed dove over his altar at the Whitsuntide festival', and in the action brought against him by the Church Association, there were thirty-five charges to answer.¹¹ Whatever martyrdom he suffered was partly the result of his own extremism.

C.H. Maunsell worked at St. Paul's, and at St. Bartholomew's, before moving to Thorpe Malsor, in Northamptonshire; and Alfred Gurney, later of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, was also a Wagner incumbent.¹²

Wagner senior succeeded, as did so many others, by the example of his life above all else. He was called a Romanist, and a Jesuit in disguise. He was physically assaulted by three labourers for the way in which he conducted his services, but while they were in prison he provided for their wives and children. Finally he became Chancellor of

¹⁰ Ollard, p.140.

¹¹ Ollard, pp.138, 143.

¹² Wakeling, p.234.

Chichester Cathedral, a position which he held from 1871 to 1879.¹³

After his death, his son continued his work for Brighton, and in his late years he put together the Wagner Trust, which came into effect with his death in 1902. The Trust was concerned with the livings founded by the Wagners, including St. Paul's. In an attempt to prevent any possible objections to the nominees of the Trust, he included the Bishop of Chichester and the Vicar of Brighton as trustees. The remaining trustees were to be the incumbents of the parishes which he and his father had established.

Since that time, St. Mary Magdalene's has ceased to exist, and the Church of the Resurrection is in the patronage of the DBP. St. Mary, Buxted is now linked with two other parishes, and the Wagner Trustees, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Chichester are joint patrons.

So the remaining original parishes are St. Paul's, St. Bartholomew's, and The Annunciation. The Incumbent of St. Paul's described them as 'very definitely Catholic.' The livings have had an unbroken tradition of celibate priests, and while there is no written provision that this must be so, it is accepted that appointments will depend upon this.¹⁴

In the Wagner Trust we can see the pattern of many small trusts which developed in the period. They survived unquestioned during the turmoil which upset larger and more visible bodies, affected only by the loss of churches, or schemes for re-union. If they appear less interesting in their history, then on a local level, they are no less significant. But it is to larger trusts that we must now turn.

The founding of Keble College, in 1870, marks the start of national, Anglo-Catholic, patronage trusts. Soon after its founding,

¹³ Wakeling, pp.234, 239.

¹⁴ Information supplied by the Rev. John Milburn, Letter of 28-10-1982.

the College began to receive gifts of patronage. From some, such gifts were either merely a gesture, or the opportunity to rid themselves of something troublesome. Trustees, for example, were quite as capable of securing continuity of teaching, but handling patronage on a small scale could be expensive, and other limitations made the selection of clergy a problem. Individuals gave in memory of Keble. But behind all these gifts, we must see similar motivations to those lying behind evangelical trusts: individuals saw that trusts would ensure continuity of teaching beyond their own death, and small trusts saw that, up to a certain size, large trusts could be more efficient.

That continuity was important should be borne in mind, for many were later to attack Evangelicals for seeking a perpetual tradition, while ignoring that Catholics desired exactly the same. Catholics were confident that they would win the day; but by the 1870s, they began to realize that they might need trust patronage to secure the continuity needed to help them win. Those who later claimed that trust patronage was founded on fear of the future, conveniently forgot this.

This view is reflected by the General Secretary of the Church Union, Father Peter Geldard. Surveying the question from the present day, he noted:

Some would say now, which perhaps was not seen by our forefathers a hundred years ago, that there would never have been within the Church of England a radical evangelical, catholic, or social revival, if it had not been for private patronage. The mark of any true revival within a church is that it is 'prophetic.' By its very nature it is challenging the establishment and the status quo at any given time. For this reason, would the establishment be prepared to place into important positions men whose sole object appears at the moment to be to challenge the very basis upon which they exist[?] It can therefore be seen that the appointment of men by trustees independently of the bishop, has ensured that certain voices have been heard, whereas they could very easily have been suppressed.¹⁵

¹⁵ Letter from Fr. Peter Geldard, 10-12-1982.

This view is confirmed by the records of the Second Ordinary Meeting of the E.C.U. for 1924-5, which was held on 18 March 1925, and most of whose business was occupied by a discussion of the Reform of Church Patronage. One of the speakers was H.W. Hill, who in the course of his speech, explained more clearly and honestly the origins of trust patronage and of Keble College's role in this, than did many of his embarrassed contemporaries and successors. He said:

One of the immediate results of the great work of the Tractarian Fathers, when it came out into the country, was the creation of new parishes and the building of new churches ... It was absolutely necessary to secure the patronage of such churches. Is it reasonable to imagine for one moment that the true Church principles of the Church of England, which the Oxford Movement brought to the notice of this country, would be safe unless means had been taken to secure the patronage of these newly founded parishes? Of course not. But it was found, as time went on, that private trusts were difficult to maintain. The appointment of a new trustee generally involved some expense to a poor parish for a new trust deed. When Keble College was founded ... the late Mr. J.A. Shaw Stewart, rendered magnificent service ... by becoming its honorary bursar for a number of years. Mr. Stewart, with Lord Halifax, persuaded a large number of these trustees to place their patronage in the hands of Keble College.¹⁶

Thus, no attack was justified on evangelical patronage, and by the same token, no defence needed by Catholic trusts. Besides which, Catholic trusts were on a smaller scale than evangelical trusts, partly for reasons noted before, and partly because they could not afford to buy as much patronage as had evangelical trusts in their early days. (The evidence suggests that many contemporary evangelical trusts did not buy patronage.) Operating at a time when the role of money in the field of patronage was accepted, they used money, when available, but in so doing raised the standard of patronage, rather than lowering themselves.

A defensive reticence on the part of the trusts probably accounts for the difficulty facing anyone who attempts to examine their histories. In many cases, secondary sources have had to be used.

The patronage of Keble College will be dealt with in a later

¹⁶ Church Union Gazette, April 1925, p.70.

chapter. Here it is simply useful to note the impetus which it appears to have given to the founding of other Catholic trusts, to which we now turn.

5:2 The Society for the Maintenance of the Faith

The Society was founded in 1874 by the Rev. Canon Edmund G. Wood, B.D., Vicar of St.Clement's, Cambridge, a noted theologian and canonist, and by his brother, James G. Wood, a lawyer and ardent churchman.¹⁷

At a preliminary meeting held on 29 February, 1873 the 'scheme' of the Constitution was approved, and referred to the first meeting of Council, which took place on the 20 March, and was attended by eleven members, clerical and lay, at which the draft Constitution was agreed for submission to a General Meeting. It was subsequently ratified at the first A.G.M. held on the 8 May, 1873. Five lay trustees were appointed, including Lord Eliot (President), the Earl of Limerick, and Charles King Anderson (Treasurer). The growing membership allowed the election of virtually the whole body of forty-three members of Council and the Patronage Board. Included was the Rev. R.C. Kirkpatrick, the first Vicar (1870-1907) of St.Augustine's, Kilburn, which has been, since 1954, an SMF Parish.

Whilst the object of the Society as defined in the Constitution was and remains 'to promote and maintain Catholic teaching and practice', the principal means employed was from the outset unashamedly the acquisition of patronage. It appears that the Society was early offered the chance of buying certain livings, but it was prevented from this, first because of the lack of funds, and then by the consideration whether acquisition by purchase was canonically acceptable. In the event, a decision was taken to amend the Constitution so as to exclude acquisition by purchase, with the result that it was not until 1880 that

¹⁷ This, and much of the following information, derives largely from the SMF Newsletter for Christmas 1980. I am informed that the history of the Society is being written. I am grateful to C.H. Spring, Secretary to the SMF, for information supplied.

the first living was acquired - that of Havenstreet in the Isle of Wight, followed by Winterbourne Down near Bristol. Both were poorly endowed, but on the patronage being vested in the SMF Trustees, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were prepared to raise the benefice income from as little as £50 to £250. Another early acquisition (1893) was Wilmcote in Coventry Diocese, famous as the birthplace of Mary Arden, where it is said that Eucharistic vestments were in use as early as 1850. A significant addition to the portfolio was the gift by the Duke of Newcastle of five benefices in the Diocese of Southwell, including Egmont, long a place of pilgrimage, fostered in recent years by the Society of our Lady of Egmont. The volume of patronage entrusted to the Society over the years, including the past decade, extends to twenty-seven dioceses. Other benefactions, the basis of present funds, have served to advance the work of the Society which also administers Trust Funds bequeathed for the benefit of particular parishes.

From the outset there was concern to render all possible assistance to those persecuted or deprived, an example being the expression of deep sympathy sent to the imprisoned Rev. Arthur Tooth, 'in the trouble that had fallen upon him through his noble defence of the rights and liberties of the Church'. A thankful reply acknowledged also a grant towards the Hatcham Defence Fund. Another instance is the authorization of the Council in 1874 to 'spend £100 out of the funds of the Society in making grants to assist the formation or maintenance of Catholic Missions in poor or populous parishes.'

There was also established a Vestment Fund, which inspired an offer from Sister Ellen of St. Margaret's, East Grinstead, to be responsible for making up, if the Society would provide the material.

The Society was thus, as well as a patronage trust, a means by which Anglo-Catholics sought to defend themselves from attack, and sometimes, be it admitted, to plan pre-emptive strikes.

Accepting gifts of patronage, rather than purchasing advowsons,

meant that the acquisition of tactical centres was never on the agenda of the Society. They gained their patronage slowly, and in a random selection of areas. Their growth cannot be studied in minute detail, but it is at least possible, by an examination of Crockfords Clerical Directory and other sources, to compile successive lists of the patronage of the Society and thus establish its rate of growth.¹⁸

By 1900, the Society apparently held seven livings, and by 1910, this figure had increased to eleven. This evidence is contradicted in a letter from Archbishop Davidson to the Bishop of Chester, written in 1908, indicating that the Society then held thirteen benefices.¹⁹ Presumably Crockfords described certain SMF livings as held by 'Trustees', a frequent cause of confusion. This does not materially affect what is said later about the expansion of the Society's patronage. Davidson lists the Trustees as: Lord Halifax, Lord Edward Spencer Churchill, Athelstan Riley, H.W. Hill, and J.G. Wood. Of these, Wood was a founder member, and Halifax, Hill and Riley were prominent Anglo-Catholics, Halifax being President of the E.C.U.; and the others important members. The letter notes that the Society was established to promote the interests of the Catholic revival by all means morally and canonically lawful, and to vest Church patronage, together with land, buildings and Church ornaments, in a body of trustees so constituted as to command the confidence of Catholic Churchmen.

Other indications of the progress of the Society may be followed in the advertisements which appealed for donations. In various Church periodicals in 1923, the SMF claimed to have thirty-eight advowsons, and by 1924 this figure had risen to forty-four.²⁰

¹⁸ Appendix B includes a map of SMF patronage.

¹⁹ Davidson Papers, 1908, 'Society for the Maintenance of the Faith'.

²⁰ See e.g., Church Union Gazette, April 1923, p.iii. The Sheffield Diocesan Calendar for 1920, p.199, lists the SMF as holding 35 livings.

The Church Times for the 21 November 1930 published an article to which we shall return, and which contained what we may take to be the fullest lists possible of Anglo-Catholic patronage, followed by similar lists for evangelical trusts.²¹ What is most obvious is the number of livings which came to the Society in the period of increased concern about the whole behaviour of Patronage Trusts. By 1930, fifty-eight livings were held by the Society, a gain of fourteen since the passing of the 1923 Measure. We shall see this trend exemplified in other lists, demonstrating that at least some of the increased transfers of patronage after 1924 were going to such trusts. From 1880 to 1900, about seven livings were acquired. By 1910, this had increased to about thirteen. But in the succeeding twenty years, forty-six livings were gained, and only one lost.

From 1930 to 1980, the Society has gained a further twenty-five livings, and some earlier livings are now united with other benefices. Fourteen of the livings listed in 1930 are no longer held by the SMF, and certainly one of these was lost under the 1933 Measure, proving that, even though sponsored by Catholics, it did not always act for their benefit. After 1930, the Society has expanded moderately, and in line with other trusts. Many trusts entered the 1920s in a spirit of party rivalry, and certain parishes were upset. If the 1933 Measure did not end the party spirit, it forced trusts to realize the primacy of pastoral concern, a realization which enabled them to take a great step forwards, and in many ways to become the bodies which are generally observable today, spoken highly of by those who have to deal with them, whatever their party affiliation. Today, the SMF, in spite of a cumbersome system of selection for candidates, appears to function like any other trust, as far as its standards of care and concern for the parishioners go.

²¹ See Ch.3, n.87.

To conclude, one may quote further words of H.W. Hill at the E.C.U. meeting in March, 1925:

I am a trustee of [the SMF] and have been for some years. It holds forty-five livings. I believe there are a good many in people's wills yet to come to it. For what was that society founded? To secure continuity of teaching where Church principles had been established. I think that fifty years' experience has very likely demonstrated that its constitution needs amendment in one or two respects ... But that was the purpose for which this society was endowed with these livings.²²

5:3 The Guild of All Souls

The Guild of All Souls was founded in March 1873, and originally had no connection with patronage. Its aims, as expressed in its Manual were:

1st. Intercessory Prayers:

i. For the Dying

ii. For the Repose of the Souls of Deceased Members, and all the Faithful Departed.

2nd. To provide Furniture for Burials, According to the use of the Catholic Church, so as to set forth the two great doctrines of the "Communion of Saints" and the "Resurrection of the Body."²³

It was thus, as Walter Walsh pointedly puts it, 'a Purgatorial Society'.²⁴ All members of the Guild were to say once a week the appointed Prayers for the Dying and the Faithful Departed; and all were, if possible, to say one of the appointed Litanies for the Faithful Departed on the last Saturday in each month. Again, all were, if possible, to assist at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist on All Souls' Day, with the intention of the first object of the Guild. All Priests were, if possible, to celebrate the Holy Eucharist once a year on behalf of the Guild.

²² Church Union Gazette, April 1925, p.71.

²³ The Manual of the Guild of All Souls, 6th ed. (London, 1886), title page and p.5.

²⁴ Walter Walsh, The Secret History of the Oxford Movement (London, 1897), p.227.

The Guild was managed by a President, Warden and Council. The President was to be a Priest, and he and the Warden were to be elected at the General Meeting, which took place as soon after Easter as possible.

The Council was composed of the Superiors and Delegates of the Branches, together with five members to be elected annually. A Branch could be established anywhere where 'six, or four at least' members lived.

Each branch was governed by a Superior, who was elected annually, and whose duty it was to arrange for the monthly recitation of the Guild Litany, and, if possible, the celebration of the Eucharist on All Souls' Day.²⁵

The rest of the Manual contains the Litanies, Prayers etc. which were to be used by Guild members. Walsh writes of the Guild as though it were kept secret, and certainly one cannot imagine it seeking an unduly wide publicity, given the objects of the Society, which were enough to bring all good protestants howling to their door. Walsh spoke of it as:

a widespread organization, with branches all over England, and also in Scotland, the United States, Madras, Montreal, Prince Edward Island, Port Elizabeth, Barbados, and New South Wales. According to the annual report for 1897 - as recorded in the Church Times, May 28th, 1897 - The Guild possesses seventy-one Branches. It includes amongst its members 646 clergymen, which is certainly a large number for such an extremely Romish society. The semi-secrecy of the Guild is shown in the fact that the public are never permitted to know who these clergymen are, with the exception of those who form its Council. The Guild issues a quarterly Intercession Paper, which is a strictly secret document. It always contains a list of churches, in which Masses for the Dead are said every month, together with the names of deceased persons for whom prayer is asked. The latest copy of the Annual Report which I have been able to secure is that for 1895. It states that "During November, in addition to those on All Souls' Day, there were 991 Special Requiem Masses [offered] in connection with the Guild, and the regular Requiem Masses maintained throughout the year are now, at least, 480 each month."²⁶

²⁵ Manual, pp.6-10.

²⁶ Walsh, pp.227-28.

This extended passage is quoted to indicate something of Walsh's style and technique, and the mixture of fact, supported by definite reference to his sources, and innuendo, for instance, that non-publication of a membership list indicated an excessive desire for secrecy. In many ways, the Secret History accords with Ronald Pearsall's description of it as 'a rather mad book', for the author clearly reveals his obsessions on every page, yet on the other hand, it does indicate the 'other side' of a movement which there is perhaps too much of a tendency to romanticize, even today.²⁷ Walsh's chief fault lay in confusing the excess with the essence, and condemning both, but in the above paragraph, his facts appear unassailable.

Walsh goes on to mention that the Guild published the Office of the Dead According to the Roman and Sarum Uses, as well as the Treatise of S. Catherine of Genoa on Purgatory, and he quotes from the Manual of the Guild of All Souls to give his readers some idea of the intercessions offered on behalf of the Faithful Departed.²⁸

Among those named by Walsh for their dealings with the Guild, we may single out for mention the Rev. H. Lloyd Russell, Vicar of the Annunciation, Chislehurst, a living in the patronage of Keble College, who preached for the Guild the All Souls' Day Sermon, 1883; the Rev. John Barnes Johnson, of St. Alban's, Holborn, who preached the same sermon in 1889; and the Rev. E.G. de Salis Wood, co-founder of the Society for the Maintenance of the Faith, and Vicar of St. Clement's, Cambridge, who preached in 1894.

Is it not an extraordinary thing that when the important living of St. Matthias', Earl's Court, London, fell vacant in 1892, the Bishop of London (now Archbishop of Canterbury), Dr. Temple, as patron, gave it to the Rev. Jonas Pascal Fitzwilliam Davidson, President of this very Guild of All Souls! This is the way in which many of our Bishops too frequently act. Not having the fear of loyal Churchmen before their eyes, they become indifferent to

²⁷ Ronald Pearsall, The Worm in the Bud : The World of Victorian Sexuality (Harmondsworth, 1983), p.115.

²⁸ Walsh, pp.228-30.

their opinions, and not seldom treat an earnest remonstrance with contempt.²⁹

This particular passage rapidly becomes, not an attack on the Guild, but on the bishops who were attempting, through the patronage measures, to increase their powers when they did not deserve them.

At this stage of the work of the Guild, they held no patronage, and it is difficult to discover when this began. It is known that three of the livings held by Keble College were given to the Guild of All Souls, and in the case of one of these, Bovey Tracey, not without the opposition of the parishioners. Crockfords for 1900, lists no parishes in the patronage of the Guild. But by 1910, the Guild is listed as holding two livings, both of which had formerly been Keble College's. It seems, therefore, that the Guild's patronage venture began with the gift of these two livings from Keble, possibly at the instigation of Lord Halifax who, as we shall see, certainly saw himself as occupying a position of importance within the Council of Keble College, and whose high-handed attitude secured Bovey Tracey for the Guild at a later date.

The Sheffield Diocesan Calendar for 1920 indicates that the Guild held by this time fourteen livings, but does not provide a list.³⁰

The next major list is provided in the Church Times article of 1930, quoted earlier. The author states that the Guild of All Souls holds thirty-two livings, although only thirteen are listed.³¹

How many of these were donated, and how many, if any, were purchased, it is difficult to say. But there is a clear indication in the article that the Guild had stopped purchasing advowsons some years before. The author says:

There are only two Catholic Trusts comparable to the Protestant Trusts, [and] neither of these purchase patronage (this has been the rule of the Society for the Maintenance

²⁹ Walsh, pp.230-32.

³⁰ Sheffield Diocesan Calendar, 1920, p.199.

³¹ Church Times, 21-11-1930, p.647. Coates, Glos. was also held by the G.A.S., but wrongly attributed to the SMF.

of the Faith from its foundation, and of the Guild of All Souls for many years).³²

The Guild had, for its own reasons, purchased three advowsons, as H.W. Hill pointed out in his address to the E.C.U. in 1925:

The Guild of All Souls altered its constitution so that it might hold benefices. It holds nineteen; and I am familiar with the circumstances of each one of these nineteen benefices. Sixteen of them were given in order that continuity of teaching and practice might be secured. Three were purchased for good reasons - excellent reasons. One was an important London parish, which was in great peril. I heard of it, and I promptly arranged that the parish, which had always taught sound Church principles, should be relieved from its anxiety. The living was purchased and vested in the trustees of the Guild of All Souls, of whom I am the senior ... Another that was purchased was the Rectory of Letchworth, the Garden City in Hertfordshire. I was taking an interest in cottage building, and I went to see an exhibition of buildings, and the first thing that struck my eye on getting out at the temporary wooden platform was a great placard, "Free Church Council". I thought "Oh, indeed! Where is the church going to be?" Here was a place with a new population coming - a little village with just twenty or thirty in it. I wondered and wondered, and then I heard that the advowson was for sale; and what do you think I did? I arranged as quickly as ever I could to purchase it and place it in the patronage of the Guild of All Souls. At the Institution of the first rector, we presented Mr. Heazell, who did a splendid work there. He is now Vicar of St. Michael's, Croydon ... The third that we purchased was in Yorkshire. That, through change of ownership of an estate, was coming into the market. Why did we purchase it? To secure continuity of teaching, and to prevent the scandals that would result if it had been bought by somebody who would have broken down the work of fifty years.

At each mention of a parish bought for the Guild, the report observes that there was 'applause', and so in 1925 at least, the view which was to prevail, that Anglo-Catholics did not buy patronage, was not accepted. The only admission which Hill was prepared to make was that:

I have never known, so far as our side of the Church is concerned, a case of an advowson being acquired for the purpose of forcing our views on any unwilling parish.³³

There are, at present, only thirty-five livings held by the Guild, according to the penultimate Crockfords. Many of these were held by

³² Church Times, 21-11-1930, p.647.

³³ Church Union Gazette, April 1925, p.71.

1930, as the article indicates.³⁴

5:4 Other Anglo-Catholic Bodies Holding Patronage

As we have seen, by 1930, which was perhaps the high-water mark of the party trusts, as well as the point at which they had the least popularity, Evangelicals were reckoned to hold at least 675 livings in patronage trusts of national scope. The two largest non-Collegiate Anglo-Catholic trusts held between them ninety-one, and if we add to this total those livings held by Keble College at the time, we arrive at not much more than one hundred and fifty livings in Catholic trust patronage - a remarkable difference. Yet, as the author of the 1930 Church Times article recorded:

In the Protestant papers a statement was recently made by Mr. Limbrick, the Secretary of the Protestant Reformation Society, that Anglo-Catholics had "gained their power and their position by concentration upon the four points of patronage, education, political influence and diocesan organization. To achieve their purposes, the Anglo-Catholics have spent large sums upon the establishment of such organizations as the Society for the Maintenance of the Faith, and other bodies holding patronage: Pusey House, St.Chad's College, Durham, Liddon House, Mirfield, Kelham, the Cowley Fathers, the Society of the Divine Compassion, Woodard Schools, etc."

Here perhaps, it might be thought, amongst such a list of names, the 'missing' Anglo-Catholic patronage could be discovered. But, as was pointed out, excluding the SMF, the bodies mentioned held, between them only thirteen benefices - St.Chad's, Durham held six, presented by its founder; the Cowley Fathers, the Society of St.John the Evangelist, held three; the Society of the Sacred Mission held one, and the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, held three. None of the others mentioned by Limbrick held any patronage.³⁵

It has therefore to be admitted that Limbrick's charge that Anglo-Catholics concentrated upon patronage as one of the four ways of gaining power is disingenuous, for as we have seen, by 1930, Catholic

³⁴ Appendix B includes a map of GAS patronage.

³⁵ Church Times, 21-11-1930, p.647.

trusts probably held no more than one hundred and seventy livings between them - one quarter of what was held by Evangelicals; and this total was exceeded by the livings held by one Evangelical group, the Martyrs' Memorial Trust.

What, then, of these minor holders of patronage? The Society of St. John the Evangelist was founded in 1865 by the Rev. R.M. Benson, Vicar of Cowley.³⁶ By 1930, the Society held three livings, Worksop Priory, acquired by 1900;³⁷ and St. Mary and St. John, Cowley, and St. Paul, Tranmere, both probably held by 1920. A later acquisition was Freeland, Oxfordshire. Tranmere was lost to the Society, if indeed it was ever held by them.³⁸

A letter from Father David Campbell, SSJE, explains quite clearly the latest decisions of the Society with regard to patronage:

We have very recently passed over the patronage of the 3 livings which were in our gift.

1. The Parish of St. Mary and St. John, Oxford.

This is the parish carved out of Cowley St. James, of which the founder of our Society, Fr. Benson, was Vicar, and within which stood the mother house of our Society. This living is now in process of being passed over to St. Stephen's house (which also occupies our former mother house.)

2. The Parish of Worksop Priory

The advowson of this parish was left to us in the will of its former patron, the Duke of Leeds in the 1920s.³⁹ He was an Anglo-Catholic churchman and apparently thought that the parish would be safe for that brand of churchmanship if it was in our hands! This living was passed over to St. Stephen's House, Oxford, two years ago.

3. The Parish of Freeland, Oxon.

The parish came to us in the 1950s [sic] from the then Trustees (details of which I cannot remember.) We passed this over to Christ Church College [sic] Oxford two years ago, the reason being that under the

³⁶ Ollard, p.173. ODCC, entry for 'Society of St. John the Evangelist'.

³⁷ At least, according to Crockford's. But see below.

³⁸ The Chester Diocesan Calendar does not indicate that St. Paul, Tranmere was ever held by the Society. Certainly today, the living is united with another under the patronage of the Bishop.

³⁹ Fr. Campbell is 'almost certain' of this, though he does not possess all the correspondence.

[P]astoral [M]easure Freeland has been joined with the neighbouring parish of Cassington which is in the gift of Christ Church.

The reason that we have rid ourselves of the patronage of these three livings is that we do not consider it appropriate that religious communities should have patronage in this way.⁴⁰

The Community of the Resurrection was founded by Charles Gore in 1892, and in 1898, it moved to Mirfield in Yorkshire.⁴¹ In 1910 it held no livings, but the Church Times for 1930 lists three livings, one of which, St. Francis, Bournemouth, had been acquired very recently. Other livings were given, perhaps to provide livings for ordinands, and in 1980, they held eight, only one of which was listed in 1930.⁴²

The Society of the Sacred Mission was begun in 1891 by Father H.H. Kelly. By 1930 it held the advowson of Kelham, where its mother house was situated, but this is now in other hands, and only Thatcham, Berkshire, is now held by the SSM.⁴³

This effectively accounts for the major holders of Anglo-Catholic patronage up to about 1930, but we should not ignore a later development, namely, the holding of patronage by trustees appointed by the Church Union.

It was never the intention of the Church Union to encumber itself with patronage, and it is, at present, hardly seeking to expand into this field. As the present General Secretary has expressed it:

The Church Union itself has now very little patronage. Livings that were given to it either by wills, or by personal choice in the lifetime of the patron have now been handed over to other trustees, since we feel it is better to have one or two bodies who can concentrate on patronage, rather than the Church Union itself, which is committed to so many other things. In the past, therefore, our livings have been handed to the Society for the Maintenance of the Faith, to Mirfield, and Keble College. There are one or two very small livings which historically came to us and we have continued to operate.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Letter from Fr. David Campbell, SSJE., 17-9-1983.

⁴¹ ODCC, entry for 'Community of the Resurrection'.

⁴² Church Times, 21-11-1930, p.647. Crockfords, 1910, 1979.

⁴³ ODCC, entry for 'Society of the Sacred Mission'. Crockfords 1979. Church Times, 21-11-1930, p.647.

⁴⁴ Letter from Fr. P. Geldard, 10-12-1982.

These livings are:

Bardfield, Great with Little, Essex, which is first mentioned as being in the Church Union's hands in 1938, being conveyed by the will of the late Rev. B.E. Lampet;

Finningham with Westhorpe, Suffolk, a united benefice, with the Church Union as alternate patrons with the DBP. Finningham was once owned by the Martyrs' Memorial Trust, but was purchased under the 1933 Measure, and thus became vested in the DBP. The Church Union acquired the patronage of Westhorpe, and the benefices were united, at some time after 1945;

Stockport, St.Peter, conveyed by Walter Pownall to Viscount Halifax and Sir Samuel Hoare, in about 1941, and to the Church Union some time after 1945;

Up Hatherley, Gloucestershire, conveyed to the Union in about 1937 by Major L.A. Alston.⁴⁵

As was said, these are small livings, and certainly of no 'strategic' importance.

5:5 Theological Colleges

Finally, to complete this survey, and to lead into the study of certain of the evangelical trusts, we must look at patronage held by Theological Colleges, of whatever churchmanship, in order to indicate the smallness of the patronage held. The information is derived from the 1979 edition of Crockfords, and therefore the patronage of St. Chad's College, Durham, is still indicated.

In 1979, St. Chad's, Durham, held eight livings, four of which derived from a group of five Liverpool livings assembled by a group of Anglo-Catholic Trustees consisting of H.D. Horsfall, E.D. Horsfall, Viscount Halifax, Viscount Phillimore and Rev. S.R.P. Monkdale.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Information derived from Crockfords 1979, and from diocesan calendars. 'About' indicates that the calendar for the year in question first mentions the new patronage.

⁴⁶ Liverpool Diocesan Calendar, 1921, p.170.

All of St. Chad's patronage was acquired within a period lasting, at most, eight years.

Of other Colleges, Ripon College, Cuddesdon, held three livings, Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, held two, one of which was held jointly with Ridley Hall, Cambridge, who held five others. St. John's, Durham, held one, as did St. Stephen's, Oxford, and St. John's, Nottingham.⁴⁷

Of the patronage which came to Theological Colleges, much of it was given after the patronage crisis of the 1930s was over. Before 1933, donors who gave to groups of trustees were likely to select a party trust to accept their gifts. But afterwards, and particularly after the war, when party trusts had had certain teeth drawn, and when party rivalries began to fade, gifts to colleges began; although it can hardly be argued that such colleges are major patrons. Only St. Chad's, and Ridley Hall have anything like pretensions to this status.

It is time to leave this question, and consider the evangelical position. We have established that Anglo-Catholic trusts operated on a much smaller scale than evangelical trusts; added to which, many evangelical trusts were themselves larger than Catholic trusts. By concentrating, in this section, on one trust in particular, which could be called typical, we hope to demonstrate, without the need for lengthy individual histories, the normal development of evangelical patronage, apart from the model established by Simeon, which set an ideal to which few others attained.

5:6 The Church Trust Fund Trust

In the eyes of its trustees, perhaps no trust could be described as 'typical,' because there would be little motivation for establishing a new body to do work already undertaken by other groups. Nevertheless, in its strain of evangelicalism, its preparedness to purchase advowsons, and its rate of expansion, the CTFT could be held up as an example of

⁴⁷ Compiled from Crockfords 1979 and diocesan calendars.

what was typical about the late nineteenth-century evangelical patronage trust.⁴⁸ It should be remembered, however, that it has always been a smaller trust than other bodies, holding only about twenty livings in the thirties, and only about thirty livings today. It relied upon appeals for money and individual campaigns, rather than an expansionist policy, as we shall see.

The activities of the CTFT began in 1889, with the Vicar of Wakefield, the Rev. Normal Dumenil John Straton, an Evangelical. In January of that year, he was appointed as the first Archdeacon of Huddersfield, and on the 18 January, his friends and congregation surprised him with 'a splendid token of liberality.' In response to this, Straton wished to give 'a thank-offering to Almighty God, for the maintenance of Protestant and Evangelical Truth in the Church of England'. Thus arose the idea of the Church Trust Fund.

A little later that year, the living of Sandal Magna, near Wakefield, came on the market, with its two dependent livings of Chapelthorpe Vicarage and St.Catherine's District Church, Belle Vue, under the provisions of Lord Westbury's Act. During the Summer of 1889, Straton circulated an appeal 'for help to purchase the Advowson of a Living near a Cathedral City, and the patronage of two other churches.'

Seventy people gave to Straton's appeal, including Lord Grimthorpe, who donated £50, and something over £2,200 was collected. The original price asked for the living had been £2,000, but at the last minute this was lowered to £1,800, and the whole transaction was secured for £2,019.14s.

The living was purchased from the Lord Chancellor on the 25 November 1889. Although Straton had established the Church Trust Fund, to which account all the contributions had been paid, he had not yet appointed trustees, and so gave this first living to the Peache

⁴⁸ Much of the following information is based on documents of the CTFT held at the CPAS Offices in Fleet St.

Trustees, who at the time were:

The Earl of Harrowby.

Rev. Canon Gibbon - who had donated £78.0.0d.

Rev. W.H. Barlow.

Rev. A.P. Peache.

Lewis Dibdin, Esq.⁴⁹

In March 1890, the grateful Trustees resolved to allow Straton a right of consultation in all appointments to the living, during his lifetime, but not to the prejudice of the Trustees.

Straton was thus left with about £184 of his contributors' money.

On the 1 March 1890 he wrote to them, asking for their leave to use what was left as the basis of an even grander scheme. This letter reveals something of the influence of Simeon's style:

I have so far been able to secure in perpetuity for three churches, with a population of about 10,000 souls and endowments of nearly £1,000 per year a Protestant and Evangelical ministry. At about the same cost, I hope, ere long, to provide the same advantages for a population many times as large.

But first he needed their assurance, which evidently he obtained.

The living of Kirkheaton was about to be sold. In 1890, Maddox, the Rector, who operated through trustees, instructed them to sell the advowson by the end of the year. His urgency was such that he did not care unduly who purchased it. Immediately, Archdeacon Straton was alerted, and in December of 1890 he circulated 'An Urgent Appeal to Protestant and Evangelical Churchmen - Private and Confidential.' This spoke darkly of the advowson of a Rectory in the north of England, which could be purchased for £3,000 if the patronage were placed in the hands of evangelical trustees. But if Evangelicals could not find the money 'it will probably fall into the hands of the Sacerdotal party.'

⁴⁹ The Peache Trust was not established as a public trust until 1894.

What was on offer was Kirkheaton, with an income of £700 and a population of 6,000, and the dependent livings of Lepton and Mold Green, with a joint income of £400 and a population of about 8,000.

The living was sold for £2,600, with Maddox himself making up the £400 shortfall. On the 11 March 1891, by an indenture between Maddox and his Trustees and the newly established Church Trust Fund Trustees, that is to say:

Archdeacon Straton of Wakefield,

John Shields of Western Lodge, Durham,

Rev. George Ferris Whidborne, Vicar of St. George,

Battersea,

Rev. Frederic Edward Wigram of Oak Hill House, Hampstead,

Rev. Hanmer William Webb-Peploe of 25 Onslow Gardens,

Middlesex,

and Edmund Smith Hanbury, of Poles Ware, Herts..

Lockwood and Maddox, with the consent of the Rector, agreed to the sale, and vesting of the advowson in the Trustees.

The new Trustees stated:

The Primary Object of the Trust is declared to be the election and presentation to the Rectory of Kirkheaton, and any other living of which the Trustees shall be patrons, of Clergymen of bona fide Protestant and Evangelical principles who will obey the Prayer Book, and Articles of Religion, and Acts of Uniformity, and all other statutes so far as they relate to public worship and act in accordance with the decisions of the Queen's Court therein.

The Trustees are to assure themselves of the steadfast adherence to the Protestant and Evangelical principles aforesaid before appointing.

Amongst the articles in the Schedule to this indenture should be mentioned number 6: all meetings to decide appointments are to be started with a portion of the Word of God, and Prayer for Guidance; and number 10: Trustees are to visit their parishes to encourage the Rectors or Incumbents to promote the good of their parishes and sustain and spread the Evangelical and Protestant principles of the Church of England therein.

On the 1 July 1891, Shields wrote to the Fund's Subscribers:

We are more than ever impressed, through our recent experience, with the great importance of endeavouring at this time to secure the permanent establishment of a faithful ministry of the Gospel in the influential centres of population - not only for the immediate benefit of the people themselves, but also for the support which such parishes would give to our great Missionary and other Evangelical Societies.

It is a fact worthy of notice that there are, in various parts of the country, many livings now offered for purchase which could be placed in the hands of Evangelical Trustees, if the means were forthcoming. An opportunity of this kind will shortly occur by which, probably for a moderate sum, a living could be purchased, to which is attached the presentation of eight others, with a total population of over 50,000, and income amounting to £2,223.

Thus began the 'third period' of the expansion of the Trust. An appeal for £5,000 was issued:

To ensure the permanent ministry of the Gospel of Our Lord in its plainness and purity to many thousands of souls.

The appeal went on to mention, firstly, the living mentioned above, a northern advowson with a large number of daughter churches:

As they almost adjoin others which have recently been secured to the Evangelical cause, a great centre of Evangelical influence may thus be formed in one of the Northern Dioceses.

The second opportunity lay in what the Trustees coyly referred to as:

two leading livings in a watering place of great importance in a Southern County in which Evangelical Churchmanship has long greatly suffered for want of adequate representation among its churches.

The two together were worth only £600 per year, with a population of 7,000, but subscribers were informed that they were of greater importance than was suggested by these figures. Furthermore, all of these livings were to be had for £5,000.

The Trustees appealed earnestly for donations and:

not less earnestly would we desire their prayers that our God may bless this effort to His Glory and the good of immortal souls.

However, on this occasion, the wishes of the Trustees could not be fulfilled. In an interim report issued on the 15 November 1892, they

were forced to admit that both sets of negotiations had broken down, in the latter case, due to an insuperable legal bar. Nevertheless, the Trustees still held the donations which had been given and:

In spite of these failures, it seemed to them that they would best carry out the wishes of their contributors in seeking to secure other Livings as important as possible.

They therefore bought Felixstowe for £1,500:

Three of the principal subscribers, whose gifts nearly covered this sum, expressed their strong desire that they should be utilized for the purchase of that Advowson, and it was on the strength of their urgent request that the Trustees (whose opinion was clearly in favour of the purchase) acquired the living. They can rely on nearly £3,000 of the funds ... for the first opportunity that occurs for securing another important advowson. They consider that this is a matter of no small importance, as several influential Livings are in the market, about which they will not fail to make the most careful enquiries and report to their supporters.

It will be noticed that, as in the case of Simeon's Trust, the same emphasis was laid on securing influential livings, although in Simeon's case, influence was purely a matter of large population. In the case of the Trustees, one feels, influence also included some intangible 'esteem' which was held for the church, or the location itself.

E.P. Hathaway, whom we have already met in the debate over the Benefices Bill of 1894, and whom we will meet again in connection with the story of Oxford evangelicalism, donated £5 to this appeal, as he had given £5 to the original appeal for Sandal Magna.

Felixstowe was purchased on the 17 March 1892. The Trustees then went on to make a part purchase of All Saints, Salterhebble, Halifax, which they obtained for £700 on the 6 December 1892, a parish which was created in 1846; and of St. Paul's, Devonport, obtained for £750 on the 13 June 1894. They also endowed, and then obtained the advowson of, Christ Church, Sidcup, for £500, and the church was founded on the 21 May 1896.

Thus between June 1889 and May 1896, the Church Trust Fund Movement, which was commenced with the single object of purchasing and

placing in the Peache Trust the Advowson of Sandal Magna in Yorkshire, had progressed far beyond the original idea of its founder; and besides Sandal, five other livings had been secured by purchase on the part of the Trustees, in some cases with the help of other friends, so that, in all, the patronage of nine livings and one district were 'assured' during that period to the 'Protestant and Evangelical Cause.' But besides these, before the end of the 'Third Period,' in 1897, five vicarages had been given to the Trustees.

The 'Fourth Period' which the Trustees reckon from July 1897 to the end of 1899, was marked, at its opening, by a vigorous and successful effort to secure St. John's, Blackheath, and was followed in the Spring of 1898 by another successful movement, which resulted in the acquisition of the Rectory of Gorleston, Suffolk, with the church of Southtown in its gift. (This daughter church was conveyed to the Trustees in 1918).

The Dean of Norwich at this time suggested that some people might be ready to become annual subscribers to the Trust. Accepting the principle of this, the Rev. G.F. Whidborne offered to contribute £1,250 in five annual instalments of £250 each, if £5,000 could in that time be raised for the general purposes of the Trust. This offer was taken up by W.D. Cruddas, M.P., and a Trustee, who gave a similar amount. The Trustees at once felt justified in putting out an appeal for 100 subscribers of £5 per annum for five years, with a view to raise the remnant of the proposed sum.

During this period, three more livings were given to the Trust. Cruddas donated a further £3,000, and with the success of the annual subscription appeal, further livings were acquired.

Of St. John's, Blackheath, bought in 1898, the Trustees said:

Had it been secured, as there was good reason to fear, by the sacerdotalists, the whole of that important suburb of the metropolis would have been left destitute of an Evangelical ministry.

The Trustees feel deeply that to secure the advowson, and place it in the hands of Evangelical Trustees, is the

only sure way of maintaining the principles of the Reformation in any Parish, and that money spent on Churches and mission-rooms, and various parochial institutes apart from this, may not improbably be used in time to come in strengthening the cause of sacerdotalism. They are further persuaded, that unless strenuous and self-denying efforts are made to secure important spheres of labour for Protestant and Evangelical Clergymen, who are for the most part overlooked in the distribution of Ecclesiastical Patronage at present, not only will such clergymen be disheartened, but the prominence of these principles will grievously suffer, while societies such as the Church Missionary Society and the Church Pastoral-Aid Society will constantly be losing valuable parochial auxiliaries.

From this statement it can be seen what were some of the similarities and differences between later evangelical trusts, and Simeon's original venture. The debt to Simeon is clear - phrases like 'spheres of labour' stand out, and the need to secure Evangelicals a place is emphasised. But the differences are apparent. Simeon was fighting indifference; but it is plain that the CTFT were fighting 'Sacerdotalism.' Each purchase was less a dawning of the light of the Gospel on parishioners, and more a victory over the Anglo-Catholics who might otherwise have secured the living. The party spirit was tending to push the pastoral emphasis of Simeon into second place, although we must be careful here. To say that the Trustees were not as pastorally minded as Simeon's is not to say that their appointments were not excellent parish clergy. It should not be ignored that fairly virulent party men may yet be excellent pastors. Furthermore, while we should rightly see the desire to secure influential livings as motivated more by the chess game between High and Low, we should not read back the faults of a later age, and see the CTFT as aiming to buy up Catholic livings in order to turn their heads. Both parties were fighting for the pawns, the parishes, and it would be a work of far greater complexity than could be undertaken here to calculate what was the tradition of every parish before it was obtained by a trust. The CTFT, as one amongst many, was attempting to secure evangelicalism in the belief that this was incompatible with a Catholic view of the Church, and the securing of patronage never had a more delightful reward than when accompanied by the preventing of a Sacerdotal advance.

A second volume deals briefly with the history of the Trust from 1900 to the end of 1909. Twenty-three livings were acquired, by purchase, endowment, or gift. Within this period, the Trustees spent £13,478.16s. 8d. on purchasing advowsons.

The third volume of reports for the CTFT contains a simple summary of the activities of the Trust from 1910 to 1920. Nine benefices were added to the General Trust, and two to the Special Trusts, making forty-four benefices held under the General Trust and seven under Special Trusts - fifty-one in all, with six livings in the gift of mother churches, a total parish population of 181,730.⁵⁰

During this period, the rate of acquisition was falling, but it might be expected that, with the passing of the 1923 Benefices Measure, purchases would increase to new heights: this did not happen. In the 1920s, which, for several trusts, was a most profitable period, the CTFT acquired two livings for the General Trust and six for the Special Trusts, but all of these were gifts, and point to the fact that, in certain cases, the increase in trust patronage after 1923 is due to patrons giving away their livings, as well as to trusts buying them.

From the table supplied at the end of the report for 1931, we may note the following statistics, which in certain minor particulars contradict the statement in the body of the report itself, but not sufficiently to excite comment. A difference of a few months in compiling the two sections would account for it.

In 1931, then, sixty-seven livings were held by the Trust. Forty-nine were held by all the Trustees, and eighteen in Special Trusts. Of these, twenty-nine had been purchased, with ten out of the twenty-nine being part-purchases or endowments; and thirty had been given, with a further eight livings being daughter churches, but listed

⁵⁰ Special Trusts held those livings where the number of trustees was limited to 5. Occasionally, a non CTFT member acted as a trustee.

by the CTFT as their own. The Special Trust livings were made up of two livings which were endowed by the CTFT, fourteen livings given to the Trustees, and two daughter churches. The General Trust held twenty-seven livings which it had purchased, sixteen gifts, and six daughter churches. By means of all these livings, the Trust ministered to 258,600 people, with about 40% of these in the 27% of parishes held by Special Trusts.

In other ways, too, the livings held by the Special Trusts appear to have been worse than those held by all the Trustees. The income of the average Special Trust living was £444 gross and £390 net, as opposed to £532 and £439 for General livings. Furthermore, while the average General living which had any glebe held about 2,482 acres, Special Trust livings only had 456 acres. And, as we have seen, the average population of a General Trust living was 3,184, of a Special Trust living, 5,699, three-quarters as much again. Special Trust livings did, however, have larger churches - accommodating 742 people on average, as opposed to 575 people for General Trust livings.

But we should be wary of these figures, and they cannot be used to argue that there was some kind of cause and effect between the placing of a living under a Special Trust, and its impoverishment. Rather, we should notice that most of the Special Trust livings were limited to five trustees because they were nineteenth-century creations within cities, and as such would tend to have higher populations and larger churches, while those which had any glebe would have less than a rural parish. Furthermore, although the incomes of the two sets appear significantly different, proportionately more General Trust livings had incomes lower than the average. Thus, in the case of the General Trust, thirty-two out of forty-nine livings were below average in their gross incomes, and thirty-one were below average in their net incomes - 65% and 63% respectively. But in the Special Trusts, these figures are 56% and 50%. In other words, the average income in the case of the Special

Trusts is much closer to the centre of the range of incomes. This can be accounted for by the few extremely wealthy benefices held by the General Trust, which push the average income unrepresentatively high.

In other words, the two sets of livings represent the normal differences which might be expected between livings which were of long standing, and mostly rural or suburban, and those which were of recent creation, and mostly urban. The Special Trusts, in short, held poorer livings, because there was a tendency for city livings to be restricted in their patronage to five trustees, and to be poorer.

The Church Times of 1930, from which we have quoted before, failed dismally in attempting to establish a full list of such livings, suggesting that there were merely 'at least twenty-two' of them.⁵¹ This is partly due to the fact that those responsible for compiling lists of patronage, confronted by a name like Church Trust Fund Trustees, were quite likely to write 'Trustees' alone, failing to recognise the name as that of a specific body.⁵²

With about sixty livings, the CTFT was a small evangelical trust, but comparable in size with the largest of the Anglo-Catholic trusts. From its founding to 1931, the CTFT had appointed to its livings and daughter livings about one hundred times, although a number of these appointments were of the same people to different livings. Thus, an average of two or three incumbents were presented each year. Only one living, Wigginhall, in Norfolk, was lost to the Trust in this period, for an undiscovered reason.

In general, we may draw several conclusions from this examination of the CTFT. It was typical of many evangelical trusts both in its size, and in its methods. In the 1930s, the average evangelical trust held sixty livings, although this figure is rendered almost meaningless

⁵¹ Church Times, 21-11-1930, p.647.

⁵² Appendix B includes a map of CTFT patronage.

by the fact that only two or three trusts had about this number. There were a few giants, and several more small-scale trusts, so that an 'average' is not a very useful idea. As for their methods, they were clearly not in the least opposed to purchasing advowsons, nor to seeking out centres of influence, nor to defeating Anglo-Catholics in their attempts to secure patronage. In their hands, patronage became a tactical weapon of party warfare, and Simeon's emphasis on parochial needs, and on 'souls,' was pushed into second place behind the repeatedly emphasized desire to place Protestant Evangelicals in important positions in the church. In saying this, we are not saying that their appointments were failures compared with Simeon's - there is no evidence to suggest this. Neither are we suggesting that Anglo-Catholics never viewed their parishes simply as battle grounds for Catholicism. But it is certainly true that, by using money to 'do good' as they saw it, the CTFT, and others like them, helped the whole field of purchasing advowsons to look respectable long after it had ceased to be so. It is also true that the party spirit generated at the parochial level by the conflict for pulpits and altars caused many shameful acts to take place, in the form of riots, and particularly those led by three generations of the Kensit family, who abused the legal provisions in order to take the law into their own hands. The cause of Anglicanism was undoubtedly weakened by this in the 1920s and 30s, so that one almost feels that certain trusts gained their advowsons at the cost of the parishioners themselves. Yet we should not confuse Kensitite excess with the work of the trusts. The CTFT was Protestant and Evangelical, but only by an abuse of the language could we call it fanatical. It represents fairly accurately the pattern of Evangelicalism in the early years of this century, which veered more to the 'Low Church' views which Balda has emphasized than did the more moderate, Simeon-style churchmanship. Evangelicals did dislike Anglo-Catholics, they did see them as opposed to the Reformation, and as undermining the full

understanding of the doctrine of justification. For these reasons they strove to keep them out by all legal means within their power. This led to unpleasantness and controversy but not to riots or disturbances. We must distinguish such trust activities from the illegal acts committed in the early part of this century.

5:7 The Hyndman Trust

Miss Catherine Elizabeth Hyndman died intestate in 1835, leaving her only brother John Beckles Hyndman as inheritor of her estate. Letters of Administration to her estate were granted to him in July 1835. Miss Hyndman had previously communicated with her brother about certain wishes for the disposal of her property, but this did not form a valid testamentary disposition. So on the 6 December 1836, J.B. Hyndman created by Declaration of Trust a charitable settlement having the somewhat regal title of 'Miss Catherine Elizabeth Hyndman's Bounty to the Church of England.'

The Trust Deed provided that the fund settled to the Trust should be applied for a number of purposes which included the acquisition of buildings, and advowsons, and the provision of endowments.

The charity was not expressed to be constituted in furtherance of any particular churchmanship within the Church of England, but only limited the trustees to appointing those ordained according to the rites and practice of the Church of England, and who should subscribe to the Articles of Faith for the time being adhered to by that Church.⁵³

In appearance, therefore, the Trust was non-partisan, although in 1836 the party divisions of the Church were as yet in their infancy. The Church Times in 1930 reckoned the Trust as evangelical, and it is quite possible that Miss Hyndman was inspired by the work of Simeon.

⁵³ Information supplied by J.P. Rayner, Clerk to Hyndman's Trust, 6-4-1982.

But there is no evidence that it was a violently partisan Trust.⁵⁴

Over the years, the Trust's funds proved insufficient to devote to any of the objects of Church building and expansion, and the Trustees concentrated solely on patronage.

By 1900, the Trust held twenty-seven livings, and by 1910, it had acquired a further four livings. Abergavenny was lost with Welsh disestablishment, but by 1920, according to the Sheffield Diocesan Calendar a further six livings were acquired, making a total of thirty-six.⁵⁵

The Church Times of 21 November 1930 suggested that Hyndman's Trust held at least thirty-eight livings, but only listed thirty-four.

From all this information, a list of about thirty-nine livings may be compiled.

After this, the Trustees acquired a few more livings, but certain of their previous holdings were lost. For instance, in about 1930, Fairfield was passed to the Martyrs' Memorial Trust. Holloway was passed to the CPAS, and Southwark to the Church Patronage Society, so that, with other losses, the Trust at present holds only thirty livings, a number of which are presently subject to suspension orders for one reason or another.⁵⁶

5:8 The Peache Trustees

The Peache Trustees were begun, as Balda says, in imitation of Simeon.⁵⁷ The Rev. Alfred Peache, who lived at the latter end of the nineteenth century, was a man of broadly evangelical views, who wished to raise up pious, evangelical, biblically based preachers and teachers.

One of his ventures was inspired by hearing T.P. Boulton, Fellow of

⁵⁴ The Secretary of the CPS described it as 'moderately evangelical'.

⁵⁵ Crockfords, 1900, 1910; Sheffield Diocesan Calendar, 1920, p.199.

⁵⁶ Crockfords, 1979, Letter, J.P. Rayner.

⁵⁷ I am grateful to the help and hospitality of Canon Bryan Green, Secretary of the Peache Trustees, for much of this information.

St. John's, Cambridge, read a paper before the Western Clerical and Lay Association, calling attention to the urgent need for an Evangelical Theological College, in 1860. Peache, then incumbent of Mangotsfield, intimated in a private way that he would find the money, and in 1863 the London College of Divinity was opened with Boulton as first principal.⁵⁸ This was later to develop into St. John's College, Nottingham.

But Peache also persuaded his friends to give him advowsons, which he organized into a Trust with three clerical and two lay members. When this began is unclear, but the Trust was organized as a public body in 1894. It has never had funds, and has never purchased an advowson, relying on donations.

By 1900, they held twelve livings; by 1910, this had increased to include a further ten livings, and by 1920, the Trust had doubled this figure to forty-two livings.⁵⁹

The Church Times of 21 November 1930, reckoned that the Trust held at least fifty livings, although it only listed thirty-seven, and even one of these was a daughter church.⁶⁰

Today, with various losses of patronage, and a few more acquisitions, the Peache Trust holds forty-three livings. Canon Bryan Green has been Secretary of the Trust since about 1940. He became one of the Trustees through the influence of his wife, following a mission at which he had helped in the 1930s. Green was, of course, a very popular and successful Rector of Birmingham from 1948-1970 and, as we have seen, was active in evangelical circles in the 1930s and 40s - attending the first meeting of the Evangelical Consultative Committee which Simeon's Trust had not attended. On the death of the Secretary of the Peache Trustees, Bryan Green succeeded him.

⁵⁸ Balleine, p.217.

⁵⁹ Crockfords 1900, 1910. Diocesan Calendar sampling. Sheffield Diocesan Calendar, 1920, p.199.

⁶⁰ Church Times, 21-11-1930, pp.647-48.

As such, he has been active during a great period of change for the Church, and reckons that much of this has been immeasurably for the better. He characterized the present Peache Trustees as Liberal Evangelicals - he would say 'Catholic Evangelical' if it were not a phrase open to misunderstanding. Thus, today, the typical Peache incumbent will be a Bible teacher and a gospel preacher, using the A.S.B.; a good pastor, with the Eucharist as a major Sunday service fairly frequently; and neither rigid nor conservative. At an appointment, it is ascertained whether the new incumbent is happy with the church's tradition, and he is asked not to change it except in consultation with the PCC.

A typed sheet sets out the procedure which is normally followed at a vacancy.⁶¹ It appears to be relatively uncontroversial, and provides for consultation between all parties.

As for the organization of the Trust; it is divided into three areas, with one clerical trustee taking control of the appointments within each area - a situation which mirrors the early mode of operation of Simeon's Trust.

The Trustees meet four times a year. Ten years ago, Green persuaded the then Trustees to appoint five others who should sit in at meetings. When the original Trustees retired, the five new men replaced them, but Canon Green was persuaded to continue as the Secretary. In general, he expressed his satisfaction with the work of his Trustees, and of the present day trusts in general, and felt that in ninety out of one hundred cases, the right man had gone to a living.⁶²

If Green is a typical example, then the Peache Trustees probably represent one of the more moderate evangelical trusts, and one which is certainly not a block to renewal and unity within the Church.

⁶¹ Supplied by Canon Green.

⁶² Interview, Canon B. Green, May 1983.

We might echo the words of H.T.A. Dashwood, writing to Archbishop Davidson in 1926:

The late Dean of Westminster told me that in his opinion this Trust was quite 'unimpeachable' and I hope your Grace may think it is even more so now.⁶³

5:9 The Church Pastoral-Aid Society

As a Society, the CPAS has existed far longer than as a patron. It is the first home missionary society, founded in response to the needs of growing cities, where too few clergy ministered to too many people. It was formed on the 19 February 1836.⁶⁴ It survived two early controversies, insisting on testimonials as to the fitness of a candidate for the missionary work of the Society, and deciding to employ lay assistants, a decision which led to the formation of the Additional Curates Society in 1837, by dissatisfied members.

Following the Lincoln Judgement in 1890, Evangelicals were forced to take stock. Until then, persecution had appeared a useful means of defence, but when it began to make martyrs of saints, and when it appeared to be having totally negative results, a new direction was needed. It was felt that evangelicalism would best advance, not by denying non-evangelicals an opening, but rather by doing the best possible for evangelical livings. The Forward Movement of the CPAS accepted the challenge to strengthen the work of many of the largest and poorest parishes. Presumably, in connection with this, the Society formed a body of trustees to hold and acquire patronage. By purchase and gift, the CPAS Trustees enjoyed a meteoric rise.

In 1900, the Trustees held only two livings. But by 1910 this had increased to include a further twelve, and by 1920, the CPAS held fifty-nine livings.⁶⁵ Its expansion continued, and by 1930 it was said

⁶³ Davidson Papers, 'Peaches Trust', 29-3-1926.

⁶⁴ Balleine, pp.139-40.

⁶⁵ Crockfords 1900, 1910, Sheffield Diocesan Calendar, 1920, p.199.

to hold at least one hundred and fifteen livings, putting it firmly in the list of large trusts.⁶⁶ The Church Times listed about one hundred of the livings held. CPAS is one of the Trusts which has not reduced its patronage, but has continued, though more slowly, in its expansion, so that it now holds about one hundred and sixty livings.⁶⁷

Part of this success is only accountable to the broadly-based popularity of the CPAS amongst evangelicals. It is possible that the influence of the CPAS in parishes was felt to work to the good, so that if the question of transferring patronage arose, then the CPAS would appear to be an obvious choice. Once again, moderate evangelicalism appears to have accounted for the widespread popularity of the Trust.

In the first half of this century, the CPAS agreed to administer the patronage of the CTFT, which means that the CTFT and the CPAS Trustees are one and the same group of people. Together with their administration of those livings held by the Martyrs' Memorial Trust, this means that the CPAS is the largest single holder of trust patronage in England, with about four hundred livings administered by one group of trustees, although, in theory, each Trustee is merely a member of three different patronage trusts. As we shall see later, this means that each Trustee is obliged to sign a declaration of Trust in which seven doctrines are rejected. This is because the Martyrs' Memorial Trust deed requires the declaration, and thus each of the three trusts can now be considered identical in churchmanship. Certainly, the Rev. David Bubbers, Chairman of CPAS, felt that the declaration did not impose upon any Trustee more than he thought he would hold anyway, as an Evangelical.⁶⁸

5:10 The Components of the Church Society Trust

Church Society Trust is a modern creation but its component parts

⁶⁶ Church Times, 21-11-1930, p.647.

⁶⁷ Appendix B includes a map of CPAS patronage.

⁶⁸ In an interview, February, 1983.

date back to the middle of the last century. It is an amalgamation of the Church Association and the National Church League.⁶⁹

The Church Association was formed by those who saw the resolution of the Tractarian problem as lying in litigation. But it is often forgotten that the persecuted Anglo-Catholics were the first to do the persecuting. Much of the initial aggression came from the English Church Union.

The E.C.U. was formed by the amalgamation of various local Church Unions which had been established as a reaction against the move towards national, secular education, but which rapidly became organs of opinion on other Church questions. Prompted by the St. George's-in-the-East riots, the Unions amalgamated, and on the 14 March 1860, the English Church Union was founded.

It had been born out of the fear that Tractarianism was being defeated in the Courts and in the cities, by Protestant judges and mobs.

It immediately took the offensive. It tried in 1860 to prosecute Evangelicals who were holding mission services in theatres. It tried in 1862 to prosecute the evangelical Bishop of Carlisle for heresy; and when in both cases prosecution proved impossible, it appealed in 1862 to Parliament for a measure to 'facilitate the bringing to trial of priests for heresy and breaches of Church discipline'.⁷⁰

Now it was the turn of the Evangelicals to feel intimidated, and on the 6 November 1865, the Church Association was formed:

To uphold the doctrines, principles and order of the Church of England, and to counteract the efforts now being made to pervert her teaching on essential points of the Christian faith, or assimilate her services to those of the Church of Rome, and to encourage concerted action for the advancement and progress of spiritual religion.

It was at first warmly supported by the Evangelicals, and some of the best of them, like Wilson, Auriol, Champneys, Dale and Mill were on its

⁶⁹ See Ollard and Crosse, 'Societies, Ecclesiastical', for information about the bodies mentioned in this section.

⁷⁰ Balleine, p.181.

Council. It set about initiating a series of test cases to establish which points of ritual were permissible, most of which went the same way - a decision in favour of the ritual in the highest court which the Anglo-Catholics were prepared to acknowledge - the Court of the Arches - followed by a reversal of this decision by the Privy Council. The Association had won, in its efforts to establish the law, but it was powerless to act, because clergymen simply refused to acknowledge any bishop's power to impose upon them the decisions of a secular court in spiritual matters.

Finally the Church Association acquired the teeth it sought, in the Public Worship Regulation Act. Anglo-Catholics refused to obey the law; Tait stood firm, and the inevitable happened: clergymen began to go to gaol, and not only this, but their goods were sold to pay for Court costs. The Evangelicals had had insufficient experience of martyrdom. They were confronted by martyrs. The ritualist clergy won the hearts of the people by their sufferings. Before long, no bishop would allow a case to be brought under the PWRA and it became a dead letter. All that the Church Association had succeeded in was the removal of all controls from ritual. Not satisfied with the moral victory of Privy Council decisions, they insisted on the full penalty of the law, and thus ensured that confusion reigned as to what was and was not permitted to Anglicans. But more than this, they reaped a whirlwind of reproach for acts of mob violence and desecration which were none of their responsibility. The protestant mob which disturbed a service was not distinguished from the evangelical society which sought a legal solution; not a good inheritance for the Church Association to live with.

The policy of the Church Association became a scandal. Evangelicals of the younger generation would not support it. Archbishop Tait tried, unsuccessfully, to prevent the Mackonochie trial. The

sympathy of many evangelicals was lost, and at the Islington Clerical Meeting of 1883 its 'disastrous' policy was denounced. The Record said in 1889, 'it became obvious years ago that Evangelical Churchmen ... were not in sympathy with the Church Association'. The final disaster was the trial of Bishop King of Lincoln. Benson's judgement, generally well-informed on Anglican doctrine, not only permitted certain things which had formerly been prohibited; but it also demonstrated the folly of attacking a saintly man like Edward King. The Church Association dropped its policy of prosecution.

In 1890, the year of the Lincoln Judgement, the National Protestant League was founded 'to co-operate with the Church Association in maintaining the Protestant Reformation established by law, and defending it against all encroachments of Popery'. By 1911 it had 3,842 members.

Other attempts were made to organize Evangelical Churchmen apart from the Church Association, which was turning to pamphlets, lectures, and other less vigorous forms of action. Such were the 'Clerical and Lay Associations', the first of which was formed for the West of England at Gloucester in 1858. Others followed. All were largely devotional in their nature.

In June 1889 the 'Protestant Churchman's Alliance' began, and in 1891 absorbed the Protestant Association, which had been formed in 1835, and the London organizations of the Scottish Reformation Society (founded 1867), which had been amalgated in 1871 under the name of the Protestant Education Institute.

In May 1893, the Protestant Churchman's Alliance absorbed the Union of Clerical and Lay Associations, and became the National Protestant Church Union. It said:

Our policy will be one of non-litigation. We shall use our utmost endeavours to refute error and proclaim the truth, but this we shall do by influencing public opinion, and it will be our endeavour to speak the Truth in love, and ever to keep a spiritual aim in view. Our work will be to

educate through the Press, by Literature, by Lectures, by Schools, by the Pulpit.⁷¹

In 1899 was formed the Ladies League, which changed its name to the Church of England League in 1904, and was incorporated with the NPCU in August 1906, the organization taking the name of the National Church League, which remained an educational body. Finally in 1950, the Church Association and the National Church League merged as the Church Society, which, until recently, many would have said was representative of a broadly conservative evangelicalism, particularly in the journal Churchman. With the recent appointment of a Director who was previously the President of the Protestant Reformation Society, it is to be wondered how far Church Society can keep firmly on this course.

In a recent letter, the acting Secretary to the Society said that 'most' if not all the advowsons were given to the trusts over the years.⁷² Unfortunately there is no easy way of checking this statement.

It is, however, true that they acquired livings at a rate compatible with this statement, and there is no reason to suppose that many of their livings were bought.

When the Church Association began to acquire patronage is uncertain. Crockfords for 1900 does not list any, although this does not exclude the possibility of livings being held by trustees. But this is unlikely. By 1910, Crockfords lists five livings, none of which were previously listed as being held by Trustees; and so we may conclude that it was not until the start of this century that the Church Association held patronage. Certainly the Secret History of the Oxford Movement, which carried several pages of advertisements for the Church Association, did not mention any scheme to obtain patronage.⁷³

By 1920, according to the Sheffield Diocesan Calendar, the Church Association Trust held thirty-two livings, and the National Church

⁷¹ Quoted in Balleine, p.233.

⁷² Letter from John Bournon, 25-4-1983.

⁷³ Walsh, pp.426-31.

League, twelve.⁷⁴ In 1930, the Church Times reckoned that the Church Association held at least sixty-seven livings, with the National Church League holding at least twenty-three.⁷⁵

If we then accept a total of ninety livings held by the two trusts at this period, of which eighteen were later lost, then a further twenty-five livings were acquired since 1930 to bring the list to the ninety-seven livings listed as being held in Crockfords in 1979.

This distribution of patronage follows those of many other trusts in being made up of many small benefices, with the occasional city living. The progress of these trusts was defensive rather than offensive. Their livings were acquired to protect them for evangelicalism rather than to use them as a base for attacking Anglo-Catholics. Nevertheless, the Church Association alone, of all the trusts which we shall be considering in this Chapter, had a form of declaration to be signed by priests appointed to its livings. This emerged at the Church Union meeting referred to above, at which the Rev. F.J. Edmond reported his enquiries to various trusts on this question. Most of them told him, quite frankly, that apart from selecting an evangelical for the post, they did not impose any special conditions. But, as Edmond reported:

I wrote to a representative of the Church Association, and I found that they gave me a slightly different answer from that of the other patrons. There is a form of declaration which the priest is bound to sign before he can be presented. It is rather a long one to read ... It is a novel kind of declaration. I never saw one like it before ... It runs as follows: "I make my unqualified adhesion and firm attachment to the Protestant and Evangelical principles of the Church of England, which are set forth in the declaration of the Church Association, read at the Conference of Nov. 26 and 27, 1867 at Willis' Room, London". Then there are seven doctrines repudiated ... on the ground that they are a violation of the basis of the union of the Church with the State and are "calculated to alienate the affection and confidence of all true Protestants and to bring down the displeasure of Almighty God upon the Church and Realm."

⁷⁴ Sheffield Diocesan Calendar, 1920, p.199.

⁷⁵ Church Times, 21-11-1930, p.647.

Then there is a promise which every presentee of the Church Association has to make. This again, really, I do not think that I myself could possibly sign. It runs as follows: "I will not, during my incumbency of any benefice, rectory or parish church, to which I may be presented by the Church Association Trust, (a) adopt or use what is known as the Eastward Position, nor conduct public worship in anywise contrary to decisions of the Privy Council ... nor conduct, nor join in conducting any service of any ornate and ritualistic character, nor permit any cross, crucifix, lights, candlesticks, vases of flowers to be placed on or in apparent connection with the Communion table; (b) I will not practice or enforce, or attempt to enforce, auricular confession, nor knowingly suffer the same to be practised or attempted to be enforced."⁷⁶

Thus the Church Association Trust, at least, was binding itself to the ritual decisions hammered out in the highly undesirable atmosphere of the Privy Council, decisions which, furthermore, soon proved themselves to be built on sand, both in their effectiveness and in their erudition. To what extent this, or a similar declaration is still enforced, has not been discovered.

Another fact about the two Trusts which emerged at this meeting, was that they were not averse to turning the churchmanship of a parish. The Secretary of the E.C.U. reported:

I have received a communication within the last few days with regard to a parish in Sussex, which has always been of a simple but sincere Catholic type in all its services and teaching. The advowson of that living was bought by the Church Association and National Protestant [sic] League without the knowledge of the parishioners, and without the knowledge of the Parochial Church Council. The Parochial Church Council appealed to the Bishop for protection, but he could give them none; and every effort that they have made to buy back the living (and they have done the best they could in that way) has been rendered perfectly futile by the refusal of the purchaser to sell.⁷⁷

This is of interest for several reasons. First of all, it suggests unmistakably that the Church Association did buy at least some of its livings. Secondly, we can see the way in which the two Trusts worked together, even at this stage, if indeed the National Church

⁷⁶ Church Union Gazette, April 1925, p.73.

⁷⁷ Church Union Gazette, April 1925, p.70.

League is being referred to. But thirdly, we should note that there is no record of a living in Sussex, held by the Church Association, taking advantage of the provision of the 1933 Benefices Measure. It is therefore questionable to what extent there was a deeply felt opposition to the move, and how far, in fact, the living was Catholic, rather than containing within it a vocal Catholic minority. But the case was important for a further reason, as we shall examine in a later chapter, for it gave at least part of the necessary impetus to the campaign to bring in a Measure to deal with the problem of trusts which disregarded the wishes of parishes.

5:11 The Church Patronage Society

The Church Patronage Society, or Trust, recently referred to itself as a 'poor relation' among patronage trusts, with much of the work of selection delegated to the Secretary, but even so, it has been one of the more admired of evangelical trusts.⁷⁸ Canon Bryan Green held that it was one of the best trusts of all, since the Secretary had plenty of free time for visiting parishes, and was a hard-working man.⁷⁹

But even the E.C.U. in 1925, in the person of H.W. Hill, could say:

I do not know much about it, but I know a very ancient and important South London parish in its patronage - a parish in which years ago I had much personal interest. I have always remarked on the care with which that particular evangelical parish has been supplied by this trust.⁸⁰

Unfortunately, however, it has been difficult to establish much of the history of this, one of the largest of patronage trusts. It was founded in 1839 and was evidently fully operational by 1900, when it held a total of seventy-three livings. This expansion continued, and by the year 1910 the Trust held a further seventeen livings, giving a total of ninety. By 1920, the Sheffield Diocesan Calendar reckoned that the

⁷⁸ Letter from the Rev. E.G.H. Saunders, Hon.Secretary, CPS, 27-4-1983.

⁷⁹ Interview with Canon Green, May 1983.

⁸⁰ Church Union Gazette, April 1925, p.71.

CPS held one hundred and twenty livings, which, with the loss of the Welsh livings in 1919, represents an increase of thirty-nine livings. After this, there appears to have been no further expansion. The Church Times of 1930 reckoned that the CPS still held one hundred and twenty livings, of which it listed one hundred. At present, the Society holds about one hundred and ten livings, with an above average selection of important town livings in London, Plymouth, Salisbury, Shrewsbury, Bath, Sheffield, Ipswich and Southampton, amongst others.⁸¹

5:12 Some Minor Trusts

The Reformation Church Trust was, as its name implies, closely connected with the Protestant Reformation Society, and was of an undoubtedly evangelical viewpoint. It was founded in 1926, and never acquired much patronage. By 1930, it held nine livings.⁸²

At present the trust holds five or six livings. Apart from one living, Nedging with Naughton, Suffolk, acquired in about 1938, the Trust thus holds only the remnant of those livings which it held in 1930.

There is very scant evidence available. It was a small trust in almost every respect, holding only a few insignificant livings. Only Eltham could have any claim to fame, and this was repurchased under the 1933 Measure.

Below this extent of patronage, it is scarcely worth inquiring whether trusts act from considerations of churchmanship; as holders of a handful of livings are hardly able to affect the practices of the Church of England as a whole. But mention must be made of the Trinitarian Bible Society, which is not really a patronage trust at all. It was founded in 1831 as a break-off group from the British and Foreign Bible

⁸¹ Crockfords 1900, 1910, 1979. Sheffield Diocesan Calendar, 1920, p.199. Church Times, 21-11-1930, p.647. See Appendix B for a map of CPS patronage.

⁸² Church Times, 21-11-1930, p.647.

Society by those who objected to the possibility of Unitarians aiding with the work. The TBS is extremely conservative, rejecting textual criticism, and taking its stand on the Authorised Version alone.

The Society holds only three advowsons, and these were included among property offered for sale by auction. They were purchased by a Mr. Arwidson, perhaps in about 1928, who was a good friend of the Society. According to the Rev. T.H. Brown, the Secretary:

He was deeply concerned about the Romeward movement in the Church of England, and it was his desire that the appointment of evangelical ministers in those places should be assured. With this object he transferred the advowsons to our Society and the Church Association ... We have endeavoured to discharge our responsibilities by recommending evangelical appointments.⁸³

In general, at the end of a survey of this kind, one could almost echo the laconic tones of Archbishop Davidson, when questioned about the Patronage Trusts in 1914:

The Prime Minister is of course aware that these Trusts are no new thing. The Simeon Trustees, for example, have existed for a great many years, and there are other trusts of long standing. They would not admit that they were in any ordinary sense of the word engaged in 'traffic in the cure of souls'. They acquire rights of patronage not with a view of parting with them for financial consideration, but with the view of securing that men of, for example, Evangelical opinion shall have the opportunity of exercising influence in centres of population.⁸⁴

We must now turn to a study of one man who, in his various activities, in many ways characterizes many modern ideas about the trust patronage of the 1920s and 1930s.

⁸³ Letter from the Rev. T.H. Brown, 20-11-1982.

⁸⁴ Davidson, Letters, 17-2-1914.

Chapter 6 Percy Warrington and his Labours

'I wish you wouldn't squeeze so,' said the Dormouse, who was sitting next to her. 'I can hardly breathe.'

'I ca'n't help it,' said Alice very meekly: 'I'm growing.'

'You've no right to grow here,' said the Dormouse.

'Don't talk nonsense,' said Alice more boldly: 'you know you're growing too.'

'Yes, but I grow at a reasonable pace,' said the Dormouse: 'not in that ridiculous fashion.'

Chapter 6 Percy Warrington and His Labours

In Chapter 3, we noticed that from the passing of the 1923 Benefices Measure, the patronage trusts were treated with a greater suspicion in the debates of the Church Assembly, and were blamed for the increased patronage traffic. Their methods were held to be secretive, if not dishonest, and in certain quarters, their ethical basis was questioned. We showed that much of this invective arose from the desire to find a scapegoat, and that no one was willing to name a trust against which any of these charges could hold.

But throughout this period, one trust was operating in such a way that many of the charges could have been directed specifically towards it. This was the Martyrs' Memorial Trust; and in the form in which it existed in the 1920s and 1930s, it can be said to have been the creation of one man, the Rev. Percy Warrington.

In this Chapter, we shall examine the work of Warrington, in building up a patronage trust which in ten years had acquired about three hundred livings; in founding public schools designed to propagate his own brand of militant evangelicalism; and finally, in attempting to found an Oxford College on the same principles. We shall look also at the forces which brought him down; and we shall argue that the 1933 Benefices Measure was principally designed to correct injustices caused by the MMT's methods of purchasing patronage, often with scant regard to the traditions of the churches in question; in short, that it was only as a reaction to Warrington that parishioners were granted the right to re-purchase the advowson of their church.

In examining the work of the MMT, we must consider the extent to which Warrington's own personality determined its direction. He was autocratic, humourless, excessively sensitive to criticism or rebuke,

quick-tempered, and waspish in attack. He was an Evangelical convinced that Anglo-Catholicism was conspiring to overthrow the Church, but almost equally opposed to liberal Evangelicals and 'Keswick Christians', whose spirituality struck him as largely assumed. All of his activities were directed towards gaining influence in the Church and in society for his own point of view. This was why he purchased livings, and this was why he founded schools. When the schools proved profitable, he used their profits to purchase more patronage. The whole scheme appears, in retrospect, to have been a bubble, which burst with the onset of the Depression. At the time, its decline seemed not at all self-evident, and measures were taken to stop it, although it could not have continued once Warrington's credit ran out. After his rapid exit from public life, he became persona non grata in all of his institutions. His resurrection from obscurity has been only partial. Individual historians have been little concerned with his activities outside their own areas. In looking at his career as a whole, we hope to shed more light than has previously been possible, on his activities, and the way in which they were inter-related. We shall adduce unpublished evidence to explain, for the first time, Warrington's move into the field of education.

For most of his life, Warrington was the incumbent of Monkton Combe, a small village near Bath. It is one of the frequently observable coincidences of the world of patronage, that the patrons who appointed him should have had a connection with the city in which one of his later, and more ambitious, ventures took place, Oxford. And it is to examine this coincidence, and the careers of some of the other protagonists, that we now turn briefly away from Warrington, and to Oxford.

6:1 The Evangelicals at Oxford

The Rev. J. Reynolds, in The Evangelicals at Oxford 1735-1871 and Canon Christopher describes the way in which Oxford came to be a centre

of evangelicalism, and the reader is referred to these sources for further details of information contained in this section.¹

Five central Oxford churches were, by the time of Warrington, evangelical. St. Aldates and its daughter, St. Matthew, St. Ebbe's and its daughter, Holy Trinity, and St. Peter-le-Bailey. St. Aldates was purchased in 1859 by Simeon's Trust.² Edward Penrose Hathaway, a lawyer who had been instrumental in raising the money for the purchase, formed, with others, a patronage trust, in 1864, the Oxford Churches Trust, which obtained the livings of St. Clement's, St. Peter's, and St. Ebbe's, to the last of which Hathaway himself was later presented. Oxford was thus provided with an evangelical core, based on three churches within a few hundred yards of each other. The possibilities of such a centre were to be realized by Bishop Chavasse of Liverpool.

Francis James Chavasse was born in Sutton Coldfield in 1846.³ In 1865 he came up to Corpus, and became involved in the evangelical world of Oxford, although he was more tolerant of liberal opinion, and of some ceremonial, than were the older generation of Oxford Evangelicals. After a curacy at Preston, he returned to Oxford in 1877 as the Rector of St. Peter-le-Bailey. By then, Keble College had opened, and Chavasse cannot have failed to have been struck by the existence of a 'party' College. The idea clearly appealed to him. In the same year, Wycliffe Hall was founded as an evangelical theological college, and in 1889, Chavasse went to be its second principal. His brother-in-law succeeded him at St. Peter's. By this time, Chavasse had twin sons, one of whom, Christopher, was to be the first Master of St. Peter's Hall, and to have considerable contact, not to say friction, with Warrington.

¹ John Stewart Reynolds, Canon Christopher of St. Aldates, Oxford (Abingdon, 1967); The Evangelicals at Oxford 1735-1871: with the Record extended to 1905 and an Essay on Oxford Evangelical Theology by J.I. Packer (Appleford, 1975).

² Reynolds, Canon Christopher, p.78.

³ See John Bennett Lancelot, Francis James Chavasse, Bishop of Liverpool (Oxford, 1929), *passim*.

Even at this stage, Chavassee was aware of the possibilities of the buildings around St. Peter's. He attempted to persuade Evangelicals to purchase New Inn Hall as a home for Wycliffe Hall, but the project fell through.⁴ However, the Cramer Building was bought, and gutted, becoming Hannington Hall with Chavassee and Talbot-Rice among the Trustees.

In 1900, Chavassee became Bishop of Liverpool. In his absence from Oxford, in 1904, a scheme to pluralize the central Oxford parishes was made, but dropped. In 1913, the issue arose again, and this time did not go away.

The first intimation is found in a letter from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to the solicitors of Simeon's Trust, dated 15 April 1913, informing them that a scheme was on foot in relation to the patronage of certain Oxford parishes in which St. Aldates was included.⁵

Early in 1914, an Order in Council was made, vesting the patronage of St. Matthew's in the Oxford Churches Trust, in exchange for the patronage of Holy Trinity to the Simeon Trustees. Could St. Aldates, asked Prebendary Eardley-Wilmot, be held in plurality with Holy Trinity?

The Solicitors eventually decided that it could.⁶ Later on, a similar order was made to permit the Rector of St. Ebbe's to hold St. Peter-le-Bailey in plurality. But before then, a highly significant meeting was held in Oxford of which, it is believed, this is the first account apart from notes made at the time. The meeting was significant in that it shows fairly clearly that by 1914 at the latest, Bishop Chavassee had formed the idea of using the complex of St. Peter's Church and Rectory, together with Hannington Hall, as the basis for a Hall or Hostel. Smith, in his otherwise excellent history of St. Peter's College, has failed to locate any record of this meeting, and thus

⁴ Eric Harold Francis Smith, St. Peter's : The Founding of an Oxford College (Gerrard's Cross, 1978), p.18.

⁵ S.T. mss. Solicitor's Accounts, Oxford Parishes, 15-4-1913.

⁶ S.T. mss., As above, 18-2-1914, 27-2-1914.

perpetuates the view that it was only at the Islington Conference of 1926 that Chavassee first mentioned his scheme.⁷ This would make the plan one which Chavassee had only arrived at after his retirement, and living in the area where he hoped to found a College. In fact, it now appears that Chavassee was concerned with the use of St.Peter's Church and Rectory at least as far back as 1914, when they were first likely to be semi-redundant. This fits in much better with a view of Chavassee as carrying with him the vision of Keble College, as a Church of England foundation for the benefit of those who could not afford a University education, an idea which would have its roots in the events of 1870, and show itself, not in Chavassee's retirement, but rather at the height of his activity, and when the first opportunity presented itself.

The conference was held at Wycliffe Hall on 28 April 1914, to confer on points of common interest to Evangelicals. Those present included Stansfeld of St.Ebbe's, Chavassee, Knox, Probendary Eardley-Wilmot, Talbot-Rice, and Harry Grey. It is unclear who proposed what at the conference, but there can be little doubt that Chavassee, as ex-Rector of St.Peter-le-Bailey, together with Talbot-Rice, helped considerably in the suggestions about the future use of Hannington Hall, one of the topics discussed.

Under this heading, the meeting noted:

If the Rector or Curate ... of St.Peter-le-Bailey were a bachelor 'Pastor' ... he could receive four or five ordinands into the Rectory to live with him, and he could use Hannington Hall and St.Peter-le-Bailey Church freely for Meetings and Services for Undergraduates.

It is clear from this that, in the eyes of the meeting, St.Peter's Church was to be effectively redundant for general congregational purposes, and should be used for some other end.

Earlier, it had been resolved:

That it is most desirable that to the purposes already taken in hand should be added a Hostel or Hall in Oxford for the

⁷ E.g. Smith, p.251.

study and furtherance on Evangelical principles of Missionary work at home and abroad.

And this idea was later expanded into the third object of the conference:

Enlargement of Evangelical work and life by giving fresh prominence to missionary interests. Now that native churches are being formed, they will begin to need standard theological literature of the very first quality. They will need trained leaders of thought who can hold their own in the Universities and Schools which are springing up in all directions abroad. They will need guidance in many different problems of which the Kikuyu question is one prominent instance. It was felt by the meeting that the formation in Oxford of a Hall or Hostel under the guidance of one or more retired missionaries, men of real learning, who had served under the CMS abroad, would be recognized by the University as a contribution of definite value to its academic life, would foster missionary interest, would bring home the missionary call to some of the best undergraduates, and would assist missionary committees which consist for the most part of men whose time is largely absorbed in the raising of money and administration of the widespread missionary work of our Societies.⁸

It cannot be denied that there are differences between this scheme, and St. Peter's Hall as it was finally established. The emphasis on missionary training was reduced, and the idea of a Hall offering University education on evangelical lines was emphasized instead. But still, it is undeniable that already, by 1914, a large group of Evangelicals had had presented to them the idea that St. Peter's Church and Rectory, with Hannington Hall, could be used as a Hostel or Hall for students. Christopher Chavasse, in the First Annual Report of St. Peter's House, Oxford, 1928-9, says of his father:

On his retirement ... his sagacious eye perceived how [the three buildings] might be rescued from their obscurity and transformed into a rich opportunity.⁹

But this statement has given a false idea to biographers ever since. For the idea dates, not from Chavasse's return to Oxford, but rather from nine years previously. And if it was Chavasse's own thought, it was not kept hidden. Other Evangelicals knew of the

⁸ S.T. mss. St. Aldate's file, 28-4-1914.

⁹ Smith, pp. 13-14.

strategic site in the centre of Oxford. It is thus not so surprising that when, finally the idea looked like becoming reality, one should step forward who was capable of financing the scheme.

In 1922, Christopher Chavasse was appointed Rector of St.Aldates.

His opposition to the Revised Prayer Book won him the approval of conservatives, which was to be of significance later, but he was no conservative himself. The following year, Bishop Chavasse retired and came to live in Oxford, at the Rectory of St.Peter's, not occupied since the living was held in plurality with St.Ebbe's.

To what extent the two Chavasses spoke about the elder's plans for founding a College is unclear. Perhaps it was due to Christopher Chavasse that the idea of a College, rather than a Missionary Hostel, was formulated. In any case, what is known is that on 18 January 1926, at the Islington Conference, Bishop Chavasse spoke of the idea, in its present form, for the first time:

In the centre of Oxford the Evangelicals hold a strategic site. The substantial stone church of St.Peter-le-Bailey, holding 500 people and built fifty-one years ago, has a parish of only 380, which is likely to grow still smaller. At present the benefice is held in plurality with the neighbouring parish of St.Ebbe. The arrangement has been a failure and ends in July. On one side the Church is flanked by a good Rectory house and pleasant garden, on the other by Hannington Hall, also an Evangelical trust, with a school that is no longer needed, and playgrounds behind it. Here is the nucleus of a new college - with chapel, lecture room, dining hall, library, warden's house and £180 a year endowment, ready at hand, and space to erect buildings for thirty or forty men and additional ground attainable if needed. At present the Church and its surroundings are not fulfilling their mission in the City or University. If they are not put to better use, they will be pulled down and removed to another part of Oxford, or be diverted to some other purpose. Are we to let them go and lose a great opportunity? If some rich man or woman, moved by the Spirit of God, would give £50,000 or £100,000 in memory of the dead, or as a thanksgiving for the living, not only might the site be utilised for a college, but an endowment fund for a number of bursaries might be founded for ordination candidates which would reduce the yearly cost to £80.¹⁰

¹⁰ Selwyn Gummer, The Chavasse Twins (London, 1963), p.112. Smith, p.14.

Amongst Chavasse's listeners, in his one and only appearance at the Islington Conference, was the Rev. Percy Warrington.

6:2 Warrington's Early Ventures

Percy Ewart Warrington was born on the 19 December 1889, at Newhall, Derbyshire, near Burton-on-Trent.¹¹ He was the elder of the two sons of Thomas Warrington, a farmer, by his wife Mary Jane, the daughter of William Wright, registrar of South Derbyshire. His origins were thus firmly lower-middle class. The past three generations had all farmed Newhall Park Farm, and it was expected that Percy would do the same.

For a time, he attended Stapenhill School, but left to work on the farm, where he gained a knowledge of estate management, and, strangely, an appreciation of antiques and works of art. Several local clergy helped him in his choice of reading, amongst whom was the Rev. Richard Weston, Vicar of Burntwood from 1886-1923; but there were other Evangelicals too.

It is impossible to establish to what extent Warrington was already committed to a low church viewpoint, and how far the likes of Weston influenced him in this. Certainly the firmness of his later opinions suggests that he had already formed most of them at an early age. Between them, Weston and Warrington agreed that the Church of England was threatened by both Anglo-Catholics, and by certain Evangelicals. As they looked around them, they perceived congregations unable to hear the pure gospel, theological colleges diluting the truth with rationalistic humanism, schools in the hands of Anglo-Catholic chaplains. The Church appeared to both of them as a battle ground, and one in which Warrington felt a call to serve. He was accepted as a

¹¹ Some of the information here is derived from the highly favourable view of Warrington's life in the DNB 1961-70. That he should be commemorated in such an august publication is perhaps the final enigma of the Warrington persona.

candidate for ordination, and entered Hatfield College, Durham, perhaps in 1912. How far he financed his own education, and how far he was assisted by sympathetic Evangelicals, or indeed, what his family thought of this idea, are not known. But certainly some sort of early hardship seems to be indicated. Warrington had not completed his education. He had not taken a degree at University. Perhaps he found himself surrounded by those from the more usual clerical backgrounds. In any case, in later life, this seems to have manifested itself in a spite for those who could enjoy a better education than his, and with less effort, and also for those clergy who appeared to him to move in a charmed circle. It appears that Warrington formed the idea that certain so-called Evangelicals were merely the pampered darlings of a system on which they were making no impression. What was needed were men like Warrington, or Weston, or the others who knew their own single-minded devotion to the cause of Christ, the Bible and the Reformation settlement.

In 1914, Warrington obtained the Licentiate in Theology, and in the same year was made Deacon, to serve his curacy at St. Matthew's, Rugby, a church in the patronage of the Church Trust Fund Trust.

Then, at the age of twenty-four, Warrington founded the Martyrs' Memorial Trust, with the object of purchasing livings for the kind of clergy of whom Warrington himself would approve. Who the original Trustees were is not known. Certainly Weston was one. Also unknown are Warrington's methods of proceeding, but it is to be supposed that he began, as do so many trusts, by issuing an appeal. Certainly by 1920 he had acquired only twelve livings, which, for the time, was no very remarkable rate of expansion.¹² What can be taken for granted is that already, Warrington had perfected one of his skills, namely, ensuring

¹² Sheffield Diocesan Calendar, 1920, p.199. Much of this early reconstruction remains unclear. The sources contradict each other as to which of the two Trusts Warrington was directly involved in, and at which dates. If the MMT was not Warrington's creation, he soon made it his own.

that his Trustees were non-entities. Later, he was to couple this with a choice of Trustees who were quite famous, but again, upon examination, proved to be merely cardboard fortifications. The Trust was Warrington's, and Warrington did the work.

A little earlier, on the 16 April 1912, another Trust, the Church of England Trust, had been established under the leadership of Canon James Stather-Hunt of Tunbridge Wells. Other signatories to the declaration of trust were Katherine Henrietta Leach, Henry Foster Pegg, James Taylor Thompson, James Mason Willoughby and Florence Maud Walter.¹³ Stather-Hunt was an Evangelical, and a friend of the elder Chavasse, and the Trust was formed for the purpose of upholding the 'Protestant and Evangelical' character of the Church of England.

In about 1918, the young Warrington was appointed Honorary Secretary of the Church of England Trust, possibly by the influence of Dean Wace, and by this means he united the two bodies into one, fully called the Martyrs' Memorial and Church of England Trust. It is one sign of the force of Warrington's character that the name of his Trust alone prevails in the common mind. We may thus assume that from about 1914, the two trusts worked together for the acquisition of patronage, with Warrington's leadership showing clearly, although, in his lifetime, Stather-Hunt was not a mere figure head.

As for the protestantism of the Trust, this was shown in the 'Second Schedule' of the Declaration of Trust, which deserves to be quoted in full. The Declaration is still binding, and, for reasons explained above, is taken, or at least agreed to, by every Trustee of the CPAS.

I declare my unqualified adhesion and firm attachment to the Protestant and Evangelical principles of the Church of England, and I avow my cordial attachment to the Church of England as by law established as being alike scriptural in Her doctrine and apostolic in Her order. I accept Her articles as the basis of membership because they are

¹³ CPAS Offices - MMT material.

agreeable to God's Word, being such as can either be "read therein or proved thereby." While I freely allow to every member of the Church the same liberty of conscience within the latitude of Her Articles, and other formularies which I claim for myself, I protest against the public inculcation by clergymen ministering within Her pale of doctrines repugnant to the letter and the spirit of Her authorised formularies.

I utterly reject the seven doctrines enumerated below, inasmuch as they are innovations on the faith once delivered to the saints and are "grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God."

These doctrines are as follows:

- First: That the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a sacrifice for sin and an oblation to God the Father in the body and blood of Christ corresponding on earth to the intercession of Our Lord and Master in Heaven.
- Second: That the body and blood of Christ are present under the outward visible part or sign or form of bread and wine.
- Third: That the wicked receive the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper albeit they do not receive it to salvation.
- Fourth: That the ministers of the Church of England are sacrificing priests, representatives of the great Head of the Church, and exercise by delegation His powers and prerogatives.
- Fifth: That in the exercise of these powers, the clergy of the Church of England possess authority to forgive sins and that the forgiveness of sins is not completed without the absolution of the priest.
- Sixth: That in order to exercise the disciplinary powers of their office for the exclusion of unbelieving or impenitent persons from Communion, clergymen of the Church of England are authorized to hear confessions as an habitual part of religious practice, and to give formal absolution from sin.
- Seventh: That 'Christ Himself really and truly but spiritually and ineffably present in the Sacrament is therein to be adored' (that is under the form of bread and wine.)¹⁴

It should be noted that this deed is only signed by Trustees of the Trust, and not by incumbents.

In general, this document is the expression of a broadly evangelical view, although presumably not all who would agree with it would be willing to sign it. There was nothing offensively 'Protestant' about this, much as it would have offended certain Catholics, and Warrington, and the others, in affirming it, were not marking themselves

¹⁴ The Document is held at the CPAS Offices.

off as 'different' from the main body of Evangelicals, however much Warrington's private views did in fact differ.

Thus, to the evangelical world during the First World War, Warrington appeared merely as a keen young Evangelical, a good organizer, and a man who was working slowly for the acquisition of evangelical patronage. His appearance was, admittedly, unprepossessing.

He was below average height, sleek and fat, with small dark eyes, and a humourless expression. He had gone bald very early in life, and with his sandy tonsure must have struck many who met him as far older than in his late twenties. He wore a clerical collar of an uncomfortably wide breadth, a black coat and homburg hat, and a bright flower in his button-hole. He might have given the appearance of something of a dandy, but he was a man with a mission. It was one which was to lead him to Monkton Combe.

Monkton Combe School was founded in 1868 by the Rev. Francis Pocock, an Evangelical. The Rev. Henry Wright, the General Secretary of the CMS, invested his money and his sons in the School, and, most significantly for our purposes, bought the advowson of the church and conveyed it to the Oxford Churches Trust. He later added an aisle to the church, for the use of the School.¹⁵

In some ways, Monkton Combe was an odd location for a Public School. The village itself is small, and built along the side of a valley, in a very secluded location. The School was and is its most prominent feature, and at times there must have been a tendency for the villagers to think that they were of little value in the scheme of things, with a school which prominently occupied one aisle of the church. It was an easy place in which to stir up rivalry and antagonism between the School and the village. It was left to Percy Warrington to apply the flame to the touchpaper.

¹⁵ Arthur Frederick Lace, A Goodly Heritage : A History of Monkton Combe School 1868-1967 (Bath, 1968), p.22.

In 1917, Warrington moved to St. Peter's, Congleton, where he acted as priest-in-charge until a replacement could be found. His biographer notes:

It was said at his departure "it was given to few to win the hearts of a congregation so completely."¹⁶

Whether due to his winsomeness, or his labours as Secretary of the Martyrs' Memorial Trust, or to his undoubted evangelicalism, the Oxford Churches Trust found the twenty-eight year old Warrington an attractive proposition. In 1918, he visited Wellington in Shropshire, with a view to accepting the curacy of the Parish Church. The visit was of importance, because while he was there, the Vicar hinted to him that Mr. Bayley, the owner of the School at Wellington, might be willing to sell it one day.¹⁷ Whether this struck a chord in Warrington we shall never know. It had probably not occurred to him what could be done with a school. Besides which, what could a poor clergyman do?

When the living of Monkton Combe became vacant, it was offered to, and accepted by, Warrington. It must have been at about this time that he was appointed Honorary Secretary of the Church of England Trust, into which he incorporated his own Martyrs' Memorial Trust. Whether at this stage he knew those whose names would appear time and again in deeds of the Trust, Lord Gisborough, Sir Charles King-Harman, the Rev. Henry Barker Green, Canon H. Foster-Pegg, or Thomas William Rodwell, we cannot tell. It certainly appears that, until Warrington began to found his schools, the work of the Trustees was strictly limited, and perhaps restricted solely to the few livings which had been given to them. We must remember that the Trust began before the days of the boom in advowsons.

In later years, few could have doubted Warrington's self-esteem.

Perhaps such feelings grew in isolation. It has been suggested that he

¹⁶ DNB 1961-70, pp.1054-55.

¹⁷ Benjamin Charles W. Johnson, Wrekin College 1880-1964 : A Brief History (Shrewsbury, 1964), p.46.

saw himself as a potential governor of the School - after all, one of his predecessors was the Chairman of the Directors. Certainly the Oxford Churches Trust would have laid emphasis on the influence which he would have on the School, preaching to it Sunday by Sunday. But beyond this, one cannot exclude the possibility that Warrington suffered from some neurotic disorder, which persuaded him that he was being persecuted, and led him to assert himself in grand schemes for education and patronage.

Previously, writers about Warrington were unable to suggest what motivated him, beyond fanatical protestantism. However, there exists at the School a collection of letters from Warrington, which shed much light both on his own personality, and on some of the motives which drove him. They prove quite clearly that, his religious affiliations apart, Warrington's major cause was himself. His debate with the School was petty in the extreme, and the letters will only be used here to illustrate his character, and suggest, it is believed for the first time, what motivated him to found an educational empire, which in turn financed his patronage empire.

Shortly after Warrington's arrival at the parish, in March 1919, the controversy with the School began.¹⁸ He accused the boys of 'heckling' him as he preached, and demanded an apology. When Kearns, the Headmaster, urged him to drop the matter, he said that he would call a Vestry meeting to discuss it. 'It is quite evident that one of us is lying,' he wrote to Kearns, himself a clergyman, and twice Warrington's age.¹⁹

Warrington soon discovered that in a matter of this kind, the parishioners would support him against the School. In a fortnight, he

¹⁸ Lace, pp.163-65 deals briefly with the story, which is greatly illuminated by a study of Warrington's letters, in the School archives.

¹⁹ Warrington Letters, [18-3]-1919.

had ruptured the delicate balance which existed in the village, a balance which, some would say, has never been perfectly restored. The letters clearly reveal his obsession with the petty at the expense of more important concerns.

This controversy sprang out of, and added fuel to, the dispute which was to make the cleavage between School and village complete. It is necessary to give a few details of this dispute here, in order to illuminate Warrington's methods. In January 1919, the School launched an appeal to build its own chapel, which was to serve as a War Memorial to the fallen Schoolboys. A month later, the villagers launched their own appeal, for a War Memorial pulpit in church, to be financed by the collections. Kearns requested that no collection should be made from the boys, on such occasions, as they already gave twice on Sundays, and to the School collection. A lump sum was donated instead.

The School had earlier felt that the village memorial should be a playground, but had changed their minds when they saw how popular was the pulpit scheme. Warrington used and distorted these facts for his own ends. He preached against the School, when they were present, accusing them of disrespect for the village dead, and of wishing to dissociate themselves from the village memorial. Further accusations followed; someone had laughed at the news that the collection for the pulpit was complete; a Schoolboy had put a trouser button in the plate; the School had been mean. School and village were set against one another, and it was clearly suggested that only snobbishness made the School behave in this way. The result was decisive: the School held its own services in a temporary hut until the chapel could be completed, rather than face such attacks. Warrington, sensitive to possible insults, believed that he had been insulted by the School and 'stabbed in the back' by Kearns. A few quotations from letters of the time could easily be multiplied:

...[I]t seems that my position as Vicar is totally ignored by you and the Directors. I have never before had to face such petty spite and vindictive conduct.²⁰

It is very painful to me to think that Evangelical and Keswick Christians who profess personal holiness can indulge in petty spite.²¹

I have heard from no less than 6 independent sources in Bath that I have tendered an apology to Monkton Combe School. Such is not the case. There is not a word of truth in the statement. During the weekend I have taken legal advice, and my legal advisers have instructed me to give this public warning:- That if anyone makes or repeats the statement that I have made an apology to Monkton Combe School, he will be liable to legal proceedings in the High Court.²²

I look upon you and your staff as a set of people who think they have a perfect right to malign, slander and libel the Vicar of the Parish ...

What's really the matter with you and your School is the unpleasant fact that you can no longer 'boss' the church as you did in the days of Pitcairn and Beauchamp. The former daren't say his soul was his own, and Beauchamp marked time to the beating of the School drum.²³

But more than this. At the Easter Vestry Meeting, Warrington invited journalists from the Bath and Wilts Chronicle to attend, and the whole matter was publicised locally, with all the consequent misrepresentations.

All of this makes fascinating reading, but is only a sidelight to our purposes. From it, we may gather Warrington's opposition to what he considered to be the privileged position of the School, his criticism of the 'Keswick Christians', and the lack of caution in much that he said and did. He never appears to have wished for reconciliation. He attacked the School publicly and at great length. When he was informed of the School's support of CMS, and later invited to attend the local CMS conference, he replied in a way which throws much light, on his later dealings with St. Peter's Hall. He declined to attend:

To the end of my ministry I propose to give no further support to the CMS either from this or any other parish ... I have seen and suffered far too much.²⁴

²⁰ W.L., 10-2-1920, to Kearns.

²¹ W.L., []-1920, to Kearns.

²² W.L., Notice of 7-3-1920. This was said in church.

²³ W.L., 30-3-1920, to Kearns.

²⁴ W.L., 21-6-1920, to Guillebaud.

Two years later, the more conservative wing of the CMS broke off to form the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society - the BCMS. The rivalry between the two societies suited Warrington, and he was to side with the BCMS.

This letter was passed to Warrington's patrons, who were horrified at the apparent implication that Warrington had renounced evangelicalism, although Dean Wace, one of the Trustees, was himself to be a founder member of BCMS. Was he not, they inquired, in charge of an evangelical patronage trust, and had he not been purchasing advowsons?²⁵

Such confusion is amusing, in view of Warrington's unequivocal low churchmanship. But Warrington was also working for himself. In the midst of his troubles at Monkton Combe, he was buying his own school.

Warrington, it will be recalled, had visited Wellington in 1918, and had been told that the owner of Wellington School might sell it. On 17 March 1920, shortly after Warrington had driven the Monkton Schoolboys from the evening service, he wrote to the Vicar of Wellington to ask him if Bayley's college was for sale.²⁶

Johnson is unable to tell what prompted Warrington to this, but he did not have any knowledge of the quarrel raging in Monkton Combe. Is it too much to suggest that the idea occurred to Warrington as one means of hitting back at the Monktonians for their treatment of him? Some of Warrington's later language suggests as much. This view of Warrington as a man driven more by impulse and, to an extent, by jealousy, rather than by judgement, fits in well with what is known of him, but does hamper a later rationalization which saw him as an evangelical Woodard, setting out to establish a chain of public schools where the boys (and later girls) would be freed from exposure to Anglo-Catholic chaplains, and would come under the influence of Evangelicals. But if he ever conceived of himself in this way, he never said so, and the idea

²⁵ W.L., 29-6-1920, Guillebaud to Rev. H.H. Gibson.

²⁶ Johnson, p.46.

probably dated only from 1920. Warrington, we know, had the financial support of wealthy widows like Mrs. Walter. He had earlier offered to help the School at Monkton, and had laid emphasis on his financial capabilities. It seems perfectly in keeping with his character that, in order to prove himself to Kearns, he should seek to establish a rival school. Few people would act in the way Warrington acted in founding schools and buying advowsons, if they did not derive a personal pleasure from it. Warrington's pleasure, it seems, was not purely altruistic, but arose from the discomfort which he imagined he was causing to Monktonians, as well as the power it gave him: Kearns, a mere Headmaster, had attempted to bully him; but he owned a school.

The Vicar replied to Warrington to say that Mr. Bayley was indeed disposed to sell his school, or otherwise divest himself of it. Warrington went to see Bayley, perhaps at the time of the earliest letters to the Chronicle about the quarrel, and found that there were others interested in acquiring Wellington College, then forty years old.²⁷

The Bath and Wilts Chronicle, following an interview with Warrington, later reported:

The Rev. P.E. Warrington, who is the patron of several livings in the district,²⁸ has been solely responsible for acquiring Wrekin College, Wellington, Salop, and making it a Church of England establishment.

"When Mr. Bayley expressed his intention of disposing of the college", says The Record, "there were many competitors for the purchase. The Roman Catholic Party, ever on the alert for gaining a foothold into the educational institutions of the country, saw their chance and were prepared to pay a big price for it. A commercial company also was anxious to obtain control of this extremely important school, which certainly afforded a splendid business proposition to the investor. But another proposal was made much more to the mind of Mr. Bayley, who has never conducted the school in a commercial spirit ... The

²⁷ His first letter to the Chronicle refers to his 'absence from home'.

²⁸ Whether this refers to the district of Bath or of Wellington, the 'livings' at this time, (1921) seem to have existed only in Warrington's imagination. Perhaps the Chronicle took Warrington's patronage, then less than 20 livings, to be purely local.

Rev. P.E. Warrington who knew the high character of the college, and realized the enormous possibilities which its acquisition would open out, evolved a scheme for its purchase in the interests of the Church of England. The price was necessarily high - to be precise £110,000 - and it might well have been thought to be beyond reach. We understand that Mr. Warrington approached a well known society with a view to their securing the school, but the price was too big a factor. Realizing that there was no time to lose, and determined that a school of such commanding importance should not be lost to the Church of England, the Rev. P.E. Warrington purchased the property outright and independently of any society. Having made the property secure, he proceeded to gather around him a strong body of governors, whose names will inspire general confidence - The Right Hon. Lord Gisborough (Chairman), Sir Charles King Harman, K.C.M.G., (Vice-chairman), Colonel Biddulph, R.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., Major Boyd-Carpenter, M.P., The Rev. H. Greene, Vicar of St. Paul's, Devonport, the Rev. R. Weston, Vicar of Burntwood, Lichfield, the Rev. J.B. Barraclough, Mr. T. Smith-Myatt, J.P., and Alderman W.J. Pearman-Smith, J.P. The college therefore passes into good hands, and under their management increased progress may be expected." Since this was written, the Lord Bishop of Warrington, the Rt. Rev. Dr. E.H. Kempson, and Mr. T.W.H. Inskip, C.B.E., K.C., M.P. for Central Bristol, have become members of the Council, to which Mr. Smith-Myatt does not now belong.²⁹

Warrington's governors should be remembered. Whether, by this time, most of them were already members of the Martyrs' Memorial Trust is not known, but they were to be so shortly. Warrington had achieved in them what he desired - a body of well-known, respected men, yet who, confronted by the force of his personality, became mere ciphers. Gisborough, King-Harman, Greene and Weston were to be prominent in the later work of the Martyrs' Memorial Trust, and in the schools which Warrington founded. By means of his governors, both the Trust and his schools were to become the reflection of Warrington's will alone. He was also to use his governors in raising the money which his projects required.

Warrington was involved in negotiations for the School throughout the Spring, and was frequently to be seen in company with Bayley. If he had hopes of earning the respect of the Masters of Monkton Combe, he was to find that he could not win that of the Wellington boys. With his

dapper manner, his black homburg, and the flower in his button-hole, the mysterious visitor was soon labelled 'Pompous Percy' just as, at Canford in the years to come, he was known as 'Prancing Percy' because of the jerky quick-step which characterized him when walking.³⁰

After the distribution of sports trophies on Friday 25 June, Bayley informed the parents and friends, and the assembled School, that he had sold the College to Percy Warrington. In January 1921, the School would assemble 'under new management' and henceforth be known as Wrekin College.³¹ Then Warrington spoke:

Our object in securing this school ... is to make it a powerful and permanent educational centre. We are not out for commercial enterprise. Our desire is to make Christian gentlemen, not money. The profits of the school will go for (I) the extension of the school premises (II) pensions for masters and (III) scholarships for boys, both to the school and to the Universities.

He went on to say that they were deeply thankful for having secured such a school in the interests of the Church of England. The magnificent buildings he described as an inspiration and enough to make anyone proud to be a governor of the School. When he was making enquiries about the School, he found that everyone who knew it spoke well of it and not a word had been said against it. This was a high tribute to Mr. Bayley, and the new governors would continue in the spirit of the founder, of whose counsel and advice they would still be able to avail themselves. Their aim would be to make the College a public school equal to other public schools of the land. The religious education given at the College had always been a matter of supreme care; now that it had passed to a Church of England body, it would be clear, distinctive and definite:

If you want to know the colour of Churchmanship we represent, we stand for a practical and common-sense Churchmanship. We shall not attempt to run the school on any narrow party lines. Moreover, the sons of nonconformist parents will be as welcome under the new regime as they have

³⁰ Johnson, p.42.

³¹ Johnson, p.42.

been under the old. The school will not be connected with any trust or society.

The Warrington Prize was amongst those offered, for proficiency in knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer.³²

Jonas Hammerton, the Vice-Principal under Bayley, would be the new Principal.

Where did Warrington, a man who freely admitted the poorness of his living, find the £110,000 necessary to purchase Wrekin? The brief answer is: on credit. He borrowed £80,000 from the London Life Association Ltd., which he paid to Bayley, who allowed the balance of £30,000 to remain unpaid, subject to 7% annual interest thereon.³³

For a non-commercial venture, Warrington had certainly chosen a profitable one, which presumably accounts for the ease with which he secured a loan for the School. For the year 1919-20, income was £31,795 and expenses £14,435. With £1,000 salary for the headmaster, this meant a profit of £16,360.³⁴ It remained to be seen for how long this profit would be, as Warrington had promised, ploughed back into the School, or how long before the clear connection between the School and a 'trust or society' appeared.

It was in the exultant mood of school founder and effective dictator to a Board of Governors then, that Warrington had written to Guillebaud in June, withdrawing from the CMS conference.

In Monkton, matters quietened down. In May 1921 Warrington began another series of letters, accusing the School of 'poaching' his congregation to the services in the hut, but although the Bishop was called in to intervene, the School decided that ignoring Warrington and his insults of the Headmaster, his wife, the staff and even the Matron, was probably the best policy. Warrington referred to his time at Monkton as 'a living HELL'³⁵ and informed the School:

³² Johnson, pp.47-48.

³³ Johnson, p.42.

³⁴ Johnson, p.49.

³⁵ W.L., 17-5-1921, to School Directors.

What you require ... is less unctuous cant and a little of the spirit of Christ. You couldn't find anything of the latter if you looked for it through a magnifying glass!³⁶

And he referred to:

the venomous tongued and backbiting women of your Institution. I believe they will make trouble even in heaven, if they get there!!!³⁷

Following these outbursts, there was almost complete silence from Warrington for two years. But at Christmas, 1921, he sent a 'Christmas Greeting' to the School, which has since been lost. The only knowledge which we have of this lies in the reply given by Mr. Beresford Pite, the architect of the School chapel, to whom it was forwarded by Wilkinson. It appears to have referred in some way to Warrington's scheme for establishing a protestant empire, but unfortunately there is no way of knowing how clearly at this stage he had formulated his ideas. Even much later he still appears as predominantly an opportunist in his approach. Pite wrote:

I do not think that Monkton Combe has anything to fear from his activities - The credit of the School is unaffected - its supply of scholars undiminished and its staff not likely to be intimidated by the Vicar ...

The promotion of big speculative schools is risky work - the conduct of them is another matter and I hope that the great and good men who lend their names will look after this.

I [illegible] tremble for the reputation of Protestant Churchmen when the inevitable revelation of the cloven hoof takes place -

I should advise letting things take their course without appearing in opposition to these schemes. What is good in them will last and the evil will be manifest in due course.³⁸

It appears from this that Warrington was publicising his intention of continuing to found schools, under the governorship of the Martyrs' Memorial Trust. The reference to 'great and good men' could refer to the other Trustees. Had Warrington threatened to use his schools, when they should arise, to take pupils away from Monkton? It is possible.

³⁶ W.L., 17-6-1921, to School Directors.

³⁷ W.L., 29-7-1921, to Kearns.

³⁸ W.L., 2-1-1922, Pite to Wilkinson.

The reference to the 'undiminished ... supply of scholars' could refer to this, or simply to Warrington's threats to discredit the School in the wider world.

While Warrington remained silent at Monkton, he was not inactive elsewhere. Stowe House, in Buckinghamshire, came into the market in 1921. This splendid mansion, with nearly three hundred feet of facade, had formerly been the home of the Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos. Others before Warrington had had the idea of turning the house into a public school. The Preparatory Schools Association formed a committee with the idea of buying it and opening it, but they had difficulty raising the funds.³⁹ There was a danger that the house would be demolished. Warrington heard of this, and sprang into action. Using the name of Wrekin College Limited as guarantor and security he purchased Stowe House, and only later informed the other members what he had done.

The House opened as Stowe School, in May 1923, with ninety-nine boys.⁴⁰ Warrington had the credit of selecting as the first Headmaster the eccentric J.F. Roxburgh, from Lancing College, a quite extraordinary choice, given Warrington's personality, but one who, for good or ill, put the distinctive stamp on the School far more than did Warrington and his fellow protestants.

A few weeks later, Warrington bought Canford, Lord Wimborne's home in Dorset, with Wrekin and Stowe guaranteeing the new foundation. He claimed that the purchase was made to find a home for Clarence School, Weston-Super-Mare, the headmaster of which, the Rev. J.S. Macnutt, desired to move 'into the country'.⁴¹

Warrington, from the shelter of 'his' Governing Bodies, was

³⁹ Johnson, p.52.

⁴⁰ Johnson, p.52.

⁴¹ Johnson, p.52.

beginning his empire.⁴² This is a side of his personality which we shall examine in more detail later. At present it is sufficient to have grasped the fact that by the Summer of 1923, Warrington was the effective owner of three schools, each of which could be used as a holder of patronage which appeared innocent enough, but was firmly in Warrington's hands, or soon would be.

In the Summer and Autumn of 1923, Warrington had what appears to have been the final correspondence with the School at Monkton. In some ways, it was his most revealing. The trouble began in past history. In 1886, Franklin, a Plymouth Brother, who was connected with Monkton School took some of the boys away with him to found his own school, which later moved to Weston, and became Clarence School. It was this School that Warrington bought and transferred to Canford as the basis for the new School there. One of the Houses at Canford, called Franklin's, long had an Old Monktonian as Housemaster.⁴³

The Bath and Wilts Chronicle, commenting on Warrington's new venture, evidently remarked on this connection. Kearns, apparently, remarked 'I had been waiting for this' and was not unnaturally annoyed at what appeared to be Warrington's intended linking of Canford with Monkton. But whether, as Warrington went on to suggest, Kearns misunderstood the report to be saying that Macnutt was the link between the Schools, and whether he wrote to the Chronicle demanding an apology, we may never know. What is known is that Warrington inferred in some garbled fashion that Kearns was 'intensely angry' about this, and

⁴² Noel Gilroy, Baron Annan, Roxburgh of Stowe : The Life of J.F. Roxburgh and his Influence in the Public Schools (London, 1965), gives the false impression, presumably to suit his own purposes, that the three schools were founded within a very brief span. Thus on p.67, he says that Canford was founded within four days of Stowe, which is not true, and at the start of Chapter 5 he says that Wrekin was bought in 1922, and 'immediately' entered upon a contract to purchase Stowe House. Wrekin was in fact bought in 1920, and at the time, any 'master plan' is to be doubted. Presumably, Annan wishes to suggest that Warrington was a faster operator than was the case.

⁴³ Lace, p.51.

feeling exultant in his new found power, wrote to him on 22 June 1923, in a letter which should be quoted in extenso both for its importance in establishing Warrington's motives, and to give something of the flavour of his style:

I write to tell you that had it been stated in the Bath Chronicle that Mr. Macnutt had been educated or connected with your 'School' I myself should have promptly demanded an apology. For some time past I have been correcting reports from Lands End to John O'Groats that Mr. Macnutt was connected with your School. Parents have even gone so far as to decline to enter their boys at Canford School until they heard from me definitely that there was no connection and that Canford would not be run on similar lines to your own. At the same time don't you think you make yourself look ridiculously small in the eyes of other people when you exhibit such a spirit of jealousy against the Head Master of Canford School who has never done you the slightest injury in any shape or form. Your outburst is only further evidence of that jealousy of which we have seen so much.

... One had dared to hope that as you so recently hovered over the brink of Eternity you would have learned a better spirit but apparently it is not so, which I much regret to hear.

If you would cast your mind back to 1919 you will perhaps recall I made a suggestion to rebuild your School. The Scheme which I helped Wilkinson to draw up appeared in the Bath Chronicle. On that occasion I told you I would help you to raise £50,000. From your subsequent conduct I always felt that you thought I could not do so. I will now tell you something which perhaps you will not care to know. I have purposely bought Canford Manor and Mr. Macnutt's old School and transferred it with its Head Master to Canford. This Scheme, with which no soul on earth has had anything to do but myself, has cost about £50,000 up to date, and within the next two years a further £20,000 will be spent. I have done this for no other reason than to prove beyond all further conclusion that when I say I can do a thing I do it and it is no idle boast. Every penny that I have spent at Canford your School could have had to the last coin. I very seriously doubt whether it may not be long years before any other man comes along and offers to do for you and your School what I offered to do when I came here. Canford School would never have existed had it not been for the treatment I received at the hands of your Monkton Combe School people. It has been a great impetus to work, and I have worked like the dickens, to prove to you and the crew you have around you, Powell and Co, that men with vision and enterprise can accomplish the seemingly impossible, whilst those who have neither can do nothing.

I am greatly tickled to hear from your Son and others that you look upon my enterprises as being prompted with the notice of 'ruining' your School. How thoroughly typical is this statement of the Monkton Combe School mind. I can assure you I do not want your type of boy at any of my Schools, and, furthermore, I would point out that our Fees are half as much again as your own, so we are not likely to 'ruin' you just yet ...

It is a most extraordinary thing to me that people who

profess so much religion and stand before the world as Evangelical Christians of the Keswick Section, should be so furiously jealous of others and so intensely bitter. It is really a great puzzle to me how you Keswick people of the School can hold your Prayer Meetings and pose in CMS and other circles as you do. It takes some understanding I can assure you.

I have witnessed so much of the spirit of you Monktonians that when appointing to any of the 50 livings in the Gift of our Trust nothing on earth would induce me to agree to the appointment of a clergyman who had been educated at Monkton Combe School, and the Head Masters of the Schools also know that the presence of a Monktonian on the Staff would be greatly offensive to me.⁴⁴

From these sentiments, Mr. Head Master, you may best judge how 'the iron has entered my soul' and what I think of the 'spirit' of the Evangelical and Keswick Monkton Combe School. Perhaps it is well that I have seen 'the Monkton Spirit' and suffered the back stabbing etc., etc., etc., at the hands of Monktonians. It has proved the great impetus to work, and I do not think for one moment that Wrekin College would have been purchased by me had it not been for my determination to prove to you and others that I am capable of carrying out a task when I say I can do it.

There would have been no Stowe School to-day if I had not begun with Wrekin, and I repeat there certainly would have been no Canford School but for the fact that I wished to give to another whom I deemed worthy of it, the £50,000 I promised to raise for you. I have cast my pearls before those who appreciate the gift, and do not turn again and rend you.

These enterprises are the direct outcome of the attack which was made upon me in 1919. Perhaps history may have to record that good has come out of evil, but my earnest hope is that none of the three Schools in which I am interested will ever reflect the spirit of Monkton Combe 'School' ...

That it may be known in years to come why I bought Canford School into being a copy of this letter will be carefully treasured in my Safe.

If there is anything in this letter that your Solicitors can handle and you care to proceed I shall be very pleased to meet you, and them too.⁴⁵

This letter contains the clearest indication which we have of Warrington's motives in founding his schools. No historian who has dealt with Warrington has mentioned this motivation, and it is quite possible that the copy of the letter kept by Warrington was lost. In which case, this is the first time that the letter has been made public.

Whatever rationalization lies behind the letter, it is in keeping with

⁴⁴ This figure should not be taken at its face value. The Trust and schools probably held about 30 livings in all. The expansion was still slow, but Warrington, presumably, exaggerated to increase his prestige.

⁴⁵ W.L., 22-6-1923, to Kearns.

Warrington's character that he should seek to establish schools simply in order to prove himself to Monkton Combe School. Later on, however, the mere business of expanding his empire, coupled with the benefits to be gained from an evangelical web of schools, was sufficient fuel for Warrington's ambitions.

Four months after this letter, Warrington threatened to found a rival school in Monkton itself:

It will be done before you Monktonians know where you are unless my work here is let alone and I am allowed to go on in peace.⁴⁶

In 1926 Kearns left Monkton Combe to be Vicar of Almeley in Herefordshire. Presumably he was glad to escape from Warrington. But the wounds between the village and the School never fully healed. At the time of the Bath blitz, however, Warrington phoned the School to thank them for the help given to refugees.⁴⁷ Derek Wigram, who became Headmaster in 1946, was always on friendly terms with Warrington, and attended the village church in the holidays, but it was a great surprise to all when Warrington appeared at the 1953 School Fete, and took tea with Wigram.⁴⁸ Later still, he asked Wigram to visit him when he was dying, but even here his sole topic of conversation was the abominable treatment to which he had been subjected in the '20s and '30s. The School Choir sang in the Village Church at his funeral in 1961.⁴⁹

Apart from these few glimpses of life in Monkton Combe, all is dark. Warrington had sharpened his teeth on the School, and, if his own account of events is to be believed, it was the School which had given him the impetus to found Wrekin, Stowe and Canford. But from now on, Monkton Combe was to be a base of operations in a wider scheme. For in

⁴⁶ W.L., 19-10-1923, to Kearns junior.

⁴⁷ Lace, p.165.

⁴⁸ Letter from D. Wigram, 26-4-1983. Lace dates the fete to 1958.

There could have been two such events, or one could be an error. I incline to the view that a fete in connection with the Coronation was more likely to attract Warrington to make a grand gesture.

⁴⁹ Letter from Wigram; Lace, p.268.

the Summer of 1923, while Warrington quarrelled with the School, the Benefices Act (Amendment) Measure became law. The market was about to be flooded with advowsons. When this happened, Warrington and his associates would not be sluggish in acting for the Protestant cause.

6:3 Warrington's Empire

Although Wrekin, Stowe and Canford are probably the three most famous schools founded by Warrington, others were later to join the stable. Harrogate College was bought in 1924, Lowther College in 1927, and Felixstowe College in 1928.⁵⁰ Also Westonbirt School, based like Stowe and Canford, upon a stately home, was bought from Sir George Holford within two days of Warrington's hearing that it might fall into the builder's hands, and opened as a boarding school for girls, in about 1928. Another school was St. Monica's, Tadworth. In response to a request from the Bishop of Mombasa, he established the Limuru School for the daughters of Europeans in Kenya. Victoria Ladies' College, Jersey, was probably the last purchase.⁵¹ Annan says that fourteen schools, or properties which were turned into schools were purchased in all, and this seems a likely figure.⁵² Of these, seven were to be rescued from the collapse.

Warrington was no financier, but he was devious, and in the world of the 1920s he knew enough not only to survive, but to thrive. But none of this enormous empire rested on firm capital backing. The original purchase of Wrekin relied on a loan, and the servicing of a debt, and every other foundation was based on a mortgage, guaranteed at first by Wrekin, and then by each successive school. Everyone who knew Warrington's methods, comments on this, the fact that all of his schools depended ultimately on his own good name. The pamphlet history of the Allied Schools notes cautiously:

⁵⁰ The Allied Schools : History and Organisation (Banbury, 1981), pp.5-6.

⁵¹ Johnson, p.87.

⁵² Annan, p.80.

A Company, limited either by guarantee or by shares, was formed to acquire each School or property and registered as a Charity. The Companies' original members were appointed and the Articles of Association drawn up in such a way that all Governors, shareholders and members of the School Companies were nominees of the MMT.

The purchase of the Schools and properties was funded by an ingenious, if tangled, web of mutually guaranteed mortgages and other loans in which expediency played too great a part. The Schools increased in number and expanded at such a rate that before long their total indebtedness amounted to more than £1,000,000.⁵³

But this is to look too far ahead, and certainly further than Warrington ever appeared to look. The emerging picture, however, is clear: the MMT provided the rump of all the Schools' Governors from its own membership, usually the same six or seven people. The few who were not members - the lady Governors of the Girls' Schools for instance, were nominees of the Trust, and as such, in sympathy.

One story is told of Warrington's methods, which comes from so many sources that it is almost certainly true. This is that, not only did he found each successive school by raising a mortgage on the last, but that:

He arranged the financial years of the schools to end in different months, and put all the cash balances into the accounts of the one school which was next to report.⁵⁴

Certainly this seems to have been the experience of St. Peter's later on, when the Bursar refused to transfer the College's balance.⁵⁵

It is possible to see all this financial turmoil as merely the birth-pangs of a new venture: eventually, had Warrington been left to himself, things would have settled down. But this is to credit him with too much good sense. The idea of 'the financier in the Cassock' or 'the Company Director manqué' conceal the almost wholly speculative nature of anything in which Warrington engaged. 'I am a simple country parson, and I know nothing at all about finance', he was to say later.⁵⁶ What

⁵³ The Allied Schools, p.6.

⁵⁴ Letter from D. Wigram.

⁵⁵ Information supplied by Dr. M.B. Powell, Tutor in Mathematics, St. Peter's College.

⁵⁶ Johnson, p.87.

he did know was that banks were willing to lend him money, and to grant second and third mortgages in the belief that finally he would show a profit. Perhaps he could have done, had each school been treated as an individual. But the profit-making schools were used as fund-raisers for the others, and provided, at one stage, many of the funds for the St. Peter's Hall venture.

Furthermore, the profits of the schools were, in the end, being used, against all the terms of the Trust Deeds, to purchase advowsons on an enormous scale, a work which could not be justified in law, and financially, represented the tying up of profits in a sinking fund.

From the three schools for which there is reasonable documentary evidence, it is clear that the key-note of Warrington's ownership was interference at every level, and presumably this was the experience of other schools as well. He travelled 20,000 miles a year at the height of his power.⁵⁷ At any time he was liable to 'turn up' unannounced, and throw all into confusion. A pupil of Canford recalled:

One occasion I remember was one lunch time, which was at 1pm. and at 5 minutes to one o'clock he was seen crossing the quadrangle outside the Main Hall. There was a quick re-arrangement of the top table and he marched in with the Headmaster.

Halfway down the centre of the hall he suddenly halted, lent over one of the tables, and picked up a fork and held it to the light.

He then summoned the table maid and said - 'This fork is dirty. Why? Fetch another.'⁵⁸

Thus Jonas Hammerton, the Headmaster of Wrekin, found the new regime tiresome and petty. John Bayley, the former Principal, was likely to arrive unexpectedly and ask to speak to the boys, or criticize him for some change. And while Warrington himself did not interfere too often, the other governors were always willing to venture their opinions. Where Warrington did interfere was in such matters as the

⁵⁷ Johnson, p.87.

⁵⁸ Letter from Geoffrey Hartill, 15-3-1983.

running of the Chapel. The 'Holy Table' - no one would dare to describe it twice to Warrington as an 'altar' - was bare, without even flowers on it. One evening Warrington attended the chapel and approved of the organ voluntary: he wished to introduce it at Monkton Combe. But when he was told that it was Ketelby's In a Monastery Garden, his mood changed, and he rebuked Hammerton for allowing Catholic music in an evangelical chapel.

Hammerton's experience had not equipped him to cope with running a school where he met with such interference. He was not helped by the parents. To complain to the Headmaster, particularly in the days of John Bayley, was unthinkable. But it was always possible to speak to one of the governors, if a parent were acquainted with one. Warrington's governors moved in circles where they met parents frequently, and the impression which they formed was that Hammerton was incompetent. Warrington had conducted the Head's marriage in 1921, but this did not indicate that he liked him any more than anyone else with whom he came into contact. Few people were given two chances by Warrington, and in 1922, the opportunity arose for purging the School.

In that year, Hammerton dismissed a boy for immorality. The boy's father happened to be a friend of John Bayley, and he went to him to complain about the wrongful expulsion and victimisation of his son. Bayley protested to Hammerton and then reported the matter to Warrington, who called a meeting of the governors. Warrington appears to have been excessively sensitive about such scandals within 'his' schools, and on the 1 June 1923, Hammerton was summoned to the Charing Cross Hotel to meet the governors:

He had no idea why he was required to attend. He was told that the governors were not satisfied with his management of the school, that there was much immorality and that the recent inspection had revealed that the general standard of work was very low. He was asked to resign forthwith, otherwise he would be dismissed at the end of the Christmas term.

Hammerton replied that the school was as he had taken it over two years previously, and that Mr. Bayley must be equally responsible with him, if these allegations were

true. In dismissing the boy he had been trying 'to cleanse the Augean stables'. (His own phrase). He asked to meet Mr. Bayley, face to face, in the presence of the council. The request was refused, although it is said that Mr. Bayley was in another room of the hotel at the time. Mr. Hammerton was given until the 12 June to hand in his resignation. At first he refused to do so, but his friends at Wrekin advised him that he had no other course. The dice were too heavily loaded against him.

That Summer, when the masters were paid, all received a letter. Four were to leave at the end of July. (This was subsequently raised to five). Four were to go at Christmas, and the remaining four in July 1924, unless a new headmaster should decide otherwise. All protests were useless. The news leaked out that Walter Gordon, second master of Tonbridge School, was to take over. He was known to the boys at Tonbridge as 'the Beast.' Hammerton returned to Leeds and taught there for many years, dying in July 1955.⁵⁹

Having thus cleaned the Augean stables to his own satisfaction, Warrington then appears to have left the School alone. After all, he had many other fish to fry. Provided the School was profitable, and evangelical, all was well. Every speech day Warrington and the governors were on the platform, and every year he was able to declare his confidence in the Headmaster and to congratulate him on the success of the School. 'His' governors were as quiet and as unassuming as he could have wished. They accepted the seven guinea fee 'for expenses' for each attendance, but otherwise they left things to Warrington, who in his turn left them to Gordon. But in the matter of the chapel, Warrington was hawk-like. Not a cross, not a choirboy's surplice was allowed. In fact, it became clear, very few independent actions were permitted.

After Mr. Malcolm Allison's death, Mr. Gordon and the committee of the OWA decided, in all good faith, to put up a bronze tablet to Mr. Allison's memory. The matter was mentioned to Mr. Warrington as something that was being done. Immediately there was a rebuke. "The Council cannot permit any addition or alteration to the Chapel without

their knowledge and written sanction. A space in the college Chapel will be reserved for memorials to masters." Having made their position clear, they gave leave for the Allison memorial tablet to be erected, and went on to propose the establishment of the Allison musical scholarship. At the same time - it was in the late autumn of 1926 - the council, that is, Mr. Warrington, noted "that very few conservative Evangelical clergymen have occupied the pulpit. Clerical visitors showed a decided tendency in favour of the High Church and the Anglo-Catholic school of thought. The Vicar of Wellington had not once been asked to preach." The Industrial Christian Fellowship, which the council, following the lead of The Times, thought to be a "thoroughly unconstitutional and possibly subversive society", appeared to have sent a representative every term. The chaplain (he was the Rev. C.J. Offer, the most scholarly of all the occupants of that office) was interviewed and ordered to amend his ways.

In the Summer Term of 1929, the School, temporarily without a chaplain, was helped by the Rev. A.C. Howell, who took divinity lessons.

One morning, Warrington sent a telegram to Gordon from Yorkshire: 'Dismiss your chaplain at once. Writing. Warrington.' Gordon did no such thing. The letter explained that Warrington was staying with a friend who had a boy at the School. He had written home, claiming that Howell had said that the miracles of Christ never happened. Probing the matter revealed that the boy had woken up in class half-way through Howell's remarks. Howell was able to prove from his notes that he had said 'There are many foolish people about today who will tell you that the miracles of Christ never happened.' Howell lived out the rest of his time at the School in peace, but the case shows clearly the way in which Warrington rushed hastily into action on the flimsiest of evidence.⁶⁰

Another characteristic of Warrington was his meanness over small sums of money, while willing to spend thousands on his own pet schemes.

In an endeavour to find some money to carry out urgent projects at the School, such as a filtration plant for the swimming bath, which was very badly needed, and for which the governors would not pay, Gordon suggested in 1931 when, admittedly, Warrington's days were numbered,

⁶⁰ Johnson, pp.85-86.

that he and his staff would voluntarily submit to a 7½% cut in salaries, and would forgo all annual increments for a limited period. The governors demonstrated their gratitude by suggesting that the cut should be a round 10%, but Gordon was firm. He reminded them that his was a voluntary proposal. He also suggested that Sir (as he by then was) John Bayley might be willing to relinquish the 7% interest which he was receiving on the outstanding mortgage; but he was not. After the collapse of Warrington's empire, the salary cuts were restored.⁶¹

With Stowe and Canford, the interference was apparently greater, and presumably similar stories could be told of the other schools. In the case of Stowe, the interference began from the time when the appointment of a Headmaster was discussed. Although some credit Warrington with the choice of Roxburgh, Warrington himself was opposed to this appointment:

Roxburgh's mind was liberal, elastic and generous; Warrington's was taut, humourless and entirely unscrupulous. Warrington had opposed Roxburgh's appointment and when the final vote between him and another candidate took place, Warrington as Secretary counted the votes and announced that the vote had gone against Roxburgh by five votes to seven. Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson gently pointed out that there were only eight Governors present. Warrington then admitted that he had added the votes of four absentee members of the Governing body, alleging that they had asked him, or given him leave, to do so. Gisborough declared this proceeding to be invalid and Roxburgh was appointed.⁶²

It was fortunate for the School that Warrington was merely the Honorary Secretary and not, like Gisborough, the Chairman of the Governors. But in fact, Warrington did realize Roxburgh's worth, and would sometimes intercede for his point of view with his fellow governors, as well he might, for he was utterly contemptuous of them and regarded them as his creatures. Gisborough was ineffectual, and indeed comically so, as a Chairman. Whenever Warrington had 'cause' to complain to the School, Gisborough felt bound to add his own feeble

⁶¹ Johnson, pp.90-91.

⁶² Annan, pp.86-87.

imprecations. The governors forbade Roxburgh to serve a stirrup cup to the Grafton when it met on the North Front of the School, but when the governors met at Stowe they would commandeer the Headmaster's dining room for lunch, where they would unpack their hampers, without inviting Roxburgh to join them.

When Roxburgh put flowers on the Communion Table, he was censured by the governors. Roxburgh wrote to Lorimer urging him not to stress his own approval of the designs for the new chapel, because the governors never failed to remind him that he had no right to approve anything. By 1928, the true nature of the School Government must have been apparent, for Lord Davidson, the former Archbishop of Canterbury, declined the invitation to dedicate the Chapel.

Roxburgh had not been informed when he applied for the headmastership, of the religious bias of the Council of Stowe. Had he been, he might, as a master at the best known of the Woodard foundations, have hesitated, even though he was not in sympathy with Lancing's Anglo-Catholicism. For the first two years, when Montaubon and Sir William Robertson were members, the Protestantism of the Council was not much in evidence, but as the schools in the group multiplied, the Council which dealt with them all came more and more to be dominated by militant Protestants. In the very first term there had been correspondence in the Press which disturbed Roxburgh, and in 1924 he was compelled by the Council to refuse the offer of a Cross for the Lord's Table. The Council clearly had reserved the right to have a hand in the appointment of the chaplain, but it was another matter when they demanded one master's resignation on the grounds that he was a Roman Catholic, and questioned the religious status of another. It was also embarrassing when the sister in charge of the sanatorium was alleged to be 'extravagant', and met the objections by protesting that it was not her expenditure, but her possession of a crucifix, that was in dispute.

Because of this, and a later newspaper wrangle which we shall deal

with, Roxburgh thought of resigning, but was persuaded to stick at it. After a wrangle with the Council he produced a letter to parents stressing that the School did not set out to propagate party views and would not attempt to change a boy's home background.

Roxburgh hated the malevolent fanatics who were in control of the School. 'I do not think that I can go on indefinitely serving under men whose bigotry and virulence make me ashamed whenever I come in contact with it.' What depressed him was that Council meetings had been marked on several occasions by squalid scenes between its members, and denunciations of other clergy. Despite the support of four or five hundred parents for a Cross in chapel, all the wrangling resulted in was the compromise of placing a Crusader's Sword behind the altar with the hilt showing above it. Stowe only got a Cross and candlesticks many years later.

As long as Stowe was 'his', the cold and humourless Warrington regarded himself as having the right to probe and control every detail of the School's administration. Was this at last the fulfilment of the power he had wished to exercise at Monkton Combe? Letters from him poured in, about every aspect of the School's life.

Roxburgh was forced to pay for certain essentials for the School from his own pocket, and eventually took a reduction in his salary because of Warrington's parsimonious behaviour. Warrington oscillated between sanctioning major schemes and making allegations of extravagance. He would accuse everyone, but would then say 'economy is not the only thing to be considered.' He tried to make Roxburgh take more boys, but would not honour his promises to put up new buildings for them. All this merely points to the fact that, by the end, Warrington was finding it increasingly difficult to raise money to finance his projects.

At one point, Warrington insisted that the dormitory windows should be fitted with bars. Roxburgh questioned the need for this, only

to be told 'No housemaster, at any of the schools may with impunity presume to call any action of mine into question.' This outburst reminded Roxburgh of Warrington's indignation some time before when he claimed to have discovered compromising graffiti scribbled by boys upon a wall: examination revealed the record of a child's weight and height and a date - dix-huit aout 1895 - a relic of the childhood of the Duchesse de Guise. In all these matters, Roxburgh did not fail to defend his staff, and would never toady to Warrington.⁶³

About Canford, there is less documentary evidence available, but presumably little was different. It was only in 1926 that the Headmaster thought that the School was sufficiently well-organized to have a Speech Day, which was thus the first public function at which Warrington attended. Lord Gisborough was ill, and Sir Charles King-Harman, Vice Chairman, took his place. In his speech he remarked that the Headmaster's report had taught them that their policy should be to give the Headmaster a free hand as far as possible, to leave the administration of the school to him, and leave him severely alone. This remark prompted laughter, presumably good-humoured, although Warrington had no intention of letting his Headmaster get on with it.⁶⁴ The whole Speech was designed, as far as possible, to present Canford as a fully integrated public school. The unpleasant modernity felt by schools like Stowe and Canford was countered in part by their buildings, which rivalled many older foundations, and by the 'instant traditions' which men like Roxburgh were so good at inventing. Warrington, or 'Prancing Percy' as the Canfordians knew him, was to speak last, and one who was there, and sitting close to him, records how one speaker after another made points which he himself had intended to raise, and which he crossed out angrily from his notes, item by item. His speech was concerned with new building at the School.

⁶³ Annan, pp.78-88.

⁶⁴ Canford Speech Day 1926, Souvenir Programme, p.9.

Warrington was a regular visitor at Speech Days thereafter, with 'his' governors, but he also paid unheralded and clandestine visits to the School, which made him unpopular, as we have seen.⁶⁵

Geoffrey Hartill, who went to Canford in 1928, recalls his father's report of having tea with the Headmaster and Warrington, who, it was said, had given £25,000 to the School, and had had to spend a further £25,000 on the drains. 'Where would a vicar find money like that?', he asked his wife on his return.⁶⁶

The answer, of course, is obscure. Certainly Warrington built his chain of schools upon credit, but he did receive generous help from his fellow governors. Mrs. Walter, of whom mention has been made before, made herself personally responsible for all the fittings of Canford's Physics and Chemistry Laboratories, which cost about £1,000.⁶⁷ Likewise, it is usually reckoned that Warrington's governors were chosen as much for their wealth, as for their ineffectiveness.

With help like this, and apparently a limitless ability for being given credit, there was little standing between Warrington and the power which he desired. But what finally caused his ruin was his use of the profits from his enterprises as an investment in advowsons, which had little realizable value, and in further educational schemes which could not show a sufficient profit early enough. One of his final ventures was to 'found' a College at Oxford, and when he became aware that Bishop Chavasse had the same idea, their paths crossed, with far-reaching consequences for all concerned.

6:4 The Founding of an Oxford College

The story of the founding of St. Peter's College is told by E.H.F. Smith in St. Peter's: The Founding of an Oxford College, to which the

⁶⁵ Letter from W.G. Hiatt, 8-1-1983.

⁶⁶ Letter from G. Hartill.

⁶⁷ Speech Day 1926, Programme, p.4.

reader is referred.⁶⁸ The chief subject of the book is the relationship between the Martyrs' Memorial Trust and Christopher Chavasse, as the first Master of the Hall, and in its pages will be found further confirmation of Warrington's suspicious nature, his hasty temper, his meanness, and his secrecy and duplicity. He responded to Bishop Chavasse's 1926 appeal by making his Trust the backers of St. Peter's Hall. The younger Chavasse referred to Warrington in 1929 as 'a man of indomitable energy, true foresight, remarkable business capacity, and wonderful organising powers.'⁶⁹

Four years later, the scales had fallen from his eyes. The Hall had been founded, and buildings erected, but Warrington, who had always been slow at paying the bills, was to leave the Hall vastly in debt. Chavasse and others had the difficult task of persuading the University that the new foundation would not be 'party' in any sense, while, behind the scenes, Warrington and his associates were planning to turn it into a BCMS foundation.

When Chavasse was shown the printed Report of the MMT for 1924-5, it stated as its third aim, the acquisition of Church Patronage.⁷⁰ At this date, the patronage of the MMT, although significant when compared to some trusts, was at nothing like its final extent. Smith says that the MMT held the advowsons of seventy benefices in twenty dioceses.⁷¹ This is possible, but on the information which has been used here, a figure of about fifty or fifty-five benefices is more likely, as we shall see. Many of these were held in the name of the schools. The Trust claimed that it had received £2,500 income and spent £2,000 on advowsons, acquiring eighteen in the past year. However, by 1929, the Income was £300,000 per annum, and the Trust controlled nearly two

⁶⁸ See n. 4 above.

⁶⁹ Smith, pp.15-16.

⁷⁰ Smith, p.43.

⁷¹ Smith, p.43. Smith presumably quotes the report, but Warrington's tendency to exaggerate has already been seen.

hundred benefices.⁷² Within a year this had risen to three hundred benefices.

Chavassee ensured that Warrington was not given a deciding voice in the counsels of the Hall. But the two men's aims were different: Chavassee wanted a Hall which would be a suitable memorial to his father, run on generally evangelical lines, but integrated into the University. Warrington wanted far more influence than he was given. He saw the Hall as propagating his own views. The two were bound to clash. Chavassee wrote later to Bishop Knox:

When the Martyrs Memorial first approached us they were differently constituted from what they were later on. They were the amalgamation of two Trusts - the Church of England Trust Society, founded by Stather Hunt, and the Martyrs Memorial Trust, with Warrington as their Secretary. While Stather Hunt was Chairman, the hope was that the decent element in the Church of England Trust would take possession. But unfortunately honest men like Sir Thomas Inskip and the late Mr. Gladstone became uneasy when Mr. Warrington ceased to produce balance sheets, and resigned. Then Canon Stather Hunt died; and we were in the soup ...⁷³

Warrington insisted that only the MMT's own accountant should audit the accounts, although he was insufficiently qualified.⁷⁴ He was excessively offended when described, in error, as Secretary, and not Honorary Secretary of the MMT,⁷⁵ and once again, he was mean and yet extravagant: he would not allow his Trust to pay for more than one arm-chair in a room, and there were to be no coffee tables.⁷⁶ Despite claims in The Record of £250,000 to be spent on St. Peter's,⁷⁷ it soon became clear that he hoped to finance each new block by mortgaging the old ones. Chavassee refused to allow Warrington to force his nominees into the Hall,⁷⁸ and Warrington threatened to resign, though he did not

⁷² Smith, p.43.

⁷³ Smith, p.69.

⁷⁴ Smith, pp.74-75.

⁷⁵ Smith, p.77.

⁷⁶ Smith, p.79.

⁷⁷ Smith, p.80.

⁷⁸ Smith, pp.92-4.

do so.

By the Autumn of 1930, it was becoming clear that Warrington was experiencing financial difficulties. The Depression was taking its toll of subscriptions to the MMT. But when, on 5 February 1931, Chavasse asked whether each of Warrington's schools was accounted for separately, Warrington, assuming that he was being accused of using St. Peter's money for the schools, wrote telling him 'it is the Schools which have been paying thousands of pounds for St. Peter's ...'⁷⁹

The situation was worsening. On the 12 February, Warrington wrote a long diatribe, giving notice that a motion of no confidence in Chavasse would be put before the MMT. Much of the rest of the letter was abuse, criticizing Chavasse for not subscribing to The Record, for being opposed to the BCMS, for trying to play down the evangelical nature of the Hall, for using the Trust, and Warrington in particular, as a catspaw.⁸⁰

Warrington persuaded his fellow Trustees to pass the vote of no confidence in Chavasse, which Chavasse was able to overturn.⁸¹ Warrington was furious, but could do nothing except to resign from the Council of the College, although he later withdrew his resignation.

Late in 1931 Warrington was planning to expand his empire again, at possibly the worst financial moment. It was also one of his most feeble ideas. He would purchase Wimpole Hall, nine miles from Cambridge, and set it up as a postgraduate theological college. An appeal was launched and signed by the Martyrs' Memorial Trust. Evangelicals opposed the scheme. To divert money from existing causes into one which could not pay its way, a lavish house 'in a ploughed field' was wicked. It was put to Warrington that the Wimpole Hall scheme was impracticable, and he accepted this. In fact his attention

⁷⁹ Smith, p.117.

⁸⁰ Smith, pp.118-19.

⁸¹ Smith, pp.126-29.

had already turned to Bristol. On the 22 January 1932 The Record and the Church of England Newspaper printed identical letters from Warrington, who stated:

I have, for some time past, had under consideration the establishment of a Theological College ... Quite recently a mansion, in the West of England, admirably adapted for this purpose, has been offered to me.

Then on the 23 February 1932, the Bath Chronicle announced that:

The founder of many public schools, including Stowe, Canford and Westonbirt, the Rev. P.E. Warrington ... is now originating a Church of England Theological College for the West Country, having acquired for the purpose Stoke House, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.

Sydney Carter was to be Principal, and it was to be opened, as Clifton Theological College, on the 11 May 1932. On the 11 March 1932 The Record gave a page and a half to the scheme, and appealed for support. There was no doubt that this appeal, if successful, was likely to draw away contributions from St. Peter's. Warrington must have known this, but did not care. St. Peter's was rapidly becoming the project of many people - Clifton would be his own. This is no reason to think that his MMT colleagues approved of the Clifton scheme, even if they had supported the Wimpole Hall project. Chavassee later said that it was common knowledge that BCMS supporters opposed the scheme, because it would be in direct opposition to the BCMS College already established in Bristol. When the College was opened, it was stated that it was a memorial to the clergyman who had made it possible for Warrington to take Holy Orders. This certainly indicates that, in Warrington's early years, he had been helped financially with his training, possibly by Weston, possibly by someone else.⁸²

The history of these last days of Warrington's influence is best followed in Smith's book. On 15 September 1933, Chavassee was told that Warrington had resigned all connection with the Hall, and the other

⁸² Smith, pp.147-49.

schools.⁸³ He was invited to a meeting at which he was told that outside auditors had been brought in to investigate Warrington's handling of the finances of the Trust. The Trust had collapsed, leaving the Council of the Hall with liabilities of £90,000.⁸⁴

St. Peter's Hall was only one sufferer in the collapse of Warrington's empire. The result was partly due to the harsh economic climate of the times, but even if it had been better, the doom of the MMT would only have been postponed, for Warrington was permanently expanding his investments, and showing ever less business sense in what he did. The finances of the schools were inextricably confused. As Warrington himself admitted, he kept the books as well as he could, but he had no training in accountancy, and no wish to make public his ways of working. Even those accountants who did, in later years, attempt to piece things together had to admit that they would ultimately never know precisely what Warrington had been doing. The air he breathed was full of conspiracies and plots. His apparently keen sense of business should not blind us to the fact that he was the same man who could be driven to fury by the behaviour of school children. He was also, as Annan says, drunk with power.⁸⁵ It was his constant boast that he alone had started the schools, when others lacked the courage to do so. His schools, we recall, financed each other, at first by a mortgage on one school being used for the next, then by obtaining second mortgages and increasing the bank overdraft, and in the end, as matters grew more difficult, by private borrowing and bills of exchange. He was not in the business of making money, except in so far as money was needed to expand. His mission was to spread the work of Protestantism, and he did not care what it cost others to do it for him. Some of his schools were successes, and some never succeeded, and were destined to wither away.

⁸³ Smith, pp.159-60.

⁸⁴ Smith, pp.170-72.

⁸⁵ Annan, p.88.

He never appears to have considered the cost of converting and equipping large country houses for use as schools, and even when he had gathered some idea of the cost of such enterprises, he did not pause to weigh his liabilities, take stock of the situation and reconstruct his affairs.

Even at the end, Warrington was trying to get three months' extension of credit on some bills. He had no financial knowledge, merely luck and dexterity at a time when expansion was favoured. He had no idea of the schools as independent entities, entitled to equitable treatment and fair dealing. They were 'his' schools, and he used their profits for whatever he saw fit, most fatally, and most memorably, for the purchase of advowsons on a vast scale. His schools gave £17,000 to this work, in which they had no interest, and which was a clear misuse of their funds. St. Peter's was given £18,000 of the schools' money, and Stowe in particular was used to support Clifton College. But at the time when all this was going on, the writing was on the wall.

In April 1931 Warrington wrote to Roxburgh that he 'had been victimised by Share Pushers,' and Roxburgh was appalled to learn that the Public Prosecutor had been brought in. The main anxiety seems to have been whether Warrington would be forced to produce documents and appear in court as a witness, and Roxburgh did much to rescue him from the awkwardness of the situation. Warrington's methods of raising money became ever more precarious and shady, until in 1932 the largest creditor of the group of schools, the Legal and General Assurance Society, refused loans, until they obtained representation on the Council. Warrington had no choice, and William Workman and Edward Sykes were appointed. And now Warrington's creatures began to snarl at his heels, and plotted to oust both him and Roxburgh, whom they accused of filling Stowe with Anglo-Catholics. At last the day came in 1933 when Roxburgh was informed that the bank would no longer honour the weekly

cheques for wages and provisions.⁸⁶

A similar story could be told at the other schools. Wrekin's credit was stopped, and it was all the worse that the MMT's account was kept with the Wellington branch of Barclays. The Manager found himself responsible for a debt of hundreds of thousands of pounds. When he retired in 1935 he was a broken man, and died two years later.

The Insurance companies might accept the purchase of advowsons, but they drew the line at the repairs which were to be found for St. James Church, Pentonville and, on a larger scale, for the creation of Clifton College. Accordingly, the Law Union Insurance Company, the London Life Association, the Norwich Union and the Legal and General met together and in September 1933 demanded the resignation of Warrington from his position as Secretary to Wrekin College, and of all his other positions of governor.⁸⁷

The Legal and General then proceeded to rescue the Trust from the ignominy of causing 2,500 boys and girls to be without a school. They agreed that provided each school would accept a Scheme of Management which would in some respects over-ride existing Articles of association and give the Society complete financial control of the schools, and subject to mutual guarantees from the schools, they would take over certain mortgages, and reduce the annual amounts which the schools had to find by way of interest and life assurance premiums. Subsequently, interest rates were further reduced; indeed during the war years no interest was required at all, and after the war never more than 3%. This enabled the schools, in 1952, to start setting aside sums for repayment of the mortgages, which were finally paid off in 1980.⁸⁸

The business of disentangling the finances took a long time. It was recommended that the unprofitable schools should be sold, and for

⁸⁶ Annan, pp.88-90.

⁸⁷ Johnson, p.89.

⁸⁸ The Allied Schools, p.6.

the 'good' schools, a Central Finance Committee should be set up, consisting of one representative from each school. Those advowsons held by the schools, with the exception of one each for Wrekin, Stowe and Westonbirt - the parish church in each case - should be sold to the respective PCCs.

The provision that each school should have an independent Board of Governors led Lord Gisborough to resign as Chairman of the various governing bodies, and to ask for the resignation of all the other members. Dr. Cyril Norwood replaced him as Chairman. He was also appointed Chairman of the Central Finance Committee and President of the Allied Schools, as the new grouping of the schools was called.⁸⁹

With the Government of the schools purged, the Legal and General asked Kenneth Adam, a young accountant, to sort out the financial mess, a task which taxed even his patience, as accounts for the past two years hardly existed, and the ramifications of Warrington's dealings were both dubious and bizarre. But the schools which survived were now built on rock instead of sand.⁹⁰

There is little need to follow the further progress of the schools. Stowe, Wrekin, Canford, Harrogate, Westonbirt, Lowther and Felixtowe, survived the crash, and were ruled thenceforth by the Legal and General, except that approximately one in six of the governors might be a nominee of the MMT. In 1977, the MMT agreed that, with the ending of the Scheme of Management, it would not nominate the new governors, as it was empowered to do, but would continue to have one voice in six on each Governing Body, in order to preserve the religious spirit of the schools.⁹¹ But by this time, the MMT was a very different creature. The spirit of Warrington had passed from it.

⁸⁹ Johnson, p.89.

⁹⁰ Annan, pp.90-91.

⁹¹ The Allied Schools, pp.7-9.

Roxburgh, for all the difficulties which he had experienced at Stowe, still had no idea of the nature of Warrington's operations. When the crash came, he wrote to Mrs. Radice, expressing the hope that 'poor Warrington might be kept out of the courts,' and that 'some means will be found of paying the little man the tribute he deserves'. In the years that followed, Warrington bombarded Roxburgh with hysterical letters full of accusations. In 1936 he sent one of twenty-four pages, denouncing him as an insidious cultivator of Roman and Anglo-Catholics.

Now he was contending that his secretary had forged his signature, now he inveighed against mysterious enemies who poisoned his food, now he turned to rend two of his former colleagues whom he dubbed the Serpent of Stowe and the Adder of Felixstowe. He became ever more violent and demented in his isolation at Monkton. In 1939, to look a little ahead, he sent Wykes a denunciation in seventy-six foolscap pages and declared that 'nothing less than the closing of Stowe will satisfy me'. A year later, injunctions were brought to prevent his slandering two governors who represented the Legal and General and Roxburgh himself.⁹²

Roxburgh was forced to realize that Warrington had, for many years past, been running his empire single-handed, duping those governors who were too feeble to comprehend his activities, and deceiving those who were upright, and could have called him to account. His wild letters proved that his ability to deceive himself was immeasurable. He had in fact transformed the Schools Trust into a concern which lent financial support to any institution that Warrington wished to capture, or which he believed would further the cause of extreme Protestantism.⁹³

At St. Peter's, the link with the MMT was broken and, with Lord Nuffield's help, the Hall repaid both the money with which the Schools had been financing it, and its own debts, and survived. But we cannot

⁹² Annan, pp.91-92.

⁹³ Annan, p.89.

leave this subject without mentioning the covenant with Mrs. Rowcroft. Mention had been made of it, in passing, to Chavassee on several occasions, but only in 1935 did he discover what had been going on behind his back. The Rev. H.B. Green had written to Chavassee on the 5 February 1934:

Mrs. Rowcroft's gift was made for the establishment of a Theological College to propagate the principles of the BCMS, not for a Hall at Oxford. She constantly expressed her dissatisfaction at the use made of her gift of £10,000, though she afterwards agreed to the Hall. I am one of the signatories to the covenant between Mrs. Rowcroft and the Trustees of the M.M.Trust dated Nov.22, 1930.⁹⁴

This date for such a Covenant gave the lie to Warrington's remarks that it was signed when Mrs. Rowcroft gave the money in 1927. Chavassee contacted the MMT's solicitor, and on the 15 January 1935, he was sent a copy of the deed.

It was a Deed of Covenant, made on the 22 November 1930 between Mrs. Rowcroft and the Trustees of the MMT.⁹⁵ Its contents were devastating:

WHEREAS the Donor at various times has made gifts of certain sums of money to the Trustees amounting in the aggregate to the sum of £35,400 for the purpose of acquiring the several advowsons mentioned and referred to in the Schedule hereto and has also given to the Trustees the sum of £10,000 for the purpose of establishing a Hall within the University of Oxford known as St.Peter's Hall and the further sum of £15,000 for the benefit of or for the purposes of the Jersey Ladies College, and the further sum of £9,500 for the benefit of or for the purposes of Felixstowe Ladies School AND WHEREAS the Donor made such gifts on the condition that the Trustees should enter into the covenants hereinafter contained NOW THIS DEED WITNESSETH that the Trustees hereby covenant with the Donor as follows:

1. The Trustees will present or cause to be presented to the said Advowsons mentioned or referred to in the Schedule hereto only such Clergymen who subscribe to the scriptural basis of a Society known as the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society and who do not subscribe to any other Society having a scriptural basis other than the present Scriptural basis of the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society and be believers in and teachers of the plain truths and doctrines of the Bible as taught in the Church of England in the past and free from the new and questionable Modernist Teachings and

⁹⁴ Smith, p.198.

⁹⁵ It was drawn up, incidentally, on the day following the publication of 'Buying Up the Church of England' in the Church Times.

from Anglo-Catholic teachings and the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

2. The religious teaching given at the Jersey Ladies College and at Felixstowe Ladies School, and at any other School under the direct control of the Martyrs' Memorial and Church of England Trust shall be in accordance with the scriptural basis of the Society known as the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society, and shall be free from the new and questionable Modernist teachings, and from Anglo Catholic teachings and the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church ...'

There followed the Schedule of seventy livings, with number fifty-seven given as 'The Advowson of St. Peter-le-Bailey, Oxford, in the Diocese of Oxford' which had not been purchased at all, let alone with Mrs. Rowcroft's money.⁹⁶

To Chavassee, much now seemed plain. Six months after this deed was signed, the Trustees had declared that they had no confidence in him, and had attempted to remove him, presumably to replace him with a supporter of the BCMS.

Warrington had conspired to remove Chavassee. The only loser in this was Mrs. Rowcroft, when the Covenant was held to be unenforceable.

She did not receive back her £10,000.

Safe from harm, in 1936, Chavassee wrote to Bishop Knox, expressing his views of the way he had been treated:

... the devious and inexplicable processes of the Martyrs Memorial Trust ... the suspicion and odium that the Martyrs Memorial Trust have earned ... For the past two years I have been obstructed and beset by a whole mass of shady work, such as secret documents, and deeds unlawfully withheld, and so forth. It was like living in a Dicken's novel; and I had not known that such practices were possible even among unChristian laymen. I had never come across what the Bishop of Durham described as the 'Protestant underworld' till I touched the Martyrs Memorial Trust; and I still feel defiled, even though, thank God, we are now quit of them ...⁹⁷

Knox replied later, about Warrington:

Unhappily he makes charitable relations difficult by writing extraordinarily defamatory letters against Neill - so bad and so widespread that they have had to take him into Court

⁹⁶ Smith, pp.198-200.

⁹⁷ Smith, p.239.

a second time. He received a very severe reprimand, and if he repeats the offence goes to prison without further proof. It is difficult to believe in his complete sanity.⁹⁸

Personally impoverished in a libel action, Warrington gave up much of the struggle, and appears to have spent the remainder of his life at Monkton Combe, in what, for him, passed as quietness. He was given attractive offers of livings, but refused them all, in case it should be said that he had been forced to leave.⁹⁹ He was convinced that in some way he had been betrayed to the Anglo-Catholics, and it appears that his paranoia grew in this respect, so that on the day before his death his main topic of conversation was the heinous way in which he had been treated by the Evangelicals.¹⁰⁰

In his 'retirement', perhaps, some moderation of his own hot temper occurred, and certainly he was capable of great kindness to individuals.¹⁰¹ As has been noted, his relations with the School thawed out a little, once the personalities who had so offended him were but memories. After the War, he concentrated on improving housing conditions, and became fully involved in work for the aged. He founded two homes: Claremont House at Cosham in Wiltshire, and later Waterhouse at Monkton Combe itself, on the other side of the valley from the School.¹⁰² Even here, though, he was not popular with the Staff.¹⁰³

No one could fairly accuse Warrington of growing rich on the proceeds of his enterprises - had he been less single-minded, he would have done less damage, but his single-mindedness did not lead him to 'feather his own nest.' He had had the Vicarage House at Monkton enlarged, in order to cope with the calls of business, but now his two secretaries were gone. Gone too, presumably, was his Daimler, of which

⁹⁸ Smith, p.243.

⁹⁹ DNB 1961-70.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from D. Wigram.

¹⁰¹ Letter from Alasdair Macdonald, 17-11-1982 recalls his sympathy towards Dr. Ashcroft when his wife died.

¹⁰² DNB 1961-70.

¹⁰³ Letter from W.G. Hiatt.

he now had no need.¹⁰⁴

Warrington had never looked youthful, and must often have appeared of an age and dignity with his Trustees, many of whom were a generation older, but he was still only forty-three in 1933, when he was ousted. As he grew older, his Protestant convictions did not diminish, but he became a very sick man. On the 5 November 1961, he died at the age of seventy-one.¹⁰⁵

Assessments of Warrington are difficult to make. His activities are relatively easy to comprehend, but the man himself remains largely unknown. He lived alone, with no wife or family, and references in his letters to his 'old friends' point pathetically to the isolation he must have felt. He had entered a calling, and had lived a life, which his father, the farmer, might have considered to be outside the pretensions of his class. Warrington himself was probably not free of this feeling, and his relationship with Monkton School demonstrates it. He hated snobbery and sought to create in his schools his own ideal of the English Gentleman, far above the spite and vindictiveness, as he perceived it, of Monkton Combe Schoolboys. He often seems to have gloated, but was perhaps too humourless and serious to be ever truly happy. Those who knew him, he was convinced, were either plotting to overturn him, or too dull to be consulted. His fanaticism might have been merely a 1930s 'bubble', but in spite of his own actions, many of his projects survived. The Allied Schools thrive, with a respected body of old boys. St.Peter's Hall became a College in the year of Warrington's death. Clifton Theological College was one of the three Colleges which united to form Trinity College, Bristol, based around the house which Warrington himself had purchased. His old peoples' homes still stand.

After his death, the myth-makers began their work. The Times, on

¹⁰⁴ Johnson, p.90.

¹⁰⁵ DNB 1961-70. Not seventy-two, as The Times had said : he was born in December 1889.

the 7 November 1961 printed a simple obituary, listing Warrington's achievements and omitting, as was surely just on such an occasion, all reference to the troubles of the 1930s. It is one mark of his fame that he was given an obituary in The Times. But an even greater honour was to be paid him when the Dictionary of National Biography included a long entry under his name for its 1961-70 volume. Had Warrington died in 1940, it is extremely unlikely that he would have been accorded a like honour, but in thirty years, his life was seen through a rose-coloured mist. The DNB entry is tactful to the point of deceit, and the unprepared reader would have difficulty recognizing him as the same man:

Warrington had attempted administrative work with the minimum of expense. No one could deflect him, but he could only carry the load by expecting everyone to conform to his speed of action; this made enemies and aroused anxieties. Sometimes involved with the trivial, he found it hard to delegate ... The less courageous had fears sensitive to insidious conflicting interests alarmed by the power of the movement. All these and the depression persuaded the Trust that Warrington must go. The way was open through a technical error in the financing of Clifton Theological College. Warrington was deposed, but in the process the latent great financial resources of the schools were lost to the Trust and to the Church.¹⁰⁶

Such an account suggests that it was the Trustees who were in the wrong for not trusting Warrington, rather than Warrington himself for his deceitfulness. There is also the clear suggestion that in ousting him, they were killing the goose that laid the golden eggs, rather than ridding themselves of someone who was using the wealth of the schools for improper purposes, and leading all of his foundations into greater debt.

In short, the DNB article was an attempt to justify its own inclusion in such an august publication. Few of those alive in the 1920s and 30s would have agreed that the MMT was 'a child of its day, a contemporary reply to the challenge', for this is to swallow undigested the argument that an Anglo-Catholic takeover of the Church was a

¹⁰⁶ DNB 1961-70.

reality. Nowhere does this 'biography' have the courage to call Warrington misguided - 'lopsided' is its worst criticism. Warrington was not even painted as a good, strong villain - he was turned into an irrelevance, and one who had outlived his time.

Far more entertaining are the rumours which circulated in 'his' Schools at the time of his collapse and later. Geoffrey Hartill provides fascinating glimpses into the schoolboy mind: A Monkton Schoolboy 'remembers' Warrington giving up his pulpit to Kearns in 1921, and then sitting outside the church 'pulling long noses' at him. As for the crash itself:

The next rumour I heard (? 1936-37) was that Canford's Governing Body had been sacked and that 'Percy' was a wanted man because he had been taking money out of his Schools and investing it in pig farming.

He was then said to have fled the country and turned up in Australia.¹⁰⁷

This is a vigorous piece of myth-making, and shows something of the impression that Warrington must have made on those who only knew him from his surprise visits to the School. Naturally, those who suffered under him for the longest were best qualified to give their opinions, and before turning to the specific question of the MMT's advowsons trade, and its cessation, we can perhaps do worse than quote Roxburgh, after his eyes had been opened, as to his views on Warrington and his trust:

The disgust and indignation which Warrington more or less continuously provoked are very different from the contempt and loathing which I came to feel for the mean and treacherous men who profited by all his villainies and would never have had the courage to commit one of them.¹⁰⁸

6:5 Warrington, the MMT, and Advowsons

In the previous sections, we have dealt with matters not directly related to patronage, but which are essential to an understanding of the nature of the MMT. We have seen that Warrington was the guiding

¹⁰⁷ Letter from G. Hartill.

¹⁰⁸ Annan, p.92.

influence of the Trust; and the peculiarities of his own behaviour help us to see why the MMT was feared as a patronage trust. We have seen that the building up of a body of Schools was a response to his early disagreement with Monkton Combe School, and in its turn provided the funds without which his acquisition of patronage could not have taken place at the rate which it did. We have also looked forward to the financial collapse of the MMT as a holder of schools.

Now we shall attempt to give some indication, by a judicious sampling, of the growth and extent of the MMT, specifically as a patronage trust. It must be left to others to attempt to assess its real impact on the Church of England, in terms of the spread of conservative evangelical views. It seems clear that much of their patronage was held for too short a time to 'suffer' from Warrington's appointments, and that after his departure, the evangelicalism of the Trust came to be of a far less fanatical type. But this is not our concern. We shall then examine the way in which, in journalistic controversy, the public was alerted to the dangers of the MMT; and the way in which the English Church Union formed a committee, which was able to draw to the attention of the Church Assembly the need for the legislation finally contained in the 1933 Benefices Measure.

It is hoped that by the end of the Chapter, it will be seen that opponents of the MMT made use of the myth of 'the secretive trust', which had been previously used to characterize all party trusts. It is true that the MMT enjoyed a phenomenal expansion in a brief period. It is also true that, from what we know of their other activities, this could not have continued. But in such matters, the myth was more important than the reality. Anglo-Catholicism saw itself as close to triumph in this period. As its centenary approached, the Church appeared open before it. The only reason that it was not assured of total victory, it assumed, was because opponents were 'plotting' to defeat it. The myth of the 'plot' was not restricted to

Anglo-Catholics, or even Evangelicals: In Europe the Nazis were riding to success using the same method. Plots are always useful means of disguising one's own inherent shortcomings. Anglo-Catholicism would not 'win', simply because there were a good many Anglicans who disagreed with it - and by the same token, Evangelicals had little to fear from Anglo-Catholic 'subversion', and much more from their own inadequacies. But for the moment, we must examine Anglo-Catholic attitudes. How, they asked themselves, could evangelicalism appear so vigorous, when it was known to be a spent force? The answer appeared simple: patronage was a key to gaining influence and it was being abused by Evangelicals. This could mean only one thing: the wishes and traditions of parishioners were being over-ridden by those who acquired patronage, and this was not accidental, but a deliberate and cynical decision. We have seen from our examination of the Church Assembly debates that this view was prevalent at a time when no one could give a realistic example of such abuse. No matter how much each individual trust could be defended, there was, somewhere, a trust which was supposedly abusing its position.

It is fairly certain that for much of the time, such a trust did not exist, since most of them relied for their patronage on gifts and not purchases. Then, at the end of the decade, the Martyrs' Memorial Trust arose as a God-send to Anglo-Catholics. Here, unmistakeably, was the trust for which they had all been looking. They exposed its methods in the press. Clergy wrote with tales of woe: their churches had been bought up from under them. And in the end, they obtained the desired legislation. They were soon to discover that, in real terms, relatively few parishes took advantage of it, although given every encouragement. But this was unimportant. The myth was created, and future historians would look back to 1933 as the year in which the worst evils of party patronage were finally stopped. We must not be too cynical about this.

Doubtless those who took advantage of the legislation were grateful for it, but the myth would suggest that the trade in livings by party trusts

Was more seriously abused than it in fact was. One of the reasons for this myth must lie in the behaviour of the MMT.

Unfortunately, during the years of greatest MMT expansion, Crockfords does not indicate patronage in its list of parishes, but rather in the biographical section. This means that for any extensive study of patronage, the required cross-referring would be too time-consuming to be justified. We have thus relied on a sample of Diocesan Calendars for the period, which in fact accounts for approximately 75% of the parishes of England, and takes in northern, southern, urban and rural areas. It is believed that this represents a sample large enough and varied enough to permit accurate extrapolation.

The accuracy of Diocesan Calendars depends upon their compilers, and upon those who complete returns. They need be no more inaccurate than Crockfords, and for the purpose of the sample will be taken to give a suitably reliable standard of accuracy.

Calendars were (and are) usually published for the year in advance, and dated accordingly. Thus a '1930' Calendar was usually compiled at the end of 1929. In this sample, the dates given are the dates of the Calendars, which means that patronage recorded as acquired in '1930' was probably acquired at some date in 1929, although late calendars might include transfers effected in the year of publication. We give the patronage according to the year of entry in a calendar, and claim no more accuracy for this method than can be gathered from the above. Crockfords would not be substantially more accurate in this respect. This enables some comparison to be made, and shows on broad lines the picture of the MMT's expansion. If the reader will bear in mind that the dates quoted usually refer to a situation as at January of the year in question, then confusion should not result.

The principal areas not covered in the sample include a band in the South-East, (Portsmouth, Guildford, London, Southwark, Rochester) together with the largely urban diocese of Manchester, and the dioceses of Bristol, Coventry, Blackburn, Bradford and Newcastle. With the

exception of London, it is hoped that other excluded areas will find their parallels within the sample. It should also be borne in mind that the sample established that the MMT acquired no livings in Durham or Wakefield.

The sample began in 1920, at which time the MMT in one form or another had acquired twelve livings, as follows:

Thrussington	in Peterborough, held by Warrington;
Histon	in Ely, held by the MMT;
Saltfleetby, St.Clement	in Lincoln, held by Rev.R. Weston and others;
Hastings, Emmanuel	
Denton, St.Leonards	in Chichester, held by the MMT;
Loddiswell with Buckland	in Exeter, held by Rev.R. Weston and others;
Bobbington, Holy Cross	
Tipton, St.Martin	
Biddulph, St.Laurence	in Lichfield, held by the MMT;
Burslem, St.John Baptist	
Aspenden	in St.Albans, held by the MMT.

The Sheffield Diocesan Calendar for 1920 mentions that the MMT held twelve livings, which suggests either that the list provided here is complete, and that the listing of one trustee or another was not intended to disguise the extent of patronage, but was simply the peculiarity of those who compiled the calendars; or that only nine of the livings above were recognized, with three in other dioceses.¹⁰⁹ This latter suggestion is less likely. The compiler of the Sheffield Calendar appears to have used accurate sources, and to have known the names of the Martyrs' Memorial Trustees. Besides which, for the length of time during which the MMT had existed, twelve livings were hardly excessive. There is no reason to suppose that they were acquired

¹⁰⁹ Sheffield Diocesan Calendar 1920, p.199.

improperly.¹¹⁰ The MMT did not have, at the time, sufficient funds to purchase livings, it appears, and there can have been little wish to disguise the name of a body which was acting in a similar way to many others, none of which adopted such subterfuge. Later, quite probably, the names of patrons were given in such a way as to mislead, but the fact remains that for anyone who was prepared to do the small research necessary, this disguise was of the feeblest kind. Only the casual reader of Crockfords, if such a one there be, could have been deceived.

The real deceit was that practiced on individual parishes, who were ignorant of the identity of the true purchasers of their advowsons, until it was too late.

Thus the MMT, in 1920, was a small trust, like others, and so it continued for a while. In the years from 1920 to 1925, when the provisions of the Benefices Act 1923 had had time to make some impact on the Church, the MMT acquired a further eleven livings. These were distributed as follows:

Cheltenham, St.Mark	in Gloucester, held by the Governors of Wrekin College;
Steyning	in Chichester, held by the MMT 1921;
Canford Magna	in Salisbury, held by Canford School 1925;
Charmouth	in Salisbury, held by the MMT 1921;
Kinson	in Salisbury, held by Canford School 1925;
Pettaugh	in St.Edmundsbury and Ipswich, held by Wrekin College 1924;
Biddulph Moor, Christ Church	in Lichfield, held by the MMT 1921;
Boningale, St.Chad	in Lichfield, held by the MMT 1922;
Bedford, St.John Baptist	in St.Albans, held by Weston and others 1922, recorded as held by the MMT in 1923;

¹¹⁰ For example, evidence suggests that they generously supported the BCMS.

Clapham, St.Thomas in St.Albans, held by Stather Hunt and
others 1921;

Renhold in St.Albans, held by Weston and others
1923.

This rate of acquisition, at about two livings a year in the sample area was a modest one. It should also be noticed how the MMT was held in regard in the area frequented by Weston, and by the young Warrington: Lichfield Diocese had six out of the twenty-three livings in the sample area. Salisbury, Chichester and St.Albans were also popular. Once the schools began to function properly, they too, as can be seen, 'acquired' patronage which was administered in fact, if not in name, by the MMT.

It would be possible to continue this analysis of livings acquired, in the same way, but very quickly the picture was to change. The slow rate of acquisition, a large part of which could still have been by means of gifts, was to be superseded by the very rapid expansion of the Trust. There were several reasons for this.

In the first place, whatever the financial impotence of the early Trust, it was strongly motivated to provide Protestant ministries in as many areas as possible. The will might have out-run the deed, but the will was there. Once Warrington, with his 'business-like' methods, was more directly in control, this will had an outlet.

Secondly, there was the climate of the times. The naive Benefices Measure of 1923 gave many the desire to sell their livings, in order to realize their full cash value. The Depression, which followed it, gave many the need to sell, in order to stave off bankruptcy. Presumably some of the livings bought by the MMT were purchased from those whose first consideration was their financial gain, and not the future well-being of their patronage.

Thirdly, there was the fact that Mrs. Rowcroft had given £35,400 for the purpose of acquiring advowsons, as well as the other funds which

were available in the 'boom years' of the MMT. It can hardly be doubted that some of the profits of the successful schools were being tapped to provide funds to capture the advowson market, while it was still in a state of flux.

This coincidence of plentiful funds with a period when private patrons were in need, was decisive. In a matter of two years, the MMT arose from a small and unnoticed body, to be the symbol of the threat facing the Church of England from party trusts.

In Table 3, several things are to be noted. Firstly, the most obvious fact is that at the height of the Depression, the MMT was gaining livings at the greatest speed. The seventy-seven transfers recorded in 1930, together with the 1929 and 1931 figures, established the MMT as a major patronage trust, and one which appeared to be growing rapidly. It was at this point that the MMT and Warrington were arousing the severest criticisms in the Church Times, and when criticism of party trusts entered a new phase in the Church Assembly. But by 1932 and 1933, the MMT's resources had dried up. Mrs. Rowcroft's money was spent, and the Trust was heading for ruin. Even without the passing of the 1933 Benefices Measure, the MMT could not have carried on as before. The livings lost to DBPs after 1933 represent 13.5% of the sample, which was doubtless felt as a serious loss to the crusade of protestantism, and greeted with thanks by the parishes concerned. But the MMT was by no means reduced to, say, its 1928 extent. It remained a large trust, and after the set-back showed clear signs of growth at a slower pace, dictated by the rate at which donations of patronage were received.

A second point to be noted is the number of livings which were entered in the name of one trustee or more. Only forty-eight livings were originally mentioned as belonging to the MMT, although, as we have seen, few of the others were so thoroughly disguised that they could not soon be discovered. Sir Charles King Harman is only recorded as a

patron after 1930. Warrington and the schools were the most commonly noted patrons. In 1935, and succeeding years, more livings were entered as being held by the MMT. The impetus for this came in 1935 when most of Warrington's livings were 'recognized' by the MMT as their own.

The Table raises another issue, namely: what was the full extent of MMT patronage? Various exaggerated claims have been made. Johnson goes so far as to say that by 1931, Sir Charles King Harman alone held 573 livings.¹¹¹ Such claims cannot be supported. From the sample, one might estimate that by 1933, the MMT had 300 livings, which was, of course, a massive rise in a few short years, and if continued would have caused chaos; but it was not as fast as some believe. To suggest that anything like 500 livings were held, would require that 280 of them were distributed between eleven dioceses, an average of over twenty-five per diocese, three times more than the diocesan average for the sample, and in excess of the diocese most productive of MMT livings, (Peterborough and Leicester.) Thus we may safely reject such later exaggerations. The fact remains that the Trust, which in 1920 held twelve livings, had, by 1933, about three hundred.

The extent of this increase can be demonstrated by showing the livings acquired by the MMT as a percentage of all transfers for the year in question. The Ecclesiastical Committee of Parliament reported these figures in 1933.¹¹² For our purposes, we must reckon transfers recorded in the above table for a particular year, as occurring in the year before. If this is done, the following figures are obtained:

¹¹¹ Johnson, p.88.

¹¹² P.P. 1932-3 (40), X, 164.

In 1922	1	out of	86	i.e	1.16%	
" 1923	1	" "	91	"	1.09%	
" 1924	2	" "	107	"	1.87%	
" 1925	27	" "	132	"	20.45%	
" 1926	9	" "	91	"	9.89%	
" 1927	19	" "	96	"	19.79%	
" 1928	31	" "	113	"	27.43%	
" 1929	103	" "	200	"	51.50%	
" 1930	44	" "	94	"	46.60%	
" 1931	16	" "	47	"	34.04%	
In all	253	" "	1057	"	23.94%	113

Apart from the abnormally high figure for 1925, which could have been caused by the MMT's early realization of the effect of the Benefices Measure 1923, the figures rise steadily, and, as can be seen, begin a dramatic increase in 1926, until by 1929, over half the available patronage was acquired by the MMT. Thus, not only were the MMT acquiring an ever increasing number of advowsons by the end of the 1920s, and the start of the 1930s, but they were buying proportionately more livings year by year in a market which was expanding anyway. It was small wonder that people became alarmed. What was the Church's reaction?

With the benefit of hindsight, it is sometimes claimed that the opposition to trust patronage antedated the excesses of the MMT. While there might be some evidence for this, it is much easier to find references in praise of trust patronage of most party groups. The usual criticisms were directed against the views of, for instance, the Life and Liberty Movement, who wished to see patronage boards and more lay

¹¹³ After 1925, each figure in the sample area has been increased by 33% to give a country-wide estimate of transfers.

involvement in appointments. Thus when, on the 21 February 1923, the English Church Union considered the subject of 'Reform of Church Patronage and Tenure', it was Athelstan Riley who remarked that:

The Evangelical Revival in the Church of England and the Oxford Movement alike would neither of them have been possible but for the wise and generous exercise of Private Patronage.

Such a charitable remark would have been rare in a later period, when the Evangelicals were viewed as advancing by trickery, and the Catholics by irresistible force. H.W. Hill, too,

affirmed that within his long experience he was convinced that Trustee Patronage both in the hands of the Catholic and Low Church Party had been 'Honourably' used with the careful intention of securing in each case the services of the best men possible.¹¹⁴

This was admittedly spoken in the days before the sale of patronage was given such a boost, but there is a clear indication that criticisms of trust patronage were based on experience and not theory. Before purchase by certain trusts began, there was little criticism. This only began when it appeared that the trusts were abusing their responsibilities. It is a later view which sees such criticism as ideological.

On 18 March 1925, at the Second Ordinary Meeting of the Session, the E.C.U. again considered the question of the Reform of Church Patronage.¹¹⁵ Parts of this discussion have been looked at before, when it was noted that certain of the suggestions made there, resembled the provisions of the 1933 Measure. Sir Robert Newman, introducing the speeches, said:

A good deal has been done lately ... to try to prevent the scandal of the sale of advowsons; but I think that we ought to go a step further in that direction. The matter ought to be very carefully considered, I think, as regards the way in which certain societies (I am not speaking on one side or

¹¹⁴ Church Union Gazette, March 1923, p.41.

¹¹⁵ Church Union Gazette, April 1925, pp.67-74.

the other) acquire livings, very often without even the parishioners knowing anything about it ("shame"); and sometimes make an appointment, not because they think it is for the good of the parish itself, but simply because they wish to put in somebody whose views they favour more than those of others.

It is clear that this was not supposed to be a particularly contentious statement, and presumably Newman's facts were widely accepted among his hearers. The MMT had by then been in existence long enough for some substance to be given to such rumours, although it is unclear why, in a discussion which 'named names', the MMT were not mentioned. Perhaps they were still considered too small to be bothered with. Besides which, we should remember that, for most of the speakers, the issue of importance was the danger of giving more power to bishops or parishioners until the question of the appointment of bishops was at least put on a better footing; and that E.W. Hansell, the first speaker, regarded the 1923 legislation as the end of sales, rather than a provoker of them. He also advocated that the 'ethos' of the parish, as described by the parishioners, should be indicated to the bishop to help him to decide whether to institute a particular nominee or not. This was very close to the later provision of the ERP Measure.

On the subject of trusts, Hansell was cautious but just:

I do not think myself that we can do without those trusts. I do not like them, but I do not think that we can absolutely abolish them. But I do not think it ought to be possible for the trustees of those societies, whatever their views ... to formulate any shibboleth or make any requirement that a priest whom they are to present should promise not to do this, that, or the other, or to do this that or the other.

He had come across a trust deed imposing such conditions, and felt that this was quite wrong. The two trusts with such conditions were the Church Association and the MMT, and it is impossible to tell which was referred to. The Church Association tended to prohibit various acts as well as doctrines, while the MMT merely imposed its interpretation of various of the Thirty-Nine Articles upon its incumbents, as we have seen.

Hansell also mentioned the upsetting of tradition, but said:

You cannot help those things - they must happen now and again; but they are so few that I cannot help thinking that our wisest policy is to prepare if possible to find some principle on which to act ... and, at all events, not be impatient in face of the many difficulties that are in the way.

The context makes it clear that Hansell was not associating this failing particularly with party trusts, but saw it as an occasional failure in any section of the Church, not consciously engineered. In other words, he presented no evidence that party trusts were engaged on a policy of changing traditions. If he had done, the whole tone of the debate would have been different.

Mr. Hill's remarks were confined to the question of patronage trusts. He remarked that a few years before, at Church Assembly:

to confess oneself to be a patron of a Trust Patronage was to discover that one was regarded as something in the nature of a criminal, and exposed to a certain amount of misunderstanding, not to say rudeness.

He trusted that he was now among friends. He spoke first of the need for trusts, particularly as a result of the Oxford Movement; and of the Catholic Trusts and his own work for them, as we have seen. But Hill was charitable to the other side: Simeon was perfectly justified in beginning his Trust, considering the climate of the times. There were a couple of freaks, who asked for pledges, but most did not. There was a great deal of difference between trusts created to preserve a tradition, and those which forced men on unwilling congregations. To say that the former were indefensible was nonsense: how was the faith to be preserved? But even here, Hill was not accusing any trusts of forcing men on parishes. His primary purpose was to defend Catholic trusts from those who attacked them on ideological grounds.

Even Hill spoke about the faults of other systems, such as College and Chapter patronage, but there was no mention of the MMT.

The Rev.F.J. Edmond spoke next. He had taken the course of investing 1s.6d. in stamps and writing to the various trusts to find out

their methods. He asked them if they applied special conditions, informing them that in making his enquiry, he was not of their school of thought. The Church Patronage Trust, Simeon's Trust, and the CPAS all replied that they chose a man of spiritual worth, and trusted to his integrity to maintain the tradition. The Church Association replied, as has been seen above, that there were special conditions, but even they sent Edmond a copy of the document. These are the only trusts mentioned in the speech, and it is therefore open to question what happened about the MMT. Had Edmond bothered to write to them? And if he had, had they ignored him? Either of these two possibilities seems more likely than that they should have told him something whether true or false, which he had simply ignored.

Thus, by 1923, the full extent of the 'scandal' as revealed at this meeting, consisted of the Chairman's unfounded accusations, which were countered by the statement that 'only a few' mistakes were made; by the fact that the major trusts imposed no conditions; and by the tone of cautious confidence in the trusts. The Church Association was talked about, and known to impose conditions. But the MMT was not mentioned. Its day had yet to dawn.

This view is confirmed by examining the preface to Crockfords for 1924. The Editor remarked that talk of 'detestable scandals' in patronage was exaggerated:

Unwise and unfortunate appointments are sometimes made, as they would be under any conceivable system of patronage ... But nothing deserves to be called a 'detestable scandal' except a deliberate abuse by the Patron of the Trust reposed in him. If such cases occur at all, they are certainly very rare, and it is within the power of public opinion to make them impossible ... Closer acquaintance with the actual working of our present system might blunt the edge of some of the strictures which are occasionally passed upon it.¹¹⁶

The Editor kept up this line of scepticism with regard to patronage reform throughout the period, and reading his prefaces is a

¹¹⁶ Crockford Prefaces, p.28.

useful antidote to the belief that reform was universally sought. To the end he doubted whether the scandals were as grave as they were made out to be, questioned the consultation of lay-men as inquisitorial, criticised DBPs for being too distant, and believed that few parishes would take advantage of the PRP Measure. In some of these particulars we might question his satisfaction in the status quo, and his failure to realize that the few who did take advantage of the PRP Measure were very grateful for it, but nevertheless, here is another voice coolly questioning the supposed badness of the trusts.

Thus most rumours remained unsubstantiated until 1929. This was the MMT's 'boom year', and their work was exposed just as it was at its most successful stage. On 16 August 1929, the Church Times published an article, probably by the Rev. T. Dilworth-Harrison of Brighton, who was fast establishing himself as a researcher into the extent of Protestant patronage. 'The most glaring abuse of patronage - namely the purchasing of livings by extreme Protestant Trusts - goes merrily on' he began, and thus left no possible doubt in the minds of his readers of his churchmanship, which he confirmed:

Eight hundred parish churches [are held] by Protestant trustees, which means that the definite teaching of the Prayer Book about the Sacred Ministry, about the Real Presence, about the Sacrament of Penance and many other principles and practices is permanently denied.

Following an attack on the Church Association, for its restrictive pledges, he continued:

The most powerful of recent Protestant organizations, and one of the most secret, is the 'Martyrs' Memorial and Church of England Trust.' This was founded by the Rev. R. Weston, and its present mainspring is the Rev. P.E. Warrington, of Monkton Combe, Bath. It is run on the extreme Protestant lines associated with Mr. Kensit, and the Church Association. It has already secured the patronage of two hundred benefices. It has the control of the two great public schools which suddenly sprang into existence after the war - Stowe ... and Canford ... It has also a dominant influence in Seaford College, Wrekin College and Harrogate Ladies' College. It is connected with the newly founded institution at Oxford called St. Peter's Hostel, which is intended to be a Protestant centre for undergraduates and hopes to produce prospective candidates for Holy Orders in large numbers. The capital of this organization seems to be

limitless - it is proposed to spend £150,000 upon the building of the college or hostel in Oxford...

and, having indicated the extent of Protestant patronage:

Many of these nearly eight hundred benefices themselves hold the patronage of others. There are a very considerable number of local trustees ... which control the patronage either of individual parishes or groups of parishes. The power of the purse has been largely responsible for this, and recent legislation ... has only resulted in an advertised delay which has made these trusts purchase with frenzied eagerness any advowson they could possibly lay their hands upon ... It is the custom of these trusts to impose conditions which cannot legally be exacted ... which represent at least a distorted, cramped conception of the English Church.¹¹⁷

The attack needed to be made, but it was regrettable that a more calm-headed opponent could not have been found. For much as one may respect Dilworth-Harrison for his firm stand, he had distorted his facts to sustain his article. For a start, his primary assumption was that evangelicalism was totally false, denied the clear teaching of the Prayer Book, and should not be supported by any means, fair or foul. This enabled him to label as 'extreme protestants' every non-Catholic trust. It led him to make the false charge that the majority of such patronage had been purchased, that the majority of it was hedged about with illegal conditions, and that the majority of trusts were waiting, vulture-like, for the patronage at present on the market. In short, he was accusing the just with the unjust.

Even in his attack on the MMT, he was less than just. Only at the most superficial level could they be compared with Kensitites. The Kensitites were protestant vandals. The MMT were mostly elderly ladies and gentlemen with distinguished and unblemished lives behind them. Both were equally anathema to the Catholics, but to lump them together merely indicates the lack of fine-tuning in Dilworth-Harrison's argument.

Nevertheless, the article had its effect. The MMT were

¹¹⁷ Church Times, 16-8-1929, p.181.

thenceforward branded as secretive, powerful, and possessed of great capital resources. They were, in their behaviour, perfect scapegoats for Catholic failure. But the article had ensured that the other trusts would be driven into the wilderness with them. The floodgates were opened.

The next week, F.H. Grimwade of Christ Church, Battersea, wrote to the Church Times describing an interview which he had been given with the MMT:

I found the Trustees to consist of three or four rather elderly ladies, and a like number of laymen and clergymen.

The interview, for a living held by the Trust, was unsuccessful, but:

On talking over this experience with a friend a short time afterwards, I was told how certain people, connected with this trust, were obtaining subscriptions from wealthy old ladies, and devoting them to buying advowsons, so that men could be placed in them, who would promise to abide by the teaching of the trust.

The remainder of the letter was an expression of horror that such things should happen.

However, the article did prompt some response on the other side.

'A Nominee of Simeon's Trust' wrote:

I must protest against ... including Simeon's Trustees in [the] list of defaulters ... Charles Simeon did not stand for a type of Protestantism which is represented today by a body such as the Church Association.

That men of this type did undoubtedly predominate for many years in the counsels of Simeon's Trustees is, I think, undeniable. But under the chairmanship of Prebendary Eardley-Wilmot, and with the best type of AEGM, such as the late Bishop Denton Thompson on its Board, this Trust has stood out solely for definitely spiritual men, and has never dreamt of exacting anything in the nature of binding promises from those to whom they offer their livings ... The Anglo-Catholics may be less guilty than the Church Association and other kindred societies of the sin of purchasing advowsons with the express purpose of changing the whole 'tone' of a parish, [but individual Anglo-Catholic patrons were changing the tone, against the parishioners' wishes.]

Surely it is a case of 'the pot calling the kettle black' for the Anglo-Catholics to accuse us Evangelicals of lack of fair play in this respect. We are certainly not the only, nor yet the chief, offenders ...

Which was all true enough.

'Betrayed' wrote:

The patronage of my benefice was bought some time ago, without my knowledge, by one of the Protestant trusts named in your article. It is simply disheartening to feel that in all probability the whole of one's work may be undone by the next incumbent ...

C.A. Rhodes warned of the dangers of the MMT. It acted through agents who deliberately failed to disclose that they were buying for a trust:

It is now run on commercial lines, and the profits, presumably, in part, are devoted to the purchase of livings.

Some two years ago this body bought five livings in Southwell Diocese, all with moderate High Church traditions.

This deal was quite unknown to the diocesan authorities until completed ... I quote from the patron who sold: 'I had satisfied myself, as I thought, that Blank could not go to a Protestant trust. The offer came through a firm of solicitors at Tunbridge Wells that a client of theirs was anxious to secure an advowson of theirs near Harrogate. I asked who the client was and was told [the name of a gentleman of considerable position.]¹¹⁸ I thought he would ... probably do Blank some good. These people use any underhand method apparently.'¹¹⁹

This was apparently the first major broaching of the subject. Certainly the Church Times does not appear to have devoted any space to it earlier. But its timing was perfect, for just as the MMT was concluding a succession of deals, their methods were revealed to an angry public. We should notice how the MMT, of all trusts, became singled out in letters as the worst perpetrator of abuses.

On the 30 August 1929, Norman V. Scorer wrote in defence of the Trusts. Evangelicals were only buying patronage in a bid to survive bishops who used all their patronage to put Anglo-Catholics in positions of authority. He used the Diocese of Lincoln as an example:

Evangelicals have been driven to secure for themselves what the partiality of the bishops has denied them.¹²⁰

The Editorial of that issue remarked rather vaguely that the

¹¹⁸ Presumably Sir Charles King Harman.

¹¹⁹ All the above letters appeared in the Church Times, 23-8-1929, p.202.

¹²⁰ Church Times, 30-8-1929, p.227.

Church Trusts were on a shaky legal footing.¹²¹

On the 6 September, Prebendary Eardley-Wilmot of Simeon's Trust added his voice. The Trustees did not buy patronage, they merely received it. Simeon had bought livings, but for spiritual, not Protestant men. The battle which Simeon's Trustees fought was against deadness, not Anglo-Catholicism.

'Fairplay' remarked rather simplistically that Erastian Evangelicals could not have it both ways. The state was anti-Catholic, and appointed the bishops. Why then did Evangelicals need to defend themselves against such bishops? He also attacked the MMT for the hypocrisy and deceit of calling their Schools 'Church of England,' and thus concealing their real intention from people.¹²²

Meanwhile, in the face of this assault, Warrington could not be persuaded to lie low and let it pass over him. On the 31 August he wrote a letter to the Church Times which would have filled four columns if printed. The Editor asked him to shorten it, and in particular to leave out all the abuse directed at individuals. Warrington duly did so, but as was his custom, he sent a copy to the Record, which printed it. The Editor of the Church Times then felt himself under no obligation to secure Warrington any further publicity. He did, however, quote from it.

Warrington stated that the MMT had bought no livings in Southwell Diocese. Rather, people had bought them and given them to the Trust. This looked like a quibble, and besides, Warrington was hardly humble:

Neither the Martyrs' Memorial and Church of England Trust, nor Harrogate College, nor Canford School has purchased an advowson in the Diocese of Ripon, but if we wish to do so, we certainly shall not ask permission from Mr. Rhodes, nor from the Diocesan Authorities.¹²³

The rest of the letter was written in the familiar Warrington

¹²¹ p.233.

¹²² Church Times, 6-9-1929, p.248.

¹²³ Church Times, 13-9-1929, p.282.

style of invective. He attacked Dilworth-Harrison for his article, and made the claim that the Trust were proposing to spend not £150,000 but £250,000 on St. Peter's, which, rather than a disturbing indication of wealth, was no more than an empty boast.

The Church Times also gave a quotation from a letter of the Protestant Reformation Society, which was only ever a very small trust:

An important benefice (now Anglo-Catholic) population of 11,000 souls, and a country parish in the West of England have just been secured by the Society's Church Trust, and thus assured in the future of an Evangelical Ministry.¹²⁴

Such unseemly boasting at such a time could not help the Evangelicals' cause in the eyes of most Church Times readers. In the next issue, the maligned Dilworth-Harrison responded with another attack upon Warrington, who had spoken of 'wild and inaccurate statements, statements which are an insult to the intelligence and an assault on the liberty of private patrons', which had been made by Dilworth-Harrison. From an honest man, this might have had the ring of truth, but Warrington's reply was faulty. He had made the accusation that 70% of Public Schools had Anglo-Catholic Chaplains, but could he support this? Furthermore, his boast about the wealth of the Trust caused it to be regarded with suspicion.¹²⁵

On the 4 October, the brother of Stowe's first bursar, who had later gone to Nashdom Abbey, wrote that Warrington had made 'a nasty sneer' about him, accusing him of having plotted for his job at Stowe.¹²⁶

On the 6 December, the Church Times announced that the advowson of Clapham Parish Church had been bought by Sir Charles King Harman, as he said, 'on behalf of a person whose name I am not at liberty to disclose.' Presumably it took little guessing.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ As above n.123.

¹²⁵ Church Times, 20-9-1929, p.315.

¹²⁶ Church Times, 4-10-1929, p.372.

¹²⁷ Church Times, 6-12-1929, p.690.

A fortnight later 'Scrutator' pointed out that, as livings held by a 'public trust', the benefices of the MMT were entitled to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' grant, which was designed for the benefit of the Church as a whole. It cannot have taken a great deal of scrutiny to have realized this.¹²⁸

Within a few months, the press campaign had quite rightly concentrated on the MMT as the prime culprit. The purchases were reported, and due sense of outrage was expressed, but nothing was being done.

However, in the March of 1930 a suitable catalyst was found. The living of Tytherington in Gloucestershire was bought by Warrington, despite Bishop Headlam's warnings to the patron and the parish. He wrote to the Church Times:

I consider the purchase of an advowson one of the meanest ways of propagating opinions.¹²⁹

Tytherington appears to have been the last straw, as far as the Anglo-Catholics were concerned. That they were able to present an organized front is due to the formation of a body which came finally to be known as the Church Patronage Protection Committee (CPPC). It was this body which, by a well-managed publicity campaign, demonstrated the dangers of uncontrolled patronage acquisition, and persuaded the Church Assembly to stop it. We shall examine their work in some detail, because as far as is known, their contribution has gone largely unsung.

6:6 The CPPC

On the 19 March 1930, shortly after the news about Tytherington had broken, the Council of the E.C.U. met, to consider a letter from Dilworth-Harrison, suggesting the appointment of a Committee to keep watch, and to raise a fund to purchase patronage where a Catholic tradition was endangered.¹³⁰ The idea of the Committee proved

¹²⁸ Church Times, 20-12-1929, p.763.

¹²⁹ Church Times, 7-3-1930, p.297.

¹³⁰ Church Union Gazette, May 1930, p.101.

acceptable, and it met for the first time on the 15 April, with Dilworth-Harrison as one of its members. The Committee was aware of the urgent need of action. It considered two livings which were in danger of being sold, and for which £650 was needed, and issued an appeal for £5,000, which was printed in the Church Times two days later.¹³¹

The appeal only mentioned the danger of 'Protestant Trusts' in general, but it was clearly directed against the MMT as the chief culprit. The appeal was also quite specific - it was protecting Catholic patronage. This time, the MMT had over-reached itself.

Throughout its existence, the Committee was dogged by a lack of funds. Its appeal for £5,000 far exceeded actual donations. It never gave up hope of being able to assist parishes financially, but its most lasting contribution was in a publicity campaign which drew the attention of Church people of every shade to what some of the trusts were doing.

On the 23 October 1930, a meeting of persons likely to be sympathetic to the campaign was held, with only six attending. Dilworth-Harrison addressed the meeting, claiming that within the past few years, Protestant trusts had secured the patronage of two thousand livings. This was a severe distortion: since 1922 only one thousand transfers in all had taken place. But the meeting achieved one significant result: the Editor of the Church Times agreed to co-operate with the Committee in any way possible, and to print Dilworth-Harrison's facts and figures just before the next meeting of the Church Assembly.

The Committee changed its name to the Church Patronage Protection Committee, and also attempted to expand its sympathies, as the minutes note:

That in view of the fact that the Ultra-Protestant Campaign, engineered by Mr. Warrington and others, is calculated

¹³¹ Lambeth Palace Library, Church Union Deposit, CPPC Minutes, 15-4-1930; cf. Church Times, 17-4-1930, p.486.

seriously to affect a great number of parishes and churches throughout the country of a 'Moderate' type of Sound Churchmanship, it was desirable that the work of this Committee be dissevered from any association with the E.C.U. and the Secretary of the Union was asked whether he thought that the E.C.U. would rent an office in the Church House, and place it at the disposal of the Church Patronage Protection Committee.

So the CPPC was seeking to turn from appealing solely to Catholics, and addressing itself to all of those who feared for their churches in the face of the Protestant assault. But at the same time, we should realize that much of this cleavage was cosmetic. The Committee still met in rooms rented by the E.C.U. and were composed of members of, or sympathisers with, the Union. Arnold Pinchard, the Secretary of the E.C.U. agreed to stay on as Secretary to the Committee, but only until a paid secretary could be hired, partly because of the pressure of work, and partly because of the bad impression it would give, if the Secretary of the E.C.U. should retain his position on a 'non-aligned' Committee.¹³²

On the 19 November 1931 the CPPC was discharged as a Committee of the E.C.U. Council.¹³³ It prepared a manifesto suggesting a breadth which it did not have, presumably in an attempt to raise more money, for the response was poor. Then, two days later, Dilworth-Harrison used the Church Times to print an article which sent ripples throughout the Church:

BUYING UP THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
ADVOWSONS IN THE HANDS OF PROTESTANT TRUSTS.
CHURCH PATRONAGE TODAY.¹³⁴

It was a masterly essay, showing the extent of all party trusts, to demonstrate how insignificant was Catholic patronage beside that of Evangelicals. The length of some lists was enough to strike fear into the hearts of Catholics, and Evangelicals, however they were acting, cannot have welcomed the publicity. The lists give the appearance of

¹³² CPPC Minutes, 23-10-1930.

¹³³ Church Union Gazette, Jan. 1931, p.5.

¹³⁴ Church Times, 21-11-1930, pp.647-48.

being compiled in haste, but were generally accurate. However, Dilworth-Harrison was clearly stirring up more trouble than the issue justified. His lists of patronage did not distinguish gifts from purchases, and gave no indication of the length of time that the livings had been held. Had this been done, he could have demonstrated the vast expansion of the MMT far more clearly than he did. By treating all evangelical trusts as one phenomenon, he lost much of the edge of his argument, and his uncompromising Catholicism might win him the support of Church Times readers, but would merely seem like prejudice to others. He did, however, name Warrington and Sir Charles King Harman as principal agents of the MMT, and asserted that they probably held two hundred livings:

The Martyrs' Memorial Trust, to which much public attention had been drawn of late, has a large and recently acquired patronage, partly in its own name - alias the 'Church of England Trust' - partly in the name of its schools and colleges, partly in the name of its Secretary, Mr. Warrington, who was recently publicly and severely rebuked by the Bishop of Gloucester (in his Diocesan Magazine), for his methods in connexion with the acquisition of the benefice of Tytherington.

It might well be asked, Where are the Protestant candidates to come from to fill this vast number of livings? Here, too, very large sums have recently been spent to produce such a ministry. St. Peter's Hall, Oxford, for which £150,000 is being raised, is under the direct control of the Martyrs' Memorial Trust, together with Stowe, Canford, Wrekin College, Seaford College and many other schools. St. Peter's has now accommodation for sixty students. The BCMS college at Clifton is, or was three months ago, training twenty-six ministers for the home ministry, and only eighteen for foreign.¹³⁵ Handley Hall has produced its first fruits in the ordination of ten business men at Spitalfields this year. 'Oaklands' College had twenty-three students in residence this year.

All these are new undertakings, destined to flood the Church with candidates, many of them 'fundamentalists', who may be in sympathy with the sixteenth century, but certainly will not be with the twentieth. To what extent this vigorous attempt to alter the colour of the Church, and put the clock back about eighty years permanently - for Trusts do not die - will be allowed to succeed remains to be seen. It is at least the duty of Central Churchmen and sound Tractarians, as well as of their more advanced brethren, to open their eyes and take full cognizance of the facts ...

¹³⁵ The point being that BCMS was a Missionary Society.

Despite the fact that those connected with the trusts knew more of the truth than did Dilworth-Harrison, the article was powerful propaganda.

In the following week, an Editorial 'The Power of the Long Purse' continued the fight, striking out in all directions:

... This underworld, prejudiced and fanatical as it is, can still command apparently unlimited financial resources. It cannot convert. It cannot persuade. But it can buy! ... [The Trusts] stand for the most unintelligent and the most unprogressive form of Puritan Protestantism.¹³⁶

It was hard-hitting, but unjust, confusing the moral values of the 1830s with those of a century later. Simeon's Trust was the hardest attacked, probably for the least reason, while the MMT was scarcely touched. The Editorial appealed for PCCs to be given the right to re-purchase their patronage.

The two pieces produced a correspondence. Certain writers defended Simeon's Trust from the charges made against it, while others told of their horror at learning that certain livings had been recently purchased by 'Protestant Trusts'.¹³⁷ Amongst these, stands out one from Warrington himself:

I really must send you a line of grateful thanks for the magnificent testimony you have paid to our work in last week's issue of your paper. It has already borne most excellent fruit. A person who read that outburst wrote saying she would like to help us; and I have now received an offer to place an Advowson in our Trust free gratis and for nothing. I really cannot receive such splendid gifts, for which you, and you alone, are responsible, without sending you an expression of my thanks. I should be guilty of base ingratitude.

There followed a defence of 'fundamentalism'. The Tractarians were fundamentalists, and it was only a pity that their successors were not:

You know that the Anglo-Catholic cause has reached, and passed, its zenith, and is now on the decline. What else can we expect from a Movement that was born in secret and

¹³⁶ Church Times, 28-11-1930, p.664.

¹³⁷ Church Times, 5-12-1930, pp.696, 722; 12-12-1930, p.733.

nurtured on lies? Mr. Justice McCardie recently had some very serious things to say about perjury in the Law Courts.

I make bold to ask: Is not the perjury in the Courts the natural outcome of the perjury which has prevailed in the National Church for so long? ...

True, the Anglo-Catholics have captured thousands of churches, and in a vast number of cases, emptied them. What can it mean to any cause to capture the churches and drive the people away? Nothing, absolutely nothing. I have been able to give definite testimony in this week's Record that the men we have sent to Anglo-Catholic parishes, where the churches have been empty for years, have, by the restoration of a Prayer Book service and congregational worship, brought the people back to the church; and I tell you quite candidly that we make no apology, either to you or to anyone else, for having done this work ...

With reference to the very cheap and trashy headline of your delightful tribute, 'Buying Up the Church of England', there is only one reply: Don't talk so silly.

Unfortunately, outbursts like this did not give anyone confidence in Warrington's nature.

Early in 1931 the CPPC began to function as an independent body, and its agitation for reform was to bear fruit in 1933. Already the Assembly was often unwilling to express its feelings about patronage trusts, except in a negative way. The debates can be followed in Chapter 3.

On the occasion on which Inskip objected to the Church Times article 'Buying Up the Church of England,' the editor remarked:

With the exception of Sir Thomas Inskip no one ... defended the trusts on their own merits, and even Sir Thomas ventured only to champion the Simeon Trustees and the CPAS who, we fully allow, represent the least objectionable of the Protestant trusts, and who will not be seriously affected by legislation that will deal only with sales of advowsons that have taken place during the past six years.¹³⁸

In the atmosphere of the times, no one else had any inclination to defend the trusts, but this does not mean that everyone else condemned them.

The CPPC were aware that the Bishop of Chichester's 1930 Measure had required publicity for transfers of patronage, but what was now needed was a fund to outbid the party trusts.

¹³⁸ Church Times, 13-2-1931, p.185.

Unfortunately, certain Catholics were taking matters into their own hands. The Church Times in June 1931 reported two cases.

The first concerned St.Catherine's Tranmere, whose Vicar had just died. His living was in the gift of the Rector of Bebington, which was owned by the Church Association Trust. Fears were raised by another Bebington living, New Ferry, which had been soundly Catholic. The first nominee appointed by the Church Association Rector was a priest who, during the Prayer Book controversy, was joint-secretary of the 'Protestant Parsons' Pilgrimage.' He decried the War Memorial - a calvary in the Churchyard - and stopped the Daily Eucharist, vestments and sung Eucharist on Sundays, introducing evening communion. He had even forbidden turning to the East for the Creed. His successor was formerly a district secretary of the BCMS.

But against this was set the second case, Shenley in Hertfordshire. The church was 'moderate' but the patroness, under the terms of the 1930 Measure, informed the Bishop that she wished to transfer the advowson to the Society for the Maintenance of the Faith. The Wardens and PCC, when they heard of it, condemned the decision strongly, and objected to any plan which would give them to a party trust. They urged her to withdraw this offer, and vest the living in the Diocese instead.¹³⁹

This was a potentially embarrassing case, for if the Church Times gave it publicity, then certainly the other side of the Church would do so too.

The CPPC advised the SMF not to accept the living, but this was ignored. Two years later, Shenley was repurchased by the angry PCC.¹⁴⁰

In October 1931, the CPPC, realizing their greatest strength, the influencing of public opinion, printed and circulated The Menace of the

¹³⁹ Church Times, 12-6-1931, p.743.

¹⁴⁰ CPPC Minutes, 29-6-1931.

Party Trusts, by Dilworth-Harrison, to the diocesan bishops, to all other members of the Church Assembly, to holders of benefices recently purchased by trusts, and to the press. It would be rash to be dogmatic, but clearly this pamphlet influenced the decision that a reform was needed. That December, there was a brisk correspondence in The Times about patronage, indicating that the pamphlet was, at least, being discussed.¹⁴¹

On the 22 January 1932, the Church Times reported on the progress of the PRP Measure, and indicated clearly that the Committee appointed to consider it were by no means unanimous in their support:

Sir John Birchall and the Archdeacon of London refused their support on five grounds. Other Patronage measures deal with the alleged evils. The evidence as to sales in the past disclosed very few grievances on the part of parishioners, and there was little evidence that the PCCs would be willing to purchase the advowsons. The Measure was complicated. It aroused party feeling. Finally it compelled voidance of contracts hitherto regarded as legal [because it was retrospective.]

Two Protestants (Mr. Gilpin and Mr. Barkworth) are very much stronger in their condemnation. In a long memorandum they give it as their considered opinion that the existence of patronage trusts has been for the good of the Church ...

They are afraid of a revolutionary incumbent, with the aid of a transient majority of the PCC stereotyping a regime which he has introduced, 'so as to make it impossible for a better state of affairs to be brought about in the future.'

Sir Philip W. Baker-Wilbraham, Secretary of the Assembly and Chancellor of several dioceses objects to the Measure as too complicated and far-reaching ...

A fourth minority report, by the Rev. W.R. Johnson and the Rev. E.D. Merritt, two prominent members of the Anglo-Catholic group, supports Sir Philip Baker-Wilbraham. They are of opinion that ... the clause dealing with the amount of the purchase price should ensure that a person who has bought an advowson should not be made to sell it for less than he gave for it. They also think that a diocesan authority, as well as the PCC should have power to initiate a purchase scheme ...

The Anglo-Catholic group in the Assembly has been asked to support giving general approval to the Measure; but in view of the diverse opinions of the members of the Committee, its passage through the Assembly appears likely to be a stormy one.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Times, 9-12-1931, p.8; 11-12-1931, p.10; 14-12-1931, p.8.

¹⁴² Church Times, 22-1-1932, p.91.

This prediction was soon confirmed. On the 5 February, the Church Times reported again:

Mr. Coles, who submitted the report of the Committee, admitted that the grievance was small, but maintained that the few grievances should be put right. Then followed an endless tirade of Protestant speeches against the Measure. Mr. Barkworth charged the Committee with incompetence, and worse, in refusing even to hear evidence from the Rev. P.E. Warrington and other leaders of Evangelical Trusts ... One Evangelical speaker likened the purchase of a living by a Trust to purchasing a slave to set him free.¹⁴³

Later that Spring, Dilworth-Harrison revised and corrected his pamphlet, and somewhat modified his tone, and a leaflet, Recent Legislation with Regard to Patronage was prepared by the CPPC. Simeon's Trust and the National Church League had each helped with the correction of the former. By now the PRP Measure was being discussed, and the work of the CPPC was coming to an end.

It cannot be pretended that we have done more than touch the fringe of the problem,¹⁴⁴

They said at the Second General Meeting. From that point, they concentrated on administering grants from their scanty funds.

In June 1932, when all was still in turmoil, Bishop Hensley Henson of Durham struck his blow by publishing Sibbes and Simeon. This was a convenient alliteration, but in choosing such a title, Henson demonstrated that he did not care to discriminate between trust and trust. Others might admit that Simeon's motives were hard to fault, and his Trust moderate in practice, but to Henson, he was the enemy as much as was the Puritan Sibbes. Henson had previously sharpened his teeth on 'the Protestant underworld' in the Prayer Book controversy, and was viewed warily by Anglo-Catholics as a temporary ally because of his opposition to patronage trusts, which he had already clearly stated at public meetings and in the Church Assembly. Now he entered into print. In 1942, in his Retrospect of an Unimportant Life, he discussed the

¹⁴³ Church Times, 5-2-1932, p.149.

¹⁴⁴ CPPC Minutes, 8-11-1932.

subject again, and gave the entries from his journals which were concerned with the book. He noted that some measure of patronage reform had been intended from the first, and achieved by the Church Assembly:

But the irrational and mischievous anomaly of 'Party Trusts' remained, and was even assisted by the considerable opportunity for purchasing advowsons which was the first consequence of limiting patronage rights. I determined to exert myself to bring home to the general conscience the essentially indefensible character and large potential mischiefs of an arrangement which entrenched the preferences of partisan religion in the heart of the Church's organization. With this object I wrote a substantial pamphlet under the challenging title Sibbes and Simeon, and published it in the summer of 1932. The title was arresting. It brought together a prominent Puritan who had assisted to organize purchase of tithes in the seventeenth century, and the 'Saint' of Evangelicalism, Charles Simeon, who had founded the best-known Patronage Trust in the nineteenth. The venerated Founder of the 'Simeon Trust' was criticized with a freedom which startled and exasperated his admirers, but the criticism was as fair as it was frank, and, while condemning the principle and method of Simeon's procedure, admitted both the excellence of his intention, and the genuineness of his zeal.¹⁴⁵

Attitudes to the pamphlet must vary, but Henson's views were peculiarly his own. In the first place, he practically assumed from the first that evangelicalism had no true place in the Church of England. It survived like a museum piece, propped up by a patronage system which was rotten. He compared, and even identified, the Puritans with the Evangelicals, which was hardly fair, suggesting immediately that Evangelicals objected to lawful authority. Of the Puritans he said:

They were a numerous religious party, including some men of eminently spiritual character and others in whom religion had degenerated into religious partisanship. They were ill at ease in the Church of England, in a chronic state of disaffection, angrily suspicious of the Bishops, organizing themselves as a quasi-independent interest within the established system, appealing to the protestant feeling of the nation, which for very intelligible reasons was then vehement, and setting little store by the laws and traditions of the Church ...¹⁴⁶

And so on. If the identification was made, this was strong and unjust language to use of Evangelicals. For the rest, a selection of

¹⁴⁵ Herbert Hensley Henson, Retrospect of an Unimportant Life, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1942-50), II, 295.

¹⁴⁶ Sibbes and Simeon, pp.5-6.

quotations may suffice:

[Sibbes and Simeon] 'did evil that good may come' in seeking to serve what they believed was the cause of true religion by using money to gain control of patronage.

Simeon, whose personal vanity and vehement temper were never quite successfully suppressed.

When ... in later life [Simeon] hit on the plan of creating a patronage trust, he did but disclose the contempt for, or rather unconsciousness of, the moral rights of parishioners which had been so conspicuously exhibited at the start of his ministry.

The piety and high purpose of the Charge are apparent, but also its enormous egotism and total lack of any sense of corporate obligation. He assumes his own competence for the awful task of judging spiritual quality, and he arrogates to himself the most difficult of episcopal duties.

Simeon's conception of the patron's duty leaves little place for the Bishop's responsibility. Indeed he seems to have transferred the entire episcopal concern with parochial appointments to the Simeon Trustees. The choice of the Patron, not the institution by the Bishop, would in his view confer on the Parish Priest his 'cure of souls' ... The megalomania of zeal has rarely found freer expression than in this Charge, which must take rank among the curiosities of spiritual egotism.

Trafficking in advowsons can still find apologists. The policy may be sinful, but look at its happy consequences! Men, even good and religious men, are easily deluded into assuming, if not deliberately affirming, that 'the end justifies the means' ... 'Evangelical lines' of course, are the lines which Evangelicals themselves approve. So Pietism passes quickly into that Party spirit which is never so narrowly partisan as when its profession is most pious.

Why are Evangelicals still so slow to repudiate this deplorable precedent of purchasing advowsons? There is but one explanation. They were, and they are, blinded by religious bigotry.

His 'charge' is addressed 'to all his Trustees and to all who shall succeed them in the Trust to the remotest ages.'

The 'Evangelical lines' which he laid down in 1817 must be faithfully followed for all time. Of course, the attempt was doomed to failure, though the effort to make it succeed would do much harm. Not the most faithful of Simeon's Trustees could really secure that, in the year of grace 1932, English Clergymen should be found capable of reproducing in their parishes, the precise version of pietistic Protestantism which Simeon himself professed.

Simeon's Trust is the oldest, best administered and least partisan of the Protestant Patronage Trusts ... This cannot be said for its recent successors. Their polemical character is apparent, 'naked and unashamed.' They are professedly directed against the Anglo-Catholic

Movement ... which ... does certainly represent the main stream of Anglican Teaching and Practice from Richard Hooker to Charles Gore.

Were it not for this holy simplicity the Evangelical who supports Patronage Trusts, and acquiesces in their purchase of advowsons, would perceive, what is apparent to the rest of the world, that he is restoring money to something like its old authority in the spiritual sphere ... Mammon has but shifted his ground, and now brings his power to bear on the Church's life at another point. As the ally of Protestant Zeal he can still determine what shall be the type of religion in English parishes, and strike a note of incapacitating commercialism into the activities of the Christian Ministry. We are not forgetting that the Evangelical Leaders have admitted the essential wrongfulness of purchasing advowsons. But this admission has been robbed of moral impressiveness by the circumstance that it has been delayed until there are hardly any advowsons left to purchase. No Evangelicals have so far refused for their Trusts the numerous advowsons which have been bought since the well-intentioned attempt of the Church Assembly to abolish the traffic had the untoward and unexpected result of flooding the benefice market with livings for sale.¹⁴⁷

There were passages to admire and even applaud, but Henson had distorted his material for his own ends. He practically ignored the conditions prevailing when Simeon was active, and the widespread acceptance of the purchase of advowsons as a legitimate method. He ignored the fact that Simeon's Charge was written in such general terms that it could not be argued that he was committing his Trustees to the selection of a pietistic anachronism. He also ignored the very obvious fact that few trusts purchased advowsons after purchase was looked upon as improper. The MMT were the major exception, and Henson, while bandying about other names, only mentioned the MMT once, and then in a quotation.

Henson detailed five reasons why the trusts were not in the best interests of the Church of England:

- I. They assume an utterly false conception of the Church, ignoring development and seeking to tie it to the past, particularly the Reformation settlement and the Thirty-Nine Articles. In short, they are legalists, without spiritual freedom, depending on the

¹⁴⁷ Sibbes and Simeon, pp.11, 12, 37, 40, 44, 47, 48, 50-51, 52, 53-55.

'Protestant' feelings of a non-religious nation.

- II. Party Patronage Trusts tend to perpetuate an obsolescent or obsolete type of Anglican Churchmanship. They cling to the Reformation, while ignoring the innovative spirit of the reformers. A modern age has a more 'Catholic' appreciation of the mediaeval Church, and revolts against the bigotry of the Reformation.
- III. They form an imperium in imperio, very unfavourable to sound discipline, because trust incumbents are torn in their loyalty to the bishop by their supposed loyalty to the trust. A body of 'Trust Clergy' is slowly formed which makes the trusts resistant to criticism.
- IV. They make the unification of the Church of England almost impossible. Only 'Protestantism' is supported in this way. The rest of the Church survives unaided. Thus a section of the Church is permanently kept from uniting with the rest.
- V. They may inflict great hardships on parishes and congregations, by destroying tradition, overturning practices, and imposing a style of worship which is outdated. They ignore local considerations. Anglo-Catholics have provoked them by their clumsy innovation, but the remedy is no better than the disease.¹⁴⁸

The main argument of the pamphlet concludes with the words:

Surely it is high time that Trustee Patronage should be legally abolished. It is wrong in principle, and however mitigated by conscientiousness in its exercise, carries the potency of grave practical evils. When tied to partisan policies, it becomes an instrument of unrelieved mischief ... The Trustees have more preferments to bestow, and therefore more dependencies, than any Archbishop or Bishop, nay, even than the King. They operate ceaselessly and steadily as an imperium in imperio, lowering the standard of discipline, and buttressing the unnatural rigidity of

¹⁴⁸ Sibbes and Simeon, Ch.6, passim.

partisan churchmanship. It will be a happy day for the Church of England when the prohibition of Patronage Trusts shall restore to the Spiritual Society one of its most essential franchises. Pending the legal prohibition, is it excessive to hope that able and self-respecting clergymen will decline the dishonouring compliment of nomination to Trust livings?¹⁴⁹

This, then, was the publication which on 1 June 1932, was launched onto the world. It met with a mixed reception, as the Retrospect notes, generally along party lines:

Bishop Perowne, now by hereditary right reigning over Worcester, writes to explain to me that the fatal objection to Boards of Patronage is that they never appoint Evangelicals to livings, and that "at present the only possible barrier to such an invasion of the Anglo-Catholic element is the retention of a considerable number of livings in Evangelical Trust Patronage." Could I wish for more convincing evidence of the inability of Evangelicals to hold their ground in an open competition? Their survival in the Church of England does undoubtedly depend largely on the strong prejudices and long purses of a number of zealous but unlettered persons who finance the Trusts.¹⁵⁰

This indicates the one fatal weakness in Henson's argument. He saw patronage as being 'an open competition' which trusts were upsetting. He claimed to speak for all the Church. But he ignored those evangelical laymen who were not represented on Boards of Patronage, but who wished to see the preservation of an evangelical tradition within the framework of the living developing Church. It could have been argued that the trusts helped the under-dog, not because they wished to defeat the system, but because they viewed it as a Christian duty not to allow the majority to swamp the minority in all cases.

Henson was not persuaded by such arguments, and never seems to have changed his views:

If, as is not infrequently the case, the incumbent be so unhappy as to owe his nomination to a Party Trust, and must enter on his sacred task with the doubtful and invidious

¹⁴⁹ Sibbes and Simeon, pp.80-81.

¹⁵⁰ Henson, Retrospect, II, 299. See also pp.296-300.

reputation of a partisan, the normal difficulties will be greatly increased,¹⁵¹

He wrote in 1939, but Sibbes and Simeon was merely one of many expressions of annoyance, and its quirkiness over the issue of party patronage must have decreased its impact.

But soon all the agitating and publicity were put aside. For the PRP Measure was passed, and evidently had the desired effect. The CPPC next met for its Third General Meeting on the 6 April 1933, and the Secretary noted:

I have to report that from the day on which the Benefices (Re-Purchase) [sic] Measure received the final approval of the Church Assembly, there appeared to be a complete cessation in the traffic of advowsons. No further advowsons appeared in the public press and no cases came to our office for assistance.¹⁵²

Undoubtedly the 1933 Measure had an effect, but we should recall that the MMT was hardly in a position to purchase much more patronage. It gave relief to many parishes, but who can say what its effect would have been had someone had the foresight to incorporate it into the Measure of 1923?

The Rev. E.D. Merritt of the CPPC calculated that there were 163 advowsons which had been acquired by Protestant bodies since 1924. This is of interest, confirming as it does that most of these livings had been acquired by the MMT (Merritt was working from Dilworth-Harrison's list, which listed less than half of the MMT's patronage, which explains the difference between this estimate, and ours of about three hundred livings).¹⁵³

Another appeal was launched by the CPPC in May 1933. The Church Times announced that thirty-five parishes were about to re-purchase their advowsons, twenty-eight of which needed help to raise the £13,500

¹⁵¹ Herbert Hensley Henson, The Church of England, English Institutions (Cambridge, 1939), pp.169-70.

¹⁵² CPPC Minutes, 6-4-1933.

¹⁵³ As above, n.152.

which was needed. The CPPC pledged itself to raise £1,350, to give 10% grants. The Church Times and the Church Union Gazette waxed enthusiastic about the possibility of stripping Protestants of their patronage, but the Editor of Crockfords was more laconic:

Personally, we doubt whether much advantage will be taken of the remedy offered. Not many Church councils will ever be in a position to purchase the advowson of their parish, and those who are may not be particularly anxious to do so when they understand that the right of presentation will not be in their hands. It is not absolutely certain that the parishes concerned object to the operation of Party Trusts as strongly as is sometimes assumed; or perhaps as strongly as they ought ...

It has always been our opinion that the sale of advowsons is less indefensible in practice than it can be made out to be on paper, and that attempts to prevent it by legislation were not unlikely to prove to possess some of the characteristics of the Australian boomerang. We believe that it might have been possible, by the exercise of a certain amount of patience, to have killed it (or at least to have reduced the practice to something unobjectionable in character and extent) by public opinion, as nepotism has been killed in the Church and elsewhere.¹⁵⁴

The CPPC was close to the end. On the 21 November 1933, it published details of those livings seeking re-purchase: seven needed no help, eleven were asking for £6,670, and a further seventeen needed some financial guarantee before acting. They needed approximately £6,820. In the event, one of the seven, one of the eleven, and eight of the seventeen did not re-purchase. Twenty-five of the thirty-five parishes were MMT livings.¹⁵⁵

The appeal was a failure, raising only about £250 of the £1,350 needed. Another appeal was launched, but on the 5 December the CPPC voted to allocate what funds they had, pro rata to the twenty-eight livings needing help. In the end, about £480 was given to twenty parishes. Of this money, £100 had been given directly to Clapham by a subscriber. It is clear that the CPPC had given far less than it had intended, and it seems fair to say that, taking into account the

¹⁵⁴ Crockford Prefaces pp.126-27.

¹⁵⁵ CPPC Minutes, 21-11-1933.

economic conditions of the time, subscriptions had been far from generous. Yet within these constraints, the CPPC had organised a successful propaganda campaign within the Church Assembly and the press, and had given what help and encouragement they could to those parishes which were re-purchasing. They wound up on the 24 January, and returned their disposable cash balance to the E.C.U.¹⁵⁶

By this time the advance of the MMT had been firmly halted, and, to a small extent, reversed, by parishes attempting to re-purchase. More importantly, Warrington was now a remote and disturbed figure, and without him, the MMT ran out of steam. A not insignificant proportion of the MMT's livings were re-purchased, but the Trust remained, still significant and threatening, a memorial to Warrington if not to the Martyrs.

The E.C.U. took over the grant-making function of the CPPC, although it laid more emphasis on the anti-Protestant line of the work.

In May 1934, the Church Union Gazette praised this work, as a fight against an attempt to destroy the Catholic Revival:

Some fifty parishes are now working, or preparing to work, the new Measure, and there is much perturbation in the Protestant camp. Some of the parishes have appealed for financial support from the Union, which has made grants to at least twelve and may, if funds permit, assist still further this most necessary work of defending the Faith in those parishes which are threatened with the blight of puritanism.¹⁵⁷

As the Editor of Crockfords had suspected, relatively few parishes took advantage of the 1933 Measure. It had halted the advance of the trusts in so far as they were not already halted by bankruptcy and collapse. It gave an escape route to those parishes which wished for and could afford it. In taking away a bone of contention between the two wings of the Church, it could be said to have gone some way to relaxing party tensions. In achieving this work it had been assisted by

¹⁵⁶ CPPC Minutes, 24-1-1934.

¹⁵⁷ Church Union Gazette, May 1934, p.94.

the E.C.U. and the CPPC, and more particularly by Dilworth-Harrison's diligence and research. The assistance which they commanded from Catholics was limited, and this in turn limited their own effectiveness, but they did succeed in launching a publicity campaign which could be said to have aided considerably the proponents of re-purchase of advowsons.

But despite this, it still seems true that the Editor of Crockfords was nearer to the truth than were Anglo-Catholic propagandists. Patronage trusts in general purchased far fewer livings than was suspected. Many of their acquisitions in the period were gifts. Propagandists ignored those livings which were sold to private individuals, and included them in the total of trust acquisitions. Most livings which were purchased were purchased by the MMT, and a few others by the Church Association, and most livings re-purchased were re-purchased from these two Trusts. The Church Association was a nuisance: the MMT was a menace. Ultimately, though most did not care to say it, the campaign to permit re-purchase of advowsons was a campaign by the whole body of Anglo-Catholics against one man, Percy Warrington.

Having examined the history of an atypical Protestant trust, we move on, in the next Chapter, to consider a Catholic trust which, in the evidence which it provides for the day-to-day running of such ventures, may be taken as typical.

Chapter 7 The Patronage of Keble College

'I didn't say there was nothing better,' the King replied. 'I said there was nothing like it.'

Chapter 7 The Patronage of Keble College

7:1 Introduction

Keble College was founded in 1870 as a memorial to the recently deceased John Keble, with the object of providing education within a distinctively Anglican atmosphere for those who were unable to afford a place at other Oxford Colleges. It saw itself as continuing the tradition of education within an ecclesiastical context, from which the other Colleges, in ending religious tests, had turned away. It also saw the Anglicanism of Keble and the other Fathers of the Oxford Movement as normative. Thus it sought to be not merely a bare memorial, but the basis for a continuing propagation of those views which had characterised Tractarianism.

Soon after its foundation, others saw one way in which it could help to spread the faith: by means of patronage. Gifts of patronage were made by supporters of the Oxford Movement, in the belief that, unlike the patronage of other Colleges, Keble would use theirs to keep the light of Catholicism alive in the parishes. Such gifts and purchases by the College, or by friends of the College, went on until Keble was the largest single holder of Catholic patronage in the country, and regarded as on a par with the trusts. More recently, the College expressed a greater reluctance to acquire patronage, and it could be said that it felt itself to possess more than could be reasonably handled, by a body whose main function was educational.

Nevertheless, in the one hundred and fourteen years in which the College has been in existence, it has made a significant number of appointments to livings and has been in contact with several leading Catholics, and scores of lesser figures, whose fame is purely local. Its influence has been, and still is, apparent in parishes throughout

the country, varying in location, wealth, and churchmanship. It is thus a worthy object of study.

Nevertheless, we should not assume that the College can be regarded purely as a patronage trust, and we would demonstrate a lack of proportion if we appeared to be contending this. In the period under consideration, concluding in about 1945, only evangelical trusts held more patronage. The chief difference between Keble College, and other trusts, was simply that Keble's patronage was a by-product of its educational endeavours, and administered by those for whom patronage was an important, but not a predominant concern.

Apart from this, there seems to be no reason for saying that the way in which Keble proceeded was any different from the methods of other trusts. It was presented with some additional difficulties: for instance, any work which had to be done over the Summer was likely to be delayed by the need to circulate Council members by post instead of raising business at a meeting - patronage, like College business, tended to lapse in the Long Vacation. But otherwise there is nothing in the occasional rivalries and difficulties, and the frequent normality of the routine, which it is not possible to imagine taking place in any other trust. Unfortunately, however, until other trusts are more forthcoming with details of their procedure, this can only be expressed as a probability. The supposed 'typicalness' of Keble is only a hypothesis.

Keble College was more broadly based than the Catholic trusts. A fanatical College would not have survived, and the tractarianism of the College Council extended from the very English 'quirkiness' of Lord Hugh Cecil, who seemed to suggest that Scripture and common sense were his guiding lights, to the almost foreign asceticism and rigidity of Lord Halifax. All were tied together in their devotion to the inheritance of John Keble and the others, but it is quite likely that the atmosphere of Keble College itself was a very different one from that breathed within the parishes of which it was a patron. In some of these, the call to

'full Catholic liberties' led to extremes which resulted in their being poorly attended shrines, perfect in ritual observance, but pastorally useless. At one stage or another, a great many of Keble's urban advowsons appear to have passed through such a phase, most remarkably at a time when Anglo-Catholicism was approaching its high water mark. The clergy of such parishes found their most obvious opposite numbers in the trustees of the smaller Catholic trusts, and it would appear that moderate as were many of the Keble Council, they were unable to secure a moderate churchmanship in all of their parishes. Nevertheless, a full examination of Keble College churchmanship not only across the geographical sweep of seventy parishes, but through an interval of seventy years, would be outside the scope of a study of this size.

An examination of the patronage of Keble College is useful, then, in that it allows us to take a sufficiently large group of churches with one factor - patronage - in common, and to examine this group over a sufficiently broad spread of time. It thus allows us to draw certain statistical conclusions which could probably be applied to other Catholic trusts. Furthermore, an examination of particular difficulties faced, shows areas of dispute which were probably encountered by other trusts.

The minutes of Keble College Council, a Governing Body which was not composed of the College Fellows, but rather of prominent tractarian sympathisers, indicate that there was scarcely a meeting at which some patronage business was not discussed. A Council member would feel that he was never out of contact with the parishes under Keble's control. But from the parishes' point of view, things generally appeared to be quite different. The most important contact would occur at a vacancy, when a successor was to be appointed, after 1931 by consultation with the PCC, and before then, not always entirely without parochial interference. Other than that, the two most common contacts occurred when incumbents wrote asking for permission to carry out an

improvement - installing central heating, re-plumbing a house, selling off some glebe to augment the endowment, cutting down trees - which was usually granted; or if they appealed for money, which was usually given only as a token gesture by the College. Some incumbents appear to have been under the impression that Keble College had funds out of which to meet appeals of this nature, but this was entirely mistaken: the patronage of the College was run on a shoestring. Prospective sellers of patronage were constantly being told that the College had no funds for such a purpose, although it is true that it did purchase, or contribute towards, some advowsons.

The parishes had to rely on the generosity of those who gave to the Poor Parishes Fund, and the private contributions of individual Council members. From an examination of the requests for permission to undertake various projects, it is possible to build up an interesting picture of the way life for the incumbents was changing, as their cold houses were better heated, and lighted and drained; and finally, of how houses which were seen as too large were sold or demolished, to make way for new, smaller vicarages and rectories. But this piece of social history is best left to another time.

In short, the average parish contacted Keble College at a vacancy, and when it wanted something done, or had a problem. It is therefore small wonder if certain parishes should sometimes feel that they were neglected by the College, particularly if an unsuitable appointment was made. All that the College could be depended upon to do, was to grant permission for work which would be an expense only to the parish. If they appealed for money, they would not be given enough. If they had a vacancy, the new man might not do as well as the old one. Keble learned from experience that patronage is, in many cases, a dull and thankless task. They often had cause for congratulation if an incumbent could leave his parish no worse than he found it. And, of course, with seventy parishes, how was it possible to maintain an intimate acquaintance with all of them?

But this is, perhaps, too negative a viewpoint. The College did have the satisfaction of knowing that, in many cases, it was keeping the Catholic flag flying, in places where it would have been manifestly easier to have given up. It had to live with parishes which began as rural livings, became residential, and finally slum parishes, in which people were afraid to walk at night; or which had never been anything but hard and poor; or which were rural, and gradually lost their population, to be united with other parishes in a conglomerate which the College felt incapable of controlling properly. To have succeeded as well as they did was a magnificent achievement.

It is not proposed here to go into details about the way in which patronage was acquired. The Council Minutes contain details of this. Dr. Pusey himself first offered a living to the College in the shape of St. Saviour's, Leeds, but due to complications, it was not the first living transferred to the College, that honour being reserved for White Colne, Essex.¹

One problem, which again can only be dealt with here briefly, relates to the augmentation of poor livings by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The Commissioners refused to augment the value of livings in private patronage before 1923, because they were saleable. Furthermore, livings held by 'the Warden, Council and Scholars of Keble College' were held to be in private patronage. Both because of this, and because of the need to accept certain livings held by trustees, the College appointed its own Trustees, from the Council. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners were then prepared to augment livings held by the Trustees, as being in private patronage. It was recommended that populous parishes be transferred to the Trustees from the College, and in time, donors conveyed certain livings directly to the Trustees.²

¹ Keble College, Oxford, Council Minutes, 30-5-1871; 17-10-1871; 12-3-1872.

² CM, 24-4-1875.

The theory behind this arrangement was that the Trustees were a legal convenience. They would follow the wishes of the Council, while appearing as a separate body. Unfortunately, matters were not that simple. The Council minutes suggest that the Trustees were too inclined to value their supposed independence, and for many years Council and Trustees were to dispute the limits of their authority. A report prepared in 1897 affirmed that the Trustees were merely the executive of the Council, that the Warden should always be a Trustee, and that the Trustees should accept no more advowsons without Council's agreement. The Trustees might veto an appointment to a Trustee living, made by the Council, but were not to make a choice themselves.³ Such a statement was necessary to prevent the Trustees undermining the authority of the Council, or growing away from them, by co-opting non-Council members.

The issue raised its head again in 1902, when the Rev. H.H. Leeper was appointed to the living of St. Stephen's Devonport, largely due to the influence of Lord Halifax, whose Chaplain he was, and against the wishes of Dr. Lock, the Warden. Who was to be master? Lock argued that, as Warden, he had the right to veto every decision, and that the Trustees could have no moral right to go against his wishes. The Council decided with some trepidation to seek a legal opinion on the question.⁴ This, when delivered, proved to be a two-edged sword. On the one hand, the Warden's right of veto in Trustee appointments was asserted, but on the other it was held that the Trustees had no legal standing whatever - they were not a valid charitable trust.⁵ The situation was delicate, for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were prepared to augment Trustee livings, but no Court would recognize a distinction. The College attempted an internal compromise, since the law was not on their side. A Committee recommended that all the

³ CM, 29-1-1898.

⁴ CM, 30-10-1902; 22-1-1903.

⁵ CM, 23-4-1903.

College's patronage should be offered to the original donors, but this was rejected.⁶ Silence was adopted as the best policy. In 1923, with the passing of the Benefices Measure, much of the original reason for appointing the Trustees was undermined, when private patronage, if declared incapable of sale, was able to be augmented. Nevertheless, when it was realized that no one deed would suffice to re-convey all the Trustee livings to the Council, the Trustees were maintained.

In 1925, the Council appointed an Advowson Committee to deal with the routine of appointments, and to prevent the agenda being filled with patronage business; a little later, they were empowered to deal with such matters as permission to sell land, or alter parish boundaries.⁷

In 1952 the College amended its Statutes, and our survey can end at this point. Livings were to be administered by an Advowson Committee consisting of the Warden and three others, two of whom were to be fellows, whose duty would be to recommend names to the Governing Body. Trustee livings were to be held by the 'Keble Advowson Trustees', and thus their work was distanced from that of the Warden and Fellows.

7:2 A Survey of the Keble Parishes

We turn now to examine something of the range of Keble's patronage and the problems which it was likely to encounter. Table 4 lists the patronage of the College, giving the date acquired, or the dates between which the living was held, a brief statement of how the living was acquired, and an indication of the holder of the patronage.⁸

From this Table, it is possible to note a few statistics. Thus, in terms of geographical distribution, we should note the definite southern bias of the livings. Of the total, four were in Wales, only twelve in the Province of York and forty-one in the southernmost counties of England, with several more in East Anglia, leaving the rest

⁶ CM, 27-1-1904.

⁷ CM, 27-6-1925; 24-10-1925; 6-2-1926.

⁸ See Appendix B for a map of the distribution of this patronage.

distributed in the region south of the Trent. It can also be seen that a certain percentage of the livings were found in watering places on or near the coast, although other livings were in the middle of cities, often surrounded by slums.

It is possible to construct a Table from the evidence available, demonstrating the way in which livings tended to fall into different hands as time progressed. Thus in the early period, most livings went to the Trustees. With the passing of the 1923 Benefices Measure, the Trustees were largely obsolescent, and most livings were retained by the Council. This is demonstrated below.

Keble Patronage Holders, by Decades

Decade	KC	KC - T	T	Total
1870s	0	10	2	12
1880s	4	4	7	15
1890s	2	3	6	11
1900s	6	1	1	8
1910s	5	1	1	7
1920s	10	0	3	13
1930s	9	0	0	9
1940s	5	0	1	6
1950s	3	0	0	3
Total	44	19	21	84

Apart from this, it can be seen that the rate at which the College acquired livings was at its highest in the earliest years of the College, and then again in the 1920s and 30s, when the Depression, combined with the supposed threat of party trusts, might have persuaded many to dispose of livings to the College as the representative of the Oxford Movement. It is, however, difficult to establish motives, and coincidence has to play a part - a living bequeathed to the College would fall to it when its owner died - but in general, this picture of two 'waves' of patronage acquisition is an accurate one.

We must now consider in more detail the history of Keble's patronage, and attempt to assess its impact on the parishes. It would be an arduous task to record all of what is known about the individual parishes, much of which is concerned with routine business, and much of which is almost identical for many of the parishes. But it is possible to discover various themes running through the history, which indicate the ways in which Keble acted, and examples of which may usefully be given.

From studying all of the parish histories, a certain 'typical' history can be constructed, although few of the livings would fit this model. The typical living would be offered to the College by a wealthy patron wishing to ensure that after his death the Catholic tradition of the parish would be secured. Generally, it would see an 'advance' in ceremonial during the time that Keble held it. The Eucharist, called in a few parishes the Mass, would be celebrated at least weekly, and sometimes daily. On Sundays the pattern would be for an early communicating celebration, followed by a 'High Mass' as the main service, where there would generally be few communicants. This was almost the universal practice in Keble livings in the 1920s and 30s, with some modification in rural parishes. The Sacrament would either be reserved, or the incumbent would be pressing for its reservation. If reservation were permitted, perpetual reservation would be the next target. There would be a more or less awkward relationship with any bishop not sympathetic to the Catholic movement, particularly if he tried to extract promises with regard to ceremonial, and especially reservation, which was felt to be the priest's responsibility alone.

Congregations could vary enormously. Some were fiercely loyal, sometimes to their own idea of the traditions of the parish. Some were violently opposed to the practices which were introduced, in which case either the incumbent or the congregation could be driven out. In general, though, congregations were loyal but backbiting, and with

extreme factions on either side, like congregations anywhere. The highest praise that could be paid to a man might well be paid after he had left, when the congregation asked for 'someone like Fr. X.'

Incumbents, too, could not be called typical. There were industrious ones in urban slums, who worked themselves to an early death. There were idle ones, who were not even able to fulfil the slight duty required of them. There were rigid clergy, who refused to follow their congregations in anything, and there were, thankfully, some who led well and gently, and took their churches forward with them. There were petty, vain, noble, spiteful, eccentric, dull priests, as there would be in most cross-sections of patronage.

The parishes themselves covered a wide cross-section. Many were urban, some of these in slums or areas of high crime. Some were rural. Many were poorly endowed, or their endowment did not keep up with inflation. A few were immensely wealthy.

Again, common features occur in the history of the livings. Most had large vicarage houses which, in the course of time, became too large to live in, too expensive to heat, a nuisance to light and drain. Thus in the 1920s and 30s and later, requests came to the College from many quarters for permission to sell vicarages and build smaller ones, or to install central heating, or electricity, or to connect them to the main drains. Glebe-land too, which varied greatly in extent, was often, in this period, being sold off for such things as road-widening, or for housing estates. Thus most of Headington's glebe was sold in a very few years, to provide the land for the houses built at that time in that area of Oxford. This had the effect of so increasing the endowment of the living, that the then incumbent was forced to give up part of his endowment, equivalent to £250 per annum, keeping a stipend of £890 per annum. Considering that this occurred in 1938, it can be seen what

wealth could come to a man by the judicious sale of glebe.⁹

With so much that can be seen occurring in a majority of cases, the exceptions must be of interest. We have said that many livings were in the gift of wealthy patrons, but this was not always the case. St. Benedict's, Ardwick, which came to the College in 1929, was built by Mr. J.M. Bennett, who had moved to Manchester and made his wealth by building all the houses in the parish. The living was held by members of the Bennett family in trust, but as they lost their connection with Ardwick, which was becoming a slum, they decided to convey it to the College. Before it came into Keble's hands, the Rev. S.F. Green had preached there, in hourly expectation of his arrest under the Public Worship Regulation Act. Green himself was to end his working days in another Keble living in Dover.¹⁰

An even stranger case was the living of Northfield, Birmingham. The living was bought in an auction by Mr. Stephen Barker, a metal-dealer, for a large sum, in the belief that he could sell it at a profit. He found that he could not; and becoming better acquainted with 'Church principles', began to worry about what was to be done with it, and decided that it had better be sold. The curate wrote to Keble to inform them of this, and eventually Earl Beauchamp bought the living for £1,800 to prevent Simeon's Trust from purchasing. It was passed to Keble in 1890.¹¹

Beauchamp played a similar mediating role in the acquisition of St. Barnabas, Oxford, which came to the College by a rather tortuous route. In 1885, the position was as follows: St. Barnabas was held by the Bishop of Oxford; St. Martin Carfax, in the centre of Oxford, was held by the Lord Chancellor, but at the time was almost moribund; Scotton in Lincolnshire, was held by Earl Beauchamp. Carfax was an

⁹ Keble College, Oxford, Keble Parish Files (KF) Headington, St. Andrew.

¹⁰ KF, Ardwick.

¹¹ KF, Northfield.

ineffective parish, but in the hands of the Bishop could be used to block evangelical ambitions in the centre of Oxford. Furthermore, once in the Bishop's hands, it could easily be amalgamated with another central living. Beauchamp proposed in 1885 that he should give Scotton to the College, so that they might exchange it for Carfax, and then in turn exchange Carfax for St. Barnabas. All parties accepted this, and Keble came by one of Oxford's most unusual churches in 1886.¹²

The College never purchased a living, but it came close to it on several occasions, as when in 1889, the living of St. Stephen, Lewisham, was conveyed to the Trustees as the result of a subscription for £1,050.

The subscribers were not the Trustees, but there is little doubt that the College was fully aware of what was going on.¹³

Apart from livings like Mayfield in Sussex, which lay close to the Priory which still kept the tongs, with which St. Dunstan had tweaked the Devil's nose, there was Radwinter, acquired as two alternate presentations, in 1902 and again in 1909, and Shelley in Essex, conveyed to the College in 1931, by the Community of the Resurrection. The idea was partly E.K. Talbot's, who as well as his links with Keble was the Superior of the Community. Mirfield had been reluctant to accept the living all along, and the one appointment which they had agreed to make had lapsed to the Archbishop. They had considered the Guild of All Souls, but finally were persuaded that Keble should have it.¹⁴

Not all conveyances went smoothly. When Lapley was acquired in 1937, a section of the PCC were fearful of a 'Popish Plot'. But Dr. Kidd the Warden was able to assure them that the Charter of the College committed them to 'the principles of the Church of England'. 'And' he added, when explaining this to someone, 'I hope that this soothing phrase may have its customary effect!' It did, for the PCC agreed

¹² CM, 24-7-1885.

¹³ KF, Lewisham.

¹⁴ KF, Mayfield, Radwinter, Shelley.

unanimously to the transfer.¹⁵

There were also occasional legal difficulties to be solved. When, in 1936, Effingham was bequeathed to the College, it was reported that the Will in question referred to 'Keeble Cottage'. Fortunately, 'Cottage' was a typing error, and the College after some legal advice, accepted the living.¹⁶ Similarly, in 1935, when Foxholes was bequeathed to 'The Provost or Warden and Fellows of Keble College, Oxford' the case went to the High Court for a decision as to whether the College was intended.¹⁷

The largest single conveyance was of six livings in Norfolk, variously combined in the intervening years, bequeathed by Sir Alfred Jodrell in 1929, although the College only assumed full patronage rights in 1935, because of various delays with the executors. The College had agreed to accept the livings in 1922.¹⁸

In deciding not to purchase advowsons, except in cases where the College itself did not have to pay, and where the connection between the purchasers and the College could remain, in part, a secret, Keble were only following the principle that they had no money to spend on patronage. This meant that every patron wishing to give a living to the College had to pay the legal costs of the transfer himself. Not unnaturally, this was sometimes resented, as was the fact that incoming incumbents had to pay the small fee for their presentation. It was felt that the College was not only receiving something potentially valuable, but was charging money for the privilege. Thus in 1876 a Mr. Jackson's solicitors wrote:

The Council of Keble College would, when they remember the circumstances, not expect us to pay the expenses of the instrument of transfer, the right of presentation, in perpetuity, having been offered as a free gift to the College.¹⁹

¹⁵ KF, Lapley.

¹⁶ KF, Effingham.

¹⁷ KF, Foxholes.

¹⁸ KF, Cley with Wiveton; Letheringsett with Bayfield; Glandford; Saxlingham; CM, 1-7-1922.

¹⁹ CM, 26-4-1876.

But such protests were to no avail. The College insisted on expenses being met by the other side. Samuel Bennett of Ardwick wanted Keble to pay, but was submissive when told that he would need to find the £10 or £20 required.²⁰

Although this submissiveness was common, however, it was not always so. When the advowson of Thelwall was conveyed to the College, the patron, the Rev. W.J. Stanton, drew up a deed in 1915, but the incumbent dated his resignation from before the date of the deed, which meant that, as the benefice was, legally speaking, vacant at the time of the transfer, the conveyance was void. Re-drawing the deed, which had to wait until 1917, cost an extra £2 (the original had only cost 10/-). The College asked Stanton to pay for this, but he refused, and said that if the College wanted to act in that way, the conveyance was off. After an attempt to quote his own words back to him, which merely proved that he would not pay more because of another's mistakes, the College finally paid the extra money themselves.²¹

Similarly, in 1936, when Mr. Bayley, the Vicar of Effingham, bequeathed the living to the College, Keble expected his executors to pay. The Solicitors had previously warned them that the executors could not pay, as they had no funds available; but surely Keble were aware of the value of the living? Keble were unwilling to add to their advowsons, but on the other hand, the Bishop of Guildford spoke highly of it. The deciding factor was Mr. Marshall, one of the executors, who was a Roman Catholic, and saw no point in paying Keble's costs as well as his own. Eventually the Council agreed to accept the living, and share out the cost of their side of the transfer among themselves.²²

Other problems arose when certain livings had to be valued. As a transfer of patronage involved property of a certain value, stamp duty

²⁰ KF, Ardwick.

²¹ KF, Thelwall.

²² KF, Effingham.

had to be paid on certain transactions, and this was a cause of some worry. When Chale was given to the College in 1926 by C.W. Heald, the incumbent, he inquired what the costs would be, and Keble's solicitors underestimated, and said £8 or £9 with £1.2s.6d. for disbursements. Then the Controller of Stamps insisted on valuing the living, arriving at what was felt to be the absurdly high figure of £2,090. After a great deal of panic, this was reduced to a nominal £500, as the District Valuer admitted that the living was of no monetary value.

Because of this, Boodle's final bill, when they had reduced it, came to £18.5s.4d. It says much for Heald's character that not only did he pay without a murmur, but thanked the solicitors for reducing their charges.²³

Similarly in 1924, when Mrs. Boardman conveyed the living of Beenham Valence to the College, Keble's Solicitors had warned her to expect a bill of about £7.7s.0d. Unwillingly, she agreed to pay. But by the time the Valuer had been called in to value the living at £300, the bill came to £23.15s.9d. which was reduced to £10.10s.0d. plus expenses of £4.6s.8d. The Solicitors apologised that her free gift had cost her so much. Keble were to find themselves in trouble with Beenham later, when in 1935 they appointed a man who had sold Cold Higham, his previous incumbency, to Percy Warrington, in what appears to have been ignorance.²⁴

A further exception occurred with the living of Arkesden, in 1926.

This was held with Wicken Bonhunt, a Keble living. When it became likely that Arkesden would be sold at a very low figure, the College agreed to buy. However, not wishing to give the impression that they trafficked in advowsons, they decided to perform the purchase through a middle-man. Lord Hugh Cecil was their first choice, but in November 1928 (the issue had been dragged out to this length) he wrote one of his

²³ KF, Chale.

²⁴ KF, Beenham Valence.

usual, cautious, 'cranky' letters, explaining why he was withdrawing:

Considerations have arisen which make it important that I should not do anything which could even be misrepresented as purchasing an advowson in order to propagate Anglo-Catholic opinion. I have become a member in charge of the Patronage Measure and I am very anxious, probably not in that Measure but in another so to change the law as to hamper the practice of buying livings in order to spread particular religious opinions. I regard this as a very objectionable practice, partaking of much of the character of Simony ... I do not believe that the purchase of Arkesden has this character, because I am sure that if so I should have objected to it at once ... Though Keble is in effect, perfectly free to appoint anyone of any opinion, this would not be believed.

Eventually, J.A. Gibbs paid the £19.1s.2d. required, although complaining that he had not realized how expensive it would be.²⁵

With most of the livings, Keble's undertaking was simple: they were to provide men who would maintain the Catholic faith. Occasionally they would be given a living where there was little evidence of the Catholic faith to be seen, except in the mind of the previous patron, and here Keble did its best to see that the parish got someone whom they liked and who would not, at the same time, bring the name of Keble into disrepute. But in some cases, rather more particular conditions were attached to the livings. The most extreme example of this was probably St.Peter's, Plymouth. The church was established in 1847, and in 1867 the patronage was vested in the two Misses Middleton. They, with a formidable group of others, formed a trust for St.Peter's. The other trustees were the Rev. T.T. Carter of Clewer, the Rev. A.H. Mackonochie, of St.Alban's, Holborn, the Rev. G.R. Prynne of St.Peter's, the Rev. C.F. Lowder of St.Peter's, London Docks, the Hon. Colin Lindsay, who was the first President of the E.C.U. before becoming a Roman Catholic, and the Hon. Charles Lindley Wood, later Lord Halifax. The original conditions for the trustees were fourteen in number, those most relevant to the incumbent being as follows:

²⁵ KF, Arkesden.

1. There was to be a Daily Communion, with the proper Eucharistic vestments as allowed in the Holy Catholic Church (of England) and were in use in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI, with lighted altar candles.
2. At every Parish Celebration of Holy Communion, there was to be an offertory by the whole congregation.
- 3 The Incumbent and his assistant Priests were to be celibate and live in Community.
4. All Sittings were to be free and unappropriated.
5. The Incumbent was to be willing and accustomed to hear confessions.

The remaining rules governed the functions of the Trustees themselves, who were to consist of four Clergy and three Laymen.

Eventually the College accepted the living, agreeing to pay for the transfer, but not holding themselves bound by the conditions imposed upon the original trustees. They had no objection to the conditions being noted as the wishes of the builders of St.Peter's, for the guidance of future trustees when making an appointment.²⁶

Apart from St.John the Baptist, Kensington, which was vested in the College in 1890 so that they could exercise the next turn of patronage only, and which was re-conveyed in 1911 to seven trustees, including Athelstan Riley, other patrons sometimes asked for their views to be taken into consideration.²⁷ Thus Hawkchurch was bequeathed in 1881, provided that one of two named men were appointed at the first vacancy. In the event, neither was presented, but the College still acquired the living.²⁸ Likewise, Upton, conveyed in 1910, was to be offered, preferably to non-collegiate members of the University. Unfortunately, the living was so poor that it usually required a man of

²⁶ KF, Plymouth, St.Peter's.

²⁷ KF, Kensington, St.John Baptist.

²⁸ KF, Hawkchurch.

private means to live there, and such men were unlikely to have been non-collegiate, a status usually reserved for those who were less well-off. Thus Keble did the best they could, which usually meant ignoring the preference for non-collegiate students.²⁹

The living of Cleobury Mortimer has an interesting institution, an anachronism which has survived from the fourteenth century. This is the Lay Deaconry, which probably owed its origins to an endowment made by Roger de Mortimer for a chaplain of the chantry which had been added to the church in the fourteenth century. The gift was thus in the hands of the de Mortimers. Edward IV was descended from the Mortimers and the gift passed to the Crown. Presumably at the Reformation, the chantry was abolished, but the office retained for some reason, and from 1580, it was usually bestowed on a layman. The duties of the office consisted of reading the first lesson on Sunday, and keeping the bell ropes in order. Since 1800, the Vicar has held the title, and thus it remains to this day. There is no other example of this in the country, all others having been merged at the Reformation or shortly afterwards. Thus, all of the incumbents of Cleobury Mortimer have, at their institution, to apply to the Lord Chancellor for the office of Lay Deacon, which they hold on condition that they will resign it with their incumbency. In 1917 there was some discussion as to whether the office should be bought from the Crown, but nothing was done about it, and perhaps at present it is felt that it would be a pity to end such a unique tradition, which is so little trouble to maintain.³⁰

Presumably many of the men appointed by Keble have been famous within their own parishes and orbits. A few have written books, many have held Canonries or other dignitary positions, and not a few Keble parishes have significant connections. Thus St.Hilda's, Leeds is always linked with Dr. Pusey, who founded it, anonymously, and where trouble

²⁹ KF, Upton.

³⁰ KF, Cleobury Mortimer; CM, 2-5-1917.

occurred at its consecration, when it was realized that the request for prayer for the founder would, sooner or later, involve prayer for the dead.³¹ Pusey, too, provided the marble mensa which was inset into the altar at St.Bartholomew, Charlton in Dover. Again, this was ordered to be removed at the consecration, and Pusey, who had given it as a memorial to his wife, left the church in tears before the service began.

Sidney Faithorn Green has already been mentioned. As the longest-imprisoned of the Public Worship Regulation Act martyrs (although his normally ascetic lifestyle meant that he gained nine pounds in gaol), he was regarded with awe after his release, and was appointed, much later, to Charlton in Dover where, very much set in his ways, he remained until 1914, before being 'pensioned off' to an easy living by the Archbishop of Canterbury.³²

Horbury Bridge had, as an early Curate, the Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould, the fascinating Squarson with diverse interests and accomplishments who, as a collector of Folk Songs, first wrote down 'Widdecombe Fair'. For the Horbury Mission he composed perhaps his most famous hymn, 'Onward Christian Soldiers', although when he learned that the procession which it was designed to accompany would not be allowed a processional cross in the streets, it is said that he considered altering the words to:

'With the Cross of Jesus left behind the door'.³³

Others included the Rev. G. Trower, who was Bishop of Nyasaland and then of North-West Australia, before being appointed Rector of Chale for two years before his death; Francis Underhill, who was Vicar of

³¹ Stephen Savage and Christopher Tyne, The Labours of Years : The Story of St.Saviour's and St.Hilda's, Leeds (Oxford, 1976), gives a full history of both Keble churches. See p.10.

³² KF, Charlton in Dover, St.Bartholomew.

³³ Bickford Holland C. Dickinson, Sabine Baring-Gould, Squarson, Writer, and Folklorist, 1834 -1924 (Newton Abbot, 1970) is a recent biography. S.B.G. himself denied the story about his hymn. See pp.46-47.

St.Alban's, Birmingham, before moving to Cowley, and later to the Wardenship of Liddon House. He was appointed to Keble Council in 1930 and in 1937 consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells. More recently, G.E. Reindorp was Provost of Southwark, before becoming Bishop of Guildford and later of Salisbury. Such cases could be multiplied.

Also of interest are the 'ones who got away.' B.J. Kidd, who was later to be the Warden of Keble and a historian of repute, was twice considered for Keble livings, Radwinter in 1916, and Lewisham; but was offered neither. Percy Dearmer might have established St.Augustine's, Kensington as another Primrose Hill, but in fact he was not even short-listed by the College. Doubtless there were others.³⁴

It would be unusual for a body holding as many livings as did Keble, as well as looking after the affairs of a College, if every one of their appointments were a success. There are always those who would complain about any incumbent, but there can be little doubt that occasional bad choices were made, and sometimes entire parishes 'spoiled' by such means. Thus in 1940, the Archbishop of Canterbury could write to the Warden, about SS. Peter and Paul, Charlton in Dover:

It is most important that a good man should be secured for this parish ... especially as I am bound to say that those whom Keble has appointed hitherto to these benefices in Dover and Folkestone have not been very satisfactory.

He then continued, about Folkestone:

[Scott] has been so utterly negligent and unsatisfactory that I shall be compelled within a few days to exercise all my pressure to induce him to resign. Your predecessor, who was a friend of Scott, did his best to induce him to do so some time ago: but it was in vain. The present conditions cannot really be allowed to continue. The unfortunate man seems to do nothing in his parish. I am told that the congregation in a parish of over 3,000 people numbers about 9 or 10. There is no Sunday School, or any effort to deal with the children or youth of the parish. There is very little visiting. Scott seems to be frequently absent. If he will not resign I must consider the possibility of taking proceedings against him.³⁵

³⁴ CM, 10-5-1916; 26-1-1916.

³⁵ KF, Charlton in Dover, SS.Peter and Paul, 21-3-1940.

The whole history at Dover and Folkestone was, with a few exceptions, a sorry story. Kidd had, as the Archbishop said, tried to move Scott in 1934, but it was only in 1947 that the then Archbishop managed to get the absentee Scott to resign, and then refused to allow him to withdraw the resignation.³⁶

Other parishes might not have fared so badly, but not all appointments were good. J.H.G. Smith, appointed to Wicken Bonhunt in 1918 deceived the pension commissioners about the income of the parish, in order, presumably, to boost his own income. When he resigned, the Bishop of Chelmsford wrote:

Don't appoint Woolton [he was not appointed.] The people feel they've just got rid of one incompetent. It would make them feel that they'd got another if they heard his voice.

In 1920 the Bishop of Southwark similarly appealed to Keble not to appoint a neighbouring curate to St. John's, Balham, because he was 'dull and uninspiring.' In fact 'extremely stupid' was what the Bishop had first written. This was a painful affair, because the curate in question was unlikely to see such a chance repeated, and he knew it. He was willing to fight the parish if necessary, but eventually he was persuaded to withdraw. The affair did, however, leave a nasty taste in everyone's mouth. St. John's was a problem church anyway, however.

H.W.G. Arscott, who was the Vicar from 1935-48 was very ineffective, and not pastorally minded. In 1945 he had contemplated an exchange with a man who wished to move to London to be with his sister, who had paid for his education, and who was suffering from cancer. All was nearly complete when the Bishop suggested that the PCC should vet their new incumbent. At once Arscott flared up, and refused to continue. Coates, the other priest, had been all ready to move and was heart-broken. 'The sun has suddenly clouded' he wrote, but Arscott did not seem to have taken his feelings into consideration.³⁷

³⁶ KF, Folkestone.

³⁷ KF, Balham, St. John.

At Chale, things were upset for a time by the Rev. C.F. Blood, appointed in 1935, who simply did not suit the parish, as his Wardens were willing to testify:

Church life is awful here, it just breaks our hearts the way we are treated by the Rector ... The Rector has quarrelled with most of the congregation, called me a Liar, ordered me out of the Vestry, called my Co-Warden a Traitor etc., and ordered him out etc.

And again:

I will only say it has been unbearable; our money has gone, Sunday Schools ... and Mothers Union, Choir and ringers driven away, many, I am afraid, never to return.³⁸

The plain fact was, that Chale was not Anglo-Catholic at that stage, and Blood had pushed too hard. This, or a lack of enthusiasm, were the main faults of those who had faults. 'Manford has never had enough drive or enthusiasm', said the Bishop of Hereford of a man he had himself recommended.³⁹ 'This parish will want a good deal of pulling together', it was said of Hawkchurch in 1938, and other similar remarks could be found.⁴⁰

Occasionally, Keble seemed to be well rid of a possible nominee. In 1949, an exchange was proposed at Thelwall which could have brought back to the Diocese a man called Trewella. The Bishop protested and the exchange did not proceed. But this did not stop Trewella writing to the College:

I hope you will not delegate your patronage to a man who is actuated by malice and all uncharitableness.

He urged Keble to press on in spite of the opposition of the Bishop:

We can only imagine what a miserable man he must be to act thus in so high an office.

The battle to appoint him was, he felt sure:

a crusade for Righteousness, so help me God.

³⁸ KF, Chale.

³⁹ KF, Cleobury Mortimer.

⁴⁰ KF, Hawkchurch.

Trewella asked for the living again in 1952, and again was turned down.⁴¹

But if there were bad appointments, there were also good ones, mostly unrecorded, for the best appointments tend to do their job without drawing undue attention to themselves. Men like Llewellyn-Davies of Beckenham, who died in 1941, mourned by all his parishioners.⁴² Or like Auchmuty of Cleobury, who so wanted to continue his work, that, in 1917, while seeing his successor, he had a heart attack and died. Apparently the realization that he would have to leave had been too much for him.⁴³ But many others must remain unrecorded. More noticeable are the few eccentrics, or larger-than-life incumbents, like Constantine Sinclair of Chale, who illustrated the cover of the Parish Magazine, and wrote long letters to the College describing the living, in rather affected detail. He had succeeded Blood, who described the parishioners as 'descended from smugglers and have no sense of honour'. Sinclair stayed for thirty-three years and gently led the parish in a more Catholic direction. He put in new radiators:

The existing radiators will not heat without the expenditure of fuel on the Queen Mary scale, and even then don't get hot.

But he was eventually forced to buy a smaller house. In 1944 he referred to 'the (not very) fulness of time [when] I get tired of missionary work among the aborigines.' But despite the hint, he did not find a suitable parish, and stayed at Chale until 1973, freely admitting that 'Chale isn't a job, it's a pension,' and that he had succeeded by being 'a compromiser of the deepest dye.'⁴⁴

Otherwise, mention should be made of Barker of Foxholes, who was objected to in 1944 by the Warden because of his short legs, and of

⁴¹ KF, Thelwall.

⁴² KF, Beckenham.

⁴³ KF, Cleobury Mortimer.

⁴⁴ KF, Chale.

Morton of Northfield, who amazed the Bishop of Birmingham in the 1950s, because of his consistent diet of bread and butter, jam and bananas.⁴⁵

But such characters appear to have been few and far between.

As has been said, the parishes varied widely in social position and income. Winthorpe, for instance, in 1937, had an income of about £260, when the PCC wrote to the College:

In view of the needs and traditions of this Parish ... the new appointment to the Benefice should be a man of culture (preferably a broad-minded University man,) with a wife who would along with him, interest herself in the Religious and Social life of the Village ... The new incumbent should be a man of good standing as hitherto, so as to secure the continued support of the Parishioners.

This request caused the Bishop of Lincoln to write to the Warden suggesting that the PCC needed a good talking to. With an income of £5 a week, which a Tram Inspector or an Inspector of Crossing Sweepers might receive, they expected a cultured, educated, married man. Was it not time that the large houses in the area did something to help? He felt that their request gave some indication of the troubles of the Church.⁴⁶

At the other extreme was the living of Eastchurch on the Isle of Sheppey. Eastchurch was united with Warden, a parish whose church site lay, in 1948, half a mile out in the North Sea. The net income of the livings was £956, the richest in the Canterbury diocese.⁴⁷

Other problems could arise. The Sisterhood of St.Hilda's, Leeds, left after a quarrel with the incumbent,⁴⁸ and at Hawley, the Rev. K.C. Davis resigned, after he had separated from his wife, who still lived locally. This was generally reckoned to be a difficult parish to work, and the Bishop of Guildford, at the time, said that it required a man who knew 'every move in the game'. At Sampford Peverell, J.C. Brunskill wrote in 1942 that since moving into the Parish twenty months before, he

⁴⁵ KF, Foxholes; Northfield.

⁴⁶ KF, Winthorpe.

⁴⁷ KF, Eastchurch.

⁴⁸ Savage and Tyne, p.80.

had lived in seven different sets of furnished rooms, and moved eight times, as the Rectory had been taken over by someone who could not be removed because of a technical difficulty. At Water Newton, in 1938, an irate neighbour seemed prepared to take the Rector to court to force him to move the Rectory gates back, to allow extra parking space, but the matter was settled amicably.⁴⁹

Most of the churches were run on distinctly Catholic lines, but in most cases this did not cause undue friction between the church and the parishioners on the one hand, nor between the church and the bishop on the other. At a time when church attendance was falling anyway, it was not felt to be indicative of antagonistic churchmanship if congregations were low. However, constantly dwindling congregations were a cause for concern, and in certain cases, a church removed itself from all but a small eclectic group, and ceased to be representative of the parish at all.

East Stoke was reckoned to be a moderately Catholic parish in 1942 when P.W. Bavey went to it. There were clearly faults on both sides. He was seen as too unbending, and he saw his parish as being ruined by the influence of the gentry, who were Protestant Tories. It is difficult to know where the blame should more fully be assigned, but the problem was of short duration. Bavey could only take two years of the parish before resigning.⁵⁰

It is a mark of Keble's parishes' moderation that Bishop Barnes of Birmingham, who went to law over the case of St. Aidan's, Small Heath, should have left the Keble livings alone, in general. There were complaints about his behaviour, of course, but only in 1946, at St. Alban's, did the Vicar complain that Barnes appeared to be engineering a campaign to 're-organize' the Diocese, which meant that at a vacancy, appointments could be suspended:

⁴⁹ KF, Hawley; Sampford Peverell; Water Newton.

⁵⁰ KF, East Stoke.

St. Alban's will be left standing, but the Bishop is obsessed with the desire to delay appointments wherever he can, as this gives him a bit of power, and I do not think he minds how little work is done in a parish.⁵¹

Because of this, Clark insisted that he would continue in office, and hope to outlast the Bishop. His fear was that Barnes would refuse to appoint a successor who did not take his own 'non-reservation' line.

The problem of reservation was not, of course, restricted to Barnes, as we have seen. But it varied so much from Diocese to Diocese, that it would not be helpful to indicate which parishes fell foul of which bishop. But certain parishes were clearly so excessive in their Catholicism that they would have fitted into no diocese. Thus Ardwick, in 1941, was said by the Bishop to have no very great hold upon the population. In 1946, he referred to it as 'rather difficult', and later references suggest that church and parish never meshed well together.⁵²

With other parishes, the testimony is clearer. The Bishop of Southwark, said of St. John's, Balham:

St. John's has had so little to do with the Church of England for so many years that the people in the district ceased years ago to regard it as the Parish Church ... Meanwhile a little group of extremists expect the parson to keep things as they like them.

And later:

St. John's has had such an unfortunate history that it may be past retrieving.

However, the next appointment did succeed in getting the church recognised in the parish, and congregations increased, which helps to show that, as well as extremism, clumsiness, rigidity and insensitivity were needed to destroy a church fully. The most extreme church could be restored with humour, tact, and evangelistic zeal.⁵³

We have already seen that at Charlton, Dover, and at Folkestone, Keble's parishes fared very badly, but again, this was a combination of extremism and bad incumbents. It was after a visit to Folkestone in

⁵¹ KF, Birmingham, St. Alban.

⁵² KF, Ardwick.

⁵³ KF, Balham, St. John.

1928, that Hugh Cecil wrote to the Warden:

I am afraid that in travelling about the country I have received the impression that services with an elaborate ceremonial are not generally successful in drawing congregations ... I feel that the Anglo-Catholic movement is suffering from diseases which are quite different from those of which it is often suspected ... The diseases are liturgiology and music. Clergymen and organists will use a church for the purpose of inculcating what they regard, perhaps quite truly, as sound liturgiology and good music. But they seem to have lost the old ritualist tradition of doing good to the people, and they have substituted what is really, I think, the spirit of artistic connoisseurship ... I often feel that the Church of England needs more vulgarity.

And in 1933 he took up the cudgels again about Folkestone, where the 'English Missal' was used, with full ceremonial in an empty church.

Again, this can all be traced to one man, Scott, who had emptied the church. As we have seen, Kidd attempted to remove him at about this time, but he did not leave until 1947, by which time the War had caused Folkestone to be re-organized, and St. Michael's, Folkestone disappeared, the church being demolished in 1953.⁵⁴

At St. Hilda's, Leeds, for a long time, there was a daily, Prayer Book Communion Service, and by the 1930s the congregation insisted that this should be said un-cut, with, in consequence, a daily recitation of the Ten Commandments. But this was idiosyncratic rather than excessive.⁵⁵

St. Mary Magdalene's, Paddington, was one of the 'twenty-one churches' disobedient to Bishop Winnington-Ingram's instructions in the 1920s and 30s, and so it appears to have continued, until it was the congregation who called the tune, and insisted upon the Western Rite in 1950. This demonstrates the way in which teaching could filter down to a congregation and be held tenaciously against all reason.⁵⁶

ALL SAINT'S

The living of, Prittlewell, Southend, was similarly extreme. In 1917 the Bishop of Chelmsford begged the College to take the greatest

⁵⁴ KF, Folkestone, 4-12-1928.

⁵⁵ KF, Leeds, St. Hilda's.

⁵⁶ KF, Paddington, St. Mary Mag.

care that an extreme High Churchman was not appointed. He was evidently trying to preserve the church as one at which holiday-makers could feel comfortable, but the effort was in vain. By 1946 the Church News Sheet appeared to be practically Roman in its advocacy of various devotions, and the Archdeacon of Southend wrote that the advanced Roman Use had alienated the parish. The congregation, however, prided themselves on their exclusivity and opposed any change, while the parishioners refused to be married, or to have their relatives buried, there. In 1950, the Bishop wrote of the church:

For many years it has been so completely off all the lines of Anglicanism as to be almost entirely derelict.⁵⁷

St. John's, Sutton-on-Plym was 'given to some extravagances in devotional procedure' in the 1950s, but again, a new incumbent prepared to cut down on the former uses, much to certain of the congregation's disgust.⁵⁸

Thorpe St. Mary had a firm connection with the CSMV, and before coming to Keble, had been visited by the Kensitites. The Bishop of Guildford in 1954, said:

This is an extremely difficult parish. A former incumbent pushed it too high and too fast, and the cleavage between Church and Parish is complete. Finch has done his best, but hasn't succeeded. The presence of the Sisters doesn't help, as they form most of the congregation as well as patients and attendants. The place needs a man of some experience and patience who will keep visiting and convince the people he's friendly and cares intensely for them.

Again, the personality of the incumbent, as much as anything else, accounted for the difficulties.⁵⁹

At St. Michael's, Woolwich, in 1934, the congregation informed the Council that 'a moderate man would not be acceptable to them', but despite this, the church seems to have flourished.⁶⁰

On the other hand, in a few other parishes, there were very few traces of Catholicism at all. The supreme example of this is at Ashton

⁵⁷ KF, Prittlewell.

⁵⁸ KF, Sutton-on-Plym.

⁵⁹ KF, Thorpe St. Mary.

⁶⁰ KF, Woolwich.

Hayes in Cheshire. The living was transferred to the College by Mrs. Violet Johnson, widow of Ernest Johnson, M.P. She said, on transferring it:

I am most unwilling that the gift should be in the hands of someone who may either be careless of the Church life here, or who would reverse the atmosphere of sane Catholicism ... I should wish, if it be possible, that if during my lifetime a new vicar is appointed ... I should be taken into some consultation as to the person appointed. For a village like this, it is very essential that the priest, while being a Catholic, should not be one who is popularly known as an extremist, as there is no alternative Church for the People and it is essential that we have harmony and unity. We have vestments and wafer bread, and just reverence in all services, and a kindly and understanding man is a necessity.

But in 1941, on Mrs. Johnson's suggestion, the College appointed the Rev. E.H. Barnes, who was not, as far as can be gathered, a Catholic at all. He came to a definitely Anglo-Catholic church, and left, in 1979, having abandoned all the distinctive services of the 1930s, as well as vestments. It is said that, while in hospital, Mrs. Johnson had taken to Mr. Barnes, and suggested him to the College, with only a superficial examination of his suitability. Whatever the truth of this, it is certain that Ashton Hayes is probably the least Anglo-Catholic of Keble's livings.⁶¹

At Horbury Bridge, outgoing incumbents tended to emphasise that great tact was needed in handling the parishioners, and in 1945 it was said that the Catholic faith had not 'taken'. Eventually the church was declared redundant.⁶²

At Thelwall, 'too much, too soon' had upset the parish. In 1937, the Bishop of Chester wrote that the past incumbent had found that 'the Catholic element existed only on paper', and went on to say:

I fear that this parish is an example of the fact that to introduce a tradition too rigidly and without preparatory teaching queers the pitch for good and all.

⁶¹ KF, Ashton Hayes.

⁶² KF, Horbury Bridge.

Then the parish was built up again, to become 'neither too high nor too low'.⁶³

Once Lord Halifax was elected to the Trustees, he used his influence as President of the E.C.U. in various ways, and was in regular communication with H.W. Hill, the Secretary. Hill, in fact, appears to have seen himself as Keble's Grey Eminence, as selections from the correspondence will show:

A Keble living is vacant, Hooe, near Plymouth. Keble has never presented and it is a dead place, there has never been an early Mass even. Mr. Collyns, the Vicar of Plymouth, the next parish, would like to have it ...

Collyns was Hill's cousin by marriage, and he hesitated about this request, but not for too long.⁶⁴ Collyns was not appointed.

Another Keble living will fall in soon - Hawkchurch, where Mr. Going was. What of Mr. Wiltshire in regard to this?⁶⁵

Wiltshire was a man about whom Hill was much exercised at this time in finding an appointment. He was not appointed.

I believe Mr. Marshall [an extreme Anglo-Catholic] hankers after St. Mary Magdalene, Paddington; if that is seriously suggested you must really put your foot down.

St. Mary Magdalene, Paddington is impossible, and I gathered ... that Mr. Bleadon is on his last legs.

Mr Arundell is too young for [Paddington]. Scott would never do. Mr. Simpson is worth bearing in mind ...⁶⁶

Scott was appointed.

I do not know what is happening in regard to the Annunciation, Chislehurst, but Mr. Eastgate, who has been Vicar of St. Paul's, Ramsgate, for some years, would like to go there. You might bear his name in mind in case he gets nominated, but I really think Mr. Serle should go to Chislehurst.⁶⁷

Serle did go to Chislehurst.

In various other cases, Halifax himself took an influential role

⁶³ KF, Thelwall.

⁶⁴ Borthwick Institute, York, Halifax Letters, 3-12-1904, from Hill.

⁶⁵ HL, 27-2-1905, from Hill.

⁶⁶ HL, 4-2-1909; 8-2-1909; 31-7-1909, all from Hill.

⁶⁷ HL, 29-3-1912, from Hill.

in the working of the College's patronage. The College had held St. Andrew's, Worthing, from 1888. In 1907, Lord Halifax offered to build a vicarage for the parish if the advowson were transferred to him and four other Trustees - W.S. Simpson, A.H. Collet, the Rev. H.K. Southwell, and the Rev. E. Brownlow-Layard of Pusey House. The College accepted, provided that they were not liable for the expenses of the transfer. Eventually, the PCC paid. One reason why the College handed over its patronage with such a good grace was explained in a letter which Kidd sent to the Bishop in 1934:

About that date [1907] the Rev'd H.H. Leeper ... [of St. Stephens, Devonport] embarked on some trifling experiment in ceremonial which gave opportunity to questions in Parliament. Dr. Lock, and some members of the Council thought that this would have a bad effect on the reputation of the College and they were rather apprehensive as to the future. It was in this frame of mind that they handed over the patronage to Lord Halifax and his friends.

This, combined with the fact that Girdlestone, the Vicar of Worthing, had become a Roman Catholic in 1905, prompted them to sweep this embarrassment under the carpet.

But by 1934, the remaining Trustees decided to rid themselves of the living. The PCC voted in favour of a transfer to Keble College, and it was re-conveyed in 1935. Once back in its own hands, the College then found that the parish had to be purged of the Romanizing tendencies which had continued.⁶⁸

Halifax's hand is also to be seen in the case of the three Keble livings transferred to the Guild of All Souls at various dates.

Bovey Tracey, Swanley, and St. Barnabas, Tunbridge Wells were all transferred to the Guild of All Souls, when Keble had only made one appointment to each of them. Examining the records, the impression is gained that behind every case, Lord Halifax' influence can be detected.

St. Barnabas, Tunbridge Wells, was given to the College by an Order in Council in May 1881.

⁶⁸ KF, Worthing.

St. John, Bovey Tracey, was given by an Order in Council of the 29 November 1895.

St. Mary, Swanley, was accepted in 1901, the Rector having urged the College to take it.⁶⁹

On the 24 June 1907, the Council approved of the Warden's consent being given on behalf of the College, to the proposed transfer of the advowson of Swanley to a group of private persons, at the request of Miss Eastwood, the original transferor of the advowson, subject to the submission of their names to the Council.

The 'private persons' were H.W. Hill, Major Malet, and Walter Plimpton, the trustees of the Guild of All Souls. How far the College knew that this was the case, is not known, but the transfer was made, and the living became vested in the Guild in 1908.⁷⁰

Then on the 22 April 1909, the Rev. H.W. Hitchcock, the original patron of St. Barnabas, Tunbridge Wells, asked that the living should be transferred to private trustees. The College agreed, and again the trustees were identical.⁷¹ The transfer took place on the 29 July 1909.

In both of these cases, it is likely that the Guild had just begun work as a patronage trust, and was perhaps appealing for patronage. The former patrons of the two livings, perhaps disappointed in Keble's approach, requested the transfer. In the case of Bovey Tracey, however, Lord Halifax was at work.

Canon Courtenay, who had given the living to Keble, was Halifax's uncle. The transfer was completed within his lifetime. On the 23 January 1918, the Council noted:

With reference to the suggestion made by Lord Halifax that the Advowson of St. John Bovey Tracey should be transferred to him, it was resolved that the matter should be dealt with at the next Council meeting, and the Bursar was requested to furnish information as to the circumstances in which the gift of the advowson to the College was made.⁷²

⁶⁹ CM, 18-10-1900; 26-1-1901.

⁷⁰ CM, 24-6-1907; 23-10-1907; 1-2-1908.

⁷¹ CM, 22-4-1909.

⁷² CM, 23-1-1918.

Halifax wanted the transfer to take place, because he was unhappy with the idea of putting College Tutors on the Council. He felt it would weaken Keble's patronage. However, this was simply his own opinion, and an examination of the facts would have shown that for Courtenay, the important thing was that the College should secure the patronage. Halifax, however, wrote to the Bursar, suggesting that the transfer had been completed after Courtenay's death, and would not have been what he had wished. Unfortunately for him, this was easily disproved, but, unconcerned, Halifax wrote again, saying that if he had made a mistake, it did not signify. If Courtenay were alive, he too would desire the transfer.⁷³ Thereafter, Halifax worked on the Warden, and on the 1 May 1918, it was agreed to transfer the living to him 'as it was on his advice and acting in consultation with him that Canon Courtenay had arranged for the vesting of the patronage in the College, and Lord Halifax had provided the house which serves as a vicarage'.⁷⁴

The decision can hardly have been made graciously. The minute suggests the moral blackmail which was brought to bear on all involved. The parishioners felt betrayed and confused by this, but had little to do but accept it. From Halifax, the living was swiftly passed to the Guild of All Souls, where it remains.

In two other cases was Halifax's dominating manner brought to bear on College decisions.

The first of these concerned the appointment of H.H. Leeper to Devonport, which we have already looked at. The second concerned the appointment of the Rev. A.W. Wells to Whitworth, Manchester in 1917-18. Bishop Knox objected to the appointment, and Halifax, eager to fight a crusade, urged his fellow Trustees to take the Bishop to Court. The whole affair could have turned out badly for Keble, in view of the

⁷³ KF, Bovey Tracey, 30-1-1918; 5-2-1918.

⁷⁴ CM, 1-5-1918.

resultant publicity, but before this could happen, Halifax nominated Wells to Goldthorpe, of which he was a trustee. Whitworth went to a more acceptable man, and in 1924, with Bishop Temple at Manchester, the two exchanged livings, so that Wells was appointed with little fuss.⁷⁵ Halifax would have liked a campaigning College, but ignored the College's lack of funds, and its primary, educational functions. The Whitworth affair perhaps convinced him that Keble's patronage could not be used successfully to settle ritualistic points of order.

The Second World War, of course, brought disruption to many parishes, particularly to those near the South Coast, and in industrial areas. Looked at pragmatically, the post-war reorganization which was necessary, enabled many bishops to clear away the 'dead wood'.

St.Barnabas, Beckenham, lost much of the parish, but the church itself was only slightly damaged, and church life continued after the War. In Bristol, St.Raphael's was slightly damaged, but the Bishop took the opportunity thus offered to end the life of a redundant parish, and gave Keble the patronage of St.Aidan's in return for it. SS. Peter and Paul, Charlton next Dover, was badly damaged, but it too survived. St.Stephen's Devonport, however, was destroyed, and after the War, the parish was united with others. St.James, Plymouth was destroyed, and its parish, but the parish was re-established, in a slightly different location, and some sort of continuity assured. It was due to War damage that All Hallows, Southwark was united to the Cathedral Church in order to give Cathedral Staff some pastoral experience. St.Faith, Stepney was destroyed.

The War had a devastating effect on Church life in many areas. Certain congregations were unwilling to be combined with other parishes, and fought vain battles for their independence, but the War had

⁷⁵ The affair is covered in HL, letters between Halifax and Hill, dated 20-5-1918; 26-7-1918; 30-10-1918; 10-11-1918; 26-11-1918; 28-11-1918; 27-1-1919; CM, 17-10-1917; 23-1-1918; 1-5-1918; 24-6-1918; 3-10-1918; 29-1-1919; 30-4-1919; 23-6-1919; and KF, Whitworth.

demonstrated to the satisfaction of many, that the best way to minister to the towns which were growing out of the rubble was by means of group or team ministries, in which the individual patron's voice would be much more submerged.⁷⁶

Keble College by no means accepted all the livings which it was offered. The patronage of a church in Denver, Colorado, and a church in Lugano were offered and refused, but closer to home, St. Michael, Torquay; Holy Trinity Convent, Oxford; St. Mary, Pimlico; St. Peter, Streatham; the Transfiguration, Newington; Holy Trinity, Bath, and St. Agnes, Kennington Park, amongst others, were offered and declined, generally because there was a question as to the legal title, or an insufficient endowment.⁷⁷

7:3 'The Patronage of Keble College'

One aspect of Keble's patronage which is of interest is a booklet published under the above name, in 1903, and written by the Rev. the Hon. W.E. Bowen, M.A.⁷⁸ It demonstrates that, in those controversial times, Keble College was known about, and criticised in various quarters. The preface of this extraordinary pamphlet stated:

The College has at present the patronage of 36 livings, and evidence as to 17 of these is now published.

The Churches ... have been visited in December 1902 and January 1903 by trustworthy and competent reporters, for whose good faith and substantial accuracy I accept full responsibility.⁷⁹

In other words, Bowen had, in the approved manner of the times, sent people to spy out the services and report back. Clearly in looking for his spies, Bowen did not consider knowledge of Anglo-Catholic worship an advantage. The ability to be shocked at very little, and

⁷⁶ See relevant KFs.

⁷⁷ CM, 26-1-1898; 28-4-1906; 19-10-1875; 6-7-1876; 23-1-1877; 15-10-1879; 1-2-1881; 22-1-1885; 25-6-1890; 23-6-1902; 20-6-1904; 18-6-1906; 23-4-1914; 9-5-1925.

⁷⁸ Bowen was a principal witness before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, and about the only one to appreciate the significance of patronage. See, e.g. Q.269.

⁷⁹ W.E. Bowen, The Patronage of Keble College, a Statement of Facts (London, 1903), p.3.

some inclination to exaggeration, combine to make the report, in retrospect, rather amusing. But this should not disguise the fact that the fundamental objection in many cases was that the Communion of the People was a very minor part of most celebrations, if it occurred at all. It would be a little false to shrug this off as a mindless criticism, when Anglo-Catholics themselves came to see later how one-sided this made the Eucharist.

The Churches visited were:

St.Mary Magdalene, Paddington.	14.12.02
St.Barnabas, Oxford.	21.12.02
All Hallows, Southwark	26.12.02
The Ascension, Lavender Hill.	28.12.02
St.Saviours, Leeds.	4.1.03
St.Hildas, Leeds.	4.1.03
St.Andrews, Worthing.	11.1.03
St.Michael and All Angels, Woolwich.	11.1.03
All Saints, Prittlewell.	18.1.03
St.Bartholomew, Dover.	25.1.03
St.James, Plymouth.	26.1.03
St.John, Plymouth [i.e. Sutton on Plym]	26.1.03
St.Stephens, Devonport.	27.1.03
St.Johns, Bovey Tracey.	29.1.03
St.Raphael, Bristol.	31.1.03
St.Dyfrigs, Cardiff.	1.2.03
St.Germans, Roath.	1.2.03

Placing the dates with the Churches, one is irresistably drawn to an image of Mr. Bowen, cycling around Kent or Devon, or taking the train to Leeds, pausing at an early celebration here, a High Mass there, noting details of the services and then pressing on to his next port of call.

The list of horrors makes light reading now, but at the time, would have appeared dreadful to some, and merely naive to others:

Crucifix, Picture of BVM, Small Red light - Confessions heard - 'Mass', Vespers for Dead, Midnight Mass - tickets given to Communicants, Mass Vestments - Blessing of incense - Gospel Procession - Mixed Chalice - Sign of Cross - Secret Devotions - Manual Acts hidden - elevation of host - few communicants.

This might almost be the pattern for all the churches visited, except that, arguing from silence, it appears that there were communicants at St.Saviour's, Leeds. This was bad enough, but at times, the book appears to be simply mischief-making. Admittedly, parts of the Roman Canon appear to have been used in many of the churches, but to read:

By way of interpolation the words 'Let us pray' and 'The Lord be with you' with the response 'and with thy Spirit' were introduced into the service at intervals.

is hardly to be enlightened as to what was so terrible about it. Further, to call a requiem a 'Black Mass', as was done, did rather suggest interpretations which were not favourable.

All of the churches, in short, were extreme, but for Bowen, omitting parts of the Prayer Book was extreme, and so, unfortunately, his evidence mixes the shocking with the dull. All of them were also urban, and, as was to be expected in such cases, the level of ceremonial was likely to be high. The churches were exuberant, and perhaps rather foolish. Time would modify some of them, empty others, and leave Bowen's pamphlet looking dated and rather amusing. But to clergy who might have lived in expectation of 'protestant' vandals disturbing the service, or destroying the ornaments, it was not funny.

As contrary evidence in 1909 the Protestant Alliance published a list of churches at which "'High Mass' etc. etc. was celebrated on Sat. Jan. 30th, being the day of the Martyrdom of Blessed King Charles I."⁸⁰ The paper was an accusation of the Society of King Charles the Martyr, which, it was said, had connections with the Jacobites, who claimed that the House of Bavaria represented the true line of succession to the

⁸⁰ Davidson Letters, 'Protestant Alliance'.

English throne. What truth there was in this accusation is not clear. But in the twenty-eight churches mentioned, only one, St. James, Plymouth, was in the patronage of Keble College. Evidently, Catholic excess did not generally go that far.

However, if this negative evidence can be allowed, it must also be said that support for the E.C.U. amongst Keble parishes was consistent. The Church Union Gazette published annual lists of those churches where the intention at the Eucharist during the E.C.U.'s anniversary celebration, had been the work of the E.C.U. Studying the list given for 1921, as typical of the others, we may note the high proportion of Keble livings represented. The Preacher at the Evening Service on the 20 June, arranged by the President and Council of the E.C.U, was the Rev. Arthur Montford, Vicar of the Ascension, Lavender Hill, a Keble living, and the Surrey (North-East) District Union's Evensong was held at St. John the Divine, Balham, again, a Keble living.⁸¹

In all, the Eucharist was celebrated at 1546 churches and chapels in connection with the work of the E.C.U. Of the 88 parishes which have had, at one time or another, a connection with Keble College, 50 were represented in the list. Of these, 28 gave the offerings of the service to the E.C.U. This proportion is higher than it looks, for it should be recalled that of the 38 parishes not represented, 22 had not by then come into Keble's patronage, and a further 4, while previously in Keble's hands, had, by 1921, passed from them. 8 of the others were rural, and therefore less likely to be involved with militant Catholicism, but even so, St. James, Plymouth, St. Stephen's, Devonport, and All Saints, Prittlewell, which were by no means flagging in their Catholic zeal, were not represented.

Of the 50 livings which were represented, 7 had passed from Keble by 1921, but most of these were either disestablished or in the hands of

⁸¹ Church Union Gazette, Annual Report 1921, p.3.

the Guild of All Souls, so that the tradition had not necessarily altered; and 11 were not at that time in Keble's gift, leaving 32 out of 44 of the livings then held by Keble represented in the E.C.U. list - 72.7% of Keble's patronage at the time. Only 7 of these were rural, the rest having large urban populations - about 78% of the total represented.

When we compare these figures with those of other trusts, we find the following figures:

Guild of All Souls	21 out of 35 now held - 60%
Society for the Maintenance of the Faith	36 out of 68 now held - 53%
Church Union Trustees	3 out of 5 now held - 60%
Meynell-Ingram Trustees	4 out of 8 now held - 50%

These figures compare with 43 out of 77 livings for Keble - 56%, assuming, as is the case in the other lists, that no account is taken of livings held before 1921, but not in Keble's hands in 1921. In other words, all of the Catholic Trusts, on very broad lines, gave support to the E.C.U. which amounted to perhaps about 70% of their patronage. But in Keble's case we have seen that even the most Catholic of parishes did not feel themselves obliged to support the E.C.U. or celebrate its anniversary. Affiliation to the E.C.U. was, then, no essential part of Keble's patronage.

In conclusion, we may consider two more publications which include details of Keble livings. The Tourist's Church Guide, published by the E.C.U., was a listing of those churches which held a weekly Eucharist as the main service. Taking three editions as examples, we see that in 1896-7, 59 Keble parishes were listed. In 1910 this had fallen to 51, and by 1912 stood at 52 livings. The fall in the number of livings listed may be due to withdrawal of names after persecution, since The Tourist's Church Guide proved very useful to opponents of

Anglo-Catholicism, in finding churches to disturb.⁸²

The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, which reported in 1906, contained evidence about 555 churches. Of these, 35 were then or later in the patronage of Keble College. This was a small proportion of the whole, many of which, as was pointed out, were held by bishops, but in view of Keble's patronage at the time, it represented a large share of Keble's livings.⁸³

With nothing to compare it with, it is impossible to say firmly that the exercise of patronage by Keble College reflects that of other Catholic trusts. But there seems to be enough evidence to say that it seems likely that the other trusts would not have acted in a fundamentally different way. They would have attempted to form a pool of suitable men. Their appointees would have been largely left to their own devices once presented. Trusts were no substitute for endowments. Few of them had the wealth to support poor parishes or to help worthy causes. They had been established as an expedient, and continued in the same way, their poverty excusing them from suspicion when in the 1930s, much trust patronage was suspect.

⁸² The Tourist's Church Guide, (London, 1896-7; 1900; 1912).

⁸³ P.P. 1906 Cd 3040 XXXIII, 1. See Bibliography for full references to volumes containing the evidence.

Conclusion

The issue of Church patronage bears on many aspects of Church history, influencing the growth of the parochial system, the history of tithes, and of endowments, and in consequence, of the Church's wealth. In recent times, a number of factors have combined to bring the issue of party into the field of patronage. Some have felt that this has had a largely harmful effect on the Church, making commitment to party too significant, and hence dividing Anglicans. In contrast to this, we may conclude generally that if the patronage trusts which we have examined have had a significant effect on the Church, both in their general tendency within the parishes, and by the stimulation of patronage reform, we cannot support the charge that their effect on the Church has been any worse than that of individual patrons; and in many cases they have clearly had a better effect. If this verdict of 'not proven' sounds too cautious, then it is in marked contrast to some of the attacks which have been, and continue to be made, by those who do not always appear to have studied the subject in adequate detail.

The origins of the patronage system link it firmly with property, since it arose as a compromise between a Church which wished to extend its missionary activity, and a land-owning population which wished to retain some control over ecclesiastical buildings on their land. The right to present to a living came to be accepted as hereditary, and in time, as the Church acquired its own lands, corporate ecclesiastical bodies held patronage and, as more tithes came to be appropriated, helped in the establishment of the vicarage system.

Nevertheless, before the Reformation, this proprietary aspect of patronage was tempered by various considerations, legal and moral, which

tended to emphasise the aspect of a spiritual trust for the welfare of parishioners, or at least, of the Church in general. Clerical celibacy, and the rigours of the priest's life, tended to exclude more of the worldly than after the Reformation. There were cases of corrupt purchase of benefices, and profiteering, but in general, the exercise of patronage rested on the assumption that, even though saleable, patronage should not be sold simply for profit or bought for influence.

Increasingly from the Reformation, the legal status of patronage lagged behind moral injunctions as to its right exercise, due to three factors:

- a. An increase of lay patrons after the dissolution of the monasteries, with a tendency to see their patronage as part of the currency of power;
- b. An increasing separation of patrons from the land in which their benefices lay, making the relationship between patron and incumbent less personal, and more formal;
- c. With the end of clerical celibacy, the rise of the clergy as 'gentry', with families to maintain, and a position to uphold, and a willingness to view Church livings as suitable rewards or bribes.

To become ordained could appear to be merely one way amongst others of acquiring land, and a regular income, with a status comparable with the 'better' families of the parish. During the nineteenth century, the increase of patron-incumbents increased the hereditary view of livings, so that such clergy were not only gentlemen, but gentlemen who sought to pass on to their sons the benefices which were their 'rightful inheritance'. Under these circumstances, resignation bonds were seen to be necessary to evade a law which worked against hereditary benefices. High-minded bishops might object, but the pressure from the landed interest was too great, and the Church surrendered before the pressure. Clerical agents, and the increasing evidence of corrupt

re-purchase of advowsons, pointed to the feeling among some clergy, that the law of simony was outdated and too restrictive. To the reformers, of course, it suggested the opposite.

Calls for reform of the system came from various quarters, and due to several causes. Radicals pointed an accusing finger at 'the soul market', and wished to abolish all sales of patronage. The call for merit to be rewarded, which led to the reform of other professions, and a greater professional standard, penetrated the Church too. On the one hand, the laity demanded some reasonable minimum of service, and on the other, the Evangelical and Oxford Movements helped to develop a clerical self-consciousness which distanced the clergy from the upper classes of the society in which they lived. The clergy came to see themselves less as gentlemen, and more as professional men in a profession which demanded sacrifices. The bishops too, moved slowly from the nepotistic, to the altruistic, and increased their patronage in order to help, not their own families and friends, but clergymen without influence elsewhere. This, however, was a slow reform, and regarded with much suspicion by the clergy.

Balda has argued that Simeon, in establishing a patronage trust, freed patronage from its connection with property, and caused it to be linked more with party concerns. Undoubtedly this is one factor, but those mentioned above should also be seen as leading in the direction of reform. Simeon was an 'enlightened despot' among patrons, but he still claimed the sole right of selecting an incumbent, something resented by bishops of the time, although later accepted by other trusts: if Simeon's motives were more exalted than those of some private patrons, the extent of his patronage represented a threat to some bishops.

The call for reform grew stronger as a minority of patrons were seen to be abusing the system in their own interests. But the reforming Church was one in which trust patronage was coming to play an increasingly important role.

Patronage trusts can be said to be largely the invention of Charles Simeon. He, at least, grasped the idea that, without continuity, individual presentations to livings were only piecemeal solutions to the problem of gaining evangelical influence. His idea was adopted by Evangelicals on a large scale, and by small groups of 'subscriber-patrons' who gained an opening in the expanding cities, partly due to the patron-incumbents' tendency to seek country livings. With more urban livings, and little public funding, bishops were glad to grant the patronage of new churches to whoever would endow them. The towns, with a multiplicity of churches attracting voluntary, eclectic congregations, were becoming the field where party lines were drawn, and 'extremists' had much more liberty to do as they wished in town churches. This influenced, and was in its turn influenced by, subscriber-patronage.

Anglo-Catholics, partly because of genuine objections, partly because it was associated with Evangelicals, objected to large-scale trust patronage at first, and tended to make appointments through small trusts, individual sympathisers, or favourable bishops. It appears that Keble College's acceptance of patronage gave a lead to the establishment of other trusts, though even the largest did not rival the Evangelicals' patronage.

The story of nineteenth-century patronage reform is not one in which party issues were much to the fore, except in that a residual 'protestantism' led many conservatives to oppose granting more powers to the bishops. Both sides knew that lay patrons were the chief abusers of patronage, and did not waste much of their time attacking trusts. The few remarks at the time which do mention trusts tend to be critical, but the objections are ideological: the very idea is objectionable. When a man like Willis attacks Simeon's Trust on its record, his facts are grossly exaggerated and lead to ridiculous conclusions. There is little evidence of what trusts thought of the moves for reform, but individual

trustees appear to have been in agreement with calls for the end of resignation bonds, and sales of next presentations.

The Benefices Act, 1898 became law partly because it was needed, partly because its opponents had declined in influence, partly because Parliament was more apathetic on Church matters, partly because declining clergy incomes made the market sluggish, partly because of greater consultation within the Church. It was a compromise measure, achieving a minimum of reforms, but still allowing the purchase of advowsons, something which their declining value had made easier. It gave the bishops greater influence in refusing appointments, and brought the Church into line with other bodies.

The Church's unsatisfactory experience of Parliament led to the call for, and granting of, the Church Assembly, which accepted that one of its earliest tasks should be the giving of more power to the laity in Church appointments, and further reform of patronage.

We have argued that, until the 1920s, patronage trusts were not criticised as they were to be later. In 1925, the E.C.U. could speak favourably of most of the evangelical trusts, and we have found no evidence of any decline between this date and the end of our study. But the 1923 Measure, and the consequent increase of the trade in livings, caused some to place the blame on the trusts. We have argued that the major offender in this case was the Martyrs' Memorial Trust, and that other purchasers tended to be private patrons. The other trusts, it appears, bought few new livings.

In fact, the debates at this stage, when Measures to control patronage trusts were brought in, are marked by prejudice and misinformation. The Assembly appeared very ready to conclude that the purchase of advowsons ought to have stopped with the passing of the 1923 Measure. That it had, in fact, increased, was in part their responsibility. Blaming the trusts was relatively easy, for it deflected criticism from the Assembly itself, was based on some evidence

of the MMT's misdeeds, and enabled those idealists who hoped to end party divisions, to claim that their objections were well founded.

Despite this, it is still easy to find, in the prefaces to Crockfords, as well as in certain speeches within the Church Assembly, signs of the old attitude towards the trusts - that they were founded from good motives, were run as well as other forms of patronage, and were not attempting to upset tradition. Unfortunately, such views tended to appear 'merely' pragmatic, compared with the fine theory of opponents of the trusts.

But the reformers did produce good results. Transfers were required to be registered, and livings could be re-purchased: in effect, the Assembly had undone the harm which it had brought about, under the guise of reforming party trusts. It had also ended the brief but meteoric rise of Warrington's MMT.

As opposed to the prevailing attitude to trusts within the Assembly, our examination of them would draw different conclusions:

Most of those who have had close experience of the workings of the trusts have expressed themselves happy with them.

In general, their rate of expansion was moderate. Livings were more often given than purchased.

When livings were purchased, the tendency was to buy livings of the churchmanship of the trust, or livings which were in danger of being taken by another trust or tradition. This is rather different from breaking a tradition, although, presumably, equally frustrating to other trusts. Besides which, of those livings where there does seem clear evidence that an existing churchmanship was frustrated, some had not known the 'tradition' for above one incumbency. This leaves those livings where a long standing tradition was broken. Of these, most were purchased by the MMT in the 1920s. There is no reason to blame other trusts, or to see the evil as spreading further back in time.

The trusts themselves, inasmuch as they existed, clearly

represented other than moderate varieties of churchmanship. But the later view of them as, on the evangelical side, an undifferentiated mass of extreme Puritans, will not hold water. There were different shades of opinion in the trusts, and failure to realize this led some critics to define 'true Anglicanism' in far too narrow a way.

The evidence would suggest that the supremely guilty trust in the 1920s was the MMT, which differed in several particulars from other trusts. It was of recent foundation, under the virtual control of only one man, and had expanded faster than any other trust. It was involved in the field of education, had large funds on which to draw, and, in its later stages, set out on an anti-Catholic campaign which drew it to the attention of many, and caused an outcry.

Henson attacked the trusts in Sibbes and Simeon, but placed the blame on Simeon rather than Warrington. His harsh attitude to Simeon was hardly typical, and his argument depended upon a view of the survival of the fittest in the Church, which overlooked party feelings; but despite this, his eccentric views were accorded some respect. Thus Smyth, who had studied Simeon, could still be influenced by Henson's views, even though he had far more evidence than Henson about Simeon, and must have known how wide of the mark Sibbes and Simeon was. Even today, Col. W.A. Salmon in Churches and Royal Patronage, continues this view by saying that party trusts purchased every living which came on the market, a palpable falsehood. But this view is a prevalent one, and the researcher into trust patronage is imagined to be possessed of the guilty secrets of the Church of his forefathers. In the main, such secrets do not exist.

Warrington was stopped partly by the internal collapse of the MMT, through his forced resignation and the drying-up of funds, and partly by public indignation, channelled into the pages of the Church Times and drawn to the attention of the Church Assembly by the work of the CPPC. Generally, the CPPC were better at propaganda than at concerted action.

Their appeals raised nothing like enough money to do what they had planned, but 'Buying up the Church of England' was a coup, even if Dilworth-Harrison preferred the blunderbuss to the rifle. The work of the CPPC tends to show a certain apathy or inability among Anglo-Catholics to give to 'save' other parishes; and also to show that the response to the PRP Measure was more limited than had been thought, which raises two more questions:

How far had parishes been 'turned' by the MMT, and how far were vocal minorities protesting?

How far was the PRP Measure limited to wealthy parishes?

It is perhaps symptomatic that our conclusion leaves these two questions unanswered, for the subject of patronage is by no means closed, and many judgements must remain personal. To what extent are DBP's merely a disguised extension of episcopal patronage? How far do episcopal appointments reflect the preferences of the bishop? How should patronage be amended, if indeed it should? Will the patrons of Sizewell appoint only a supporter of nuclear energy? These are modern questions, and heirs of the earlier debate. Certain ecumenists sometimes speak as though party patronage created party division. We cannot agree. Party feelings created the trusts. Without the trusts, the success of parties might have been limited to the edges of the Church, or the vagaries of the nineteenth-century patronage system. The trusts enabled party differences to penetrate the Church. They caused riots, persecutions, commissions, and bitterness. But out of the cross-fertilization of their ideas has emerged the Church of England as it exists today. Party trusts are modified as party feelings modify, and we are in no position to predict what may be their future role.

At a distance, party trusts may look secretive, and of doubtful moral value. Closer to, they appear less fearsome. The available records of Keble College allowed us to look in some detail at the day to day life of a patronage trust, and to draw from it some general

conclusions. We may say that there appears to be no evidence to suggest that any trust, with a very few exceptions, has not done its best for the livings within its charge. How far this 'best' is in itself to be admired is another question. Trust patronage is limited in its effectiveness by the number of livings held, which can limit intimate knowledge of any one parish; and by the location of the trustees, which may limit meetings to certain times of year, and allow business to wait too long for a parish's convenience. But to what extent are individual patrons any better in this respect?

Much of Keble's contact with its parishes has been concerned with matters of routine - permission to sell glebe, move house, install heating, fell trees, etc. There are occasional requests for financial assistance, which in Keble's case can only be met inadequately. With about seventy livings held at present, appointments to livings occur regularly and frequently, and much time appears to be put into finding a successor although, sometimes, a particular appointee has not worked well in a parish. But, as a percentage of all appointments made by Keble, notably bad ones have been in a small minority.

Most of Keble's livings were acquired by the gift of those who had been influenced by the Oxford Movement, and wished the tradition of their parishes to be preserved. Keble's appointments bear this out. They were in general definite Anglo-Catholics, and if evangelical disapproval is an indicator, the early incumbents at least were all thoroughly unpopular with the compilers of evangelical 'black-lists'.¹

With the mystery which comes of ignorance stripped away, Keble College appears quite ordinary in its behaviour. Once or twice it has

¹ Anon, The Ritualistic Conspiracy : Being a List of Priests who desire the Appointment of Licensed Confessors for the Church of England, 29th ed. (London, 1877), and Anon, The Ritualistic Clergy List, Being a Guide for Patrons and Others to certain of the Clergy of the Church of England ... who are helping the Romeward Movement in the National Church, 4th ed. (London, 1908), both mention many early Keble incumbents.

been unduly influenced by Lord Halifax. Once or twice it has been careless. But in general, it has shown no dangerous tendencies which secrecy has disguised. If this is typical of all trusts, then we may say that their influence has been more for good and less for harm than was thought fifty years ago. They have recognized honestly the extent to which party feelings within the Church are genuine and need to be respected, something which not all ecumenists have done. They have realized the importance of the patron's role, and have helped to free it from the image of nepotism and corruption, which it had acquired. In general, they did not resort to the tactics of extensive purchase which Warrington showed were quite possible, as, too, did the increase in sales after 1923. They acknowledged openly the important role played by patrons in determining the clerical tone of the Church of England. The history of patronage demonstrates the extent to which a system good in itself may be corrupted. The history of party patronage demonstrates the way in which high-minded men may rise above such corruption in the service of what they believe is true.

Table 1 Patronage Business in Parliament from 1870 to 1898

1870 Benefices Bill (Assheton Cross, Viscount Sandon, Hibbert, Birley.)

C. Ordered Feb.22.

First Reading Feb. 23.

Second Reading May 11.

Committee Report May 24.

Considered May 25.

Third Reading May 31.

L. First Reading (Duke of Marlborough) June 13.

Second Reading July 4.

Order for Committee discharged July 14.

Marlborough said that he would move for the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry.

1873 C. Thomas Hughes moved for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into, inter alia, the Law relating to patronage. July 15 - Rejected. In the course of the debate, Edward Leatham first attacked Clerical Agents, and claimed that one-fourteenth of the patronage of the Church was in the market at any one time.

1874 L. Magee moved for a Select Committee on Patronage April 21.

Committee appointed April 24.

Ecclesiastical Patronage (Church of England) Bill

(Sir. J. Kennaway, Lord Henry Scott, J.G. Talbot, Salt.)

C. First Reading May 20.

(Dropped.)

1875 Church Patronage Bill [H.L.] (Magee.)

L. First Reading Feb. 9.

Second Reading and referred to a Select Committee Feb.25.

Report of Select Committee April 30.

Report of House of Lords in Committee June 4.

Third Reading June 7.

C. First Reading (Mr. Walpole) June 11.

Bill Withdrawn July 27.

1877 C. Leatham moved for 'more stringent' measures to be taken June 26. An amendment toning down this call was proposed, but both amendment and motion were withdrawn, and the milder motion was adopted.

1878 Leatham moved that measures should be taken, using the words of the resolution above Feb.12.

Amendment proposed, that Parliament should define the Law of Simony.

[House counted out.]

1881 Leatham proposed 'remedial measures of the most stringent and radical character' Mar.29.

A more moderate amendment was proposed by Stuart-Wortley.

Amendment and Motion withdrawn.

Church Patronage Bill (Stanhope, Albert Gray, Stanley Leighton, Stuart-Wortley.)

C. First Reading Jan. 7.

At debate over Second Reading, April 6, debate adjourned.

Resumed April 7.

Illingworth attempted to block Bill in that it still countenanced Sales. Three attempts made to force an adjournment, the third successfully.

Bill Withdrawn May 24.

Church Patronage (No.2) Bill (Stanhope, Stuart-Wortley, Talbot, Gray, Leighton.)

C. First Reading, May 19.

Gladstone intimated that if the Bill were opposed, it would not pass.

Bill Withdrawn Aug.3.

1882 Church of England (Sale of Patronage) Bill (Leatham, Rylands,
George Russell, William Fowler.)

C. First Reading Feb.10.

Dropped.

Church Patronage Bill (Stanhope, Talbot, Stuart-Wortley.
Leighton.)

C. First Reading Feb.10.

Illingworth attempted to block a Second Reading because the
Bill would not end all sales. Debate adjourned.

Bill withdrawn. Aug.1.

1883 Church of England (Patronage) Bill (Leatham, H.H. Fowler,
Russell, Shield.)

C. First Reading Feb.16.

Bill Withdrawn July 18.

1884 Church Patronage Bill (Leatham, Rylands, H.H. Fowler, Shield.)

C. First Reading Feb.6.

Albert Grey moved for a parishioners' veto. Accepted.

Second Reading June 18. Committed to a Select Committee.

Select Committee Report July 24.

Church Patronage (No.2) Bill (Stanhope, Stuart-Wortley, Talbot,
Leighton.)

C. First Reading June 16.

Second Reading. Committed to the above Select Committee.

Select Committee Report July 24.

1886 Church Patronage Bill (Rylands, Leatham, Fowler, Brinton.)

C. First Reading Jan.22.

Second Reading April 7.

Debate on going into Committee adjourned, resumed,
adjourned.

[Dropped.]

Church Patronage Bill [H.L.] (Benson.)

L. First Reading April 6.

Second Reading. Referred to a Select Committee May 13.

Report of Select Committee June 4.

Bill reported June 4.

1887 Church Patronage Bill [H.L.] (Benson.)

L. First Reading Feb.18.

Grimthorpe attempted to prevent Second Reading ; debate adjourned.

Second Reading Mar.3.

Committee Mar.15.

Report Mar.22.

Third Reading April 1.

1893 Church Patronage Bill [H.L.] (Benson.)

L. First Reading Feb.27.

Second Reading Mar.16.

Committee Report April 25.

Report of Amendments April 27.

Third Reading, passed, May 23.

1894 Church Patronage Bill (Bartley.)

C. First Reading Mar.16.

Second Reading May 2.

Reported from Standing Committee June 11.

As amended, considered, July 18.

1895 Church Patronage Bill (W.H. Fisher.)

C. First Reading Feb.8.

Second Reading. Referred to the Grand Committee on Law April 3.

Report from Standing Committee on Law May 13.

L. Second Reading May 14.

In Committee May 21.

Reported from Standing Committee without further Amendment

May 28.

Amendments reported May 30.

Church Patronage Bill

L. Presented pro forma. First Reading Feb.5.

1896 Benefices Bill (Viscount Cranborne.)

C. First Reading Feb.14.

Second Reading Mar.11; Committed to Standing Committee on
Law.

Report April 28.

Motion to consider as amended June 3. Resumed June 10.

1897 Benefices Bill (J.A. Wilcox.)

C. First Reading Jan.22.

Benefices (No.3) Bill (Colonel Sandys.)

C. First Reading Jan.22.

Church Patronage Transfer Bill (Stanley Leighton.)

C. First Reading Feb.19.

Church Patronage Transfer Bill [H.L.] (Archbishop of York.)

L. First Reading Mar.1.

Second Reading. Committed to Committee of the whole
House May 14.

Report from Standing Committee without amendment
June 1.

Third Reading July 9. Amendments.

C. First Reading July 12.

1898 Church Patronage Transfer Bill

Withdrawn after First Reading.

Benefices Bill (Hon. Alfred Lyttelton.) [No dates given.]

C. First, Second, Reading. Report.

Benefices (No.2) Bill (A.J. Balfour.)

Became Law.

Table 2 The Progress of the First Five Benefices

Measures in the Church Assembly

- 1924 Benefices Act 1898 (Amendment) Measure. Royal Assent 14 July.
- 1925 Committee on Patronage and Tenure of Benefices (appointed in 1921) reported, recommending consultation with parishioners. Assembly voted in favour of legislation to establish DBPs. DBP and ERP Measures formulated.
- 1926 Spring. DBP and ERP Measures discussed and referred to a committee.
- 1927 Spring. DBP and ERP Measures united into one Measure, the Patronage Measure.
- 1929 Spring. The Patronage Measure was postponed from session to session until this point and referred back to the Committee. TRP Measure discussed, having first arisen in Autumn 1928. Autumn. TRP Measure discussed. Patronage Measure and TRP Measure sent back to the Committee.
- 1930 Spring. TRP Measure revised. Committee established to prepare a Measure abolishing sales of advowsons. Patronage Measure divided into DBP and ERP Measures.
Summer. Measure to abolish sales defeated.
DBP, ERP and TRP Measures finally approved.
1 August. TRP Measure received Royal Assent.
- 1931 Spring. Committee established to draw up a Measure in view of the recent sales of advowsons - the origin of the PRP Measure.
Summer. DBP Measure withdrawn for revision, revised, and postponed to Autumn, then Spring.
8 July. ERP Measure received Royal Assent.

1932 Spring. PRP Measure discussed, referred back for revision.

DBP Measure revised.

16 June. DBP Measure received Royal Assent.

Summer. PRP Measure revised.

Autumn. PRP Measure revised, and finally approved.

1933 29 March. PRP Measure received Royal Assent.

Table 3 Living Acquired, Held and Lost by The MMT

Year	Living Acquired Total	Acquired by 'MMT'	Acquired by 'Trustees'	Acquired by 'Schools'	Living Lost (mostly to DBP)	Total Held
To 1925	23	13	6	4	-	23
1926	20	7	2	11	-	43
1927	7	0	0	7	-	50
1928	14	2	0	7	-	64
1929	23	2	5	12	-	87
1930	77	4	57	16	-	164
1931	33	4	19	10	-	197
1932	12	2	9	1	-	209
1933	11	1	5	5	-	220
1934	0	0	0	0	4	216
1935	1	0	1	0	7	210
1936	2	1	0	1	11	201
1937	3	3	0	0	2	202
1938	0	0	0	0	3	199
1939	2	2	0	0	1	200
1940	2	0	2	0	0	202
1941	1	1	0	0	0	203
1942	1	1	0	0	0	204
1943	2	2	0	0	4	202
1944	0	0	0	0	0	202
1945	3	3	0	0	0	205

Table 4 The Patronage of Keble College

<u>Parish.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>How</u>	<u>To Whom</u>
Aberdare, St. Margaret, Aberaman	1887-1920	Government Instrument	KC - T
Ardwick, St. Benedict	1929-	From Trustees	T
Arkesden	1929-	Will	KC
Ashton Hayes	1939-	Conveyance	KC
Balham, St. John	1909-	Conveyance	KC - T
Balham, St. Mary	1881-84		
Beckenham, St. Barnabas	1877-	O in C	KC - T
Beenham Valance	1924-	Conveyance	T
Birmingham, St. Alban the Martyr	1893-	From Trustees	T
Bordesley, St. Benedict	1924-	From Trustees	T
Bournemouth, St. Stephen	1882-	O in C	KC - T
Bovey Tracy, St. John	1895-1919	O in C	KC - T
Bristol, St Aidan	1943-71	By exchange	[KC-]T
Bristol, St. Raphael	1893-1943	Agreement	KC - T
Caldicot	1881-1920	Conveyance	T
Cardiff, St. Dyfrig	1894-1920	O in C	KC - T
Chale, I.O.W.	1926-	Conveyance	KC
Charlton, Dover, St. Bartholomew	1877-1979		KC - T
Charlton, Dover Sts. Peter and Paul	1877-	Conveyance	KC - T
Chislehurst	1875-	O in C	KC - T
Cleobury Mortimer	1902-	Conveyance	KC
Cley with Wiveton	1929-	Will	KC
Devonport, St. Stephen	1877-1958	O in C	KC - T
Eastbourne	1943-	Will/Conveyance	KC
Eastchurch, Isle of Sheppey	1949-	Will	KC
East Stoke	1900-	Will	KC
Effingham	1936-	Will/Conveyance	KC
Exbourne with Jacobstowe	1949-	Conveyance	KC
Folkestone	1878-1953	Agreement	T
Foxholes	1935-	Will	KC
Fulletby	1909-	Conveyance	T
Hawkchurch	1881-	Will	KC - T
Hawley	1923-	Will	KC
Hayes	1952-	Will	KC
Hitchin, Holy Saviour	1934-	Conveyance	KC
Hooe	1882-	Conveyance	T
Horbury Bridge	1882-1979	O in C	KC
Hyde	1883-	Conveyance	T

Kensington	1890-1911	O in C	T
Lapley	1937-	Conveyance	KC
Lavender Hill	1875-	O in C	KC - T
Leeds, St. Hilda	1882-1963	Agreement	KC - T
Leeds, St. Saviour	1890-	Trustees	T
Letheringsett with Bayfield	1929-	Will	KC
Lewisham	1889-	Conveyance	T
Low Marple	1906-		KC
Manningham, St. Chad	1913-	O in C	KC - T
Mayfield	1938-	Will	KC
Northfield	1890-	Conveyance	KC
Oxford, St Andrew, Headington	1927-	Conveyance	KC
Oxford, St. Barnabas	1886-	O in C	KC
Paddington, St. Mary Mag.	1892-	Trustees	T
Plymouth, St. James	1874-	Conveyance	KC - T
Plymouth, St. Peter	1885-	Conveyance	T
Prittlewell	1877-	O in C	KC - T
Radwinter	1902-	Conveyance	KC
Roath, St. German	1886-1920	Deed	T
St. Ervan	1950-69	Conveyance	KC
St. Petroc	1950-	Conveyance	KC
Salcombe	1883-	Conveyance	T
Salt	1929-	Conveyance	KC
Sampford Peverell	1910-	Will	KC
Saxlingham	1929-	Will	KC
Shard End, All Saints	1959-		
Shelley	1931-	Conveyance	KC
South Kensington	1890-	Trustees	T
Southwark, All Hallows	1879-	Will	T
Stepney, St. Faith	1928-54	O in C	
Storrington	1943-	Will	KC
Streatham, St. Anselm	1908-9		
Sutton on Plym	1899-	Conveyance	KC
Swanley, St. Mary	1901-8	O in C	KC
Tacolneston	1945-	Will	KC
Thelwall	1917-	Conveyance	KC
Thorpe Malsor	1911-	Will	KC
Thorpe St. Mary	1932-	Conveyance	KC
Tonge Moor	1910-	Trustees	T
Tunbridge Wells, St. Barnabas	1881-1909	O in C	KC
Upton	1910-	Conveyance	KC
Water Newton	1931-	Will	KC

White Colne	1872-	Conveyance	KC - T
Whitworth, St. Bartholomew	1896-	Conveyence	T
Wicken Bonhunt	1915-	Will	KC
Winthorpe	1905-	Will	KC
Wiveton with Glandford	1929-	Will	KC
Woolwich	1879-	Instrument	KC - T
Worthing	1888-1907 1935-	O in C	KC
Yarmouth, I.O.W	1928-	Will	

Key

O in C = Order in Council.

KC = Conveyed to the Warden, Council and Scholars.

T = Conveyed to the Trustees.

KC - T = Conveyed to the Warden, Council and Scholars,
and by them to the Trustees.

Appendix A Simeon's Trustees to 1940

Rev. William Carus	1836-90	Canon of Winchester.
Rev. William Carus Wilson	1836-50	
Rev. George Hodson	1836-50	
Rev. William Marsh	1836-64	
Rev. John Venn	1836-78	
Rev. John Harding	1850-51	
Rev. Edmund Hollond	1850-84	
Rev. Edward Auriol	1851-80	
Rev. William Cadman	1864-91	Canon of Canterbury.
Rev. G.E. Tate	1878-1900	Prebendary of Wells.
Rev. F. Flowers Goe	1880-87	Bishop of Melbourne 1887.
Very Rev. R. Payne Smith	1884-95	Dean of Canterbury.
Ven. Archdeacon John Richardson	1887-1904	
Rev. Handley C.G. Moule	1890-1901	Bishop of Durham 1901.
Rev. R.B. Girdlestone	1891-1917	Hon. Canon of Christ Church.
Rev. E.A. Eardley-Wilmot	1895-1932	Prebendary of Wells.
Rev. John Barton	1900-05	
Rev. J.E. Rogers	1901-06	Prebendary of Wells.
Rev. J.C. Wright	1904-09	Archbishop of Sydney 1909.
Rev. A.E. Barnes-Lawrence	1905-26	Hon. Canon of Southwark.
Rev. E.A. Stuart	1907-17	Canon of Canterbury.
Rev. J. Denton-Thompson	1909-24	Hon. Canon of Birmingham. Bishop of Sodor and Man 1911.
Rev. G.B. Durrant	1917-26	

Ven. Archdeacon Stanton Jones	1926-28	Bishop of Sodor and Man 1928.
Rev. Francis E. Murphy	1917-43	Prebendary of Wells.
Rev. Charles E. Wilson, BD.	1924-48	Hon. Canon of Southwark.
Rev. A.J. Tait, DD.	1926-40	Canon of Peterborough. Principal of Ridley Hall Cambridge.
Rev. C.M. Chavasse, MC.	1928-40	Master of St. Peter's Hall. Bishop of Rochester 1939.
Very Rev. W.E.R. Morrow	1932-48	Provost of Chelmsford.
Very Rev. E.W. Mowll	1939-	Provost of Bradford.
Venerable W. Marshall Selwyn	1939-	

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Rev. Canon John R. Bournon,

Acting Secretary, Church Society Trust 10.6.82; 25.4.83

Rev. Jack A. Branch,

Guild of All Souls 19.4.82

Terence H. Brown,

Secretary, Trinitarian Bible Society 20.11.82

Rev. David Campbell, S.S.J.E. 17.9.83

Rev. George H. Gaze 12.9.83

Rev. Peter Geldard,

General Secretary, The Church Union 14.5.82; 28.10.83

Rev. Canon Bryan Green, D.D.

Hon. Secretary, Peache Trustees 12.4.82

Geoffrey Hartill, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 15.3.83

Victor A. Hatley 30.12.82

George Herring 7.5.83

W. Gordon Hiatt 8.1.83

Alasdair Macdonald 17.11.82

H.R. Mainprice 31.3.82

Rev. John Milburn 28.10.82

Rev. J.D. Miller 22.8.81

Bernard Moss,

Secretary, Fidelity Trust 8.11.82

J.P. Rayner,

Clerk to Hyndman's Trust 6.4.82

Rev. R. Michael Rees,

Hon. Secretary, Simeon's Trustees 2.4.82

Rev. John S. Reynolds 9.3.83

Rev. E.G.H. Saunders,

Hon. Secretary, Church Patronage Society 27.4.83; 21.9.83

Rev. Eric Simmons,

Father Superior, Community of the Resurrection 7.10.83

C.H. Spring,

Secretary, Society for the Maintenance of the Faith 24.11.82; 2.12.82

B. St.G. Thwaites 6.2.83

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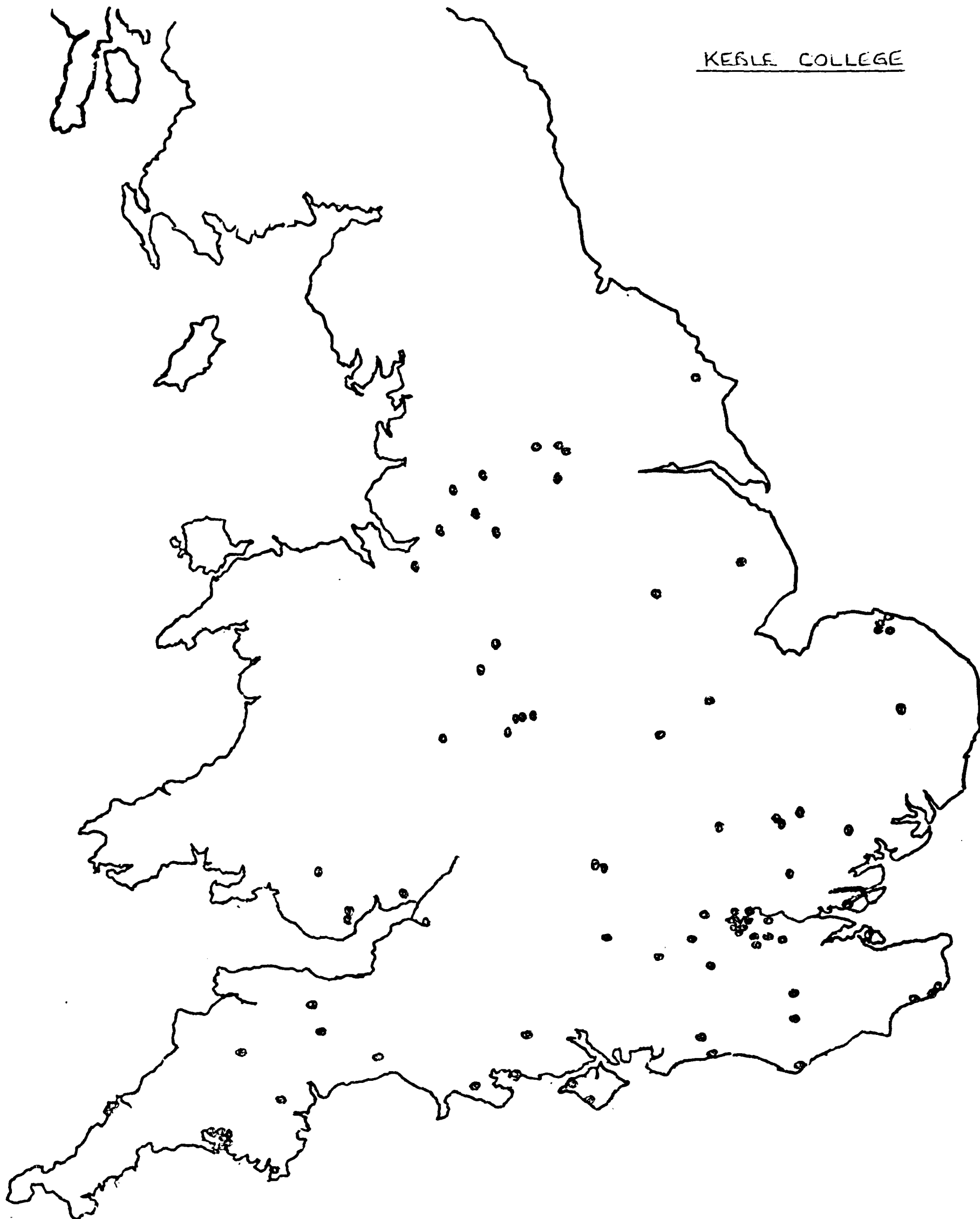
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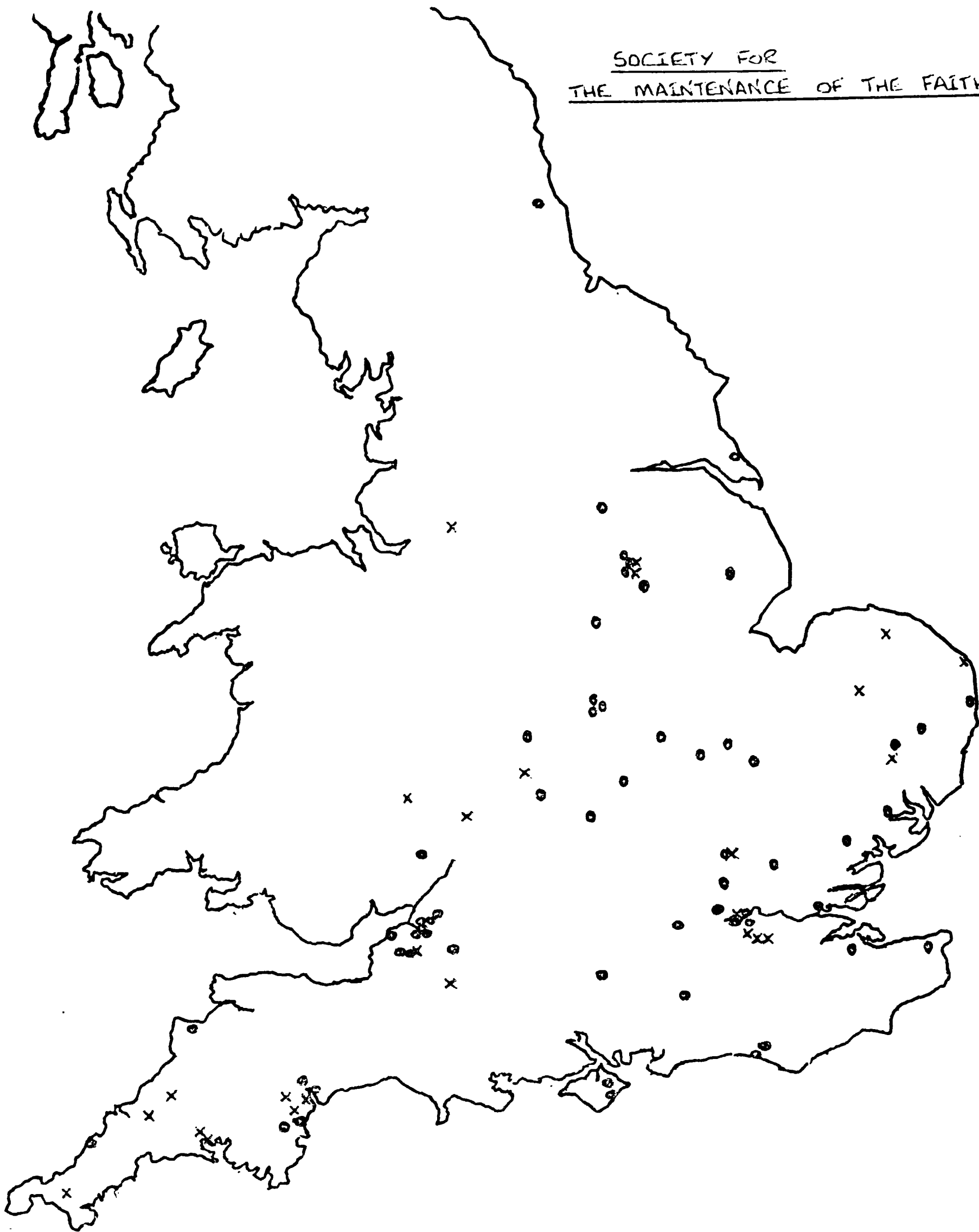
KESTLE COLLEGE

ALL LIVINGS HELD TO DATE

INCLUDING LIVINGS IN:-

BIRMINGHAM, BRADFORD, CARDIFF, DOVER,
FOLKESTONE, LEEDS, MANCHESTER, OXFORD,
PLYMOUTH, SOUTHERN, WORTHING.

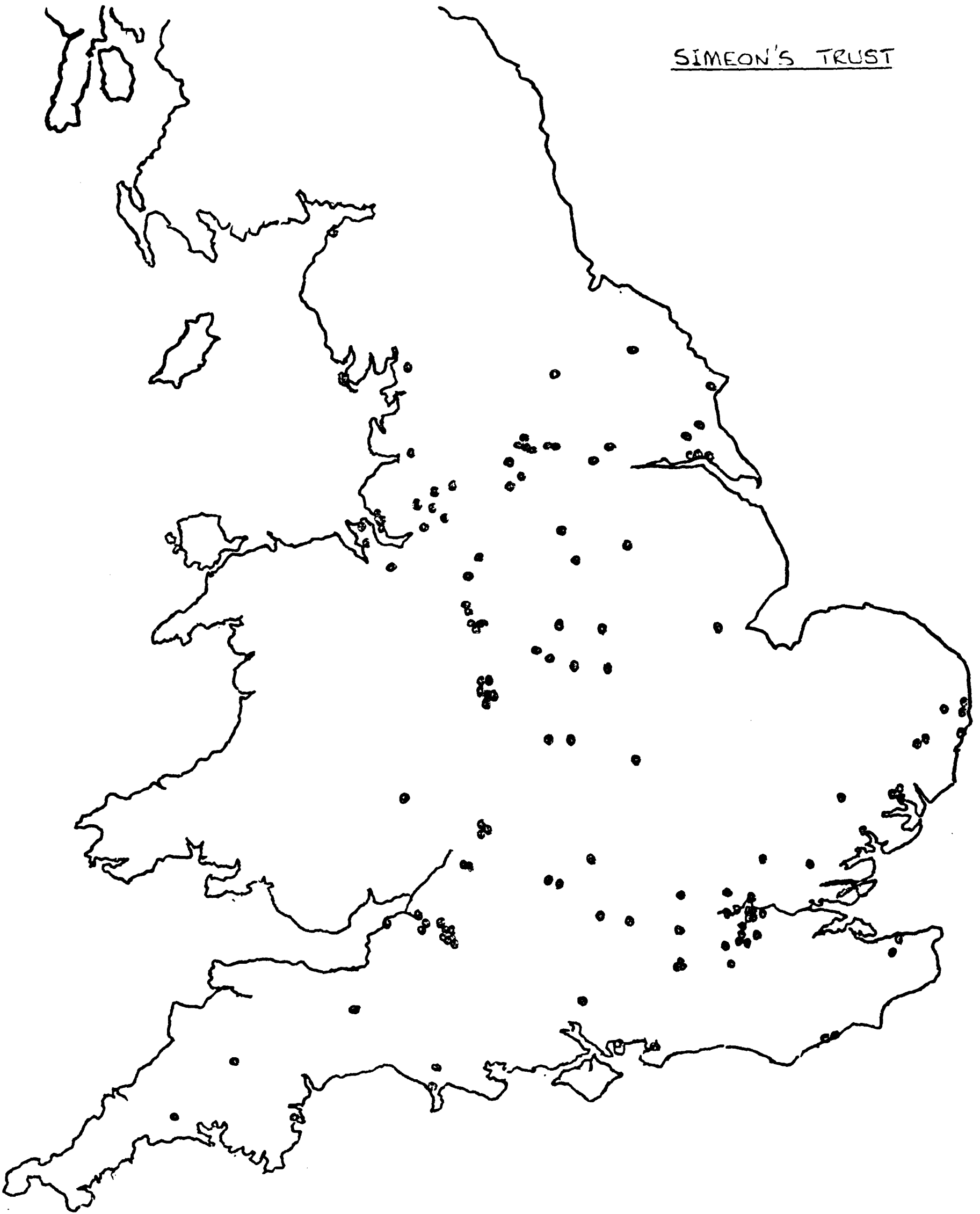
SOCIETY FOR
THE MAINTENANCE OF THE FAITH.



- LIVINGS HELD BY 1930
- x LIVINGS ACQUIRED 1930-80

INCLUDING LIVINGS IN:- BATH, BRISTOL, DONCASTER, EXETER,
KETTERING, LEWES, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE,
WINDSOR.

SIMEON'S TRUST



LIVINGS HELD c.1980

INCLUDING LIVINGS IN:-

BATH, BIRKENHEAD, BRADFORD, BRIDLINGTON,
CANTERBURY, CHELTENHAM, CHICHESTER, COLCHESTER,
DERBY, DORCHESTER, GUILDFORD, HALIFAX, HASTINGS
HEREFORD, HUDDERSFIELD, HULL, IPSWICH, LEEDS,
LIVERPOOL, NORTHAMPTON, OXFORD, READING, RIPON,
SELBY, SHEFFIELD, TAUNTON, TORQUAY, WARRINGTON
WINCHESTER, WOLVERHAMPTON.

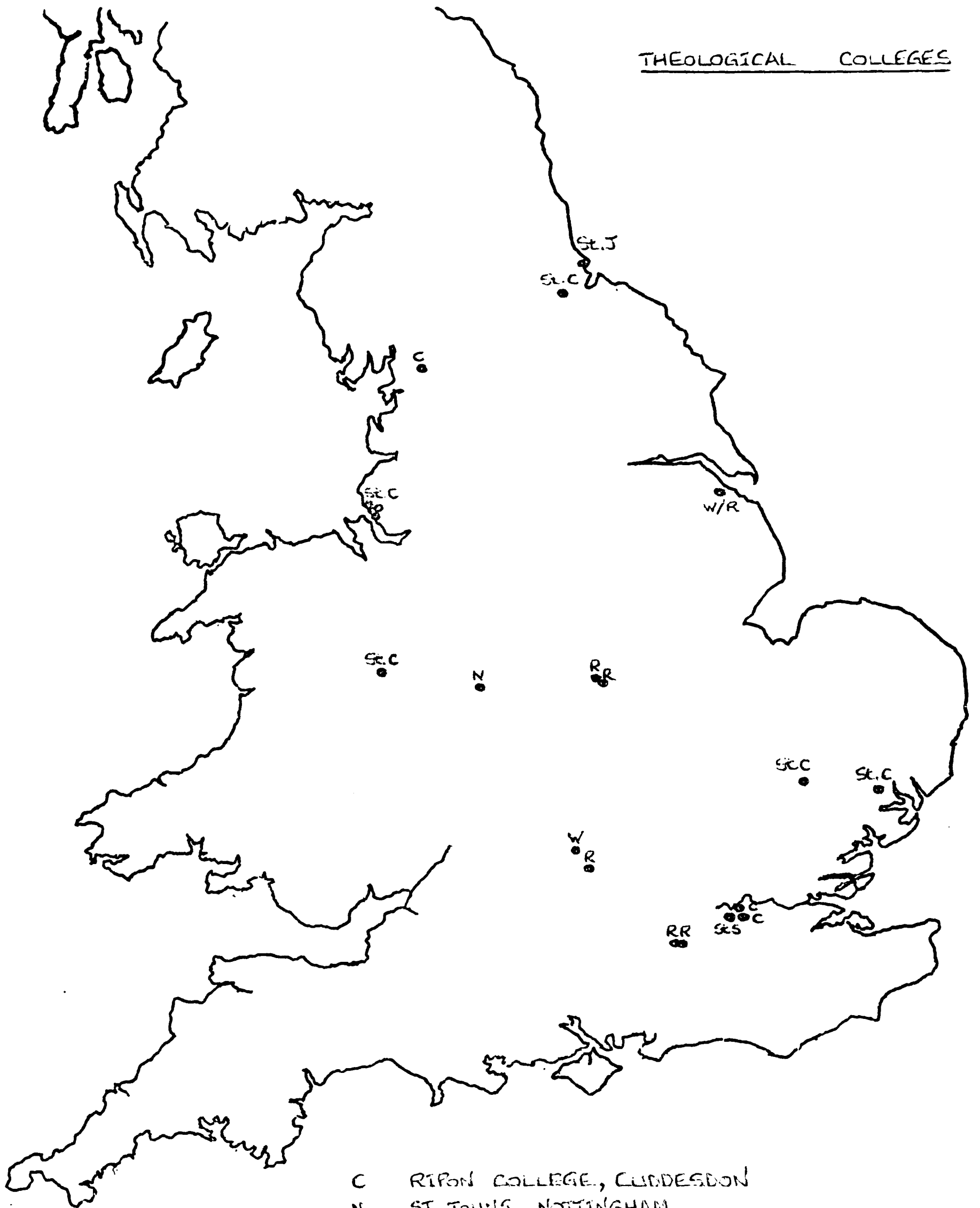
MIRFIELD AND THE CHURCH UNION



- x THE CHURCH UNION
- COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION

INCLUDING LIVINGS IN:- BRADFORD, STOCKPORT.

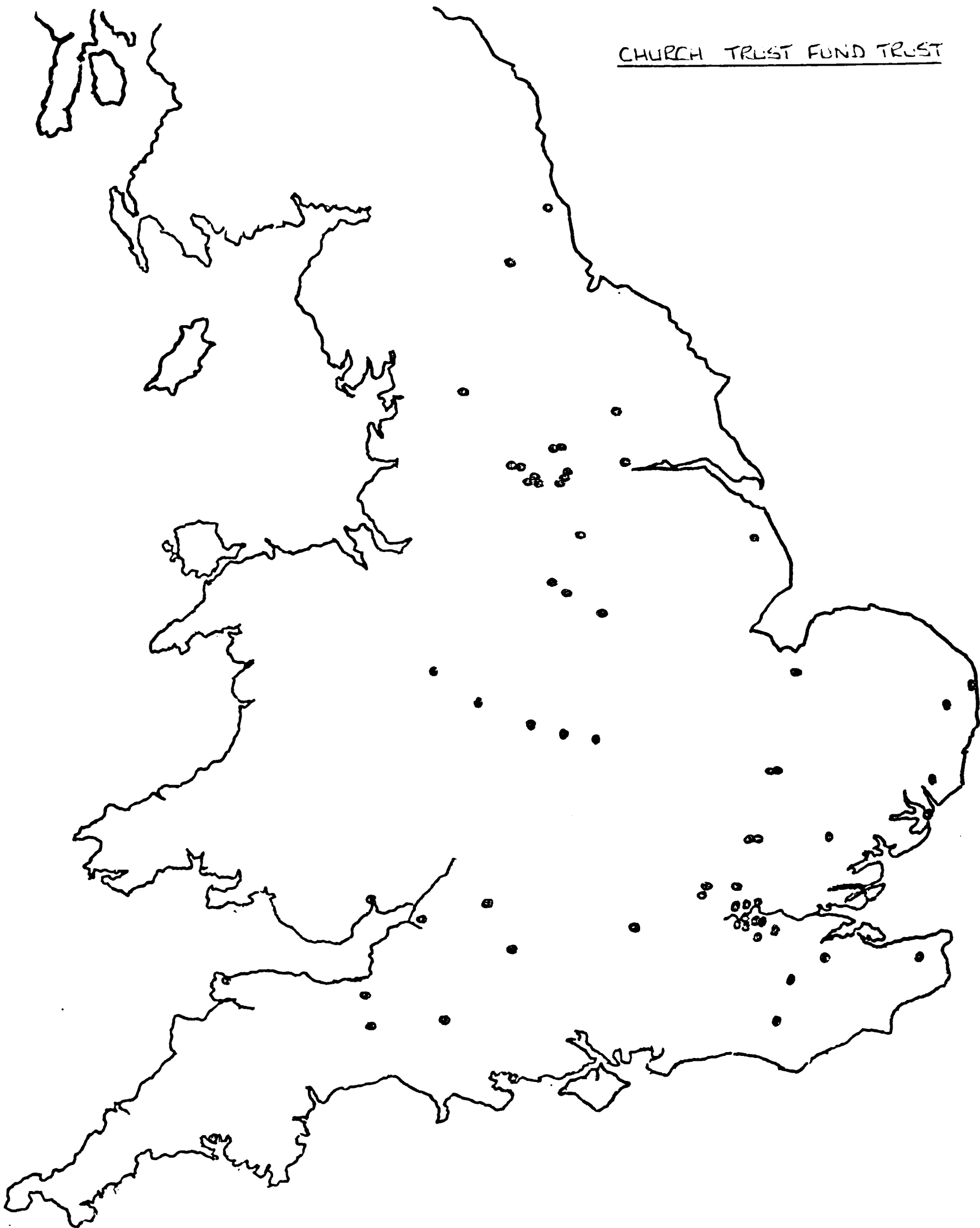
THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES



C	RIPON COLLEGE, CUDDESDON
N	ST. JOHNS, NOTTINGHAM
R	RIDLEY, CAMBRIDGE
St.C	ST. CHADS, DURHAM
St.J	ST. JOHNS, DURHAM
St.S	ST. STEPHENS, OXFORD
W	WYCLIFFE, OXFORD

INCLUDING LIVINGS IN:- LEICESTER, LIVERPOOL, WOLVERHAMPTON.

CHURCH TRUST FUND TRUST



LIVINGS HELD BY 1930

INCLUDING LIVINGS IN:- BRAINTREE, CAMBRIDGE, COVENTRY, FELIXSTOWE,
GREAT YARMOUTH, HALIFAX, ILFRACOMBE, LEEDS,
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, NEWPORT (MON.), PLYMOUTH,
READING, RUGBY, WATFORD.

CHURCH PASTORAL-AID SOCIETY



LIVINGS HELD BY 1930

INCLUDING LIVINGS IN:- BLACKBURN, BLACKPOOL, BURTON-UPON-TRENT,
CARLISLE, CROMER, DERBY, DURHAM,
EXETER, KENDAL, LANCASTER, LEWES,
LIVERPOOL, MANCHESTER, THETFORD,
TUNBRIDGE WELLS, YORK.

CHURCH PASTORAL-AID SOCIETY



LIVINGS ACQUIRED 1930 - 80

INCLUDING LIVINGS IN:- BRADFORD, DERBY, LOWESTOFT, MANCHESTER
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, PORTSMOUTH,
SCARBOROUGH, SHEFFIELD, WOLVERHAMPTON.

HYNDMAN'S TRUST



- LIVINGS HELD BY 1930
- x LIVINGS ACQUIRED 1930 - 80

INCLUDING LIVINGS IN: BURY ST EDMUNDS, DONCASTER, HASTINGS,
LIVERPOOL, NORTHAMPTON, NOTTINGHAM,
PRESTON, STAFFORD.



PEACHE TRUST

LIVINGS HELD BY 1930

INCLUDING LIVINGS IN:- BOURNEMOUTH, CAMBRIDGE, HARROGATE,
LEICESTER, LUTON, MELTON MOWBRAY, OXFORD,
TIVERTON, WAKEFIELD.

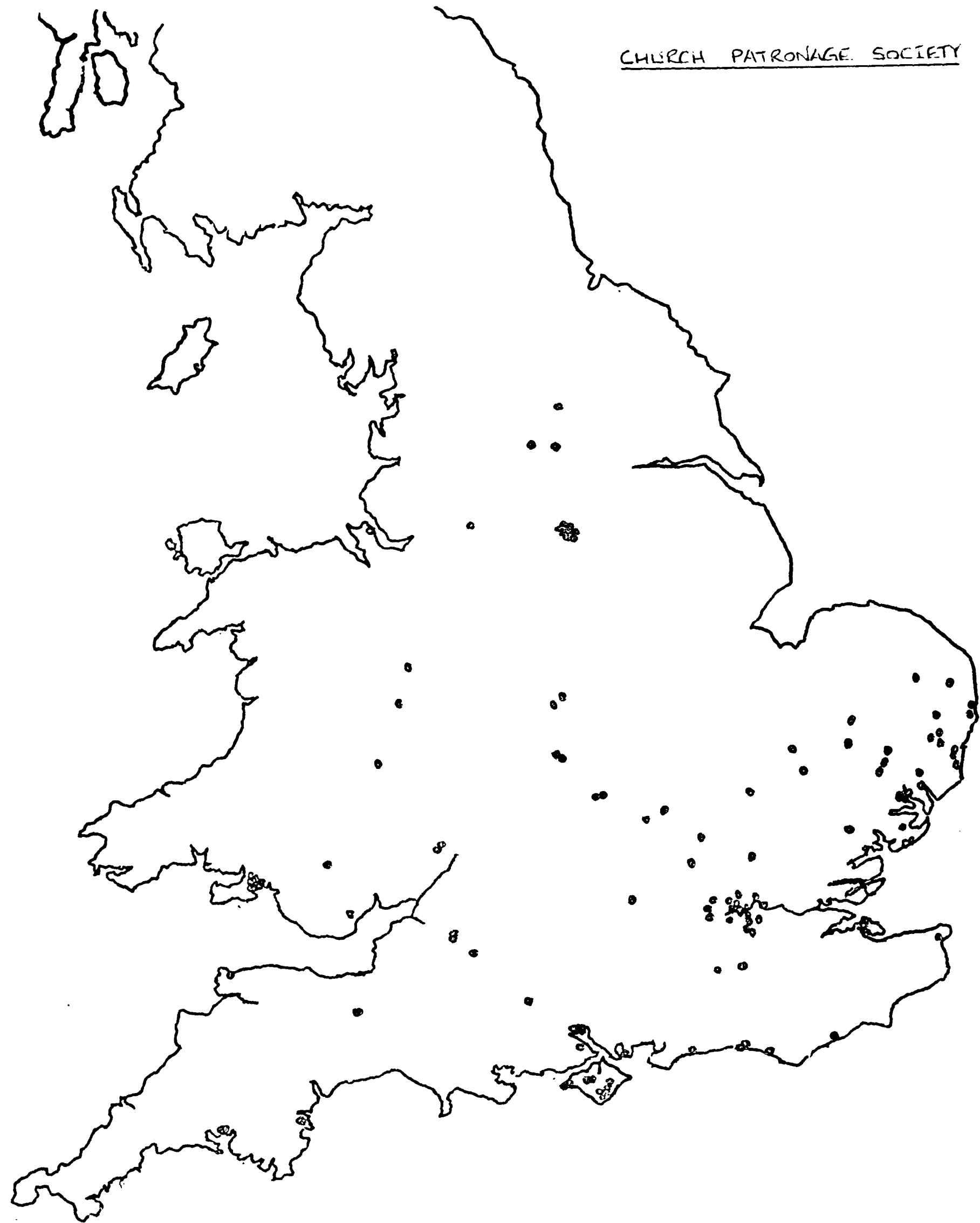


'CHURCH SOCIETY TRUST'

- CHURCH ASSOCIATION TRUST
- x NATIONAL CHURCH LEAGUE

INCLUDING LIVINGS IN:- BLACKPOOL, BOURNEMOUTH, BURTON-ON-TRENT,
FOVEY, WORTHING.

CHURCH PATRONAGE SOCIETY



LIVINGS HELD BY 1930

INCLUDING LIVINGS IN:-

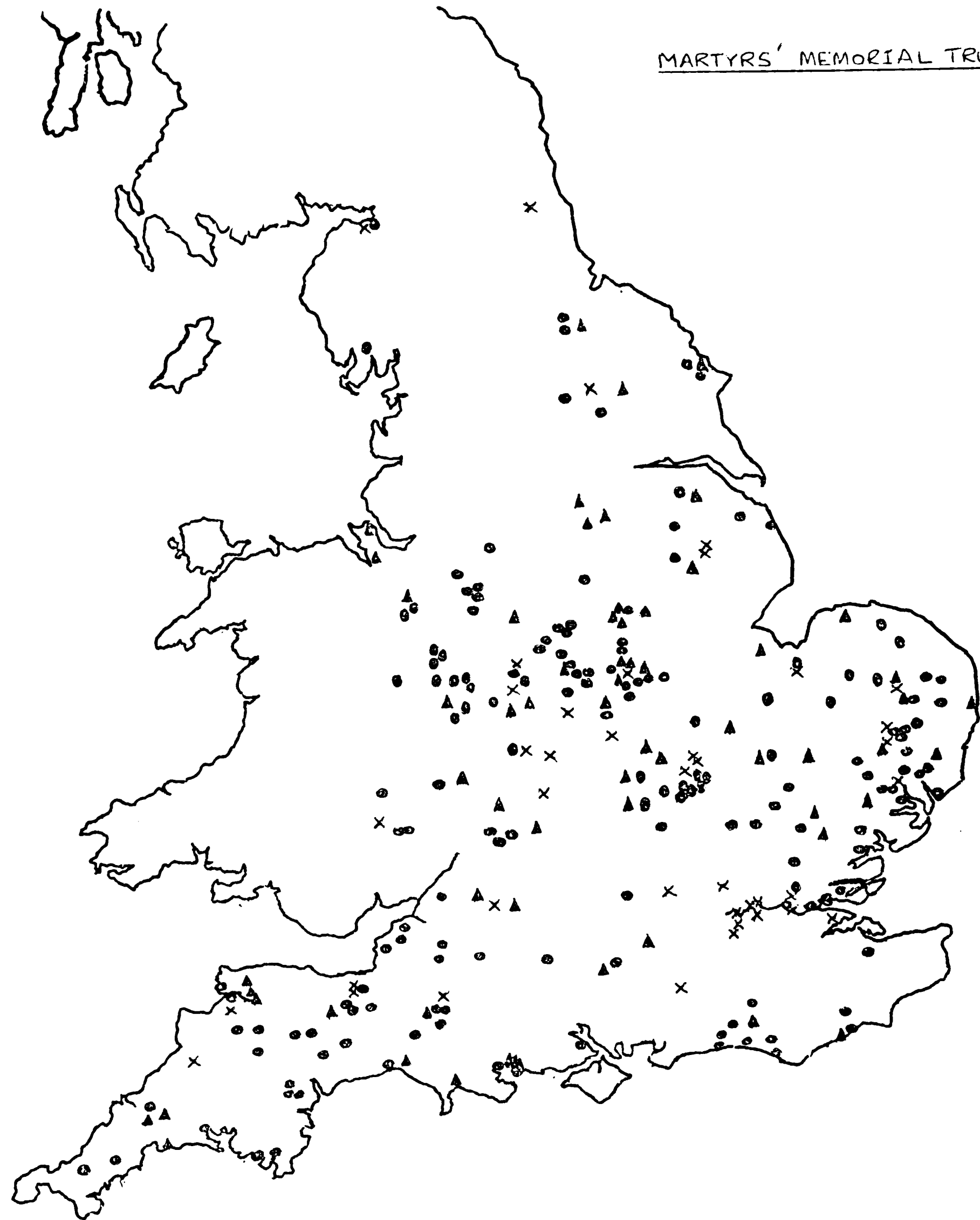
BATH, BIRKENHEAD, BRADFORD, BRIGHTON,
CARDIFF, HARRGATE, HASTINGS, ILFRACOMBE,
IPSWICH, LEEDS, LOWESTOFT, LUTON,
NEWPORT (I.O.W.), NORWICH, PLYMOUTH, PORTSMOUTH
RAMSGATE, SALISBURY, SHEERNESS, SHEFFIELD,
SHEREWSBURY, SOUTHAMPTON, STOWMARKET, SWANSEA
TAUNTON, TONQUAY.

REFORMATION CHURCH TRUST



LIVINGS HELD IN 1930

MARTYRS' MEMORIAL TRUST



- ▲ LIVINGS HELD IN 1930 BUT NO LONGER IN MMT PATRONAGE.
- LIVINGS ACQUIRED BEFORE 1930 AND HELD TO THE PRESENT.
- X LIVINGS ACQUIRED SINCE 1930.

INCLUDING LIVINGS IN :- BEDFORD, CHELTENHAM, HASTINGS,
POOLE, STOW-ON-THE WOLD

N.B. THIS MAP IS BASED PARTLY UPON THE DIOCESAN SURVEY MENTIONED IN CHAPTER 6, WHICH ACCOUNTS FOR THE SCARCITY OF LIVINGS IN THE AREAS NOT COVERED BY THE SURVEY, ESPECIALLY IN E. HAMPSHIRE, LANCASHIRE, LONDON, SURREY, W. KENT AND WARWICKSHIRE.